

# CLASS STRUGGLE



Political Paper of the Revolutionary Communist League of Britain

Vol. 8 No. 8

September 1984

20p

## MURDER



Photo AP/RN

### RUC Attack Peaceful March - 1 Killed, Many Injured.

Murder! How else can you describe the killing of Sean Downes. Sean, along with his wife and child, were taking part in the annual demonstration on the anniversary of the introduction of internment (imprisonment without trial) in the north of Ireland on August 12th.

The peaceful demonstration included delegations from Britain, America and many other countries, particularly from Europe. From the start it was clear that this year's march was going to be different. Instead of keeping their distance, the RUC and British army surrounded the march and blocked off all sidestreets. Guns were pointed at the demonstrators and armoured cars were at the ready.

#### BELFAST'S BLOODY SUNDAY

Even before the march reached the rallying point, the shooting had started. Plastic bullets flew at those at the front and many scattered. When the march reached the end, many sat in the road to hear the speeches. When Martin Galvin, a speaker from NORAIID, appeared on the platform there was cheering and clapping. But for the RUC and Army it was a signal. Martin Galvin had been banned under immigration laws from entering northern Ireland - an attempt to suppress freedom of speech.

He was expected to appear and it was clear that the forces

of "British Law and Order" were ready to use the occasion as an excuse for an all-out assault on those sympathetic to the struggle for the national liberation of Ireland.

For once the events that followed were described in some of the bourgeois press:

"Mr Galvin was greeted with wild cheering and had just finished waving to the crowd when the police moved in from both ends. They fired plastic bullets into the air and at almost point-blank range into the crowd as they ran over to the crowd, pulling them out of the way and then began driving landrovers into the screaming and hysterical people.

"Appeals for calm went unheard as plastic bullets whizzed around. People covered on the road, clutching children and trying to cover their heads."  
Richard Ford, *The Times*.

"One man died and up to 20 were injured, four seriously, yesterday when Belfast police moved into a 3,000-strong crowd, flailing batons and firing plastic bullets with wanton disregard..."

"As the police moved in they acted with indiscriminate brutality towards the crowd. Those who tried to flee in panic, or simply covered on the pavement, were batoned. Plastic bullets were fired from close range and at specific targets, in contravention of rules govern-

ing their use.

"One elderly man, blood pouring from his head where he had been hit by a plastic bullet, could be seen lying unconscious in the road, ignored by the police around him ...

"One photographer was batoned as he stood waving his press card. A teenager lay in a front garden, dazed after being hit by a glancing blow by a plastic bullet ...

"As police began to move out, laughter could be heard from a group of officers sitting inside their landrovers. Yards away, doctors were trying to revive a critically injured man."

Paul Johnson, *The Guardian*.

"Several people were hit at close range, and ambulancemen were soon busy treating fallen casualties. A number of people were hit around the head and shoulders with truncheons, and journalists were jostled and shoved aside.

"People were screaming and falling over each other as the police pushed on, clearing a path towards the speakers' platform."

*The Daily Telegraph*.

"Police all over the area began to fire round after round of plastic bullets at the screaming crowd, who crouched in terror, unable to run away. A woman's

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#### NEW SERIES

### ROOTS OF RACISM

Part 1: Plunder, Settlement and Slavery p.6.



Free Iqbal Begum! p.4.

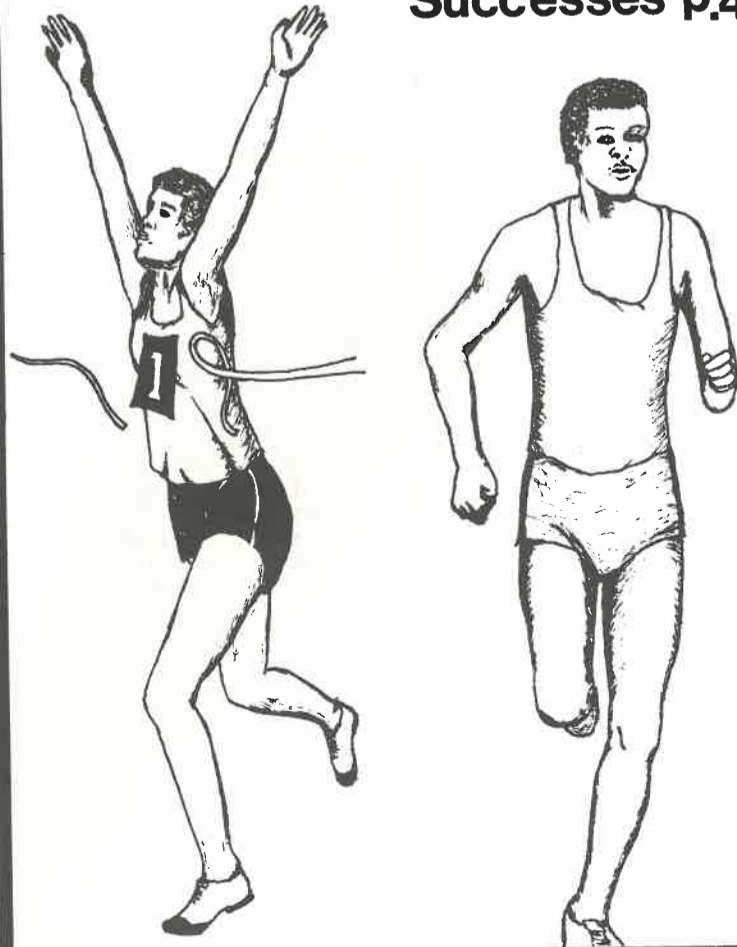
### LINDA QUIGLEY

Interview with ex-Armagh Prisoner p.7.



Linda Quigley (right) meets Ann Scargill during a recent visit to Ireland by miners and women opposing the pit closures.

### Third World Olympic Successes p.4.



# Break the Hold of Social Democracy

The miners' strike has now continued for six months. One of the most apparently contradictory features has been the orientation of the Labour Party to the struggle. There appears to be a sharp dispute between the attitude of the national Labour Party leadership, and that of local branches. The national leadership has failed to throw itself behind the struggle, has attacked the 'violence' on the picket lines (albeit being 'even-handed' by criticising some police actions), and has attempted to portray itself as a sort of honest broker standing between the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and the Coal Board. Meanwhile many Labour Party activists - and not just the 'entryist-left' - have been working in grassroots support activities. These range from being active on support committees, getting sympathetic resolutions passed at other trade union branches, raising funds both from donations from union committees and street collections, helping with welfare activities for strikers, up to actually going on picket lines.

Superficially this is often seen as an expression of the 'conflict' between left and right, between branch activists and the bureaucracy, in the Labour Party.

**REFORMISM**

Whilst it may represent a contradiction, what is more important is that both trends represent aspects of a single social-democratic, reformist political line. It is that line, a line of bourgeois trade unionist politics, that in fact dominates the class, and is responsible for the failure to make any significant challenge to the capitalist offensive.

**IMPERIALISM**

In essence, trade union struggle, on its own, is a struggle to defend, or improve, the living standards of the working class within the framework of the capitalist system. The British imperialist ruling class does not only get profits out of the labour of the working class in Britain. More importantly it screws superprofits out of its colonies and neo-colonies in the Third World. This has meant that it has been able to blunt its conflict with the working class in Britain. Superprofits have formed the basis for the 'welfare state', and of the strength of 'British' industry. The higher living standards in Britain, compared to the poverty and deprivation in the Third World, are a direct result of British imperialism. As a result of this there have been times when trade union politics appear to have 'worked' for the working class. At the same time oppression and exploitation of the Third World in different forms over the centuries has had to be justified. (See p.6.) Racism has developed as a "scientific" ideology to support colonialism and imperialism, and, because of the apparent interests of the English working class, the class has become thoroughly imbued with racism, alongside trade union politics. Similarly whilst the sharpness of the struggle of the most oppressed - the peoples of the Third World has led to political oppression and dictatorship, the blunting of the class struggle within Britain and the failure of the working class to seriously challenge British imperialism and the British state 'at home' has generally enabled the imperialists to rule through a facade of bourgeois democracy and has created the 'illusion' of a neutral state.

**LABOUR PARTY - AN IMPERIALIST PARTY**

It is such politics that characterise the Labour Party. It is an imperialist party. Its history is one of full collusion in the domination of imperialism over the Third World. It is up to its neck in ruthless suppression of the struggle of the peoples of the Third World. In Britain it has no interest in challenging the rule of capital and restricts itself solely to slogans about defending the interest of the working class within the framework of imperialism. Its orientation to trade unionism, is not an orientation to a class struggle against the exploiters. Even the purely economic struggle is restricted to supporting the 'right' of trade unions to participate in the management of capitalism. It does not expose and oppose exploitation, it seeks the participation of the trade unions in the process of exploitation. It therefore defends the institutions of the state - government, courts, police etc. - whilst at times bleating about them "going too far". It seeks to restrict struggle to acceptable forms - to the 'traditional' social-democratic and trade union channels. So it can also bleat about the pickets "going too far".

**CLASS STRUGGLE**

In general, the Labour activists, supporting the strike are also restricted in the same political framework. Whilst they may face the police batons and be more militant on the ground, they do not challenge the fundamental character of imperialism. They are tied by a thousand threads to the reformist politics of the Labour Party. The only 'solution' they see is the election of a Labour government. For them the struggle of the miners is not a true struggle of class against class because it is not conducted from an anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist perspective. It is a struggle restricted to a fight against the Tories.

