

FIGHT RACISM! FIGHT IMPERIALISM!

Anti-imperialist paper of the Revolutionary Communist Group

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45,000 JOBS LOST

THATCHER TIGHTENS THE SCREW

Devastating job losses in a number of major industries have been announced in the last few days. In shipbuilding, Scott Lithgow on the Lower Clyde, lost an £86m order, bringing about a predicted 4,000 job losses. 6,000 jobs have gone in shipbuilding in the last 5 months and 3,000 more are to go before April. Fords announced the closure of their foundry at Dagenham with a loss of 2,000 jobs. The unions believe a further 2,000 jobs will go and fear that Fords plan to turn their British operation into assembly only - causing further losses. British Leyland announced 3,500 jobs to go, including 2,000 at its Bathgate plant near Edinburgh. British Rail announced cuts of 3,500 in engineering and also a planned 20,000 redundancies overall in the next 3 years. British Aerospace announced the sacking of 850 workers.

At the same time strikes by the shipyard workers and Land Rover workers, and the NGA workers action at Warrington, were all called off - the latter to end up grovelling through the courts. It has also become clear that the NUM overtime ban is running into difficulties. The fizzling out of these actions sums up the response of traditionally militant sections of the labour movement to the crisis. They have kept their heads down and cooperated in cuts in real wages and wholesale redundancies in the hope that profits would be restored and their jobs saved. They have been criminally led on in this belief by union leaders like Len Murray who reportedly looks back fondly to the days of the unions' cooperation with Churchill's cabinet in the war, and who has in the last year attempted to enshrine his doctrine of no strikes, cooperation and legal grovelling as some kind of 'new' way forward for trade unions.

But the Ford foundry workers, along with thousands of others have had their answer in the last few days: a kick in the teeth is what you get for 'sharing industry's problems'. Even now, with company bankruptcies at record levels and unemployment estimated at 4m, the degree of 'cooperation' that would be necessary, in terms of mass unemployment and human misery, for industry to succeed in returning to the profit levels of the post-war boom, can hardly be contemplated. But there is no doubt that Thatcher can contemplate it. Gloating over the success of her new union legislation and police tactics at Warrington, she is now ready to really tighten the screw. The Prevention of Terrorism Bill (the PTA extended), the Data Protection Bill (police access to medical and DHSS files), the Telecommunications Bill (legal phone tapping) and the Police Bill (extended powers of detention, stop and search), are all on their way through Parliament.

By not fighting back the trade union movement has not only failed to challenge unemployment, it has been stripped of all its rights and allowed the door to open to Thatcher's increasingly fascist-style attacks. The announcement of thousands of redundancies will bring suffering and hardship to thousands of families - but it must at last begin to destroy the belief that cooperation with the capitalists will bring back the good times. Ford union leaders are calling an all-out strike. Scott Lithgow workers have begun a work-in. It remains to be seen whether these and future struggles will begin the fight back and throw out criminals like Murray.

Chris Adamson

'We consider it an unavoidable duty of all peoples and their statesmen to struggle for the future and the survival of mankind, never before so mortally threatened. We ourselves need peace. Peace means a bright and secure future for our people. But peace is not won with compromises or concessions to imperialist aggressiveness. Concessions to the aggressor only encourage its morbid designs and lead the way to the yoke, oppression and surrender.' (Castro's 25th Anniversary Speech)

CUBA 25 YEARS OF REVOLUTIONARY ADVANCE



BANS AND DIRTY TRICKS

In the wake of the Harrods bombing, media-fostered anti-Irish hysteria has led to serious attacks on the right of Irish solidarity activists to conduct political work. Marches have been banned, meetings witch-hunted and police surveillance of activists stepped up. All this alongside the unknown number of people detained in a wave of PTA arrests.

MANCHESTER - PRESS PROVOCATION

A forged press statement, in the name of Manchester Irish Solidarity Committee has been used by Manchester Evening News to orchestrate an anti-MISC campaign. The press statement is a crude and clumsy forgery yet, without checking with MISC, the Evening News, printed an article quoting from it and saying that Manchester Council was meeting to discuss whether MISC's public meeting would be allowed to go ahead on council premises. The Evening News described MISC as:

'an Irish Republican group which has backed the Harrods bombing atrocity.'

Despite these attempts to provoke a ban on the meeting, the Council decided to allow it to go ahead. The Evening News, thwarted in getting the meeting banned then printed an article headlined 'Irish

Extremists in City Venue', giving precise details of the meeting. They hoped no doubt to provoke a fascist attack. The Evening News' foul motives cannot be doubted. They have refused to speak to MISC and refused to print MISC's denial of the original press statement.

Many questions remain to be answered. Who issued the press statement so carefully worded to provoke reaction? Use of forged leaflets and press statements is a stock in trade of the British state's dirty-tricks machine in Ireland and elsewhere. Is this an example of their handiwork? Why did the Evening News breach every Press code of conduct by refusing to print MISC's denial of the press statement? Did they contact the Council about the Press statement in order to get the meeting banned?

In the face of all this the meeting - part of MISC's Week of Action Against Informers - went ahead. Amongst the 40 people there were those from Sinn Fein, IRSP, Asian Youth

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'The United States would need millions of soldiers... just to occupy Cuba and in the end the invading troops would have to withdraw...'
(Castro interview with *Newsweek* 9 January 1984)

Fidel Castro's confidence that the people of Cuba would stand firm and hurl back any would-be invader is no empty rhetoric. It is based on the commitment of the Cuban people to a revolution that turned Cuba from an impoverished client state of US imperialism to a sovereign country whose social and economic achievements starkly contrast with the squalor and poverty of the oppressed Third World.

As one Third World ambassador recently stated in Havana

'You simply will not find here the slums of Jakarta or Calcutta, the

appalling differences between rich and poor don't exist. There are no beggars on the street.'

Twenty-five years ago life expectancy in

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BRUTALITY AT GREENHAM

On 22 January, Chris Drake, a Greenham woman who had addressed the Police Bill demonstration the previous day, was forcibly pulled into the Greenham Common airbase from the Blue Gate. She was locked into a room with 9 policemen who poured tea over her and then beat her up. This is yet another gruesome incident in the brutality faced by the Greenham women day in and day out. In the courts they also face increased repression and legal trickery. Women are continually being dragged out of court to the cells beneath for simply protesting at the gross police lies and fabricated evidence presented against them. The courts are sentencing more and more women to prison for periods which average 30 days, and are attempting to cripple the camp financially by imposing steep fines and setting bail conditions at ridiculously high levels, even for minor charges.

