

CLASS STRUGGLE



Political Paper of the Revolutionary Communist League of Britain

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25p

SOUTH AFRICA IN STATE OF EMERGENCY

THE CRISIS CONTINUES



PAC: "No-one in his right mind can expect Botha to be a vehicle for a genuine change in apartheid South Africa." Pan Africanist Congress of Azania

Nearly 2,000 black people have been detained and dozens have been killed or injured by police since South African President P.W.Botha declared a state of emergency on July 20th. But still the revolt of the Azanian people goes on. The state of emergency, covering 36 cities and towns and drastically extending police powers, has not quelled a series of risings which have now lasted a year. In fact, the immediate result has been more problems for the racist establishment.

BOTHA DIGS IN

Botha's speech to the Natal National Party Congress in Durban on August 15th was heralded in the west as one which would announce major reforms of the apartheid system. It turned out to be what his National Party faithful wanted - a re-assertion of government policies, with no definite concessions whatsoever.

South African business circles criticised the speech for not pointing a way out of the crisis; they were worried at the consequences of possible sanctions and further unrest for their businesses, and their fears were only underlined several days later when the rand dropped to its lowest level ever against other currencies. But Botha knew his audience: the Boer farmers and white

working class people who make up the major part of the ruling National Party's base are terrified of any concession to Africans, as they fear losing everything. If black wages went up and skilled jobs were opened to black people, the transnational corporations and South African monopoly companies could absorb the change, but the farmers and white working class would see economic ruin staring them in the face. Besides, the ideology of white supremacy which is central to colonialism is not going to fade away just because of longer term imperialist interests.

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"South African people are ready to make all sacrifices to achieve justice and democracy"...
African National Congress

UGANDA



What Next?

P.6.

Statement by UNLF(AD)

YTS cuts jobs

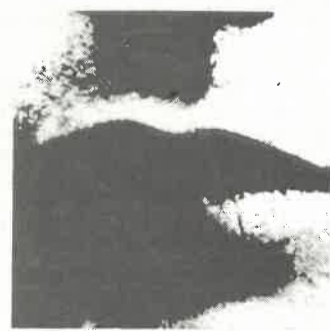


Official Report..... P.3.

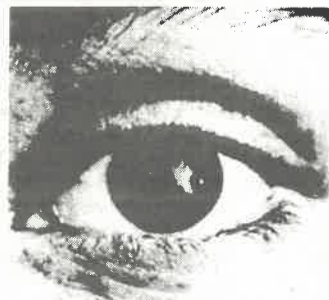
Britain On Ireland



Hear nothing



Speak nothing



See nothing

If you don't know what is happening in Northern Ireland, you must have been watching British television, listening to British radio and reading the British press

Same as it ever was!

P.7.

Africa for the Africans

When the anti-Obote coup took place in Uganda this summer, and was followed by massacres in several towns, the imperialist press dwelt upon it as the latest example of instability in the African states. Coverage of the killings presented an image of outbursts of "tribal violence", the kind of thing which regularly occurs in African states. What underlies this is an attitude that is usually only expressed openly by the South African racist regime and its mouthpieces, but which is widely held in Britain too: black people cannot rule themselves; they are naturally prone to violence and bloodshed

certainly does not - but that imperialism has spun a web of dependency, of underdevelopment, across Africa which is extremely difficult to break, and which it is ready to repair by intervention should there be signs of a break being made. Genuinely anti-colonial governments in Africa, such as those in Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola, Ghana or Congo-Brazzaville, come to power in countries and in a continent where the grip of colonialism in a new form, remains strong. For "left wingers" in the west to pounce upon their difficulties and denounce them for "selling out" is simply

ing to win over liberation movements to their side. During the struggle for Zimbabwe's independence, it was Joshua Nkomo's ZAPU which had the Soviet seal of approval as "Zimbabwe's liberation movement" but Tiny Rowlands of the British Lonrho company also cultivated ties with it. The western media was sometimes torn between portraying ZAPU as "moderate" (in contrast to ZANU) and depicting it as Moscow's agent. What was consistent was the rejection of ZANU, with the 'Daily Mail' going so far on one occasion as to print a picture of its leader, Robert Mugabe, with the headline 'The Black Hitler'.

EDITORIAL...EDITORIAL...EDITORIAL...

when left to their own devices, and are so unaccustomed to democratic ways that they can only attain stability under dictatorships.

Such views must be called what they are: racist! They rest on an assumption of the inherent inferiority of black people and justify white imperialist rule.

The African peoples want order and progress, not instability, bloodshed and dictatorship; that's why practically every military ruler who seizes power opens his reign by promising a return to democracy, condemning tribalism and corruption, and saying that the country will follow the paths of economic and social progress under his rule.

While there are factors peculiar to each African country which affect their specific political and social development, there is one main element which affects all: imperialism. For although the colonialist flags have been pulled down across the continent (except in Azania), the legacy of direct imperialist rule remains and has been compounded with new forms of exploitation.

MOZAMBIQUE

Mozambique provides a good example of this. After victory over Portuguese colonialism ten years ago, the new government had high hopes for the future, and a strong commitment to economic progress based on social justice. But it faced very serious problems, quite apart from those resulting from war. The Portuguese colonial education system had provided little more than basic literacy to part of the population, and not even that to the majority. For many jobs requiring specialised skills and knowledge, there were few or no trained Africans available - Portuguese colonialism had only trained whites to do them, and this affected such things as the management of large former colonial estates, industry, and government institutions.

Mozambique's biggest economic project is the Cabora Bassa dam, built under Portuguese rule. The dam produced far more electricity than Mozambique itself used, and much of the extra capacity was supplied to South Africa. Mozambique was also unwillingly linked to South Africa by the tens of thousands of workers who went to work in South African mines under colonial agreements. It was not that Mozambique did not wish to end this agreement: the problem was that it could not do so while there was no employment in Mozambique for the miners, and the fact that their earnings helped the Mozambiquan balance of payments only made the problem harder to resolve.

NEO-COLONIALISM

This is only one example of how neo-colonialism has replaced colonialism. The point is not that African governments want to be captives of colonialism - the Mozambiquan government

contemptible. But then, most of them are so remote from any really hard struggle that they can afford the luxury of such high and mighty attitudes.

Of course, imperialism does have its stooges in Africa, such as Mobutu of Zaire, who is said to have stashed abroad private fortunes in excess of his country's considerable national debt. Mobutu was involved in murdering the great Congolese revolutionary, Patrice Lumumba; he sent troops to Chad to prop up a puppet government, backs Morocco's attempts to hold on to the Western Sahara against its people's wishes, and last year re-established diplomatic relations with Israel. Such people not only actively serve to defend imperialist exploitation of their own people, but are like anchoring points for the imperialist web across Africa.

Imperialist powers constantly seek to use rivalries between states and within them to advance their own interests. In Uganda, Britain first backed Obote, and then supported Amin. Obote again became Britain's man when Amin, a product of British and Israeli military training, and former Kenyan African Rifles soldier with Britain against the 'Mau Mau') turned out to be beyond British control.

The famine situation in Ethiopia, Eritrea and Chad has been considerably worsened by the wars there - wars that might have been resolved some time ago if it had not been for imperialist intervention.

SUPERPOWERS' COMMON INTERESTS

Sometimes, the interests of conflicting imperialist powers converge against movements which threaten all their interests. The struggle of the EPLF in Eritrea is like that. The USA backed the Haile Selassie regime against it, and then, when the Dergue seized power, the USSR backed the Dergue against the EPLF. However, the USA has not hastened to back the EPLF, because the latter guards its independence, and has no intention that Eritrea should exchange one colonialism for another. Nothing terrifies imperialists more than a revolutionary movement with mass support which solidly maintains its independence, for that threatens their system at its foundations.

When Morocco annexed Western Sahara ten years ago, the USA backed it to the hilt, but the Soviet Union did not jump to support the FPOLISARIO, which fights for Western Sahara's independence. The reason was that, while Morocco is a military and political ally of the US, it gained control of some 90% of world phosphate supplies through adding Western Sahara to its own; shortly after the annexation, the USSR concluded the biggest phosphate deal in history with Morocco - and no questions about where the supply came from.

Imperialists are not above try-

CONGRESS OF BERLIN

In 1885, the European powers held the Congress of Berlin, and agreed a carve-up of the African continent. Many of the consequences still exist, but Africa has won victories over colonialism and will inevitably destroy the neo-colonial system. The revolutionary upsurge in Azania is shaking the state which is the main lynchpin of imperialist domination of sub-Saharan Africa, and indeed, is threatening the whole imperialist order. Some African states have successfully loosened their ties with imperialism and reduced their dependence on one-crop and export-oriented economies, and other forms inherited from the colonial era, while most are ready to cooperate for common African interests to a certain extent. There are also movements growing in some states, including Zaire, Uganda and Nigeria, which demand the completion of the national liberation struggle which won "flag independence" in the '50s and '60s.

Solidarity with the African liberation struggle is an important duty for revolutionary and progressive forces in Britain, which is still one of the main exploiters of the African peoples. At the present time, the focus for that solidarity is the Azanian struggle. There is plenty that can be done, including holding solidarity marches, pickets and other protests, supporting the boycotting of South African produce and sports links. It is especially important to see that the liberation movements get the best opportunities possible to make their voices, along with their demands, heard widely in Britain, which means arranging meetings where they can speak, ensuring their views are published wherever possible, and helping them acquire more means for spreading their views.

The RCL has done some work on these lines; we hope we can do more, with the help of our supporters and 'Class Struggle' readers.

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UPFRONT.....UPFRONT.....UPFRONT.....UPFRONT...