**LABOUR AND IRELAND**

Labour politics become clearer on the question of Ireland. Labour governments have continued a bi-partisan policy with the Tories in the continued occupation of the north and exploitation of Ireland as a whole. Whilst Labour leaders may be again expressing some criticism of the RUC for "going too far" in its murder of Sean Downes during its vicious and systematic assault on the August 12 demonstration, they do not oppose or expose the institutions and basic methods of British imperialist rule.

There is a small opposition trend within the Labour Party that supports the right of Ireland to independence. But here too, the inability to break with Labour politics shows the limitations of their politics. It was not surprising to see the almost complete absence of Labour activists on the August 5 demonstration which was campaigning for rights of Irish Prisoners of War in British jails. This, despite the fact that the march was in Sheffield, one of the strongest areas of active support for the miners. On August 18, a number of MP's and MEP's as well as Labour branches did support the Troops Withdrawal demonstration and this is to be welcomed. But what characterises most of this support is a refusal to endorse the Republican leadership of the struggle, and their methods.

of struggle.

\* \* \* \* \*

**NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE**

In the six occupied counties of Ireland, the most important factor is that the institutions



(Photo: John Harris/IFL)

of imperialist rule hold no sway over the nationalist people. The character of the national liberation struggle means that the institutions of rule are clearly enemy institutions - British institutions. The fight for independence is more clearly a fight against the institutions and not a fight within them. The sharpness of that struggle daily lays bare the oppressive character of the imperialist state, and reinforces the recognition of the necessity to fight to destroy them.

**NATIONAL MINORITIES STRUGGLE**

Within Britain the struggle of the national minority communities has some similar results. The state is a racist institution which oppresses the national minorities in every area. The particular repression of these communities also therefore leads to a greater awareness that the institu-

tions are enemy institutions and necessarily creates a struggle outside of the 'normal' channels. Thus there were the uprisings in Bristol, Liverpool 8, Brixton etc. Further there are daily struggles using a variety of methods which clash with the state.

We have already seen that this consciousness is not generally shared by the English working class and we have seen also that the reason lies in the imperialist character of the British economy and state. Yet in the course of their struggle the miners have been forced to clash directly with the repressive forces of the state. The real character of the institutions is more open. What is happening?

**IMPERIALISM IN CRISIS**

The problem for the imperialists is that their system is in crisis. It is not just that Thatcher is a mean and vicious politician. She may be, but it does no service to the working class to merely repeat that. The methods of repression used against the miners by the Tories, have been used against the oppressed nations, including Ireland, and against national

minorities, by Labour in the past.

Simply the crisis of imperialism means that the possibilities of blunting the class struggle, as described above, are more limited. It also means that the possibilities of success of struggles, which are dominated by trade union politics are also limited. The sharpness of the struggle is leading the state to use some of the methods developed in Ireland, and against the national minorities, against the English working class.

It therefore becomes essential for the success of class struggle to break from traditional forms of struggle. The readiness to fight for their jobs by the miners, and the readiness to use violence against a violent state is not something to bleat about. It is to be welcomed. It is a necessary move towards a class consciousness - a consciousness that breaks with social democracy. The task of those who claim to support the struggle for socialism is to build on that experience, and to work to expose and explain the character of the imperialist system. It is also their task to struggle for a complete break with social democratic illusions and methods, and to fight for the necessity of building links between the different strands of struggle against the imperialist state. The presence of 18 miners on the Troops Out Movement delegation to Ireland is therefore most welcome, as is the fact that miners have shared platforms with Sinn Fein. The majority of the 'left' will not do this work. On the contrary, they will work to keep the working class within the orbit of Labour politics. That is why it is essential to build a movement that will.

**Letter**

## Ireland and the Miners

*The following is extracts from a letter from a remand prisoner in Crumlin Road Jail. It has been edited for reasons of length.*

... As an revolutionary socialist committed to the process of Marxist analysis, I feel one cannot successfully deal with or comprehend the relationship between the miners, the police and northern Ireland unless they are placed inside the historical development of the state and the accumulation of private property by the state which, once amassed, necessitates protection either through social coercion and conditioning by customs, culture and laws, or by force in the form of the police or the army.

Take for example, the effective role of the trade union movement as it relates to the historical conflict between Capital and Labour. From its inception the trade union movement was centred around securing reforms and safeguards for the workers inside the capitalist mode of production. Since then, its functions have been largely to defend these marginal gains of the workforce against attack from the bosses. Yet such defence clearly takes place inside the existing relationship of exploiter and exploited. The essence of the National Coal Board's position is to resolve this dispute inside the existing capitalist framework by inflicting a defeat upon the miners which will allow

them to rationalise their operation maintaining their profitability in the market place at the cost of jobs for the miners ...

An analysis of the state, the historical development of its culture, customs and laws are essential for a proper and scientific understanding of the police. Without such a historical perspective detailing the development of socially antagonistic classes, the current liberal-bourgeois image of the police as "citizens in uniform" cannot be effectively challenged and defeated...

In terms of applying the lessons and experience of northern Ireland, I believe the most obvious and crucial lesson is that many English socialists have ignored Ireland's colonial exploitation by England until in a panic or sense of duty they look to find the origin of some new coercive measure perfected in Ireland for use against the working class of England. As a Republican Socialist I could list numerous examples of how our oppression is directly linked to the continued subjugation of the English working class. Yet these words of Robert Carlile in The Gauntlet in 1833 speech ... "Damn those who cry patience while a sword is being sharpened for the throats of the long oppressed people of Ireland ... If this is allowed to pass as to Ireland, it will soon be tried in England." Having imported a Chief Constable into London from

northern Ireland, the English police now 'Shoot-to-Kill' people like Stephen Waldorf. The judiciary now appear ready to implement Kitson's theory that: "The law should be used as just another weapon in the government's arsenal". And in fourteen years political agitation on the streets I have never witnessed a heavier concentration of police anywhere as I did during my time on the picket line at Grunwick.

The lessons and logic of the struggles of the miners, the English working class and the Irish are inextricably bound to a common understanding and historical analysis of the capitalist organisation of the state. And while I would not be naive enough to suggest that the analysis is a solution, I do not consider it simplistic or irrelevant to now restate Lenin's maxim that: "Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary practice." Consequently, comrades, if we limit ourselves to purely defensive 'single-issue' campaigns without attempting to broaden the issues, confront the contradictions and resolve them in the total interest of the working class then we are willing to tie ourselves to the yoke of capitalism forever. And far from being an exhortation to instant and immediate armed rebellion my views offer a perspective given in comradely solidarity ... Your victory is our victory just as our defeat must be your defeat.

Jimmy Brown.

# Leeds 'Stop the City'

'Class Struggle' correspondent.

"Put up the barricades to fight the arms race, pit closures, world starvation, multinational exploitation and all the other ways the wealthy balls us up the way the world is run."

The 'Stop the City' protest on August 9th in Leeds, was organised primarily for direct action against the financial institutions of the city and its major business concerns. Unlike the previous event of September 1983 in London, where the aim of the demonstration was to bring these and other institutions to a standstill, the action in Leeds set out to achieve the less ambitious task of disrupting the smooth running of the everyday business life of Leeds city centre. The purpose of a demonstration calling for direct action (which included diverse activities, planned by different groups and aimed at different concerns - from the call for a boycott of multinational company products, painting slogans and damage to property, spontaneous sit-down protests, etc.) was to drive that protest home, making things felt where it counts - in the city financial pocket. Rather than organising a carefully contained and stewarded march of the variety much preferred by the official labour movement, the protest was purposefully disorganised, noisy and unruly, as a means of causing maximum disruption. The actions taken were intended

to put across directly the point that people object to the behind-the-scenes exploitation and repression upon which the High-Tech, Open-Plan facade of metropolitan Leeds is built, and that, more importantly, people are prepared to do something about it. To quote the 'Stop The City Times': "Whatever their dirty dealings, we had to let them know that we oppose them."

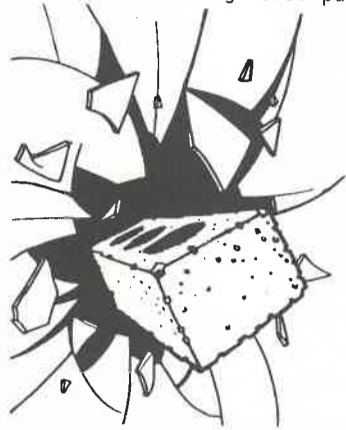
## YOUTH PROTEST

By mid-afternoon some two to three hundred youth had gathered outside the Leeds City Art Gallery under the ever-watchful eyes of the 'local constabulary'. At 3 p.m. the demonstration greeted with applause the arrival of the Women for Life on Earth 'Walk For Peace' in Leeds following respectfully towards the Garden of Rest where a short ceremony of welcome was held. A number of arrests had already been made during the course of the day, but, by this time the police were ready to step up their operation. Seven arrests were made at the Garden of Rest, a number of which were for merely taking photographs. Perhaps the police were anxious for certain things to remain hidden from the public eye, as the open doors of a police van revealed, tucked under the seats, a collection of size six cricket bats.