Many women have been banned from the vicinity of the camp - for some this involves distances of up to 100 miles. Newbury Magistrates Court have introduced a stipendiary magistrate, Mr David Miller, to deal with the cases. He has refused women time to pay their fines on the grounds that the peace camp is not a permanent address. Consequently, on 23 January he sentenced 3 women to 30 days in Holloway Prison. A further method being used to silence the women is to deny them trial by jury. Charges such as criminal damage, which entitle jury trials, are being deliberately dropped or altered in order to enable them to rush women through Magistrates Court.

At the peace camp the women are being subjected to continuous harassment, foul verbal abuse and physical threats, especially from the soldiers. At night, soldiers smear mud on the women's belongings including toothbrushes, they urinate on the women's benders - shelters made from polythene and wood, and throw metal poles and spikes into them. These incidents of intimidation are being recorded, and tapes are being used to col-

lect evidence in order to bring charges against the soldiers. On top of all this, women are being banned from using many shops, supermarkets, pubs and restaurants in Newbury on the pretext that custom is being driven away.

'GREENHAM WOMEN ARE EVERYWHERE'

However, all these attempts to demoralise the women and undermine their struggle continue to backfire. On 29 December 1982, 3 women made a laughing stock of Heseltine and the pompous statements of the Ministry of Defence, by cutting through the perimeter fence, running across the airfield, and occupying the main traffic control tower for 3 hours - without so much as being spotted! The women were able to browse through top security documents, referring to procedures to be taken upon the landing of nuclear warheads at the base. Before giving themselves up they scribbled 'Greenham Women Are Everywhere' and 'No Cruise' all over the classified documents! The 3 women now face criminal damage charges.

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HEROIN

The following article was written for FRFI by a youth from one of Scotland's council estates. Heroin is circulating freely in all of the urban working class areas of Scotland and England. At £5 a 'shot' it is cheaper than alcohol or cannabis in the length of its effects – and much cheaper than a cinema trip for two. Heroin deadens the young unemployed to their plight, turning them to anti-social crime against their own families, friends and neighbours, and eventually bringing prison, illness or death.

The article speaks for itself of the effect of heroin on the working class youth of Britain; however the title chosen by Vini is truer than he knew. As well as being a weapon to kill the spirit of fightback in the ghettos of Britain, heroin is a major weapon against the oppressed peoples.

It is one more useless crop – whole areas of arable land are devoted to the poppyfields which yield heroin for traffic to the Western nations at high profit.

In the *Guardian* of 4.1.84 Paul Brown revealed the cynicism and hypocrisy of 'freedom loving' Reaganites and Thatcherites. Whilst they laud the 'freedom fighters' in Afghanistan they are quite aware that these reactionaries' guns are bought by trade in heroin grown in the border areas of Pakistan. Some 3 million refugees from the Afghan war, enjoying the 'protection' of Zia's fascist government, provide the cheap labour for the tending and harvesting of the poppies. This relieves both the Pakistan government and the western promoters of the Afghan war of any expense for the refugees' plight which they and they alone are responsible for. Two other benefits accrue to the imperialists:

1. They do not have the expense or potentially embarrassing exposure of personally buying and supplying the weapons needed to turn the clock of progress back in Afghanistan. Thus the reactionaries can be painted as 'independent freedom fighters' and not a stooge army for imperialism; and
2. The heroin which the weapons are traded for flows freely in the 'trouble spots' of Britain, deadening minds and devastating lives and giving the police, courts and prisons easy pickings.

The article shows a growing class consciousness and awareness among the youth about the cynicism of our rulers and the need to unite with all those forces fighting imperialism if their barbarities are to be fought.

Heroin is the solution which the British state offers them and yet by joining with the progressive forces around the world with all of the oppressed in Britain they will become an unbeatable force. In the words of a young FRFI supporter from the area 'The choice is either Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! or smack' – the anti-imperialist, anti-racist struggle or heroin addiction and despair.

Maggie Lindsay

THE UNSEEN IMPERIALIST TOOL

Kids naturally experiment with ways in which to become high from an early age... The desperate need and method comes from a harsh reality.

Generally, kids brought up in 'middle or upper class' areas have less of a need to escape their realities. When they are younger, money is plentiful and many develop hobbies and interests which will take their minds from their reality. Whereas, working class kids rarely have an abundance of money, in fact they have more an abundance of social problems (inadequate housing, youth clubs etc) so mostly, they hang around chip shops, pubs or street corners.

Kids living in council estates seem to have a reputation for trouble so inevitably they receive police harassment which quickly leads to resentment for all authority.

The kid who causes trouble in class, who can fight well, who will do anything for a dare (especially if it is illegal) is looked up to by his friends. Whether this kid is in a gang or not there is an unseen pressure to prove to those around him that he is hard and afraid of nothing and no-one.

And so it starts, cigarettes, alcohol, hash and pills; apart from the escape given by the drugs he has proved himself 'afraid of nothing'.

When teenagers leave school and go out into the world to try and find jobs, they have to prove themselves yet again. But jobs are almost impossible to find so most of them are totally rejected by society and to have that feeling of rejection at sixteen is hard to live with.

Hanging around the streets without money, still dependent on parents who can ill afford it, for support. Nothing but depression, decay all around. They might well

wonder what they have done to deserve such a fate.

Some will try the ultimate escape: heroin. Heroin creates a euphoric trance-like state. All worries, all responsibilities and all boredom are lifted from the 'user' ten seconds after sticking the needle into his or her arm.

And so they tell friends, who also try it and so the plague is spread. It is contagious, being passed on from friend to friend like a disease infecting the unemployed youth – and not only the unemployed and the poor, but these are the people who are most at risk.

They begin to mix with junkies who talk of big money through stealing and of being stoned and feeling great. They do not mention withdrawing, prisons, hepatitis and death from overdose – just the 'good points', if that's the right words. It all seems so easy, so exciting and it beats being bored all the time. No-one believes that he or she will become enslaved to heroin.