What a month August was! While the press speculated on whether South African P.M. Botha would dismantle the apartheid regime, black people got on with dismantling it. Meanwhile, the world held its breath while 'B'-movie actor Ronald Reagan went into hospital. Was he over-reacting to the Ramones' latest record, "Bonzo Goes to Bitburg"? No - he was having a "malignancy" removed. But those of us who expected Ron to come out of hospital with the top of his head missing were to be disappointed: the doctors only removed the malignancy in his abdomen, not the one between his ears.

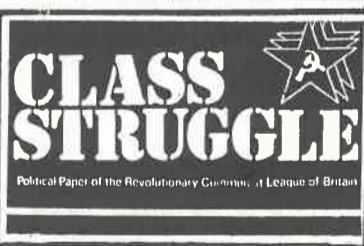
Over in the Middle East, Ronnie's pals in Israel were wiping a stain from the record of Brigadier-General Yitzhak Mordechai. This outstanding representative of Israel's armed forces was forced to attend a disciplinary hearing after being accused of using undue force against two Palestinian guerrillas while questioning them following the hijacking of a bus in April last year. Taking all factors into consideration, the single superior officer who heard his case cleared him of this unreasonable charge. It seems that Mordechai desperately wanted to find out if the two Palestinians had left grenades on the bus, and he was compelled to have them beaten to death after their capture in an attempt to get at the truth.

Poor Mordechai had been extremely unfortunate. The first official reports of the incident claimed that the two guerrillas had been shot dead with two of their comrades during the storming of the bus. Then the Israeli paper 'Hadashot' did the dirty on the splendid army chappies by publishing photos of the two young Palestinians very much alive and in one piece, being hauled away from the bus by Israeli soldiers, which rather spoilt the army's little story.

Of course, photos can be very embarrassing things, as 'Socialist Action' discovered when its August 2nd issue appeared. "McGuinness confronts the RUC" said the photo caption - beneath a picture of fellow Sinn Feiner, Danny Morrison. Martin McGuinness must be a confused man these days - the 'Sunday Times' says he's Chief of Staff of the IRA, and 'Socialist Action' says he's Danny Morrison.

Meanwhile, the Revolutionary Communist Party has had its latest "Preparing for Power" conference. The preparations must be at a fairly advanced stage by now, having taken place over a few years, but sadly, the masses are not flocking to the RCP's banner. A mole informs us that the RCP ordered 1,000 dinners for those attending the conference's first day, but only needed 100.

by Dave Wallace



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October British Marxist-Leninist movement and an interview with 'ashmiri' freedom fighter, Maqbool Butt (who was murdered a year and a half ago) published in English for the first time.

'October' is the political and theoretical journal of the RCL. Issue No. 3 contains a critique of the Revolutionary Communist Group's policy document, 'Racism, Imperialism and the Working Class', and RCL policy statement adopted at our pre-Congress conference; an article on Eurocentrism and the

'October' No.3 costs 70p (plus 25p post and packing) from the address on the back of 'Class Struggle'. It will appear more regularly from now on; the RCL apologises to all current subscribers for the long delay in the appearance of the new issue.

The 'New Technology' of Reproduction

Following the defeat of the Powell Bill on research on human embryos (see: A Ban on Human Embryo Research: 'Class Struggle' 6 & 7), public discussion around reproductive technology and the recommendations of the Warnock Report appears to have stopped.

This is for many reasons. The issues are complex and not properly explained to people. It often seems to be something relevant only to a small minority and appears to be a problem for a few rich western countries only. Because all these assumptions are false, we, and women's groups in particular, should deepen our understanding of the issues.

RELEVANT IN THIRD WORLD



MARY WARNOCK -
Watertight restrictions against women's right to decide.

An example of the relevance of this issue to women the world over comes from India. Amniocentesis is a technique for drawing off fluid from around the foetus at about 16 to 18 weeks and studying the cells to discover possible genetic abnormalities and also sex. In India, over the last three years, amniocentesis has been performed increasingly for sex determination, leading to the

abortion of female foetuses. It is relatively cheap and freely available, and poor as well as rich are using it to avoid daughters and their associated dowries. It is estimated that in Bombay alone, over 10 women a day are having tests and it has been suggested that between 1978 and 1983 around 78,000 female foetuses were aborted after a sex determination test. It is justified as a measure of 'population control' but in effect attempts to make Indian women "male child producing machines". Women are socially conditioned to accept that unless they produce one or more male children, they have no social worth. They can be harassed, taunted or even deserted by their husbands and in-laws if they fail to do so.

WARNOCK REPORT

In 1984, the Warnock Committee produced a detailed report and recommendations covering artificial insemination (1), embryo research, in vitro fertilisation (2), and surrogate motherhood (3). (See notes.) The Committee had no representative from women's groups and held to a firm belief in a two-parent, male-female, couple

family - provision or infertility services to women outside this framework was not discussed. The following main recommendations were made:

1. A new statutory licensing body should be set up to regulate infertility services and research. Provision of AID (artificial insemination by donor) and IVF (in vitro fertilisation) without a license would be a criminal offence. All embryo research etc., would come under the same body.
2. Children conceived by AID or IVF should become legitimate.
3. Experimentation on spare human embryos, up to the age of 14 days, was recommended although many of the Committee disagreed. It was also suggested by an even smaller majority, that it is acceptable to create embryos solely for experimentation (for example by rescuing ova from consenting women undergoing sterilisation and fertilising them from a donor sperm bank). All this under strictly controlled conditions.
4. It should become a criminal offence to set up or operate a surrogate mother agency, commercial or otherwise (individuals entering private arrangements not included). This issue was also controversial with a minority in support of non-profit making organisations.
5. In vitro fertilisation to be expanded in the NHS and not restricted to private treatment (but private sector to remain).

STATE CONTROL OF REPRODUCTION

In considering these recommendations certain points should be kept in mind. At the present time, AID is a comparatively simple and widely used technique both for certain types of infertility, and also by single women wanting children, especially lesbian couples. Warnock would make it a criminal offence except for licensed centres and lump it together with IVF which is a highly complex technological process. A careful licensing body for embryo research IVF is certainly needed; but should AID be so medicalised?

TREATMENT FOR INFERTILITY

The new techniques increase the

'right to choose' of infertile women. Infertility occurs in one in ten marriages and often causes tremendous grief and illness. The successful treatment of infertility using these new techniques has brought health and happiness to many. However, under these proposals it would be even more tightly controlled by the medical profession and the state. Experience shows that this would effectively deny treatment to certain women: black, single poor and lesbian.



The new 'technology' of reproduction' raises many questions which deserve full debate. Among these are: Does our society place too much emphasis on women as mothers? And does this technology increase the pressure on women? If we had more status as women in this society, would being a mother be so important? In addition, whilst upholding women's rights to control their own fertility, the rights and feelings of the child must not be forgotten.

Legislation is likely to be introduced within the next year. We know science and technology are not 'neutral' and an understanding of these issues in the context of imperialism and racism, both in this country and world-wide, must be sought. The Warnock Report is available from HMSO at £6.40 or a summary and debate around it at 50p from: Women's Reproductive Rights Campaign, 52-54 Featherstone Street, London, EC1.

Notes:

1. Artificial insemination - Sperm are introduced through the neck of the womb by a very simple process. Sperm may be from a donor (AID) or from a husband (AIH). It is mainly a way of treating male infertility, or problems of ejaculation, or when sperm seem unable to travel through the neck of the womb. AID is also used by lesbian or single women.

2. In vitro fertilisation - A woman's egg is removed from her ovary and combined with her partner's sperm in the laboratory. This is the 'test tube' part of the process. Once the egg has been fertilised, it is put into the woman's womb to implant and grow. The whole process is very complex. It is used primarily for women whose fallopian tubes are blocked, but who ovulate.

3. Surrogate motherhood - This is when a woman agrees to get pregnant and give birth for the purpose of giving up the child to a couple who want but cannot have one. The woman could get pregnant through sexual intercourse with the father or through insemination with his, or a donor's sperm. Or an egg from the eventual mother could be fertilised in vitro and then transferred to the surrogate mother.

Such technology, and that of amniocentesis, brings eugenic (production of a 'perfect' human race) possibilities nearer. At least one member of the Warnock Committee is associated with the Eugenics Society. Women with disabilities believe increasing pressure is being put on women to produce the 'perfect' baby every time, rather than increasing help and services for the disabled. Sex determination comes under this heading.

YTS - No Answer To Unemployment

A government report has just repeated what those who argued against the Youth Training Scheme (YTS) from the start have always said.

The report is by the National Audit Office, a civil service watchdog keeping the books for state spending. It is particularly steamed up about the loss of £55 million (out of the £700 million total YTS cost in 1983-84) that Manpower Services Commission (MSC) spent on unfilled places in its shoddy schemes.

UNEMPLOYMENT SCHEMES

As the report says: "MSC were over optimistic in assuming that all 360,000 eligible unemployed 16-17 year olds would join the Scheme." Also few employed youngsters joined the Scheme - despite MSC's original claim, now abandoned, that YTS was for "employed and unemployed alike". In fact, it is an unemployment scheme, just like YOP before it.

For those who do join YTS, many leave before completing their year's course - 80% of the 60,800 teenagers leaving the Scheme in the first three months of this year. And no wonder, considering that by MSC's own, not very exacting, requirements,

one third of Schemes need "some" or "major improvement".

The Auditor General doubts whether such training as is given on Schemes matches what industry actually needs, noting that only between 49% and 62% of trainees find employment, while between 29% and 38% remain unemployed at the end of their year. (The same numbers, as Youth Aid pointed out, who would have found jobs even if they had not wasted a year on YTS.) "A further decline in jobs would throw doubt on whether YTS was achieving one of its important aims" of improving young people's chances of employment.