## "COMMUNITY POLICING"

From the Garden of Rest the

demonstration made its way towards the Merrion Centre accompanied by plain-clothes police (visible due to their radios which were 'carefully' concealed inside the latest issue of their daily organ, the 'Yorkshire Evening Post'). Trouble was ahead, however, as the demonstration proceeded in the direction of Milgarth police station. Streets were blocked with both demonstrators and members of the general pub-



lic indiscriminately turned back. One man on his way to pay an outstanding gas bill was threatened with arrest when he asked to be allowed through the police cordon. Others were treated to a display of abuse and foul language from our up-standing guardians of the law. For anyone who still believes in 'community policing', 'policing by consent', Santa Claus, Mary Poppins etc, Thursday August 9th was a day not to be missed.

## ORGANISED PROVOCATION

The general atmosphere was one of organised provocation and intimidation from this group of blue-clad thugs. Of course, many of the actions were, strictly speaking, 'illegal' and brought forth squeals of indignant outrage from the bastions of the local establishment as well as swift retribution from the police. Yet despite over one hundred arrests, unwarranted on-the-spot searches and complaints of general abuse (a number of those arrested were innocent bystanders who took issue with officers over their foul-mouthed language), the 'Yorkshire Evening Post' praised the police for their determined action and refusal to back down to these 'hooligan' elements. Commenting on a call from a local Labour councillor for a full public enquiry into police conduct throughout the day, the 'Evening Post' reminded us of 'our' need to be protected from such disturbances of public order, and reprimanded Leeds City Council for their encouragement and support of such 'way-out groups'.

## WHOSE INTERESTS?

The question to be asked is precisely whose 'needs' and whose interests were being protected by the police on Thursday August 9th in Leeds. It is clearly the same needs and interests as we have seen defended by mounted police,

riot squads and police dogs on the picket lines over the past months - the interests and needs of big business, private property and capitalist profitability. Significant in relation to the ongoing miners' dispute was the response from a local Labour councillor. Just as Neil Kinnock has refused to take sides in the miners' struggle, merely condemning violence on the picket lines, so too this councillor, whilst quick to condemn police action, has failed to support any of the actions taken during the day.

The lesson to draw is that the Labour Party is itself not concerned to take direct action. It is only interested in extra-Parliamentary action where that action is directed towards the return of Labour governments, and even then it does its utmost to stay firmly seated on the political fence. Direct action against private property, major financial institutions and banking concerns, and the repressive organs of the state are not what the Labour Party looks for on polling day. And yet it is precisely this - direct action - which is needed if we are to change this society in which we live. We can't afford to wait for a future Labour government or the politicians to do it for us. We've waited too long already.

# Remember Tolpuddle

'Class Struggle' correspondent.

It was a hot, sunny day as 10,000 trade unionists gathered in Tolpuddle, Dorset to celebrate the 150th anniversary of the Tolpuddle Martyrs. The six martyrs were sentenced to seven years' transportation to the penal colonies of Australia, in 1834, for attempting to organise an agricultural workers' union. This was at a time when wages were being slashed and enclosures of common land increased - families were literally starving. After their deportation there was such an organised outcry with demonstrations and petitions that the men were

officially pardoned and returned home after three years. Tolpuddle is thus a symbol of working class defiance and unity.

This year the annual gathering was over twice its normal size with trade unionists and Labour Party supporters from all over the country, including many women and national minority workers. The day started with a big gathering around the old sycamore tree where the martyrs used to meet and a planting of a new sapling alongside. There were stalls and events of all descriptions - Amnesty International, Greenpeace, Friends of the Earth, Campaign

For Nuclear Disarmament, Anti-Vivisection League and several bands and street theatre events. Then the procession marched through the village, led by the National Union of Mineworkers South Wales Band and trade union leaders. The succession of union and Labour Party banners took two hours to pass by, with special cheers given to the Cheltenham GCHQ unionists, the many miners from coalfields around the country, the agricultural workers and a group of Indian women workers. The only non-union flag flying was a hammer and sickle carried by a Labour Party member who is now under threat of expulsion for the act!

The march ended in a rally, with a message of support from Cliff Dolan, President of the Australian Council of Trade Unions; speeches by Neil Kinnock, Moss Evans, Ray Buckton, and also by Dennis McDermott, President of Canadian Labour Congress ... but the sun was hot ... and throats dry ... the best part of the day was over for another year.



James Brine  
Aged 25

Thomas Stanfield  
Aged 51

John Stanfield  
Aged 25

George Loveless  
Aged 41

James Loveless  
Aged 29



Dear Comrades,

While arguing with some friends about the need for national solidarity movements to provide a focus and a platform in the fight against imperialism, it became apparent that such movements have a role to play, but that they are open to some abuse.

I feel that national solidarity movements are essential because they serve several purposes:

a. They attract people who wouldn't ordinarily help in the fight against imperialism. These people may initially only have a moral or sectional sympathy with the plight of the nationally oppressed; but once involved they may come to understand the international nature of that oppression.

b. National solidarity movements are very useful as vehicles for information gathering and distributing.

They are valuable as structures for instant response to particular acts of oppression. They are also able to force certain concessions from the ruling class which are invaluable as morale boosters.

c. Money is always needed and solidarity movements are essential and successful at raising money.

d. Solidarity movements have an important role in seeking out and supplying platforms for exiled anti-imperialist freedom fighters to express their views and present the facts of what is happening in their countries. Like the distribution of money, dealt with above, this too is a subject open to controversy. Some movements, while not condemning one particular anti-imperialist army outright are guilty of such condemnation by excluding representatives of those armies from their platforms. The excuses vary for this, from the claim that particular groups do not have popular support, to criticisms of their politics and tactics. This attitude

is worse than arrogant; it has probably been just as responsible for the continued misery millions of people live in, as the policies pursued by imperialist nations.

How is it possible for people living in the relative comfort, safety and luxury of England, to say that one movement is more politically correct or representative than another? Nor is it possible for people in England, who are so far removed from the level of oppression levelled at our brothers and sisters to lay down a blueprint as to how they should fight such oppression. When will left wing groups in England wise up to the idea that we are the oppressors and we reap the benefits of that oppression? There is no way that a proletariat that is truly international and internationalist can be formed to bring about a world revolution until national independence is gained and at least one level of parasites defeated.

From a London reader.

# WORKERS' NOTEBOOK

- The richest 1% of the population now earns 6% of total income;
- the richest 10% of the population earns 28% of the money; and
- the bottom 50% of the population earn only 23% of the total.

These figures, for the U.K., were published this month by the Central Statistical Office and also show a widening of this huge gap between rich and poor, over the last three years. The top 1% have increased their share of total income from 5.3% in 1978/9 to 6% now, and this increase is even bigger if you look at taxed income.

Put in simpler terms, the poorer half of the population earns less than a quarter of the total income of the country and their share is getting less.

- Alliances are being formed at Greenham. Whilst Greenham Common women march, protest and are arrested alongside striking miners' wives over the pit closure dispute, American servicemen have helped Ministry of Defence policemen drag women away from outside a Greenham gate. Women continue to picket and camp outside all the gates at Greenham, attempting to prevent military convoys entering and leaving the base and continuing to breach the 'security' fence. Together with other peace groups in the south, they successfully tracked the latest Cruise missile convoy out of the base and followed and harassed it to the Amesbury area. Peace groups have been active at other bases too; a lesser-known RAF base at St. Mawgan, Cornwall, was highlighted recently as demonstrators disrupted the air day there, trying to reach the nuclear weapons' silos near the main gates.

- The building of a five-acre riot training area, complete with houses, shops and offices, is expected to be completed by late next year. Sited on Metropolitan Police training grounds at Hounslow, the "town" will be used for testing up to 5,000 police officers each year. The design is based on complexes built by the Army to train soldiers for the streets of occupied Ireland.

Dear Comrades,

I have just heard the decision on the radio, by the Appeal Court, to reverse the original ruling by the High Court declaring the government's outlawing of the union at GCHQ, Cheltenham, and it was what I had been expecting.

Numerous Labourites around my area were clapping their hands with glee over the original declaration. "A victory over Maggie" was all that I could get out of them. I pointed out that it was all a 'ploy' to get the minds of the masses attuned to the fact that the High Court was the be all and end all of our daily struggles. 'Sit-ins' of factories miraculously end on High Court injunctions. And I endeavour to explain that history sometimes has a habit of repeating itself. As an example which went unheeded, I quoted our own struggle in the steel industry - as follows: During the steel strike (early 1980) it was declared by the

High Court that the workers of the private sector were legally bound to support the strike of the steel workers in the public sector. (Cries of Joy!) A future ruling declared that they were entitled (legally) not to support us and the blackleg current quickly led to private sector working and the loss of our battle. I think it is a concrete example of historical-materialism. Indeed we have seen so-called British Justice at work in Northern Ireland and for colonies further afield (West Indies) where the death sentence can still be applied. Therefore I would advise all of our readers not to place emphasis on "our" courts of law. Finally I am advocating no more nor less than what the Nuremberg War Crimes Trial people told the Nazi war criminals: "Your law was meant to be broken" and that they had "criminalised" themselves by not doing so.

From a North Wales reader.

Write to: "Class Struggle";  
c/o New Era Books, 203 Seven Sisters Road, London N4 3NG.

# Free Iqbal Begum!

'Class Struggle' correspondent.

With 1984 being Anti-Racist Year at the Greater London Council, and with both Channel Four and BBC 2 suddenly discovering the 'minorities' and putting on late-night shows, no-one could escape the "ethnic question" especially the self-appointed defenders of minorities, the British Left.