Heroin at the same time as creating a euphoric state creates apathy – for anything that is, except heroin. It is a very selfish god.

Most working class kids are of the opinion that there are poor people and rich people and that's the way it shall always be. They see no point in joining political parties who will change things for the better in the future. The need is there now, for help to relieve the strains of seemingly having no future, but the need is being satisfied with drugs, drugs which keep the youth of this country apathetic. Apathy hangs over the working class youth like a cloud keeping them in darkness to the possibilities within their grasp.

It seems to suit governments, creating apathy amongst the work-

ing classes because apathy will stop any change, or revolution better than any army or police force could ever do.

It makes me wonder why when there is an explosion in the amount of drugs being consumed in this country, why the government has cut back on custom control – ie it is becoming easier all the time to get drugs into Britain. In any of the council estates of Edinburgh it would take a junkie less than 15 minutes to 'score' heroin. In times of economic difficulties, governments have always had wars to slim down the working class and keep them in check. Now with the advent of nuclear weapons far too much would be lost. Now there is a new weapon to keep the working class in check 'in their place'. Boredom and apathy which has infected the youth like a plague. Not that I believe the government spread this plague, but it is certainly taking no steps to cure it. The children of today are the people of tomorrow – and with a plague like this, tomorrow will be cancelled due to lack of interest.

IT'S DUMB

Graffiti written on a stair
People walk by, they don't care
Glue sniffers, junkies everywhere
People walk by, they don't care
Kids with no jobs, kids with no money
Being poor, it's not very funny
Living in slums, they steal and fight
And there's no-one there to help
their plight

So they go out and get high
Some get addicted, some get high
Some get married, settle down
Move to another part of town
Bring up kids, living in a slum
And it starts again – it's dumb
Vini F
Edinburgh

SATURDAY 14 April

Join our activities:

Picket the South African Embassy Trafalgar Square from 11am to 4pm. Smash British collaboration with apartheid! Victory to the ANC and SWAPO! Victory to the UDF!

Commemorate the Easter Rising 1916 Street meeting and theatre in support of the Irish people's struggle for freedom. 11am-4pm at the free speech area, Wood Green library (nearest tube Wood Green) N22.

Anti-Imperialist Rally

Unite to fight racism and imperialism.

Mass rally, large hall, Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq. WC1 (nearest tube Holborn) 7pm – 10pm

Admission: 50p waged
30p unwaged

The aim of the rally is to involve all people who recognise the vital importance of building a strong, united anti-imperialist movement in Britain, prepared to fight for democratic rights and show solidarity with all liberation struggles

Speakers invited include: the Southern African and Irish Liberation Movements, New Jewel Movement, Cuban, Nicaraguan and Vietnamese Embassies, the PLO, Newham 8, Greenham Common Women, NCCL, Ken Livingstone, and many others. **Speakers already confirmed include:** Lebanese National Movement, Gareth Pierce (solicitor), Michael Holden (ACTT Shop Steward), Stoke Newington and Hackney Defence Campaign, Asian Collective of East London and the

Anti-Imperialist Weekend LONDON 14-15 APRIL 1984

The imperialist crisis has reached a stage where even the mounting super-profits wrung from the starvation, poverty and terror imposed on the oppressed peoples of the world are no longer sufficient to bolster the decaying crisis-ridden capitalist system. The imperialists are now forced to take the offensive against the working class in the imperialist countries themselves. The working class can only go forward if they unite with the oppressed peoples and socialist countries in the struggle to overthrow imperialism.

In Britain today the necessary and urgent political task of communists is to use every available opportunity in all spheres of struggle, through propaganda, agitation and practical activity, to build an anti-imperialist movement out of which a fighting revolutionary force will emerge to challenge British imperialism.

On the weekend of 14 and 15 April, Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! will be organising a series of events in London to involve as many people as possible who see the need to unite to fight against imperialism.

Forthcoming Publications

£4,000 needed

Money for the publications fund has come in slowly. We need £4,000 in order to produce this vital political information and ensure that it reaches as wide a cross-section of people as possible. Many thanks to all who have donated so far. This includes supporters from Leeds, Edinburgh and London, and individual supporters, Mr AHH Knott, Tony Bloor and readers from St Albans. So far we have received £291.60. We have a long way to go and we urge you to get your contribution to us as soon as possible. Send to: Publications Fund, Larkin Publications BCM Box 5909, London WC1N 3XX

The Revolutionary Road to Communism in Britain: Manifesto of the Revolutionary Communist Group.

This has gone to press and will be available at the beginning of March.
Price: £1.50 (+30p p&p) 175 pages

Ireland: the key to the British revolution by David Reed
This will be available from the beginning of April.
Price: £3.95 (+50p p&p) 450 pages

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SUNDAY 15 April FRFI PUBLIC DAY SCHOOL

In March and April this year two important political publications will appear:

The Revolutionary Road to Communism in Britain
Manifesto of the Revolutionary Communist Group.
and
Ireland: the key to the British revolution by David Reed

It will also be the 10th anniversary of the formation of the RCG

To mark these important events FRFI is organising a public dayschool from 9.30am to 5.30pm at Caxton House Settlement, 129 St John's Way, London N19 3RU (nearest tube Archway)

The dayschool will discuss the political positions of the manifesto and FRFI and will include: introductory sessions, workshops, general discussion and films. Workshops around the following topics: Ireland, South Africa, anti-racist struggles, political economy, and the Labour and trade union movement.

There will be speakers from FRFI at the dayschool. Also invited are representatives of anti-imperialist, democratic and anti-racist movements.

Price: £2.50 waged
£1.50 unwaged
Special tickets in advance:
Rally and dayschool £2.00 waged;
£1.00 unwaged

ALL WELCOME

SOUTH AFRICA

HANDS OFF ANGOLA

The reality behind South Africa's invasion is very different. The racists claim to have killed over 400 SWAPO, Cuban and Angolan soldiers in battles which took place in Mulondo, Kahama, Caiundo and Cuvelai. Both the Angolans and SWAPO categorically deny this. The Angolan Defence Ministry statement said that only FAPLA was involved. SWAPO deny the existence of any base or missiles near Lubango where the South Africans say they bombed SWAPO headquarters on 30 December. Again the Angolans stated that the attack was directed against the defenceless civilian population and against FAPLA military units. Not one Namibian was killed.