*'If you all will shut your trap
I will tell you about a chap
That was broke and up against it too
He was not the kind that shirk
He was looking hard for work
But he heard the same old story everywhere
Tramp, tramp and keep on tramping
Nothing doing here for you
If I catch you round here again
You will wear a ball and chain
Keep on tramping, that's the best thing you
can do.'*
Joe Hill, 1912

GRANTS TO EMPLOYERS

Being accountants, the Auditors are very concerned that MSC's "financial monitoring has been limited". In other words, MSC has handed out its nearly £2,000 block grants it pays per trainee to private managing agents who run YTS, or as subsidies to employers to take on trainees for £25 a week, without checking on how the money was spent.

More fundamentally though, the report notes how "employers are not obliged to offer trainees contracts of employment... and they are free to replace all trainees with a new intake each year. It therefore suggests the main effect of YTS may be "persuading employers to use a replenishable and subsidised supply of school leavers for work, which would otherwise have provided continuing employment for those aged 17 and above."

YTS CREATES UNEMPLOYMENT

That is: YTS far from being a job creation scheme, as the government boasts, actually increases unemployment. YTS may have "assisted the continuing decline in the number of permanent employed training places in manufacturing industry."

The Auditor General's report pulls the rag from under the government's grand claims for YTS as the solution to youth unemployment, just when MSC

plans to expand the Scheme to offer two years "guaranteed training" to all school leavers, so that unemployment will be "no longer an option", (because the eligibility for social security for under-19s will be reduced forcing them onto YTS).

Most of the 'left' are involved in dreaming up 'alternatives' to YTS which actually share all MSC's assumptions for the present Scheme and end up as slightly more palatable extensions of the same time-wasting training (as in Labour's latest 'Charter for Youth').

The trouble with the Auditor's report, however, is that it points to most money being wasted on Mode B Schemes (off-the-job training). MSC, which with incredible front, has already "welcomed" the report, will just take this as encouragement to further reduce Mode B Schemes in favour of A Schemes on employers' premises. Local activists concerned to raise standards on YTS may then be drawn into defending 'not so bad' B Schemes against 'worse' A Schemes.

This does not begin to tackle the real needs of youth for work and a secure place in society. The youth have expressed their feelings on the matter by voting with their feet to leave useless YTS, as detailed in the Auditor's report.



AZANIAN PEOPLE RISE UP ~~~ SOUTH AFRICA STEPS UP REPRESSION:

The Crisis Continues

(Cont. from front page.)

THE NATIONAL PARTY HAS NOT CHANGED COLOUR

Azadians know well what the National Party's supporters think. They still remember a speech made by Strydom, a former leader of the party shortly before he reached the top: "Where am I standing?" he called to a crowd of his followers. "On the ground, sir," answered the cheering crowd. "No," Strydom answered to wild applause. "I'm not standing on the ground. I am standing on the Kaffir's neck."

The power of the Azanian masses has shaken these arrogant racists into some words of moderation. But the old, old attitudes are still unshakably there.

REACTION BY AZANIANS

Not surprisingly, organisations representative of the Azanian people voiced strong condemnation of the Botha statement. African National Congress President Oliver Tambo, said that Botha's speech showed that the white government is "a clique of diehard racist, hidebound reactionaries and blood-thirsty fascists". He stated that: "South African people are ready to make all

sacrifices to achieve justice and democracy based on the principle of one person, one vote in a united South Africa."

Before the speech was delivered, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania issued a statement saying it did not expect anything

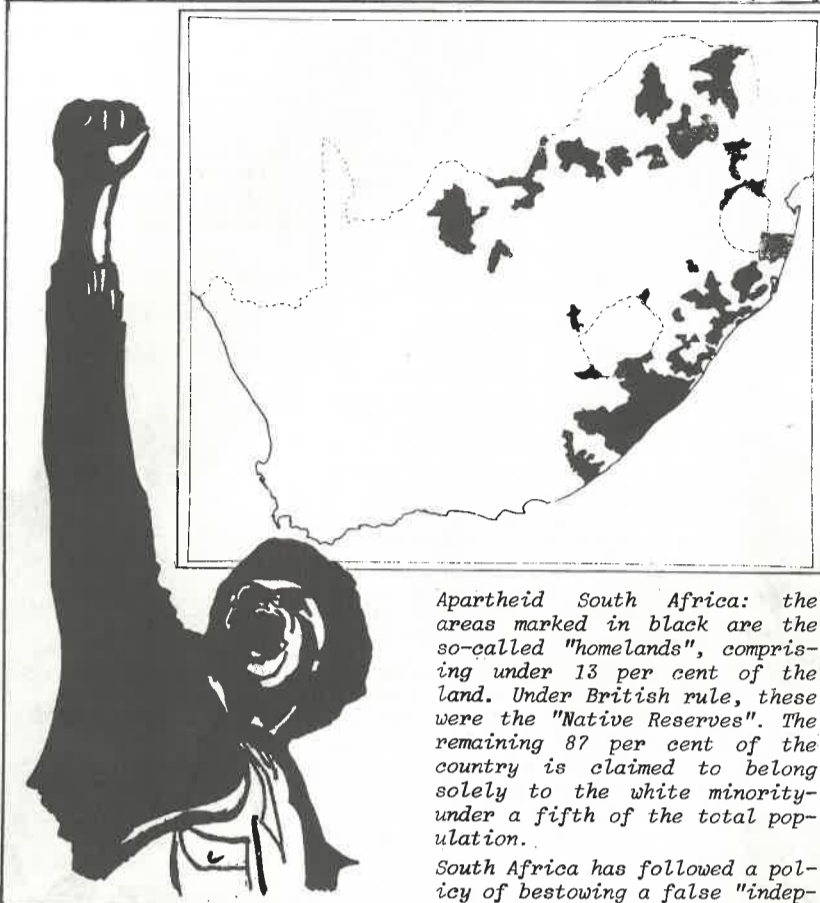
while maintaining its own view that the basic issue goes further, and that apartheid is the latest form of colonial rule in Azania. Mhlambo's statement reflected PAC's current emphasis on uniting all who can be united.

Within Azania, there have been efforts to build Azanian unity by the legal organisations. The United Democratic Front and the black consciousness-inspired Nationalist Forum have made serious efforts to stop clashes between their supporters over the past year. On August 8th, six major black trade unions announced their intention of taking protest action against the state of emergency and repression. They were the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU), Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union, Food and Canning Workers Union, National Union of Mineworkers, Cape Town Municipal Workers Association and the General Workers Union. They decided on a co-ordinated national programme of action. Later, following Botha's speech, the decision of the NUM to call a general strike in the gold and coal mines from August 25th found widespread support; a strike in the gold mines would be a blow at South Africa's most important industry. This move threatened to bring the crisis of the colonial regime to a head.

COSMETIC REFORMS BRUSHED ASIDE BY UPRISINGS

Over the past year, the Azanian people have won important victories over Botha's (US and British backed) strategy of reforming the apartheid system to put the existing order of oppression and exploitation on a sounder basis. Last year, the elections to "Indian" and "coloured" chambers of parliament were boycotted by 80% of the voters following big political campaigns to oppose this attempt to co-opt "Indians" and "coloureds" as junior partners to the whites. This year, the risings in the towns and cities have resulted in the almost total destruction of the collaborationist local councils set up by the government, and the weeding out of many government agents from the people's ranks.

These successes have built up the confidence of the Azanian people in final victory. Despite Britain, the Gold Coast won its independence and became Ghana. Rhodesia has become independent Zimbabwe. And colonialist South Africa will become free Azania.



Apartheid South Africa: the areas marked in black are the so-called "homelands", comprising under 13 per cent of the land. Under British rule, these were the "Native Reserves". The remaining 87 per cent of the country is claimed to belong solely to the white minority - under a fifth of the total population.

South Africa has followed a policy of bestowing a false "independence" on these unviable "homelands", of which it claims its African population are "citizens", whose status in South Africa is therefore that of foreigners. The position was formalised by the Aliens and Immigration Laws Amendment Act of 1984, under which nearly ten million black people had their citizenship taken away from them on the grounds that they were "citizens" of the "independent states" of Transkei, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and Venda, all created by the South African settler colonial regime.

The "Bantustan" policy has been opposed consistently by the Azanian people.

positive from the speech. PAC's new Chairman, Johnson Mhlambo, said that the evil system of apartheid could not be reformed, but only destroyed. "No-one in his right senses can expect Botha to be a vehicle for a genuine change in apartheid South Africa."

UNITED ACTION

Both ANC and PAC have called for the unity of the people against the Botha government. ANC has called on the opposition forces to unite under its leadership, while PAC has called for an alliance between all those opposed to apartheid,

PAC in Good Shape

The Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), one of the liberation movements of Azania (South Africa) had serious problems in the 1970's, with internal rivalries played upon by those who wished to discredit and destroy it. Eventually, a new collective leadership was established, which elected Nyati John Pokela as PAC Chairman and Commander-in-Chief of the Azanian People's Liberation Army. This choice proved to be a good one.

A LIFE OF RESISTANCE

Pokela had a life of struggle and service to the Azanian people behind him. He had joined the African National Congress Youth League while at university. The ANCYL was founded in 1944 on an Africanist basis and was a very militant organisation. He came to work closely with Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe in later years, and, along with him, left the African National Congress (ANC) in April 1958 to form the Pan Africanist Congress, believing that only Africans could lead and organise the fight to liberate themselves, and opposing the multi-racial approach of ANC. Pokela worked hard in the Positive Action Campaign which led to Sharpeville, and then laboured to build an underground PAC organisation when PAC was banned. He worked from Maseru in Basutoland (now Lesotho) from 1962 until he was kidnapped by South African police. He was accused of sabotage and inciting people to invade police stations in two towns, and sentenced to 13 years imprisonment on conviction.