Yet, in this year of 1984, there is a 43-year old Pakistani woman who has been languishing in prison for the past three years after the shortest murder trial on record, lasting 15 minutes, and after the mutest plea of guilty.

"But can this really happen?" the genuine liberals cry disbelievingly. "It must have been a Tory lawyer and a racist judge," says the Left. The local press loses interest since there is no scandal to dig up.

## FAMILY QUARREL

It happened in October 1981, in Washwood Heath, Birmingham. There was a family, the husband 65 years old and his wife 45 years old, with four sons aged 7 to 11. As happens in many other families, a quarrel took place and in the heat of the moment the wife hit her husband. (It is very rare for any woman, but especially an Asian woman, to resort to physical violence, so there must have been some important cause for such provocation.) He was injured and taken to the local hospital where he died the next day.

Immediately the police and social workers got involved.

## STATE OF SHOCK

Iqbal, the Pakistani woman, was taken to the police station. But she was in such a state of shock that a psychiatrist had to be called in by the police. She could not speak English and yet apparently she signed a statement! The children too were seen by the police without an adult being present. The police took a statement from them and just for good



measure (how thorough they are!) they checked their passports apparently to confirm their dates of birth. The children naturally were scared with their father dead and mother in custody. They were initially taken to a residential school and then sent to live with their father's brother. It was a good arrangement for

social services - they were not taken into care and were looked after by the relatives thus saving the state an enormous amount of money. Two adults and nine children (five cousins and Iqbal's four sons) live in a three-bedroomed terraced house. But then, Asians "are used to living on top of one another", so who is bothered about overcrowding? The Housing Department has refused to re-house them because the family owns the house.

## 15-MINUTE HEARING

Iqbal was remanded at Risley. The lawyer assigned to her claims he took an interpreter to see her and explain things to her. She continued to plead guilty because she was blaming herself for the tragedy. The wheels of British Justice continued to turn and the case came up in Birmingham Crown Court. The hearing lasted 15 minutes. Iqbal barely uttered the word "guilty". The different legal implications of killing in different circumstances (e.g. murder, manslaughter, self-defence) were never made clear to her. Since she could not speak English anyway, it was assumed she must be stupid or mad. No Social Enquiry report was requested but only a medical assessment. She got an automatic sentence of life imprisonment.

## PRISON

Iqbal has been in Holloway, and in Sheffield; at present she is in Stryal, Cheshire. As she is one of two Asian women in an otherwise all-white prison, she is ashamed to wear her Punjabi clothes and is frightened to acknowledge that

the music she enjoys is different from Boy George or Elton John's. Although she is Muslim, she does not eat Halal meat, because according to the prison authorities, she is entitled to only 62p per week for meat and the cost of getting it supplied from Manchester would make it 'prohibitive'. If you are wondering whether all the prisoners eat only vegetables, you would be wrong. The meat raised on the prison (pigs) does not count towards 62p. But, of course, because of her religion, Iqbal cannot eat pork.

The main thing that concerns Iqbal in prison is not that she has no freedom, nor that she has to work in a sewing room along with other prisoners every day, nor that she did not see anyone from outside for 12 months, but that she has not seen her beloved children for the last 18 months.

## PROBATION SERVICE

As soon as Iqbal was convicted the probation service took over and her social worker closed her file. As often happens, the probation officer has changed twice in the last three years. None of them has been able to speak Urdu, nor has made any arrangements to take an interpreter. So how the hell could they have given Iqbal support? The current probation officer considers herself responsible for "the family", not Iqbal, but her children and other relatives, as you might imagine. But, in her consideration, the children and the uncle they live with, seem paramount and what is happening to Iqbal, not important.

## FREE IQBAL!

A group of individuals, mainly women who have been involved in women's organisations such as Birmingham Black Sisters and Women's Aid, have started a campaign. The aim of the campaign is to free Iqbal. A legal defence is being set up. Meanwhile the campaign is trying to get the uncle to go with the children to see their mother in prison and to publicise the case locally. In a recent public meeting, we had about 45-50 people attending, but very few from the local community in spite of door-to-door leafletting. More work needs to be done. The campaigners have a long task ahead of them to show up the racism in the state apparatus and sexism in the minority community that lets a woman serve life imprisonment without any protest, while there have been many cases where a husband has been found not guilty, or a white woman given a suspended sentence for similar cases of domestic violence and tragedy.

If you want to help, send letters of support, donations etc., contact: Free Iqbal Begum Campaign, c/o 101 Villa Road, Handsworth, Birmingham.

repression..



..and re

# Free Mila Aguilar!

There are serious fears for the safety of Mila Aguilar, a leading revolutionary writer in the Philippines. She was arrested by the military on August 6th. The Marcos regime hopes that by doing this, it can silence one of its most vocal critics.

As the opposition forces continue to grow stronger, the regime has become increasingly desperate, and in these circumstances, progressive Filipinos are concerned that prisoners like Mila Aguilar and Jose Maria Sison, who is accused of being the leader of the Communist Party, could be in great danger. They want the charges dropped and call for her immediate release. People in Britain can help by putting these demands to the Embassy of the Philippines and calling on MP's to do likewise.



## THE MASS LINE

by Mila Aguilar

Translated from the original Filipino by Felix Razon.

The old man who could not be convinced asked:  
Why is Andong always ready to help  
Build fences and care for the children and plant seedlings?

If you only know, old man, we whispered to the wind  
He's a Communist, he's a friend.

The old man who could not be convinced asked:  
Why did Andong struggle hard to unify the village people  
So that they could establish their own cooperatives?

If you only knew, old man, we whispered to the wind,  
He's a Communist, he's a friend.

The old man who then could not be convinced asked:  
Why did Andong dare to protest and demand that land rent  
Be lowered, fighting our beastly master, Don Ferdinand  
the exploiter?

If you only knew, old man, we whispered to the wind,  
He's a Communist, he's a friend.

The old man who then was convinced asked:  
Why did Andong patiently explain, with gentle and comradely spirit  
All these to me whom they call "hard-headed fool"?

If they only knew, said the old man with gratitude overflowing,  
He's a Communist, he's a friend.

The old man who had been thoroughly convinced asked:  
Why did Andong sacrifice his life for us poor unknown folks  
Without any hesitation, after so much forbearance and suffering  
on his part?

If they only knew, said the old man with iron conviction,  
He's a Communist. He's a friend.

# Olympic Progress for Third



Third World athletes had their most successful Olympics ever this summer. They won 92 medals in Los Angeles - 28 gold, 31 silver and 33 bronze. 32 of the total were won by the Chinese team, who took 15 gold, 8 silver and 9 bronze. Morocco and Mexico took two gold each, and Brazil, Kenya and Pakistan took one apiece.

Third World participation was also greater than in previous Olympics. 110 of the 140 countries and regions involved belonged to the Third World, and athletes from that area made up a third of the total. Their efforts were followed back home by T.V. audiences of millions.

The growing participation of Third World athletes in the Olympics is a reflection of their determination to make a big impact in international sport - the kind of impact that many feel their countries - which together contain the great majority of the world's people - should make. It is also part of the movement of the Third World countries to assert themselves in a world still dominated by imperialism.

Third World participation in the Olympic movement was negligible before the Second World War, because most of the countries concerned were under imperialist rule, and could not develop their people's talents, or even secure representation in their own right at the Olympics. But since the great majority won formal

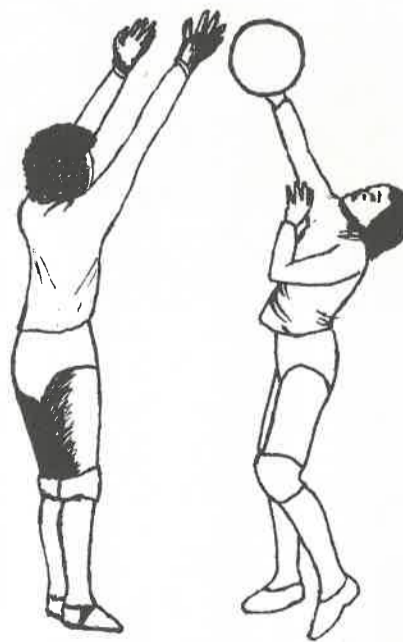
independence and worked to gain greater freedom from imperialist control, they have made serious efforts to develop sporting talent. The problems have been enormous, however, with large parts of the population of many Third World countries being poorly nourished and in no physical condition to compete

athletes are able to meet, learn from each other and increase their competitive skills.

Despite the advances made, there is still a long way to go. Only when the imperialist system is destroyed and the countries oppressed by it have wiped out the consequences of their oppression and achieved economic, social and political advance will the Third World be able to bring into play its full athletic potential.

## CHINESE SUCCESSES

This is underlined by the successes scored by the Chinese team. In the 1932 Los Angeles Olympics, the Chinese team consisted of one man, who was eliminated at an early stage of his events. The 32 medals won this time show how far China has come in sports since over-



athletically, even in the relatively few places where facilities for training exist. Morocco's men's 5,000 metres winner, Said Aouita, for example, was spotted by his future coach while at school and provided with training and facilities to help him perfect his running ability, but otherwise he might never have made it beyond local competition.

Besides developing national sports facilities, Third World countries have also organised regional contests, such as the Asian Games, where their



Li Ning of China, first athlete to score at the Olympic Games.