The apartheid regime has also been reluctant to report its losses in the war on Angola. In fact the South Africans have 27 officially dead and 10 aircraft shot down including 2 Mirage fighters. Numerous vehicles were destroyed and a mobile 155mm G-5 cannon which was developed with the aid of US technology was captured by FAPLA.

APARTHEID 'FOREIGN POLICY'

South Africa's war against Angola and the other Frontline States is a 'total strategy' of repression and violence intended to destroy support for the liberation movements SWAPO and the ANC, and to destabilise the People's Republics. Defence Minister of Angola, Cde Pedro Maria Tonha expressed this recently:

'The sole purpose of the occupation of an area in Cunene is to destabilise the People's Republic of Angola and put an end to revolution, and especially liberation movements in this part of Africa. This means destabilising every revolutionary situation in this area'

South African foreign policy was aptly summed up by a director of the Institute of Strategic Studies in Pretoria:

'We must mobilise... a capability (power, leverage or violence) for effective resistance... this means a capacity to withstand challenges to our own territorial integrity and political and socio-economic order, as well as to exert pressure on other, mostly weaker, states, to make their behaviour consonant with our interests.'

This 'pressure' on 'other, mostly weaker states' includes the financial and practical support given to the counter-revolutionaries of UNITA in Angola and the MNR in Mozambique to commit acts of sabotage and terror against the local population. The scale of these attacks, as well as direct aggression by the apartheid regime, have escalated rapidly in the past year.

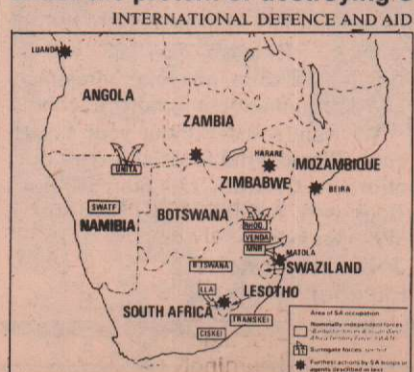
This is all part of South Africa's 'total strategy'. A year ago South Africa was under pressure to withdraw its forces from Namibia, which it has illegally occupied for 17 years, and begin the process towards independence for Namibia. This it has categorically refused to do. On the contrary, over the past year, with the considerable help of US imperialism, the apartheid regime has demanded that any steps towards Namibian independence be preceded by the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and a withdrawal of any support the Frontline States give to SWAPO and the ANC. These demands have been accompanied by real and threatened military attacks.

IMPERIALISM'S HELPING HAND

No-one can doubt that US and British

On 6 December South Africa launched its latest and most brutal attack on Angola. Throughout December the South African Defence Forces (SADF) carried out bombing raids, artillery attacks and ambushes against the People's Liberation Army of Angola (FAPLA). At one stage there were nine battalions, about 10,000 troops, and four units of heavy artillery and tanks inside Angola. These were supported by 100 fighter bombers. The SADF also used non-conventional weapons including chemical weapons, defoliants and napalm.

This full-scale invasion marked yet another chapter in South Africa's aggression against the Frontline States. This was the largest attack on Angola since the eve of Angola's independence in 1975, but South Africa has occupied parts of Southern Angola for the last two years and has continually attacked and bombed villages in the area, under the pretext of destroying SWAPO bases.



Map showing South African aggression.

imperialism's involvement in South Africa's current attacks on the Frontline States. It was the USA which first provided the plan to link the withdrawal of Cuban troops to Namibia's independence. Indeed there is a remarkable resemblance between the US foreign policy of international banditry, fuelled by Reagan's world-wide 'crusade against communism', and South Africa's acts against its neighbours. The invasion of Grenada provided Botha with the only example he needed of how to get away with invading an independent neighbour, subduing its population and installing a puppet regime more favourable to imperialism. This is precisely what South Africa would like to get away with in Angola.

South Africa has learnt also how to handle the press during an invasion. Like Britain during the Malvinas/Falklands war, and the USA during the invasion of Grenada, South Africa allowed no press into the invaded area until the troops were withdrawing. And

EQUITY Cultural collaborators

On 9 January 1984, the Greater London Council (GLC) adopted an Anti-Apartheid Declaration, which commits it to cut all links between itself and the apartheid regime. As part of this, the GLC plans to ban all entertainers who have performed in South Africa from appearing in GLC-run halls and theatres. This will affect artists like Spike Milligan, Cliff Richard, Rod Stewart, Shirley Bassey and many, many more who have accepted vast sums offered to them to perform in racist South Africa. The actors' union, Equity, has taken a disgusting, racist, reactionary stand. It refuses to ban its 30,000 members from performing in South Africa, and has asked them to reaffirm the union's policy of 'defending any artist who is victimised for following his own conscience and appearing on the South African stage.' Equity have stated that it is prepared to take legal action against the GLC to safeguard their members' jobs.

We urge readers to write letters of protest to Equity (81 Harley Street, London W1N 2AB), urging them to enforce the cultural boycott of the vile apartheid system, and to denounce all their members whose pockets are lined with apartheid's blood money.
Ruby Khan

then it flew in only specially vetted journalists, like Fred Bridgland of the *Sunday Times*, who could be relied on to report only apartheid's lies. The British press dutifully reported that the South Africans have withdrawn from Angola. This is a lie. South African terrorists are continuing their operations in southern Angola.

As usual both Britain and the USA abstained on resolutions in the United Nations on 20 December and 6 January, calling for the unconditional withdrawal of South African troops from Angola. Whilst hypocritically condemning the invasion, both countries continue to supply arms to South Africa for use against the People's Republics.

On 15 December South Africa proposed a 'mutual force disengagement of the



Devastation at Cahama; the result of South Africa's last invasion of Angola, 1981

Namibia/Angola border as the first step toward a peaceful settlement in Namibia'. The proposed truce was to begin on 31 January and last for 30 days or more. This proposal was intended to fool the world, for South Africa had already begun its invasion on 6 December. With one hand they offered peace, whilst with the other they were engaged in the real business of provoking a bloody war—a familiar imperialist trick. However, Angola has only accepted the offer of a ceasefire if South Africa initiates the process of independence for Namibia. Angola is not prepared to sacrifice the independence of Namibia for peace in her own country—a great act of international solidarity. South Africa has also agreed to meet SWAPO for talks concerning the independence of Namibia.