RETURN TO LEADERSHIP

Nyati John Pokela served his time on Robben Island, but was not broken by the experience. On his release in 1980, he was urged to go abroad to lead PAC, which he did successfully. PAC got a process of re-building and re-organisation well under way during his leadership. Unfortunately, he died all too soon on June 30th this year in hospital in Harare, Zimbabwe.

POKELA COMMEMORATION

His funeral was attended not only by many Azadians in exile, but by representatives of African states. His coffin was borne to its burial place on a gun carriage of the Zimbabwean army, and speakers at the funeral included a representative of the Organisation of African Unity and Robert Mugabe, Prime Minister of Zimbabwe.

The Stand of the RCL

Question: Which organisations in Azania does the RCL support?

Answer: We support all organisations fighting for Azania's national liberation - ANC, PAC, BCM, AZAPO, Nationalist Forum, United Democratic Front, and so on. It is for the Azanian people to decide who their representatives should be in the future, not anyone anywhere else outside Azania. Any other stand, even if it is taken by people calling themselves communists, is nothing but chauvinism.

It is quite natural that we should have stronger ties with Azanian organisations with whom we have more political unity than with others, but that's a different matter. We make a point of quoting views from different organisations in 'Class Struggle', we don't attack forces within the Azanian national liberation movement in our publications or meetings, and we never claim that one or another organisation is the only genuine one.

Question: How does the RCL believe solidarity work should be developed here?

Answer: Obviously, British imperialism has robbed the Azanian people for years and it is the main backer, with the US, for the South African racist regime. Therefore building solidarity here is important. We have to be modest about what our small organisation can do, but we think the following points must be made.

While the Anti-Apartheid Movement, the main solidarity organisation, has done quite a bit of good work over the years, it does only support one trend in the liberation movement. Even if that particular trend wants it to be so, that is sectarian - why should the views of other Azadians count for nothing? There is a lot of respect among activists for the achievements of the solidarity movement in New Zealand, and one lesson which should be taken on board about its success is that it has steadfastly refused to narrow its support to one organisation or trend. This makes it possible to win a wider range of support, as well as being more principled.

Secondly, the solidarity movement here should try to support the demands put forward by the liberation movements and their campaigns, whatever our view of them here. For example, some on the trotskyist left question the value of a "Boycott South African Goods" campaign. Whether such a campaign is a good or a bad idea is beside the point: some sections of the liberation movement have called for such campaigns, and none actually oppose them; therefore they should be supported, on the basis that the liberation movements have the right to decide for themselves what's good or bad for them.

Thirdly - and this is another lesson from New Zealand - it should be accepted that there will be different degrees of commitment in the solidarity movement and different views on solidarity work. During the successful anti-Rugby tour protest in New Zealand, some used direct action to stop matches, others wrote letters to papers, held meetings or even went to church and prayed together. We know the kind of work which we think is most important, but we also recognise that it was the breadth of the solidarity movement and the consistency of its work over long years, rather than any single action, which led to the current New Zealand government closing down the South African embassy and adopting some other measures against the racist regime.

Question: What solidarity work does the League itself do?

Answer: Our resources are very limited and our tasks very wide, but we have done fairly consistent, if low key work. We cover Azania regularly in 'Class Struggle'. We also support in a practical way events and activities organised by the liberation movements on a regular basis. This is reflected in 'Class Struggle' though we don't make a big thing of it - it is the duty of communists to be good internationalists, not some sort of favour we extend. We will continue to work steadily and would welcome others who want to co-operate with us in solidarity work around the liberation movements' own demands.

SUPPORT THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT

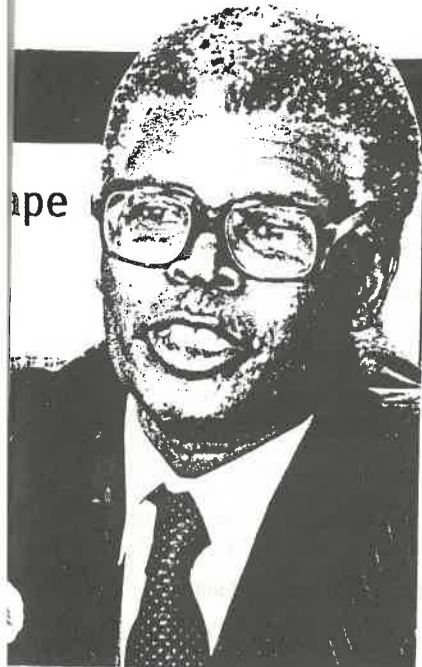


Miners' Solidarity....

In the wake of the miners' strike, the South African mining firm Gencor published adverts in Britain to attract dispirited or unemployed miners (white, of course) to the mines of South Africa. The adverts called on them to "Work in the Sun" (pretty novel for miners!).

Gencor's recruiting agents recently showed up in Wakefield, West Yorkshire, where they intended to hold interviews for prospective immigrants at the "Swallow Hotel". The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), which has good relations with the black NUM in Azania, appealed to its members to boycott the Gencor recruiting drive and mounted a picket in co-operation with the local Anti-Apartheid Movement branch. The result was that in the eight hours when candidates were to be interviewed only two crossed the picket line to meet Gencor's agents.

Azanian miners: They labour in pits far away from their families, who usually live in the "Bantustans", where malnutrition is widespread. Those who can obtain work in white areas do so as the only way to provide for their families, who cannot scratch a living from the barren land of the largely barren "homelands."



Nyati John Pokela

A packed meeting at London's Africa Centre commemorated Comrade Pokela on August 1st. Among many tributes were two from PAC women's section members, who both said that Pokela would be especially missed by women in PAC, as he had taken their problems seriously and stressed the importance of PAC taking practical measure to help ensure that women were able to build up their political skills and participate to the full in PAC's activities.

PAC STAYS STRONG

That PAC's renewed good health was not only the result of Pokela's presence was shown when a new Chairman was elected within days of Pokela's death. He is Johnson Mhlambo, another leader who has come from the heart of the people's struggles. He was one of the first Azanian leaders to be jailed on Robben Island, where he served a 20-year sentence for his revolutionary activities in PAC's early days. He was subjected to savage beatings, and on one occasion, was buried up to his neck in the ground, while racist guards urinated on him. Nevertheless, he remained loyal to his principles.

FOR UNITY IN STRUGGLE

Following his election, Johnson Mhlambo spoke to a press conference, and announced that PAC was ready to enter into an alliance with all organisations opposed to apartheid. The significance of this is that PAC's basic view is that South Africa is a racist, colonialist society which has to be transformed by a revolutionary struggle led by the African people of Azania; it seems clear from Mhlambo's statement that PAC views the present situation as one in which everyone who can be united on a minimum basis of opposition to apartheid should reserve their differences and cooperate fully.

IMPERIALISTS LOOK FOR 'STABILISING SOLUTION'

Rocked by the increasingly determined and militant struggle of the people of Azania, the government of South Africa (the imperialists' name for Azania), is battering down the hatches. The much-trumpeted 'reform' package announced by Prime Minister Botha amounted to little more than a few cosmetic changes combined with a defiant refusal to make any real concessions to the black masses.

To varying degrees, all the western imperialist powers have criticised Botha's speech, from the French outright condemnation to the US government's "unhappiness". All these powers are pushing the regime to negotiate with black leaders and to find ways and means of including at least some of them in the so-called "democratic process". Geoffrey Howe has even called for the release of Nelson Mandela, the gaol leader of the African National Congress (ANC).

Where persuasion has failed, the imperialists hope that pressure will do the trick. Hot on the heels of the decision by France to stop all new investment to South Africa, the governments of Sweden and Denmark (with the remaining Scandinavian countries expected to follow suit shortly), have done likewise. Australia has stopped all loans to the regime whilst Japanese companies are already forbidden by law to invest there. Even the US Congress is expected to impose limited, although largely symbolic sanctions.

IMPERIALISTS DON'T CHANGE THEIR SPOTS

What lies behind all this? Have British ministers suddenly decided that Nelson Mandela - who was called a "terrorist" by them last year and who has courageously refused to bow down to the South African government's demand that he "renounce violence" - is not a "terrorist" after all? Has the French government, which recently sent troops to New Caledonia to try to suppress the struggle of the Kanaks for independence, become a friend of national liberation movements? Of course not!

IMPERIALISTS FEAR REVOLUTION

These governments recognise that it cannot be all that long before the Azanian masses finally rise in revolution, just as the peoples of Iran and Nicaragua have done in recent years. They are desperately trying to find a way to pressure the Botha regime into finding a way to contain the mass movement, hence the calls

to talk to black leaders and to release Nelson Mandela. On the other hand, they fear that too many concessions may lead to a bursting of the dam and bring about revolutionary change. It is also important for the imperialists' relations with Third World governments, especially those in Africa, that they at least appear to be bringing pressure to bear on South Africa. The arguments between the imperialist states, and those between different parties within these states are about how best to retain imperialist control of Azania. They also reflect different interests there.

It is those imperialist states with the biggest stake in 'South Africa' - Britain, the United States and West Germany - who are most opposed to sanctions against the regime. The smaller countries, especially the Scandinavian ones, are more favourably disposed to Third World demands because they see this as a way of getting a bigger slice of the imperialist cake: hence their tougher stance towards 'South Africa'.

STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF AZANIA

Azania is extremely important to the imperialist economies. It is the world's biggest supplier of gold and diamonds, and through South African control of Namibia, of uranium. Its strategic importance in inter-imperialist rivalry with the Soviet Union is immense. Control of Azania means control of the sea lanes around the Cape and of strategically important minerals. Fear of the Soviet Union gaining control there is

the National Westminster bank has provided huge loans to develop the technology to extract oil from coal, which is plentiful.