# Stop The Deportations!

## JOSIE THOMAS

## FIVE LONG YEARS

In July, Josie Thomas of Huddersfield, heard that she had won her five-year campaign to win her right to stay in this country. Throughout her long and bitter struggle, Josie maintained a deep faith that her cause was just and that she should carry on till victory. As her campaign grew, she won support from around the country. In Josie's words: "They're all God's children, all these people supporting me."

## RACISM

Josie's story has exposed again the cruel racism and inhumanity of Britain's immigration laws. From 1962 till 1976 she gave the best years of her life in the dirtiest and worst-paid jobs in the mills and offices of Huddersfield. She paid a heavy price in her health and strength. Yet, in 1979 when she returned from a visit to Grenada, she was refused permission to return permanently and only given a visitor's visa.

## DIVIDED FAMILIES

Josie fought to stay at every step. Her main motive has been to keep her family together. She has three sons born in U.K., one currently working and two at school in Huddersfield. Her youngest child, Georgette, was also born here. Josie was determined that her family should remain together.

Yet for five years, Josie has not been able to rest in the knowledge that she would not be separated from her family. In case anyone should think that "All's well, that ends well", let them remember those five long years of uncertainty and tension when it often seemed that it was only Josie's courage and deep faith that kept her going.

Josie won because, in the first place, she had the courage to take a stand and fight. As she fought on, she won support in Huddersfield and around the country. There is little doubt that Josie won because of her public campaign. Without this campaign, the Home Office would have been only too happy to see one more black person leave.

## MIEBAKA BROWN

Miebaka Brown is a Nigerian citizen who lives in Hulme, Manchester and who is in the middle of an HND Business Studies course at Bolton Institute of Higher Education.

## REFUSED PERMISSION TO CONTINUE HER STUDIES

Miebaka came to this country in 1979 to join her husband who was a student here. She started her own course in September 1983 and has a local authority grant to continue next year. However her husband has already been forced to return to Nigeria and now the Home Office has refused Miebaka permission to stay for another year to complete her studies.

## CAMPAIGN

Miebaka and her campaign, which is being run by Manchester Area National Union of Students,



(1981) Anwar Ditta reunited with her children after six years of struggle with the Home Office. It is still true today, that mass support is the most important factor in winning the right to stay.

are demanding that she is allowed one more year here. After this, she plans to rejoin her husband in Nigeria. But the Home Office are insisting that she follows "procedure", which for Miebaka means returning to Nigeria and appealing the Home Office decision from there. By the time that appeal is heard, Miebaka will have lost her place at any rate.

For more information, contact the campaign:

c/o Manchester Area NUS,  
178 Waterloo Place,  
Oxford Road,  
Manchester 13,  
Tel: 061-273-5947

## ESTHER ANKELI

Esther Ankeli is another Nigerian woman living in Manchester with her two children. Esther has separated from her husband and wishes to stay here with her two children. She lost her appeal against a refusal at an immigration tribunal in July. However she heard recently that she has been granted leave to appeal this decision. Esther has not been given a date yet,

but she will continue to campaign for public support for her right to stay.

Contact:  
Esther Ankeli Committee Against Deportation,  
Abasindi Co-operative,  
Moss Side People's Centre,  
St Mary's Street,  
Moss Side,  
Manchester M15 5NA.

## VIRAJ MENDIS

Viraj Mendis is a well-known anti-racist and Irish solidarity activist in Manchester. He has lived here for eleven years, is married and settled here. In May, his passport was confiscated by the police and he was told he would hear from the Home Office. We are now seriously concerned that he will be deported.

Viraj came here at the age of seventeen from Sri Lanka to study electronics. After two years of his course, shortage of money forced him to leave his course and find a job. Even though he tried to study whilst working, he was unable to finish his degree.

Over the past few years, Viraj, as a 'Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!' supporter, has been a very active supporter of anti-deportation campaigns, anti-apartheid events and Irish solidarity pickets and demonstrations in Manchester. On 23rd May the police's aim of suppressing opposition to British racism and imperialism led them to Viraj's flat to demand his passport.

## DANGER OF RETURN

If Viraj is forced to return to Sri Lanka he will be in serious danger of arrest, torture and possible death at the hands of the Sri Lankan right-wing regime, which is backed by Britain and the U.S.A. Last year the Sri Lankan army and police slaughtered thousands of Tamils, and in the past few days they have again gone on the rampage in Tamil towns and villages, with as-yet unknown casualties. As a firm supporter of Tamil rights, even though he himself is Sinhalese, Viraj would be in serious danger if he is deported.

## DEFENCE CAMPAIGN

An open and democratic defence campaign has been set up to fight the threatened deportation. Several street meetings, a public meeting and social have already been organised. Over 2,000 people have already signed our petition, including many MP's and national political figures. We are now concentrating on building a solid base in Viraj's home area of Hulme and building links with other defence campaigns.

Contact:  
Viraj Mendis Defence Campaign,  
c/o Box 38, 434 Corn Exchange Buildings,  
Hanging Ditch,  
Manchester M3 4BN.



# World

throwing imperialism and feudalism and becoming a socialist country thirty years ago.

China was pleased with its athletes' successes in their biggest international games ever. In diving, shooting and gymnastics, Chinese competitors did well, and the women's volleyball team rallied after an early defeat by a strong US team to win when they met them again in the final.

The Chinese team came determined to compete well, but their slogan was "Unity, Friendship and Peace" and its athletes never forgot that. Their attitude made a big impact on spectators and competitors alike. Associated Press reported: "China's athletes say they came here as determined to win friends as well as medals - and they seem to have succeeded in both goals."



re 10's in men's gymnastics at the

## Zimbabwe

# Socialism the Goal



ZANU fighters during the war of liberation.

"Only through armed struggle as the principal means, with other methods being merely supplementary to it, have the Zimbabwean people been able to achieve political power," said Robert Mugabe, President of the Zimbabwe African National Union at ZANU's Second Conference in August.

"We have forged ahead to promote state and co-operative enterprises, to inject state participation in strategic sectors of the economy and to improve the lot of workers and transform the social status of the peasants. In short, we have gone a long way in laying the foundations for our socialist transformation."

The conference went on to adopt various resolutions on ZANU's tasks and also adopted a new party constitution which includes a clear statement of ZANU's aims. It calls for the establishment of a one-party state in Zimbabwe under ZANU's leadership, the restructuring

and rebuilding of the economy to ensure the victory of socialism, and the establishment of a socialist state based on Marxist-Leninist principles applied in the light of Zimbabwe's historical, cultural and social experience.

At the end of the conference, a 90 member Central Committee and a Political Bureau were elected, with Robert Mugabe as President and First Secretary of the Party, and Simon Muzenda as Vice-President and Second Secretary.

ZANU stressed its continuing support for the liberation struggles in Azania (South Africa) and Namibia, and its solidarity with other front line states threatened by South African aggression and subversion. Representatives of those states were present at the conference, as were other delegations, including one from the Communist Party of China, which has long had close relations of solidarity with ZANU.

# International Notes

□ On 9th August, the World Conference on Prohibition of Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs held a meeting in Nagasaki, marking the 39th anniversary of the US dropping of the world's second nuclear bomb over this Japanese city. The first fell on Hiroshima on August 6th. 150,000 people were killed and at least 95,000 injured in the attacks. 4,000 Japanese and people of other nationalities attended the meeting at which speakers condemned the superpowers for intensifying military confrontation, and the nuclear arms race, threatening world peace. On the same day a prayer rally for the victims of the bombs was held in the Peace Park. 20,000 people attended and adopted a resolution urging the superpowers to resume nuclear talks and asking the Japanese government to ban foreign ships carrying nuclear weapons from Japanese waters.

□ In spite of efforts by the Soviet Union, Vietnam and India to keep out Democratic Kampuchea, Vice-President Khieu Samphan spoke at the International Conference on Population, held in Mexico. He pointed out that foreign invasion and occupation were the root cause of the serious problem of migration movements facing his country. Since the Vietnamese invasion in 1979, thousands have fled from the enemy army, either into the liberated areas or to Thailand. But, in addition, since 1980, the Vietnamese have expelled thousands of peasants from their lands and sent more than 600,000 Vietnamese settlers. But he said: "These settlers are not ordinary immigrants... They have received training and have been organised into para-military units." Khieu condemned the foreign invaders for massacring Kampuchean people with conventional, chemical and biological weapons and by deliberately causing famine. During the Vietnamese occupation, the population has fallen from 8 - 6 million. A true population policy can only be implemented when all foreign troops are withdrawn and the Kampuchean people win back their independence.

□ In August, the Foreign Ministers of China and Argentina met in Buenos Aires and agreed on the need to promote South-South co-operation in an effort to establish a new international economic order. Wu Xueqian, Chinese Foreign Minister, expressed support for Latin American countries stand on foreign debt, pointing out that the basic way to solve this problem is to change the irrational international financial and trade system and set up a new international economic order. He expressed support for Argentina's position on solving territorial disputes with neighbouring countries through peaceful negotiations. Wu reiterated the Chinese government's consistent support for Argentina's claim for its sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands.

□ After months of meetings and lengthy discussions, the major Palestinian organisations-al-Fatah, PFLP, DFLP and others-have resolved a number of differences and reached agreement on measures to strengthen PLO democracy and reinforce Palestinian national unity. This means that the way is now open to an early convening of the Palestinian "parliament," the Palestine National Council.