HANDS OFF ANGOLA!

The battle has begun, in Southern Africa as in the rest of the world, to destroy those countries which have won their freedom, so that once again they are open for imperialist exploitation. Angola is fighting on the side of freedom and requires the solidarity of all anti-imperialists and communists in this struggle. The determination of the Angolan people has not changed and this is the example which the South Africans fear most. For the Angolan people have not only fought to rid their country of imperialist oppressors, they have continued to fight on the side of freedom.

**Victory to the MPLA!
Victory to SWAPO**

Nomsa Langa

AAM month of action



MARCH 1984

FULL DETAILS OF EVENTS ON PAGE 14

24 million black people in South Africa are viciously repressed and exploited by the apartheid regime so as to ensure massive profits for British, US and other capitalist nations. While the 4 million whites live in incredible luxury, black South Africans live in unimaginable poverty.

Under the apartheid system black people are denied all democratic rights. They cannot vote, their political organisations such as the ANC have been banned and their leaders imprisoned. Independent black trade unions like SAAWU face constant persecution, their leaders are detained, tortured and murdered. Families are forcibly separated and removed from land they have occupied for generations and herded into the arid deserts called Bantustans. Tens of thousands of black people die every year of starvation, disease and poverty. The mighty armed forces of the fascist regime have escalated its bloody war against the Front Line states with the invasion of the People's Republic of Angola. 100,000 South Africa troops illegally occupy Namibia. South Africa also arms, finances and trains counter-revolutionary organisations such as the MNR in Mozambique and UNITA in Angola.

BRITISH IMPERIALISM SUPPORTS APARTHEID

The apartheid regime would collapse without imperialist support. British imp-

erialism is however the main backer of apartheid and was responsible for its creation. British companies and banks have £11bn invested in South Africa and make staggering profits while black people starve. Two British banks—Barclays and Standard Chartered Bank control two thirds of South Africa's banking business, lending billions to prop up the apartheid economy. In 1982 Barclays, whose assets in South Africa are £7bn made a profit of £80m. British companies such as Rowntree Mackintosh enforce apartheid laws denying their workers a decent wage, refusing to recognise their unions and shooting down and sacking workers.

Plesseys, and GEC Marconi supply the racists with sophisticated equipment they need to carry out bombing raids into Mozambique and Angola and to maintain their occupation of Namibia. British Leyland supplies landrovers to the South African police and army. The British multinational RTZ defies international law by robbing the uranium from the Namibian people to fuel nuclear power stations in this country.

THE PEOPLE FIGHT BACK

Millions of black people in South Africa are engaged in constant struggle against the apartheid regime—in schools, factories, in communities, in shanty towns, townships, Bantustans and farms. The armed wing of the ban-

ned ANC—Umkhonto we Sizwe is escalating its armed struggle alongside the development of the mass struggle. Recently a massive political movement, the United Democratic Front (whose patrons are imprisoned leaders of the ANC—Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu) has emerged to challenge the apartheid regime. Despite attempts to ban their meetings, arrest and imprison their leaders, the UDF is growing from strength to strength as it unites all sectors of the oppressed black people fighting for their liberation. Today the UDF represents 2 million people from over 500 affiliated organisations.

STAND WITH THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA—END BRITISH COLLABORATION!

In fighting back against the apartheid regime, black people are also challenging its main backer British imperialism. The racist British state whilst propping up the apartheid regime is also increasing its oppression of black and working class people in this country. Systematically it is increasing the powers of the police, courts, prisons and army to be used against those who fight back in this country.

The oppressed in this country have a common interest with the black people of South Africa. Their struggles are against a common enemy—British imperialism.

In March, the AAM has called a Month of Action against apartheid. FRFI supports this month of action and throughout the country it is organising demonstrations, meetings, pickets and street meetings calling for an End to British Collaboration with Apartheid. We urge you to join these activities and all other actions organised by the AAM nationally or in your area. For further information about the month of action contact FRFI, BCM Box 5909, London WC1N 3XX, or AAM, 13 Mandela Street, London NW1 0DW.
Ruby Khan and Eddie Abrahams

FIGHT RACISM

Bradford

RACISM IN SCHOOLS

A new Campaign Against Racism in Bradford Schools (CARBS) has been set up following a mass picket on 5 January, called by Bradford Anti-Apartheid Group, which prevented a British National Party (BNP) press conference taking place. The conference had been called to allow Stanley Garnett, ex-headmaster of Delf Hill Middle School, to express his support for the BNP's campaign for an apartheid-style education system in Bradford schools, whereby black and white pupils would be racially segregated.



HALLINGS

The Campaign is demanding

- 1 That the National Union of Teachers works for the expulsion of all racist and pro-apartheid teachers from schools and supports the call for the removal of all racist and pro-apartheid teachers from schools in Bradford.
- 2 The removal of all racist and pro-apartheid literature from libraries, schools and colleges in Bradford.
- 3 That the Education Committee of Bradford Council actively supports the anti-racist struggle and develops a programme promoting anti-racist and anti-apartheid speakers and displays in Bradford schools.

A petition has been launched with the above 3 demands. CARBS will be fighting all cases of racial harassment and discrimination in Bradford schools.

We want to hear about your experience. Please write to us and send donations to CARBS, c/o Starry Plough Bookshop, 6 Edmund St. Bradford 5, West Yorkshire.

John Stevenson
Elizabeth Walker

The 200-strong picket united a wide range of organisations and individuals opposed to racism, and was supported by Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! Asian Youth Movement, Bradford Peace Group and many other organisations. A number of councillors also supported the picket. At the rally, Bradford AA and FRFI supporters told the picketers of the extent of British collaboration with apartheid and of the connection between the struggle against racism in South Africa and the struggle against racism in Britain.

The result of the BNP campaign has been an upsurge in fascist activity and racial attacks on black pupils in many Bradford schools.