'SOUTH AFRICA' COULD BE CRUSHED

If the western powers really wished to bring the South African regime down, they could do so in a matter of weeks. The foreign debt of South Africa amounts to 30% of its total wealth: calling in this debt would lead to a total collapse of the economy. The western powers could also refuse to buy gold which in 1982 accounted for 45% of South African export earnings. (They can easily get alternative supplies from the Soviet Union.) A further method would be an oil embargo which would bring much of South African industry to a complete standstill.

In 1981 foreign investment amounted to 12.5% of all South African capital. This is a very large sum and it is concentrated in strategically very important sectors of the economy - technology in extracting oil from coal, motor manufacture, mining machinery, data processing and others. But the French government have only called for an end to new investment whereas a withdrawal of all existing investment would wreck havoc with the economy.

THE IMPERIALISTS WON'T DESTROY SOUTH AFRICA

So why don't the imperialists take such measures? The answer is that they want the South Africans to effect reforms, in particular an end to apartheid and the bringing into

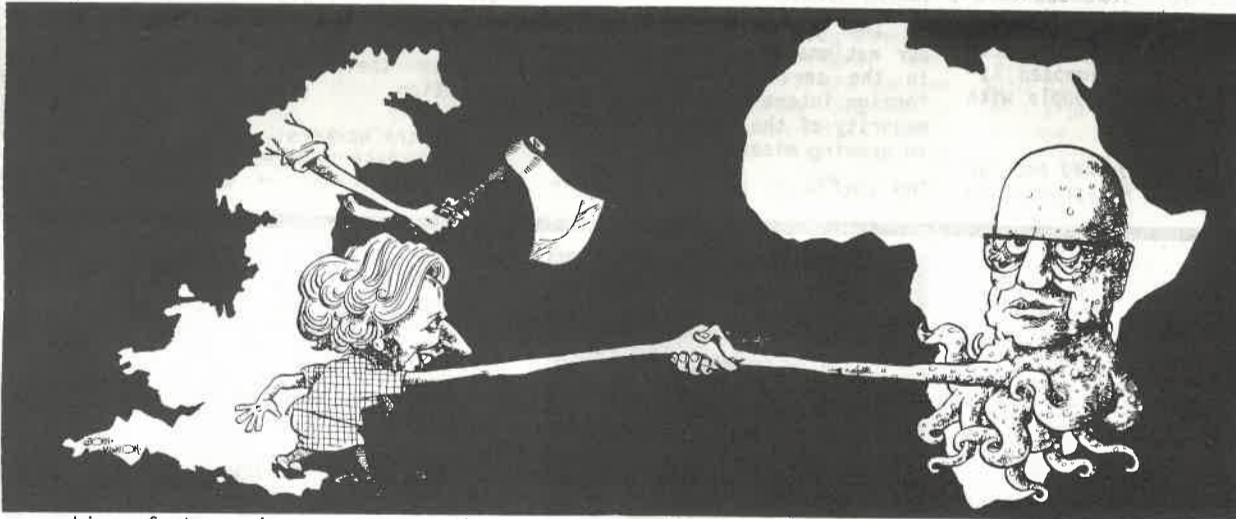
expected to take full part in sanctions. And if the imperialists wished to do so (although they do not), ways could be found to minimise the effect of sanctions on them.

Neil Kinnock has said that sanctions are "the last chance for a peaceful settlement". Kinnock says this, not because he particularly wants peace, after all, he fully supports the role of the British army in northern Ireland, but because he recognises, like Mitterand, that the intransigence of the Botha government will eventually lead to a revolutionary settlement. This will happen anyway, sooner or later, but the sort of reforms Kinnock wants might buy a few more years of imperialist domination of Azania.

BRITISH IMPERIALISM STANDS ALONE

The British government is now extremely isolated internationally on the question of South Africa. Although Baroness Young, a minister of state at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office expressed "disappointment" one day after Botha's speech, the next day a "number of positive features" had been found. It is understood that Thatcher ordered this reversal. Britain will now be the only major power completely opposed to sanctions. The stupidity of the British government is unbelievable - almost alone among the imperialists, they appear unable to recognise that their own class interests dictate that the Botha regime is forced to make concessions to the Azanian people.

Isolate South Africa.....



SUPPORT SANCTIONS - SUPPORT THE REVOLUTION

There should be no illusions that by themselves even the most stringent economic sanctions will lead to major reforms, still less to majority rule in Azania. Only the revolutionary struggle in Azania can bring significant reforms and put an eventual end to imperialist domination of Azania. Solidarity with the national liberation movement, including PAC, ANC, Black Consciousness Movement and others, must remain the main task for revolutionaries in Britain. But external pressure can help these forces which is why Azanian organisations have called for economic sanctions. This call should be supported and already the British seamen's union has called for the boycotting of oil supplies to South Africa, following on the blocking of an arms shipment by Southampton dockers. These sorts of measures could have far more effect than any sanctions imperialist governments are likely to impose. What effect this will have on the development on the Azanian revolution only time and the revolutionary process itself can tell.

the government of some black leaders, which they hope will placate the masses for a while but which will also ensure that imperialist control remains. For this to happen, the present state must remain intact. The western powers fear that the sort of stern measures outlined here would result not only in the immediate loss of huge profits but in such turmoil and upheaval that the black masses would seize power and boot out the imperialists for good.

Thatcher has shed crocodile tears for the Azanian masses and said that sanctions will hurt them the most. Why then was she unable to find similar concern for the masses when imposing sanctions against Poland after the suppression of Solidarity?

It is true that the black masses of Azania, and of neighbouring states like Zimbabwe, whose economies are closely linked with and considerably dependent on that of South Africa, would be hurt the most by sanctions. But given the daily misery of life under imperialism, the people of Azania are clearly prepared to undergo more suffering in the long-term interest of overthrowing the detested regime. As for the neighbouring black states, they cannot be

a big factor in western considerations. Edward Heath said in 1981 that the longer the bondage of the blacks lasted "the more likely they are to turn to an armed struggle which the Soviet Union is only waiting to sponsor."

PROFITS THE IMPERIALISTS DEFEND

Huge profits are made by western multi-national companies operating in Azania. Over 500 British companies like Barclays and ICI operate there, accounting for 50% of all foreign investment. The rate of profit - the amount of surplus value extracted from workers for a given sum of capital - is extremely high. In the period 1978-81, US companies' rate of profit was 18% for manufacturing industries, compared with a world average of 12.6% whilst the average rate for British companies was 21%, compared with 7% in Britain. This is mainly due to the far lower wages and worse conditions of Azanian workers than for workers in the imperialist countries. These companies also give strategically important help in building up the infrastructure of the South African economy. For instance, there is no oil in Azania: to help the regime overcome the disastrous consequences of any oil embargo

EMENTS OF AZANIA

HEALTH

In March, 1984, a conference in South Africa heard a report on a study in progress on poverty in the country. The report revealed the following facts:
(i). While whites enjoy one of the highest living standards in the world, one third of all black children under the age of 14 are stunted in their growth because of lack of adequate food;
(ii). In some areas, for black people there is only one doctor to every 174,000 people and an infant mortality rate 31 times higher than the white rate;
(iii). Nutritional diseases have become endemic as unemployment has soared. Doctors who examined children at three schools in the capital of one "Bantustan" found that four out of every ten had nothing to eat that day, and nearly half were in need of treatment for tuberculosis.

PAGES

Official figures indicate that the average wage for black workers in the major industries is one-fifth that of white workers. But that understates the differences. In mining, white wages are eight times higher than those of black workers. Outside the major industries, especially on the farms and for domestic servants, black wages are particularly bad. It is no wonder that white trade unions have been amongst the most ardent defenders of white supremacy.

Statement of Ugandan National Liberation Front (Anti-Dictatorship)

STATEMENT ON THE OVERTHROW OF THE UPC-OBOTE CLIQUE

On Saturday, 27th July, 1985, a section of the Uganda National Liberation Army (UNLA) carried out a successful military coup against the dictatorial and puppet regime of the Uganda People's Congress (UPC) clique led by Apollo Milton Obote.

Shortly after Independence in October 1962, the UPC-Obote clique established for itself a record of dictatorship, brutality and mass terror across the country.

The clique laid the foundation for Idi Amin's fascist eight-year rule. During the reign of Idi Amin, the UPC-Obote clique sabotaged every effort aimed at organising Ugandans to fight against dictatorship on a democratic basis.

Although the UPC-Obote clique subsequently participated in the formation of the Uganda National Liberation Front (UNLF) at Moshi (Tanzania) on 25th March, 1979, the clique worked systematically to sabotage all efforts aimed at organising and uniting the people of Uganda. It did so in favour of advancing its own sectional interests.

This divisive and conspiratorial strategy supported by outside forces culminated in the May 1980 military coup led by the same clique under the cover of the Military Commission.

RIGGED ELECTIONS

The UPC-Obote clique not only prevented the various Ugandan political forces from participating freely in the 1980 elections - including the UNLF - but also rigged the elections step by step. Finally, on 12th December, 1980, it imposed itself on the Ugandan people with foreign support.

This imposition provoked popular opposition and resistance in

various parts of the country and abroad, which took diverse political, military and diplomatic forms.

The oppressive and destructive character of the fallen UPC-Obote regime is well known to the people of Uganda and we need not go into it in detail. Abroad, it was fully exposed by such organisations as Amnesty International and the Minority Rights Group.

The UNLF(A-D) takes note of the overthrow of this murderous Aminist regime. The fall of any dictatorship is always an event to be welcomed.

Nevertheless, it is vital to remind the people of Uganda and the world what the fundamental causes of the Uganda crisis are in order to ensure a principled all-round solution to it.

order to resolve Uganda's problems, all of these four basic ills must be addressed to and every effort must be made to tackle them.