# ROOTS OF RACISM

The 19th and 20th centuries saw a process by which Europe emerged to dominate the whole world. The white peoples of Europe became rulers of the majority of the world's population who were non-white. This is now being turned on its head with the peoples of the Third World being the main force fighting against imperialism and hegemonism.

How is it that the European countries which were so backward, managed to achieve such dominance, develop a system so widespread, destroying whole cultures and civilisations in

Asia, Africa and Latin America in the process? This is the question we must begin to answer if we are to understand the processes of destruction and degradation which affected three quarters of the world, and the other side of this, the material and ideological impact on all classes in the imperialist societies.

This series, of which this article is the first, is looking specifically at aspects of the history of British imperialism in order to increase our understanding of these issues.

## Part 1: Plunder, Settlement and Slavery

In the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries, Europe was very backward, although its population was growing and agricultural production was increasing. Trade was developing. The English were expanding into Wales and Scotland. English landlords were beginning to use land for sheep farming by the 13th century. This steady expansion was halted however due to a crisis in the 14th and the first half of the 15th century. There were many reasons, relating to land, climate and increasing numbers of non-productive aristocracy to support, and the effect was to place a greater burden on the peasantry. From the mid-14th century onwards, there were fierce and bitter peasant revolts in England, France and Germany. Also, plague swept across Europe, creating even more famine and scarcity. Europe was in chaos - the old social structure was breaking up. It is from this chaos that the attempts came to seize, control and make use of the resources of the world.

### SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

Spain and Portugal were the first colonising powers. Overland trade routes already existed, but the search for sea routes led these powers down the coast of Africa, to the Caribbean, to South and Central America. Gold and silver became the medium of international trade and became the motive for colonisation and plunder. Spain looted and plundered the Aztec society in Mexico and the Inca civilisation in Peru. These were well-organised empires, but they fell in the face of European firearms, and diseases brought by the European invaders. Eventually there came a limit to direct plunder and the Spanish and the Portuguese settled - first carrying out mining and then farming. They tried to enslave the native American peoples, but their resistance was so fierce and the conditions so harsh, that they died in their thousands.

"Aztecs, Incas and Mayas totalled between 70 and 90 million when the foreign conquerors appeared on the horizon; a century and a half later they had been reduced to 3.5 million."

(Quoted in *Roots of Racism*, p.10.)

### GENOCIDE

Wholesale genocide of original peoples was a common feature of colonisation in Latin America, North America, the Caribbean, Australia and New Zealand. The horror of a process whereby a whole people was wiped out, as if they were less than animals, seems to have disappeared from public

consciousness (if it were ever there). Partly, this is due to the early development of racist ideology in order to justify such monstrous barbarism as genocide and slavery, and partly because the genocide was so effective, few were left to raise the voice of protest. The whole framework of society was destroyed, leaving the few survivors dislocated and without any structure or organisation through which to mount effective political action. This is not to say that there were no protests. Everywhere the colonisers went, the native peoples resisted. This is as true of North America, as it is of Australia and the Caribbean. Guerilla wars were conducted for hundreds of years before the native peoples succumbed to disease and technically advanced weaponry. The ideas that these people were backward, unfitted for modern society, and would have died out anyway, are all part of the racism surrounding the process, developed later on a supposedly 'scientific' basis. For example, Thomas Carlyle wrote in 1867:

"One always rather likes the Nigger, evidently a poor block-head with good dispositions, with affections, attachments - with a turn for Nigger Melodies, and the like; - he is the only Savage of all the coloured races that doesn't die out on sight of the White Man; but can actually live beside him, and work and increase and be merry. The Almighty Maker has appointed him to be a Servant." (Quoted in *Staying Power*, p.172)

In the Caribbean, those original people remaining have largely become absorbed into the population - a population formed from that other form of barbarism - slavery. In Australia, New Zealand and North America, white society has ensured that the native peoples have not become absorbed. Over the past decades, these native peoples have been re-asserting their identity, campaigning for their rights and demanding compensation.

### SLAVERY

The other European powers were soon competing with Spain and Portugal for colonies and for control of trade. Spain went into decline with the defeat of its Armada by the English in 1588. Britain was already involved in trade, and along with the Dutch and French, colonised the West Indies at the beginning of the 17th century. Attempts to enslave the native populations did not work, and if they did not fall prey to European imported diseases, it was considered legitimate to wipe them out. Early labour was provided by convicts or indentured labour. Many political or religious

non-conformists were transported to the colonies. However, with the need for more labour in England, and the development of the plantation economy in the West Indies, African slaves became the main source of labour.

The first slave trading expedition from England was in 1562, but the trade did not get off the ground until the mid-1600's. In 1672, the Royal African Company was established to control the slave trade. However, it lost its monopoly in 1698 when:

"The right of a free trade in slaves was recognised as a fundamental and natural right of Englishmen."

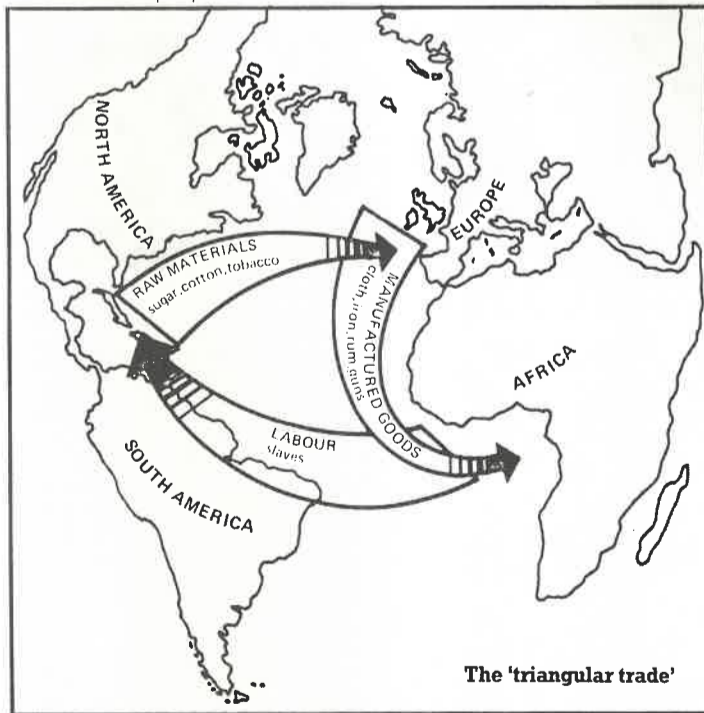
In 1750, the Company of Merchants Trading to Africa was established. It is estimated that the total import of slaves into all the British colonies between 1680-1786 was over two million (Capitalism and Slavery). And that ten to twenty million African people were transported during the period of the slave trade, although even these figures may be an under-estimate.

The inhumanity and cruelty of the slave trade has been documented with as many as one third of those transported dying before the ships reached their destination. But the devastating effect on Africa cannot be measured simply in terms of numbers. For years many of the young and most productive members of society were stolen away. Whole societies and civilisations were destroyed. One contemporary account described Songhay, one of the ancient empires of Western Africa, whose capital was Timbuctu:

"There you find many judges professors and devout men all handsomely maintained by the king who holds scholars in much honour. There too, they sell many handwritten North African books and more profit is made there from the sale of books than from any other branch of trade."

(Quoted in *Roots of Racism*, p.22)

The long term effects have been incalculable: the plundering of Africa's people and resources during the period of the slave 'trade' began the process by which Africa today became a continent rich in minerals and natural wealth but one of the poorest in terms of the living standards of its peoples.



### TRIANGULAR TRADE

Ships sailed from England with manufactured goods which they then exchanged on the West coast of Africa for slaves. The slaves were taken across the Atlantic (the infamous middle passage) and sold in the West Indies, North and South America. The same ships were then loaded with the products of the plantations, food, luxuries and raw materials which were brought back and sold in England.

The slave trade was not simply a means to an end - a way of supplying labour to the British colonies. It was also an end in itself. The British controlled the slave trade and supplied slaves to the plantations of their rivals. The immense profits from this trade and the subsequent profits from the colonies themselves had important implications for the English economy. The industrial revolution in England was fuelled by the profits of slavery and colonialism.

### INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION BUILT ON PROFITS OF SLAVERY

Among the industries which grew up directly as a result of slavery and colonialism were shipping and ship-building, growth of ports, wool and cotton, sugar-refining, rum-distilling, metallurgy - chains, padlocks, hoops for barrels etc. As Manchester developed on the textile industry, Birmingham grew on the metal trade. In the 18th century, guns from Birmingham were exchanged for men. It was a common saying at that time that the price of a Negro was one Birmingham gun. A Birmingham historian quoted in 'Capitalism and Slavery', described the relationship of Birmingham to the colonial system:

"Axes for India, and tomahawks for the natives of North America; and to Cuba and the Brazils chains, handcuffs and iron collars for the poor slaves ..."

The production of James Watt's steam engine was financed directly by the West Indian trade. "Banking and insurance firms which are household names today - Barclays, Lloyds, Williams, Deacons - grew directly out of the activities and profits of the West Indian merchants, the slave holders and the slave traders. For, as trade and industry became more complex, banks and finance houses became increasingly important in ensuring that the system functioned smoothly."

(*Roots of Racism*, p.19.)