Eccleshill Upper School has been one school where fascist pupils have carried out racist attacks. In November, two Asian schoolboys, Waheed Manzoor and Qasair Mahmood, were too afraid to return to the school after being beaten up and racially abused. When racist thugs attacked Asian boys playing football, a white racist was subsequently suspended from the school but an Asian pupil was expelled.

With fascist activity on the increase and well-documented evidence of the widespread racism in schools, the fight-back must begin now. At a press conference called by Bradford AA and FRFI, the Campaign Against Racism in Bradford Schools was launched.

in brief

Identity checks

Last month we reported that 'ethnic monitoring', ie race checks, of the unemployed is to be introduced. On 9 January 1984 the Department of Health and Social Security announced that they are planning to computerise the entire social security system and are introducing plastic, personal identity cards. This card is to carry the holder's national insurance number and when fed into a computer will give instant information on the carrier. The Illegal Immigration Unit has always used NI numbers as a method of tracking down 'illegal' immigrants. It is also a prominent part of the chief of the Metropolitan Police, torturer Sir Kenneth Newman's strategy to computerise information. The Metropolitan Police are building up a vast store of computerised information gained through surveillance. This information is linked to a Special Branch computer which deals with 'illegal' immigration and drug offences. The cards will clearly be used for on-the-spot identity checks, especially against black people. The card is being slowly phased in, first to immigrants, school leavers and people who change their names - ie women who get married. It is envisaged by the DHSS that in a few years' time everyone will carry one.

Sarah Moore

Racism in the NHS

Racial discrimination is widespread in the National Health Service. A report by the Commission for Racial Equality says the NHS is complacent and fails to apply equal opportunity for its employees. The report shows that black workers are concentrated in low status jobs. 30% of the hospital doctors born overseas only have 16.8% of the consultants posts, and most of those are in geriatric and mental illness fields. In addition, black people are pressured to take state-enrolled nurse courses when they are sufficiently qualified to take state-registered nurse courses.

Another study of hospitals by North London Polytechnic shows that in London racial discrimination is mixed with sexual discrimination. This study found that 55% of ancillary and maintenance workers are black and women, whereas 43% of doctors are white and men.

Health authorities and unions will be discussing the report. When the talking is over, will there be any action from the unions? The trade union movement's record in betraying the struggles of black workers is well known.

Liz Cherry

Racist attack in Dundee

Last year an Asian man, Mr Zaffer, was attacked in the Hilltown area of the City. He was on his way to work when three youths attacked him. They assaulted Mr Zaffer by seizing his arms, punching him and kicking him on the head and body and butting him on the head. They also threw bricks at him but luckily for Mr Zaffer none of them hit him. Mr Zaffer tried to defend himself when the youths attacked and remembered landing one punch before they grabbed his arms.

The police and court this time could not refuse, as they usually do, to admit that this was an unprovoked racist attack, given the statement of one youth charged, 'We are always fighting Pakis anyway'.

Careen

Mr Royal loses appeal

On 6 January the Bristol courts refused Mr Royal's appeal, charging him another £200 costs and £100 for legal aid. This followed last summer's conviction for 'assaulting a D.C.', when he was given two years conditional discharge (see FRFI No 25). The magistrates refused to believe Mr Royal's account of the 'assault', when the police punched and kicked him to the ground, leaving him with a permanent injury to his knee. The glass in the front door, smashed in when they found it closed, became an accident caused by Mr Royal's elbow as he 'struggled'. So justice once again was seen not to be done. The extra fines heaped on are intended to deter others from fighting for the truth to be known. They will deter nobody!

Sheila Marston

KWAME TOURE EXCLUDED FROM BRITAIN

The British government has once again shown that British 'freedom of speech' is not for black people or for those who oppose racism and imperialism. On Sunday 22 January, the Home Office refused Kwame Toure, formerly Stokely Carmichael, entry to Britain. He had been invited by a number of black organisations to speak in a number of British cities. On arrival at Heathrow airport, Kwame was held for 5½ hours, denied all contact with lawyers or friends and then deported to the US. In such cases, an MP's intervention normally temporarily stops a deportation, but in this case the Home Secretary put a block on any intervention. The Home Secretary, Leon Brittan, claimed that Kwame's remarks during his October 1983 tour of Britain were inflammatory and likely to incite public disorder. His basic message to black people then was the need for an organised fightback against British racism. He also called upon black people to support the Irish struggle, stating



ish racism and imperialism he is not allowed to enter the country.

This exclusion follows fast on the Home Office's refusal to grant Jonathan Bloch the right to stay in Britain because he has written a book exposing British intelligence. FRFI condemns the Home Secretary's action against Kwame Toure and demands his immediate right of entry into Britain. The British government must not be allowed to decide who will or will not speak to black and working class people!

Eddie Abrahams

'When Ireland is involved in a struggle against British imperialism... it is our job to aid them in the struggle.'

Because Kwame spoke out against Brit-

REGGAE DANCERS HARASSED

Two examples of reggae dances over the last year paint a horrifying trend. Last July, expecting a large turnout of black youth for DJ Yellowman, the dance was held in Pickets Lock sports centre (North London) which is isolated in the middle of nowhere. Cars and buses were stopped by police who checked tickets before the journey could continue to the centre. Once there, behind the bushes could be seen coach loads of police, similar to carnival time; above a helicopter patrolled and observed. On entering, people were searched by police and security men who had the use of metal detectors. The top balcony inside was occupied by scores of police - just in case...

October saw Eeka Mouse at the Academy. Here again a few thousand youths were having a night out. Things were different from Pickets Lock. You could see

what Newman means when he says 'non abrasive contact'; not one uniformed police was in sight. But at the Academy a horrifying sight was to be seen: the police had been replaced by scores of security men who had in their charge alsatian and doberman dogs. Tickets were checked up to three times by men with dogs who not only patrolled outside the building but were actually inside the dance hall itself. Meanwhile plain clothes police walked around the dance hall trying to look casual whilst gathering information. In complete contrast to this was the treatment of the GLC anti racist dance again at the Academy in January where a few thousand people had turned out to see Aswad and guests. Despite the large turnout, there was no large police or security men/dog presence, this due to the fact that the majority of the audience was white, and not in so desperate 'need' for social control. But wherever black people gather, be it a blues or a dance, a picket or a demo, the state's response is always the same: raids, harassment and intimidation. Hired thugs with dogs hardly mask the reality and we too will have our response to any form repression takes.