NATIONAL UNITY

Consequently, in the first place, the UNLF(A-D) stresses that on the political level a major pre-condition for the establishment of a just settlement of the Uganda crisis must be the convening of a Round Table Conference (RTC) of all political forces - armed and unarmed - on an equal basis on neutral territory with a view to the formation of a Government of National Unity (GNU) in which all Ugandans have confidence. The RTC must agree on a Common Minimum Programme which must, among other things, include:

1. Establishing genuinely

fair promotion and training - all of which must be guaranteed by free trade unionism and collective bargaining, and their right to strike.

3. For the Traders, Businessmen, Small Producers and National Capitalists:

Necessary financial and other support, fair treatment and protection against unfair competition and against administrative practices in favour of foreign interests.

4. For Professionals:

Guarantee of fair treatment, proper and free conditions of work, and protection against discrimination in favour of expatriates.

5. For Women:

Equal rights in politics, economy and social life and upholding their right not to engage in work harmful to their

To guarantee and facilitate their return and help them to reintegrate into Ugandan society.

10. For the People in Devastated Areas:

To devise and implement special programmes aimed at providing immediate relief, resettlement and rehabilitation especially in parts of Buganda, of Western Uganda, of West Nile, and of North-Eastern Uganda.

FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

The UNLF(A-D) strongly believes that unless these issues are tackled without delay and in an all-round manner, the Uganda crisis will persist. This will lead to popular disenchantment, factional fighting and even continued resistance by Ugandans, who have so much suffered over the decades under successive dictatorial regimes.

We call upon the people of Uganda to close ranks and maintain vigilance. The people must fight for their inalienable rights and freedoms. They must struggle for democracy and consolidate the national independence for which succeeding generations have so dearly sacrificed.

We appeal to the International Community, particularly to democratic, progressive and peace-loving people in their just struggle for their National Unity, Democracy, National Independence and Social Progress.

LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION!

BUILD THE UNITY OF THE PEOPLE OF UGANDA!

VIGILANCE ALWAYS!

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

Omwony-Ojwok,
Diplomatic and Foreign Relations Commission,
Uganda National Liberation Front (Anti-Dictatorship).

30 July, 1985.

UGANDA TODAY

The UNLF(A-D) believes that the crisis in Uganda is a result of four major diseases, namely:

1. Division among the ranks of the people, which is due to an incorrect identification of the enemy.

2. Undemocratic, conspiratorial and opportunistic politics - again based on sectional interests - which systematically exclude the vast majority of our people from participating in their national affairs and determining their own destiny.

3. Continual foreign interference - under various guises and pretexts - which denies Ugandans their right to resolve their problems independently.

4. The systematic looting of our national resources by a few in the service of those same foreign interests while the vast majority of the producers suffer in growing misery.

The UNLF(A-D) believes that in

national Armed and Security Forces.

2. The dismantling of dictatorial institutions and abolition of anti-democratic laws and regulations so as to ensure free organisation by Ugandans.

3. The speediest possible organisation of genuinely free and fair elections.

Secondly, the UNLF(A-D) stresses that at the economic and social level, the burning issues of the broad masses of the Ugandan people must be addressed to at the same time:

1. For the Peasants:

The provision of agricultural inputs and equipment, fair prices and prompt payment for produce sold, and freedom to organise their own forms of production.

2. For the Workers:

Jobs, decent wages/salaries, proper conditions of work and

health.

3. For the Youth:

The provision of adequate and relevant education to enable their positive contribution to national life.

7. For War Veterans, Widows and Orphans, the Old and Disabled, and Victims of Torture:

To pay special attention for the provision of adequate and proper assistance to them and their families, including necessary protection.

8. For All Internally Displaced Persons:

The dismantling of all Concentration Camps, resettlement and rehabilitation of the displaced, unification of families, and provision of relief supplies and necessary assistance to restore their homes and property and engage in productive work.

9. For Refugees and Exiles:

ation of the Ugandan peasants had worsened seriously over the years:

"It is greater today than in colonial times. Then the Ugandan peasant received 70% of the price from the sale of his produce, and 30% went to the state via taxation. In the time of the first Obote regime, this proportion was 40% for the peasant and 60% for the state.

In the time of Amin, it was 30%/70% and now, with the second Obote regime, the peasant only keeps 15% and the state grabs 85%!"

Dan Nabudere said that the UNLF-AD wanted to show the Ugandan peasants that this exploitation was the reason for the increasing misery of their lives: the Ugandan people had to fight imperialism in all its forms.

Following the anti-Obote coup in July, the Belgian Marxist-Leninist paper 'Solidaire' interviewed Dan Wadada Nabudere, writer of several works on imperialism in Africa, and one of the founders of the United National Liberation Front of Uganda.

Nabudere began by describing the different movements fighting against Obote:

"Four movements fought the Obote regime. The Uganda Freedom Movement, aligned with the Catholic Democratic Party, which essentially receives the support of rich peasants and traders. This movement is mainly active in and around the capital, Kampala. Besides that, there's the Uganda National Rescue Front. It's led by a former minister of Idi Amin Dada and mainly serves to protect the region where Amin was born from revenge actions by the army. Thirdly, there's the National Resistance Movement, also under the leadership of a former minister of Amin. It's a movement supported by the petty-bourgeoisie and the Anchoi, one of the Ugandan nationalities.

"The fourth movement is the United National Liberation Front - Anti-Dictatorship. In its initial form, the UNLF was founded to oppose the fascist dictatorship of Idi Amin. In 1980, after Milton Obote seized power, the UNLF was renamed UNLF-AD and fought against the neo-colonial Obote regime. The front is based first and foremost on the workers and peasants and works hard on building the people's political



Dan Nabudere

consciousness. We weren't just against Idi Amin because of his bestial policies. The same goes for Obote. We're against these dictators because they are instruments of foreign interests in Uganda. And to be able to play this role effectively they are obliged to behave in a bestial manner."

BRITAIN

Nabudere named the "foreign interests" behind Amin and Obote: "Britain threw out Obote in 1971 and put Idi Amin Dada in power. And it was with the aid of the same Great Britain that Amin was overthrown in his turn and replaced again by Obote." Nabudere said a political lesson that the Ugandan masses had to remember was that it was necessary not to fight against individuals, however vile, but above all, against imperialism.

Asked about Obote's "anti-British" reputation, Nabudere said that he'd taken some anti-

British measures at the end of the '60s, notably nationalisation, which was why the British replaced him with Amin. However, in exile: "He learned his lesson and today he knows perfectly well what he can and can't do."

NYERERE'S VIEW

Britain had already decided to replace Amin when the latter stupidly invaded parts of Tanzania, which opened the way to the intervention of the Tanzanian army. Tanzanian leader, Nyerere, took a neutral position towards the various Ugandan opposition forces in Tanzania, and backed the UNLF as a whole, but switched to supporting Obote after the downfall of Amin, despite his electoral fraud. However, Nyerere withdrew his support after the massacres carried out by the Ugandan army and the imposition of general repression. Nabudere thought that some Ugandans had made a mistake in thinking that Amin couldn't be overthrown without Tanzanian military and political support - "I always thought that this strategy was very dangerous."

Nabudere said that when Obote seized power, he had restored cotton, tea and coffee plantations to their British former owners. Brooke Bond, British Leyland, Barclays Bank and Grindlay had been able to re-open their Ugandan operations.

EXPLOITATION

Under the different British-backed regimes, the exploit-

(Cont. from back page.)

note during the whole proceedings was provided by the chauvinist British organisation RCG who insisted on selling, though with little response, their paper 'Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!', apparently believing that the Irish people were in need of lessons from them on how to "fight imperialism".

Before the march set off, some youths burned a Union Jack to cheers from the crowd. As it set off, an RUC inspector told the organisers that the march was "illegal"; he was greeted with derision and the chanting of "IRA! IRA!" from the flute band who led the march.

Thousands of people lined the route cheering and clapping; the "Support Repatriation of Irish POW's in British Jails" was particularly appreciated. One old woman, who must have been 90 if she was a day, saluted the march from her wheelchair. Many banners, including "Stop the Strip Searches" were carried and several bands helped to maintain a militant and vibrant atmosphere. Undeterred by the hundreds of armed crown forces

personnel present, over 15,000 people eventually arrived at Connolly House, Sinn Fein's headquarters in Andersonstown.

The army tried to drown out the speeches at the rally held outside Connolly House with the noise of a low-flying helicopter, but were only partially successful. Speakers included Breige Brownlee who spoke on strip searching, Richard Lawlor of NORAID, Geraldine Egan from the Troops Out Movement and Danny Morrison, councillor for Mid-Ulster, from Sinn Fein. Morrison made a point of comparing the struggle in Azania with that in the north of Ireland, and after concluding his speech by saying "Republican people, be patient and be strong, we will be victorious", he held up a banner saying: "Victory to the IRA", to great applause from the crowd.

This writer left Belfast on the Sunday evening with a lump in his throat, greatly impressed by the Republican people and reflecting on how much hard work there is to be done in building up an effective solidarity movement in Britain.

PARTIAL VICTORY FOR THE NEWHAM 7

On July 10th, the Newham 7 (covered in previous issues of 'Class Struggle'), won a considerable success. The jury in their case found three of the seven not guilty on any charge; the other four were found guilty of affray, and on the one outstanding conspiracy charge, a not guilty verdict was returned. The three white racists who were brought to trial at the same time were found guilty of common assault and fined £100, while the four Asians were given 100 hours community work each, after the judge, Neil Dennison, said they had acted under "extreme provocation".