### SLAVE REVOLTS

The black slaves were far from docile or passive as pro-imperialist propaganda would have us believe. There were numerous revolts and uprisings throughout the history of slavery. These were rarely reported as they would dent the ideological justification

the genocide of the original peoples of the colonised lands. The ideology of racism became further developed and refined with the development of the slave trade. One indication of the racism involved is the fact that Europeans were taken as indentured servants whereas Africans were enslaved. The scale and extent of the slavery was greater than anything experienced before. Slavery did exist in previous periods but there were important differences. We are not under-estimating the brutality of any form of slavery but in ancient slavery, slaves were still regarded as people and had a place in society, all be it at the very bottom. There were laws and customs regulating slavery. Those enslaved were varied - often those conquered in war - sometimes members of the same group. It was never something applied exclusively to one race, nation or group of people. Africans enslaved under modern slavery ceased to be regarded as people, but merely as "things" with no legal rights. Hence the term "chattel slavery". The ideological justification for this was based on physical differences and alleged barbarism and lack of civilisation. It was difficult to ignore the fact that black slaves were human beings, so the belief further developed that they



Leonard Parkinson, one of the fighting maroons of Jamaica in the 18th century

were not fully human. This fitted with the Christian belief that a person could only be fully human if he or she was a believer in the "one true church". This theory of the racial superiority of white people has become a means to justify all the ways in which non-white peoples are exploited by colonial powers.

Racism is not, and never has been just a set of abstract ideas, but has an economic function. That function was most obvious with the profits extracted from slavery and colonialism. In Britain today, black people in general occupy the lowest sectors of society in terms of employment, housing etc. However, the ideology of racism has become so well developed and entrenched, it does not always express a direct economic relationship. But if we look at the power relationships in the world today, they are still largely those of white supremacy against the non-white Third World nations who are oppressed by imperialism.

### REFERENCES

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*Staying Power - The History of Black People in Britain*, by Peter Fryer, published by Pluto Press.

*Capitalism and Slavery* by Eric Williams.

All available from New Era Books 203 Seven Sisters Road, London N.4.

# "Stop the Strip Searches Now"

## Interview With Linda Quigley - Recently Released From Armagh Prison

Linda Quigley was recently released from Armagh prison after serving a three and a half year sentence. She spoke to 'Class Struggle' about conditions in Armagh and particularly about the strip searching of Republican women that goes on there.

Linda: At present, there's 30 Republican women prisoners in Armagh gaol, but six of those are remand prisoners.

The conditions generally in Armagh are very, very bad. It's an old prison, built, I think, in Victorian times, so facilities are bad. But on top of the bad facilities, conditions are made very bad for the women Republican prisoners. It's an attempt to try to break the morale of the women. Of course, this is fought every way possible, and the morale is actually still good. Women are thrown into punishment for very minor petty things. They can receive three days' solitary, followed by seven days' loss of all privileges, which is 23-hour lock-up in a strip cell - you just have bedding at night.

The strip searching in Armagh is the main issue at the minute. Strip searching means that women are taken and stripped naked. It doesn't matter about the state of their health. They're escorted by prison staff and armed members of the RUC and then they're back in the gaol after a court appearance, sometimes inside twenty minutes. They can receive two strip searches in the space of twenty minutes, which is a very traumatic experience for any woman. It's made worse by the fact that this happens for months on end.

The remand system in the six counties is not at all similar to the remand system here.

One girl in particular, Catherine Moore, has been two years on remand. She could actually be two and a half or almost three years on remand by the time there's any sort of verdict given in her case, so you're talking about girls on remand for years. If you were on remand for a year, it would be a short remand, so this is actually affecting people for very long times.

### Even Babies Are Stripped

There's a tiny baby in Armagh at the minute - the baby's four weeks old. This baby is being subjected to six body searches daily. The child's only allowed three nappies daily. They've refused to allow baby rice to supplement the child's diet. The prison governor's decided that it's not necessary. The child's mother is being pressurised, she's being victimised and they're actually trying to use the baby as a weapon against her. They're doing such petty things to the child in order to get at the mother.

When the mother and child were brought on to the wing from the hospital wing, the child was five days old. They were put into an insect-infested cell, which they did eventually fumigate, but the fact was that they were actually put into that in the first place. The child had severe colic, so the mother, Jacqueline, is losing a lot of sleep. Jacqueline's own mother, Anna, is held on a different wing. She asked that she be allowed down, to spend even one night a week with Jacqueline, to try and give Jacqueline a night's sleep. This has been refused. The grandmother only gets to see the child for half an hour a day. In order for her to see her grandchild, she must be

searched before she leaves the wing to go down to see her granddaughter and she must be searched whenever she returns.

'Class Struggle': So there's a search when women move from one part of the prison to another?

Linda: Yes. If we wanted to go to the exercise yard, to a class, to chapel, to confession - to anything that was going on in the prison, we would have to be searched just before and after we attended whatever it is we wanted to attend.



'SECURITY' NOT THE REASON

To get back to the strip searching - it's very important to point out that the Northern Ireland Office and the British government have stated that strip searching in Armagh gaol is carried out for reasons of security. This is not the case. As I've said, we go to court while under the watchful eyes of the screws, we've an armed RUC escort, we have absolutely no contact with the general public - and we're strip searched. On the occasions when we do have contact with the general public, i.e. on visits, we are not strip searched.

The reason why we're not strip searched on visits is that if they introduced a policy of strip searching for visits, the visits would be refused, and they're well aware that the visits would be refused, so they wouldn't have the opportunity to attempt to degrade and humiliate. So they use the court appearances as the excuse.

They have recently introduced a policy of random strip searching, which, I think I have to stress, is not occasional. An awful lot of people seem to think that when this was brought out, that because it said "random", it had actually been de-escalated, but the instances of strip searching are still as high as ever though the policy is called random strip searching.

### ATTEMPTS TO DESTROY THE SPIRIT

During the strips themselves, there's absolutely no privacy - none whatsoever. You can have as many as five or six screws just walking about the reception area where you're being stripped. Comments are made about you. They will whisper to each other to give the impression that they're talking about you to try and make you feel more uncomfortable.

There's no medical supervision at all during the searches. The medical staff in Armagh

gaol have refused to become involved in the strip searching. They maintain that the governor has told them that it's done for reasons of security and that it's quite normal for women to go down and to strip naked whenever they're asked.

We have asked for an independent psychiatric monitoring of the effect of strip searching, particularly of young girls. I was there, I know the effect it had on me. Now there's no shame attached to strip searching; we feel that any shame is absolutely on the screws who are doing this to us. We're not ashamed. But we're extremely traumatised and very angry about what's happened to us. The screws, they're the ones who are actual-



ly carrying out this perverted act on us, and we're the victims.

### Sexual Violence

I mentioned last night the case of Catherine Moore. Catherine was blindfolded. She had fifteen screws stripping her naked when she was blindfolded. They left her lying on the floor. They threw her legs up over her shoulders - a screw sat between her legs while she was naked. It was totally obscene what happened. Catherine received sixty days punishment for that. She was taken blindfolded, beaten, stripped naked and she was charged with assault.

That happened on two or three occasions. One girl was down one time and she was ordered to remove her sanitary towel and her pants and she point blank refused. She said "No", and they were taken off her forcibly. She was so traumatised by the experience that her period actually stopped mid-course, and when she went to the doctor, the doctor said it was quite normal. She had regular periods, she had no bother with them, and she stopped mid-course; she has put it down to the shock of what had actually happened to her. The prison doctor, Dr. Cole, stated it was nothing to be worried about, that it's quite normal for this to happen to girls. They took her down two days later and they strip searched her again and exactly the same thing happened to her.

Jacqueline Moore is still bleeding from the birth of the baby. They took her down and removed her sanitary protection, they removed the breast pads that she wears in her bra for all her milk. When she put her hands to her breasts to try to stop the flow of the milk, she was ordered to put her hands down by her side. She was left in a very uncomfortable and embarrassing position.

We've asked for alternative measures to be brought in; we've asked that they revert

to the old method, which seemed to be quite satisfactory, or introduce metal detectors, which are, I stress, freely available in the prison at the minute, or X-ray machines such as they use at airports, but they've refused, on the grounds that the likes of X-ray machines could damage your health. We have pointed out that what they're doing at the moment is scarring our minds. You have to remember that women have been going through this for upwards of a year and we know why they're doing it - just to degrade and humiliate and break our morale, and to put a lot of bad feeling among the women.

I travelled to court with three women who were involved in a very large trial, and they were strip searched twice a day, five days a week, for months on end. They were surrounded in court by armed RUC, and the security on them was unbelievable but they were still subjected to strip searches.

### 'RANDOM SEARCHES' MEANS 'FREQUENT SEARCHES'

The constant thing we're threatened with when we campaign against strip searching is that everyone else will get it, if we publicise strip searching - which we do, and will continue to do. The Northern Ireland Office and the British government themselves detest publicity and they're wised up to try to justify and even answer questions about what's been happening, and they have to resort to lies and to various titles such as random strip searching, which suggests that it doesn't happen very often. But when we do campaigning and we publicise what's actually happening in Armagh gaol, they threaten us with more strip searching. They even went and told me I was very lucky that I was only being stripped twice a day going to court, that I could be stripped every time I wanted to move from the wing, that I could be stripped every time they wanted to search my cell. This was just to try and get me to keep quiet. But not just me, but everyone is complaining about it - to get us to keep quiet.

This is the first part of an interview with Linda Quigley. Rather than make cuts in the interview, we will publish it in two parts, with the second part being published in the next issue of 'Class Struggle'.