Ace Kelly

Defend Hosne Begum

The Hosne Begum Action Committee is fighting racist and sexist discrimination in British Telecom (BT). Hosne, a black woman, joined BT in 1979. While a probationary Clerical Assistant (CA) she was forced to do the work of two CAs which a white woman worker had refused to do. Junior and less experienced CAs were meanwhile being promoted over her head. When Hosne was finally promoted to Clerical Officer (CO) in 1981 she was, 7½ months later, demoted so that her job could be given to a white male worker. Her records have been falsified and she has been threatened with the sack for complaining about this discrimination.

Hosne's union, the CPSA, took no effective action instead 'enmeshing Hosne in the usual rhetorics and rituals' and advising her not to take her com-

plaint to the Commission for Racial Equality. The same 'advice' had been offered by BT management. Hosne is, however, determined to fight and the Hosne Begum Action Committee has been formed to win her reinstatement as a CO. The Committee emphasises that Hosne's case is not isolated and has compiled information exposing widespread racist and sexist discrimination in BT. The Committee is also fighting for the elimination of all racism and sexism at BT and for the eradication of BT's 'anti-working class policies and practices'.

Readers wanting further information can contact the Hosne Begum Action Committee, 96 Swindon Road, Wembley, Middlesex HOA 4SG. (Telephone 01-902 8984 - evenings).
Eddie Abrahams

NEWHAM 8 ARE INNOCENT

On 22 December the 5 week trial of the Newham Eight ended with four of the defendants being convicted of 'causing an affray'. All eight were acquitted of the major conspiracy charges (see FRFI 35). The youth were arrested in September 1982 when attacked by three plain clothes police. They had been defending school children from a spate of racist attacks which the police had ignored.

The four convicted, Dalbir Johal, Kalbar Singh Khela, Gurgit Hunjan and Vipun Pathak, were each sentenced to 50 hours community service on 20 January. On sentencing trial judge Lymbery added insult to injury when he said 'The work which will be given should be that which encouraged racial harmony'. This outrageous statement flies in the face of the realities demonstrated throughout the trial in the courtroom, which proved that it is the black community in Newham which experiences the daily double attack from police and racist thugs. One defence witness, Reverend Herbie Boudier, told of an attack, three years ago, which left him needing 25 stitches to his face, and despite identifying his attackers the police refused to charge them.

To the end the police witnesses denied all knowledge of racism or racist attacks in Newham. They even denied knowledge of the Home Office report which found that Asian people were 50 times

more likely to be attacked than anyone else!

Umesh Desai of the Newham Eight Defence Campaign told FRFI:

'The feeling in Newham is one of anger and frustration. Not only have the police failed to protect us, but the courts are refusing to recognise the situation. That leaves us with no option but to decide how best to defend ourselves.'

Determined to smash the campaign the police made a number of arrests in Newham while the trial was taking place. The trial of three such arrested comrades who have been charged with obstruction will be on 23 February at Stratford Magistrates Court at 9.45am. The Newham 8 are organising a picket. We urge all readers to support it.

Self defence is no offence!
Newham Eight innocent!
Ruby Khan

THE BACKGROUND

Just as in Britain, the French car, steel and coal industries face a severe crisis of profitability. Plans are afoot to cut 200,000 jobs over the coming year in heavy industry, in an attempt to become competitive through modernisation. Mitterrand's 'socialist' government has fully embraced this modernisation plan. French 'socialism' like British 'labourism' aims to manage capitalism. The only difference with Thatcherism is the hand-wringing and crocodile tears these 'left wing' politicians indulge in as they sacrifice the interests of the poor and the oppressed to the demands of capitalism.

The Talbot factory at Poissy near Paris was the first testing ground for government policy. Talbot's share of the French market had fallen from 10% to 4.5%, and management decided on a plan involving 7,000 jobs lost, of which 3,000 were to be through forced redundancies. On 7 December the factory went on strike. The government stepped in and by 19 December a 'compromise' was agreed. There would be 2,000 forced redundancies, with retraining schemes talked of. By this time the workers were occupying the factory and management announced its closure until the New Year.

80% of the factory workers are immigrants, most from Morocco, with a substantial number from Senegal and Mali. When the car industry was in full expansion, young healthy men had been deliberately sought out in remote Moroccan villages and brought to France to carry out the dangerous unhealthy labour on the assembly line for a pittance. These men were lodged in management-run hostels and had their 'welfare' taken care of by the house union (the CSL). As mainly unskilled and semiskilled workers on the shop floor they suffered the racism of the many foremen, security guards and white collar workers who had fought in the Algerian war. The general climate in France has become more and more racist over the past year, with the National Front candidates winning large numbers of votes in local elections. This has been reflected in growing tension inside the factory, which finally exploded.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Although the CSL control the majority of the white collar workers, they had lost their grip of the shop floor during a period of violent strikes in 1982. The CGT (Communist-dominated trade union) recruited heavily as a result and by 1983 nearly half the trade union shop floor delegates were CGT. The Communist Party therefore had potentially enormous influence in the factory. However their role in France today is not that of communists defending the oppressed and fighting for the interests of the working class. One of their leading members is Minister for Employment in the Mitterrand government, and as a party they share Mitterrand's perspective: to modernise French industry and build a strong French capitalist economy. How could they lead a fight against redundancies when they were directly responsible for them?

The Minister, Jack Ralite, expressed clearly this mis-named party's conception of class struggle today. He said in an interview in December,

'The working class is changing. A new face is gradually emerging. Its work - without denying the value of the semi-skilled worker - is more qualified, more intellectual. It should be drawn more into management... It is time we moved towards a situation where labour and capital recognise their joint interests and create surplus value together.'

And therefore,

'Workers must continue to be vigilant over wage claims and working conditions for example' but 'they must also take on their new responsibilities.'