In the circumstances, this was a victory. Obviously, the best outcome (and the only just one) would have been for all the seven to have been found "not guilty", on all charges, as all they did was to seek to defend their community against racist attacks. But, given the determination of the police to have them convicted, the sustained harassment of the defence campaign's activities and, of course, the racist character of "British justice", the result should be seen as a success for the seven and their campaign.

The Newham 7 Defence Campaign has remained in existence even though the trial is over. It has been organising support for the 95 people arrested on its demonstrations and pickets as the police tried to break the defence effort by intimidating protestors.

The Newham 7 Defence Campaign has appealed for witnesses to the arrests to contact it to help with the defence of the 95. The campaign can be contacted on (01)-555-8151.

ANTI-RACIST NEWS

JUSTICE FOR THE PRYCES

Even while the Newham 7 campaign was in progress, more racist attacks were taking place in Newham, East London.

Last November 29th, 16 year old Eustace Pryce was murdered by racists who had provoked a fight with local black youths. He was not involved, but that did not stop one of the racists from stabbing him in the back of the neck. Three plain clothes police saw the incident, but instead of rushing to arrest the murderer, they arrested Eustace's brother, Gerald, on the grounds that he seemed distraught and might do something dangerous.

He was released hours later, to discover that his brother was dead. Re-arrested on December 18th, he was charged with affray and denied bail until January 7th, when he was released under bail conditions which prevented him from entering Newham, where his family, friends and pregnant girlfriend lived. These conditions were only lifted on July 31st.

By contrast, the white murderer was only arrested after considerable pressure from local black people, and obtained bail almost immediately, on the grounds that it would be wrong to detain him over Christmas. Thus, while a victim of racist violence was detained and then denied the right to meet his family freely, his brother's murderer could come and go as he pleased.

Gerald will go on trial on October 8th, along with two Asian and two Afro-Caribbean youths. The "Justice for the Pryces" Support Committee calls for the charges against the five to be dropped and condemns the use of affray charges against black people defending themselves. The committee can be contacted at: blackbox 273, Forest Gate, London E.7.



"MAIL" CHAUVINISM

On August 5th, the "Daily Mail" published "Scandal of the Brides for Sale". This front page article claimed that Asian families were marrying their daughters to total strangers in return for large amounts of money or property, so that the strangers might use the hapless young women to claim the right to live in Britain.

This suggests that Asian parents have a totally callous attitude to their daughters, and would part with them to any man who offered them enough money. Such racism aroused great indignation in Asian communities. On August 7th, the Manchester Immigration Wives and Fiances Campaign held a 70-strong picket of the "Mail's" offices. They wanted to know who were the reporters who wrote the deeply racist article, and they also demanded an apology and the right to reply in the paper.

Next night, representatives of 18 organisations were among 75 people who met in Longsight to pledge support for a campaign against the "Mail's" racist reporting. Campaign supporters said they believed that the "Mail" was acting as a puppet of the Home Office in helping to create a climate in which the latter could justify changes in immigration rules due to be introduced on 26th August.

A further protest was held outside the "Mail" offices on August 12th, attended by over 130 people.

The Home Office has the power to determine what the "primary purpose" of a husband or fiance's marriage is - whether it is "genuine" or supposedly a means to get around British immigration laws. This has led to heartbreak for many Asian women living in Britain, who are separated from their fiances or husbands by the Home Office's rules.

Among the Manchester Asian women affected are Manzura Bibi and Bakulu Chaudhari. Marriages were arranged for both according to their own wishes, but the Home Office claimed that their fiances' "primary intent" was to come to Britain, not marriage. Campaigns in support of both women have been organised, and can be contacted at: 53 Stockport Road, Manchester 12.

CENSORSHIP



Censorship, whether internal, or externally imposed, has been a consistent feature of British television coverage of the Six Counties. In the period since 1969, particularly, it has become a systematic component of Britain's war in Ireland and a means of maintaining an increasingly shaky cultural and political consensus - that of Britain as an embattled 'peace-keeper' searching in vain for a solution to the (so-called) 'Irish problem'. However, despite the image of neutral arbiter, successive governments have had little difficulty in identifying the Republican Movement and its armed struggle as the main threat to Britain's continued occupation of the north. Thus the Prevention of Terrorism Act listed only the IRA and INLA as "terrorist" and therefore proscribed organisations. It became illegal to interview members of proscribed organisations. Since the PTA only proscribed the IRA and INLA, the implications for news and current affairs coverage of events in the north of Ireland, could hardly be seen as unbiased.

For its part, however, and with few exceptions, the media have been enlisted, not as the unwilling victims of government imposed censorship, but as unswerving allies in the struggle to silence the Republican Movement. Despite the furor which blew up over the banning of the Real Lives film, 'At the Edge of the Union', at least fifty programmes dealing with Irish politics have either been banned, transmitted in an altered form or delayed since 1970.

It was significant that while the BBC was desperately trying to refute allegations that it had caved in to government pressure, scant attention was paid to other programmes which failed to meet scheduled transmission. In a week when Geoffrey Howe was busy lecturing the Eastern Bloc at the Geneva talks on the need for "freedom of broadcasting", an Open Space programme on the supergrass show-trials was rescheduled without explanation; a question and answer session between Gerry Adams and young Glaswegians was withdrawn and disciplinary action taken against the journalists who made the original invitation; a Panorama programme on RUC shoot-to-kill tactics dropped; and material on strip-searching in Armagh edited out of a BBC Radio Manchester programme aimed at the Irish community. The decision, then, to take the Real Lives film off the air could hardly be seen as extraordinary. What was different, and provided an unspoken focus for the affair was the public conduct of those involved.

BRITAN STEPS IN

The scenario begins with an apparently 'hypothetical' question addressed to Thatcher by 'Sunday Times' journalists during her speech to the American Bar Association. Asked for her feelings about a programme which might adopt an apparently favourable position on 'terrorist' activity, her reply that 'terrorists' should be 'starved of the oxygen of publicity' represented the standard vocabulary of counter-insurgency. The question was far from hypothetical, however.

On 28th July, the 'Sunday Times' ran a front page article: 'Thatcher Slams IRA Film' which alleged that Sinn Fein's Martin McGuinness who appears in the programme is the IRA's Chief of Staff. The following day, Home Secretary Leon Brittan, contacted the BBC indicating that he would like to see it

before any transmission. His eagerness to see Thatcher's line put into practice led to the letter received later that day by the BBC in which (without seeing the film) he declared it "contrary to the national interest" and "likely to give

Same as it ever was!

succour to terrorist organisations". The letter ended by asking the BBC to withdraw the film, stating that even were it to be wholly unfavourable to the "terrorist case" he would still prefer it not to be transmitted.

The BBC's Board of Governors was quick to respond. At the end of a day-long emergency meeting, it was announced that the scheduled programme would not go out. At the same time, they pontificated on the "total unacceptability of censorship" claiming not to have "yielded to pressure from any quarter". (Just who was kidding who?) Defending their actions, the Board's statement described the film's balance as somewhat flawed and claimed its producers had failed to follow proper procedures in getting the programme approved. Members of the opposition parties were unanimous in denouncing this latest and (importantly) most blatant act of censorship. Great concern was expressed about the damage done to the BBC's credibility and "reputation for impartiality". The National Union of Journalists (NUJ) meanwhile opted for a 24-hour blackout of news and current affairs programmes on Wednesday, 7th August. Tokenism notwithstanding, protestations that the guidelines outlined on p.52 of the News and Current Affairs Index concerning programmes on the north of Ireland, only served to legitimise the margins of the permissible. Apparently professional journalists don't need Brittan or the Board of Governors to tell them how the imperialist line on Ireland should be implemented - knowledge like that comes with the job! Ironically, the Board of Governors seems to have been more astute when it came to the real issue: Republican politics on British television.

The actual content of Paul Hamann's 45 minute documentary about two men 'at the political edge of the union', Sinn Fein's Martin McGuinness and the Democratic Unionist Party's (DUP) Gregory Campbell, received little attention. Having taken the exceptional decision to view the film before scheduled transmission, the Board of Governors were unequivocal in their verdict. Although reactions ranged from "no transmission at any price" to accepting

transmission subject to amendment, inserting footage of "IRA violence", the addition of the words "out of 2,000" to a caption detailing the 59 seats won by Sinn Fein during recent local government elections and other changes, all were said to be disturbed by the programme's "lack of balance" and "soft treatment of the extremist case." However, the programme producer, Paul Hamann, writing in the 'Radio Times', adopted a different position, describing his intentions as "giving both men enough rope to hang themselves". In Gregory "Shoot-to-Kill" Campbell's case, this seems to have worked. Shots of Campbell

loading his revolver in the company of RUC bodyguards, his boasts of bloody civil war in the event of British withdrawal and his description of the 1968 civil rights protests in Derry as "provocative" (juxtaposed with newsreel which clearly shows the RUC batoning nationalists for no apparent reason), would hardly confirm the image of the DUP as constitutional churchgoers. No adjustments were suggested to clarify the extreme sectarianism and bigotry of Campbell and company.

MCGUINNESS

In the case of the opposition, however, and despite the efforts of the filmmakers, McGuinness took the rope and hung his would-be executioners. He identifies Britain's armed presence in the six counties as the "Irish problem". Cogently and with informed reflection, he outlines the Republican case, describing a future in which nationalists

future in which Catholics and Protestants would peacefully sit down together to determine the future of the Irish nation after British withdrawal. It should not be surprising therefore that the likes of Lady Faulkner (widow of Brian, ex-P.M. of Northern Ireland), Sir Stuart Young (Chairman of the Board and card-carrying Tory) and his deputy Sir William Rees-Kogg (also a Tory, and ex-editor of the 'Sunday Times') should find the programme unacceptable in its present form. Like their patrons in the present administration, and the governments of yesteryear, the Board of Governors is unlikely to admit the rationality of the Republican position at a time when desperate attempts are being made to isolate Sinn Fein and draw nationalist voters back into the field of "constitutional" politics. As with the Forum talks and current plans to disbar Sinn Fein from local government with the condition that nominees reject the use of violence for political ends, Britain's message to the nationalist people of Ireland speaks disenfranchisement and further repression. In this sense, the withdrawal of 'At the Edge of the Union' only serves to exacerbate and carry British policy in the north of Ireland to its logical conclusion - more of the same, same as it ever was!