## SOLIDARITY (Cont. from back page)



London, Southampton and elsewhere, as well as Yorkshire.

### 15 YEARS TOO LONG

A demonstration against the 15-year presence of British troops in the north of Ireland was held on August 18th in London. It was organised jointly by the Troops Out Movement with Irish groups, the Armagh Group, Labour Committee on Ireland and Youth Liberals, and called for British with-



Linda Quigley outside a Sinn Fein advice centre. Photo AP/RN

### Board Of Visitors Backs Violence

There's actually a story about a group who came into the prison called the Board of Visitors. They're supposed to be a group of independent people, that monitor what's actually going on in the prison and make sure everything's going smoothly. They're totally unsympathetic to the feelings of the women in Armagh gaol. Despite that, we constantly bombard them with questions about the strip searching, about what they're going to do about the strip searching. They have made it quite clear they actually understand at this time that there is no reason for the strip searching other than the reasons I have given.

### "LIE BACK AND ENJOY IT"

One male member of the Board of Visitors - the chairman - we told him that we wanted the effect of the strip searching to be monitored and could they arrange for an independent psychiatrist to do this. He said "No". We explained that the effect on our minds must be similar to what a rape victim will go through - I'm not trying to compare strip searching to rape - they're very, very different - but the fact that a rape would maybe happen once, and this has happened to us over a long period of time - there must be some sort of connection there.

His answer to us was: "There's an old Chinese proverb: 'If a rape is inevitable, you might as well lie back and enjoy it.'" That was the chairman of the Board of Visitors; that was his response to our request that this situation be monitored.

This is the first part of an interview with Linda Quigley. Rather than make cuts in the interview, we will publish it in two parts, with the second part being published in the next issue of 'Class Struggle'.

drawal from the north of Ireland. 4,000 people joined the largest solidarity march for some years. A letter and wreath were handed in at No.10 Downing Street. The letter put full responsibility for the killing of Sean Downes in Belfast on August 12th onto the British government. Malcolm Pitt, President of the Kent miners, joined the Downing Street protest and spoke at the rally after the march.

# FREEDOM FOR IRELAND



## People against Drug Pushers

The full force of the heroin epidemic has hit Dublin this summer. Despite trying to play down the seriousness of the problem, officials have admitted deaths from drugs have reached one every two days. The only people who have achieved some success against the drugs menace are the Concerned Parents Against Drugs (CPAD) committees.

### COMMUNITY-BASED COMMITTEES

From small beginnings two years ago, when Hardwick Street community set up an anti-drugs campaign, has grown a city-wide network of local, community-based committees who have provided vivid examples of the power of working class people when united against a common threat.

Heroin use is concentrated in working class areas where youth unemployment is sky-high and there are few social facilities. For young people in a bleak present with no future, heroin provides a short-term but effective way of escaping reality. But, heroin is addictive within days or weeks of regular use and the average heroin cycle lasts only two years before death.

### TARGETTING THE PUSHERS

The Hardwick Street group pioneered a common approach of the local committees - to target the heroin pushers rather than

the drug addicts. They approached the known pushers and told them they either had to stop dealing or get out. When some carried on pushing, they organised everybody in the area of all ages, to march to the pushers' flats, stood outside their doors and chanted their names. These tactics proved extremely effective, and have been developed by other committees until some dealers' flats are under constant patrol. Hardwick Street is now almost drug-free, but the heroin epidemic is spreading throughout Ireland and this summer has seen new Concerned Parents committees in Dun Laoghaire and Bray.

### DRUG TREATMENT CENTRES

As well as taking action against heroin pushers, the Concerned Parents committees have campaigned for the setting-up of local adequate drug-treatment centres to help the addicts remaining once the pushers have left. At the end of last year, a Dublin drug-treatment centre was attempting to help 6,000 addicts with a 9-bed ward and a day centre in a pre-fab in a hospital car park.

### ESTABLISHMENT ALARMED

The anti-drugs committees have come under increasing attack from establishment politicians and the Gardai (26 county police). The politicians have claimed to be alarmed by the



heroin problem but have done little - the Health Minister Barry Desmond recently withdrew his earlier promise of a drug-treatment centre in Dun Laoghaire which he made to try to defuse the anti-drugs protests - but are concerned more about working class people taking action themselves and the involvement and influence of Sinn Fein members in the committees.

The Gardai have done little to stop the pushers and confiscated heroin has found its way back onto the streets. Instead they harrass the anti-drugs

activists. One campaigner was arrested and held for 48 hours under the Offences Against the State Act. The Gardai encouraged people to start prosecutions for intimidation against prominent members of the committees.

### MEDIA

The media have concentrated not on the causes of the heroin epidemic nor the valiant efforts of working class communities

to deal with it, but on sensationalising the story and the false allegations of IRA involvement in the committees. One committee's spokesperson was even cut off in mid-broadcast when the interviewer found out he was a Sinn Fein member. (Sinn Fein members are banned from public broadcasts in the 26 counties under the notorious Section 31.)

As An Phoblacht/Republican News put it recently: "The reason why there is no official emergency and no help for those affected is quite simple and quite obscene. The establishment political parties reckon the problem is almost totally in working class areas. Those affected are not required for work, therefore there is no economic loss. Drugs do not arouse but subdue, therefore there is less likelihood of social unrest. They reckon those affected most do not bother to vote either, so there is no political capital to be made. Those are the simple and obscene reasons why they have taken no action."

With the alarming spread of heroin-use by working class youth in Britain, we have many lessons to learn and a good deal of encouragement from the Concerned Parents committees in Dublin.



Photo AP/RN

## MURDER

Cont. from front page

leg was run over by a jeep, and scores of men, women and children were batoned, and injured people lying on the road were ignored by the security forces as they ploughed their way through ....

"Police in riot gear were bludgeoning people with truncheons. They hit photographers trying to take pictures of the violence and one radio reporter almost came to blows with a policeman who tried to confiscate his tape-recorder.

"Our photographer, Brendan Murphy, who was sitting on a wall near the platform, was threatened by an RUC man, who told him not to take any photographs of plastic bullets being fired at the crowds. He was grabbed by the throat while another policeman attempted to take away his camera and told him to 'Fuck off!'.

"A press photographer was unable to prevent police from removing the film in his camera and confiscating it.

"It was 10 minutes before I could get across the road and plastic bullets were still being showered on the panic-stricken crowd."

The Irish News.

The descriptions of the treatment of the press perhaps give a clue to their unusually candid reporting of police and army brutality. But even in this, their reports are limited. It is clear from accounts of people on the delegation that the attack was much more widespread. Whilst there was an attempt to smash through the crowd to arrest Martin Galvin, there was also a general assault made on the demonstrators. Some have des-

cribed how they were beaten with truncheons when lying on the ground and told to get up. When they got up they were then fired on with plastic bullets. Others were herded into corners and then attacked.

The objective was to intimidate the marchers. There was a cold-blooded intention to scare the Irish Nationalist community and their supporters into submission. As on previous occasions, it failed. On the following day many thousands more joined a march in commemoration of Sean Downes, and thousands lined the route. The nationalist people showed that they would not be cowed. That they are prepared to face the armed might of the RUC and Army with their bodies. They have the conviction of the justness of their struggle for liberation, and they have shown yet again that the naked force of British imperialism will never be enough to subdue the risen people.

## NICKY KELLY

After serving four years and two weeks in prison, Nicky Kelly was finally released on 17 July. Nicky, along with three other members of the Irish Republican Socialist Party was framed on a charge of train robbery in the south of Ireland.

They were viciously beaten by Gardai (police). The only evidence against three of the four men were statements they had signed during "interrogation".

Medical reports by two doctors detailed extensive bruising, swelling and other injuries to all the accused. There were no witnesses and no forensic evidence. When the four were tried, in a Special Criminal Court with no jury, the detectives had mysteriously lost their notes of the interrogations. Three of them, including Nicky Kelly, were convicted.

Having no faith in the judiciary, Nicky Kelly left the country while on bail awaiting sentencing. In his absence he was sentenced to twelve years. The other defendants appealed successfully in May 1980 and were acquitted. Nicky Kelly returned to clear his name. He was immediately arrested and sent to Portlaoise Prison. After many delays he was allowed his



appeal which was astonishingly turned down on a technicality. Yet it was widely acknowledged that he was innocent.

There followed wide protests outside the prison and Nicky Kelly himself went on hunger strike for 38 days. The reluctance of the state to release him was explained by Michael Noonan, Irish Minister of Justice: "If the state is to accept that Kelly has been wrongfully imprisoned ... that is tantamount to saying that the entire court system, right up to the Supreme Court, has been guilty of incompetence, or worse." Quite so!

Finally after years of campaigning and public exposure, the Minister of Justice suddenly announced his release "on humanitarian grounds". Nicky Kelly, obviously pleased to be free, is still not satisfied: "My demand will be for an independent public enquiry, not by the judiciary which has done nothing for me."

## SOLIDARITY

SUPPORT IRISH POW's

Around 800 people demonstrated in Sheffield on August 5th in support of the five demands of the Sinn Fein (Britain) initiated campaign in solidarity with Irish prisoners of war in British gaols.

The demonstration was headed by a Republican flute band from Glasgow, whose music was accompanied throughout the march by slogans shouted in support of the campaign. Those on the march came from Bristol, Birmingham, Edinburgh, Glasgow, (Cont. on p.7)