"I've always assumed the official line is we put the army's version first and then any other." BBC TV News sub-editor

FREEDOM FOR IRELAND



ANGLO-IRISH TALKS

As the present phase - beginning 1968/1969 - of the nationalist and Republican struggle developed, it forced the British government to suspend the six county government at Stormont in 1972 and to nominate Whitelaw as the first direct ruler. Britain's first attempts to defeat this struggle were purely military. From 1970 to 1972 the British government followed a policy of naked repression on the assumption that the IRA could be defeated by a swift blow which would also separate it from its social support - thus massive internment, torture, the Falls Road curfew and Bloody Sunday.

This policy failed and Westminster began to realise that any solution would have to encompass more than just military aspects. As one military strategist, Colonel Eveleigh, formulated it in his book 'Peace-keeping in a Democratic Society: Lessons of Northern Ireland': "In a counter-terrorist campaign, the battle runs across every level and every activity of society. Thus the conflict must be seen by Government in terms of co-ordinating the whole social system." Since 1972 successive British governments have therefore been attempting to set up a stable apparatus of government in the six counties which would pacify at least sections of the nationalists.



● CHI-QUERS SUMMIT on November 19th

Battle Plans Against Republicanism

These attempts all involved Anglo-Irish talks between Westminster and Dublin concerning an 'Irish dimension' in the six counties. The talks have included either in body or in spirit, the Unionists and the SDLP.

SUNNINGDALE COLLAPSE

The first major attempt was the Assembly (a six county parliament and executive) coupled with a Council of Ireland. The workings of the Council were defined in the Sunningdale Communique of December 1973 which was signed by Westminster, Dublin and the parties involved in the Assembly Executive-Designate (Unionists, Alliance, SDLP). The agreement committed both Dublin and the SDLP to a united Ireland only if it was 'established by consent', i.e. they embraced the gerrymandered, loyalist veto, denied the right of the Irish nation to self-determination and unity, and accepted partition. The agreement also committed Dublin to cross-border co-operation regarding 'crimes of violence', in other words it paved the way for extradition of IRA members arrested in the 26 counties.

In fact, even the hollow propaganda about an Irish dimension put out to fool the nationalists

was more than the loyalists could swallow and their strike in May 1974 toppled the Assembly. Gerry Adams recently pointed out that the only survival from the Sunningdale talks is the Criminal Law Jurisdiction Act - a piece of repressive legislation.

MORE TALKS - VETO BACKED AGAIN

Last year, in an attempt to uphold sectional economic interests in the 26 counties and also to bolster the SDLP in the six counties against the electoral and political threat presented by Sinn Fein, Dublin took the initiative for more Anglo-Irish talks with its Forum Report, signed by Fianna Fail, Fine Gael, Labour Party and the SDLP. Again, a central feature of the report was a commitment to 'unity only by consent', i.e. to the loyalist veto and partition. The Report contained three alternative proposals for an 'Irish dimension' - unity, confederation and joint sovereignty - all of which have been categorically and not exactly tactfully rejected by Mrs Thatcher. Since this rejection the most that Dublin can hope for is a purely consultative role on issues affecting nationalists in the

six counties and a few cosmetic concessions - perhaps more British officers in the UDR as 'leaked' by the 'Sunday Times' - in exchange for a major increase in cross-border security collaboration.

PRINCIPAL AIM - SMASH REPUBLICANISM - ACCEPT PARTITION

In fact, what Britain aims to achieve in these talks has been spelled out in a report published by the Institute for European Defence and Strategic Studies entitled 'Britain's Undefended Frontier - A Policy for Ulster': it recommends a joint Anglo-Irish Security Commission to co-ordinate the campaign against the IRA, a military sub-committee made up of both Dublin and British counter-insurgency forces and a secretariat for an 'Anglo-Irish inter-governmental council'.

The Anglo-Irish talks have three salient features:

1. to uphold partition
2. to repress the armed struggle led by the IRA
3. to combat the political struggle led by Sinn Fein

Although the present talks only include Westminster and Dublin, a third party plays a central

role there (besides, of course, the loyalists with their veto), and that is the SDLP. There is a basis for these three parties to agree because they all have an interest in upholding partition and in defeating both the military and the political struggle for the self-determination and unification of the Irish nation. Britain holds fast to partition because that is the means by which since 1922 she has kept her economic, political and military hold over the whole of Ireland. The Dublin government only came into existence on the basis of subordinating the rights of the Irish nation to sectional economic interests in the 26 counties and to a neo-colonial relationship with Britain, so it is based on partition. Gerry Adams has called the SDLP a social-democratic party in the context of the six counties - it represents sections of the Catholic middle classes in the six counties, and the personal careers of its leading politicians are intimately bound up with partition. The importance of the SDLP in such Anglo-Irish talks has developed as the political struggle in the six counties has developed and as Sinn Fein has taken up the challenge of forming a political party in the 32 counties.

The talks will lead to increased cross-border counter-insurgency co-operation. They will not lead to a new stable six county government. The loyalists are already re-organising themselves to reject even a whisper of an 'Irish dimension' or the removal of royalist insignia. And the nationalists and Republicans will not return to Orange rule from Stormont.



The latest issue of the republican magazine IRIS is now out. In it, Danny Morrison analyses Sinn Fein's successes in the local elections in May and the consequences they will have on London and Dublin.

There are also interviews with Clyde Bellacourt of the American Indian Movement, which recently had a delegation in Ireland, and with Palestinian artist, Abdul Hay Mossallam, with pictures of work he's done expressing solidarity between the Irish and Palestinian struggles.

Other features include book reviews and a survey of IRA operations since December '84.

Anti-Internment Anniversary March An Eye-Witness Account.....

August 12-13th, the weekend of the Commemoration of the anniversary of internment without trial in 1972, demonstrated to this writer both the indomitable spirit of the nationalist people in the north of Ireland and the firm base of mass support among the people for the Republican Movement, particularly its "cutting edge", the IRA.

Arriving in Belfast on Friday afternoon was a grim reminder of the realities of life under British occupation. Bombed-out buildings, rubble-strewn streets, armed RUC men and combined army-UDR patrols in Saracens all testified to the futile attempts of British imperialism to subjugate the Irish people. Walking down the Falls Road the next morning greatly reinforced these impressions. Army patrols cruised down the road every few minutes. Arrogant soldiers stopped young men and women,

abused and insulted them, and asked questions. Always there was a helicopter or two hovering overhead.

This, of course, is only one face of Belfast - the ugly face of imperialism. The other face is that of the "risen people", who despite their sufferings and their knowledge of the hardships still to come, know that the future is theirs, that the enemy will be defeated and that Ireland will be free and united, a "nation once again". It is this face which leaves the most lasting impression.

The warmth, kindness and generosity of spirit of the people was truly remarkable, or at least it was to a person used to English self-centredness, smugness and philistinism. This of course is a consequence of life spent where people truly have "nothing to lose but their chains": this largeness of mind

and spirit was demonstrated time and again - from the warm welcome and hospitality given by an Irish family who had had several members of the family imprisoned and tortured by the Brits, to the simple, modest and unassuming style of the Sinn Fein councillors present at the social at the Turf Lodge Republican Club on the Friday night. This was a grand social, with a "boxing" match involving Sinn Fein councillors, playing by the Kevin Barry band which came over from Glasgow and the consumption of not a small amount of alcohol.

The Commemoration itself was inspiring and uplifting. Probably moved by the murder of Sean Downes by the RUC on the 1984 Commemoration, several thousand more people, old and young, men and women, gathered at Dunville Park than had the previous year. The only sour

(Cont. on p.6.)

DIARY OF EVENTS

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CONFERENCE AGAINST
POLICE REPRESSION

Saturday 14 September, 12-6,
HARINGEY COMMUNITY CENTRE,
Brabant Rd., LONDON N22,
(Wood Green tube).

Organised by the Campaign
Against Police Repression.

* * * * *
NATIONAL DEMONSTRATION
IN SOLIDARITY WITH
THE PEOPLE OF CHILE

Saturday 14 September,
Assemble: 2 p.m., Temple Lane,
March to Jubilee Gardens,
LONDON

Organised by Chile Solidarity
Campaign.

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DEMONSTRATION AND RALLY
IN REMEMBRANCE OF
SABRA AND CHATILA

Saturday 21 September,
Assemble: Hyde Park Corner,
12 Noon, LONDON.

Organised by British Friends
of Palestine, with speakers from
PLO, ANC, Nicaragua, NUM and
political parties.

* * * * *
CONFERENCE ON THE PHILIPPINES
LONDON

Saturday 28 September.
Watch out for more details, as
well as information on the week
of action on the Philippines.

Organised by Philippines
Support Group.

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THIRD WORLD WAR CONFERENCE
Digbeth Civic Hall, B5,
BIRMINGHAM

Saturday 12 October, 10-6,
Organised by CND, END,
Nicaragua and El Salvador
Solidarity Campaigns.

Those wishing to attend should
register in advance: registra-
tion forms can be obtained from
any of the organisers or by
writing to: Third World War
Conference, c/o END, Southbank
House, Black Prince Road, London
SE1 7EU. The registration fee
is £7.00, and covers the con-
ference fee, an information pack
and lunch.