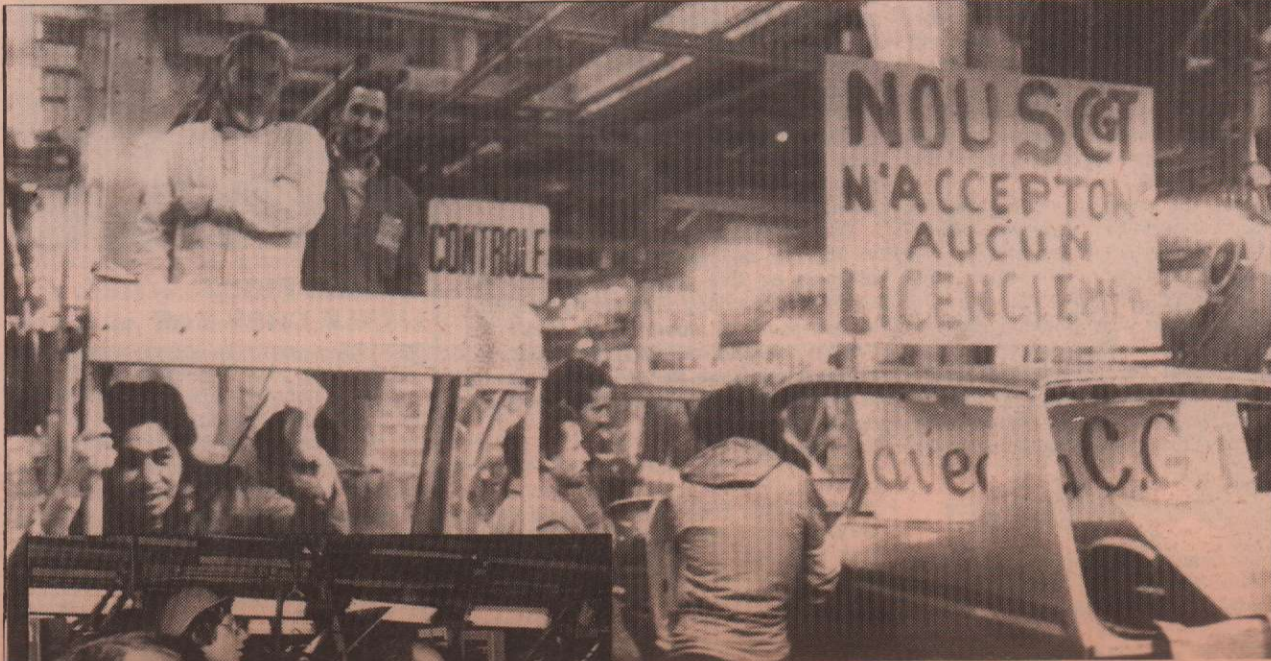
Racist violence hits French car plant

Early in the New Year our television screens showed scenes of intense violence in the French factory of Talbot-Poissy. White workers were seen hurling bolts and tools at mainly North African workers who had been on strike for a month. The initial issue, of mass redundancies, had given way to the more immediate one of overt and violent racism.

tion' for the government, and no solution at all for the 'black French' families who had made a life for themselves in France over the years.

By 26 December, the redundant black workers had lost all patience with the

POPPERFOTO



Above: striking worker at the Talbot factory in Poissy holding up banners reading 'We do not accept any redundancies'. Left: fighting on the production line lasted three days; strikers were attacked by scabs armed with steel bolts and slings.

CGT's lead, and a stormy meeting was held in the factory. There was fury at the CGT's decision to 'make a conciliatory gesture' by allowing 100 vehicles to leave the factory in the hope of negotiations being reopened. The CFDT were the only union to take up the slogan 'No redundancies' and lead the strike and occupation, in response to militant pressure. But even they were at the same time negotiating redundancy terms at top level.

In a press conference four black CGT delegates distanced themselves from their union and spoke on behalf of the redundant immigrant workers. They demanded a subsidy of £16,000 for returning to their home countries - ie an estimated cost of unemployment or retraining pay. This became a major demand, phrased in the following way: if you refuse to let us work, if you condemn us to the social scrapheap, and if the trade unions abandon us to this fate, then you can pay us a meaningful sum to leave this country.

FIRST THE RIOT POLICE - THEN THE RACISTS

Meanwhile the long-awaited tripartite meeting took place, at which management announced that it had taken steps to evict the strikers. A great step forward for the CP! The couple of hundred workers actively occupying the factory hardened their stance. The CGT began attacking the CFDT and the immigrant rank and file, for being 'divisive'. When foremen and lower management were denied entry to 'maintain and clean the machines and buildings', the CGT accused the strikers of alienating potential allies! They should have been allowed in and discussed with!

On New Years Eve the brutal riot police moved in and evicted the men. The factory reopened on 3 January with many violent incidents between strikers and scabs. The CFDT declared that the strike would continue as long as one redundancy remained. The CGT tried to demoralise the strikers, insisting they were only a small minority led astray by the rival union.

Nora Trehel, the local CGT leader, pleaded for a return to work to save Talbot and 15,000 jobs. The strikers

heckled her: '17,000!' And when she retorted, 'Is that what you want: 17,000 redundancies?', they came straight back at her: 'We couldn't care less about Talbot's death: since we are already dead.'

Confronted by the sight of white racists hurling bolts and wielding metal bars in their assault on black workers, Nora Trehel turned the situation on its head. According to her the strikers' first priority must be to ensure that no blame could be placed on them for provoking racism! 'Do you want the TV to say that immigrants cause French factories to shut? Do you want to give arguments to the fascists and racists in this country?'

While France sat up in amazement at seeing the strength of these immigrant workers who apparently overnight had forged a militant identity of their own, the CP was trying to demoralise them back into passive acceptance of their lot. Whereas until then only the black youth - the 'Beurs' from North African families - had presented this sense of identity in struggle for their rights, now their parents had taken up the struggle for their own demands and their own dignity 'outside the political and trade union context' as they put it. Let down by a socialist government, by their employers and by their unions, they had only themselves to rely on but were firmly holding on to their principles.

On 3 January in the evening, following a call by a leader of the CSL union, non-strikers to defend themselves, a huge presence of scabs and racists attacked the strikers, spraying them with teargas, beating and assaulting them. 20 were reported wounded of whom 12 were taken to hospital. The fighting continued off and on, until on 5 January 50 racists attacked the strikers, armed with heavy bolts, slings and anything that came to hand. Finally, the trade unions and management called in the riot police to escort the strikers out from behind their barricades, past the scab massed in the car park. 55 more people had been wounded and 8 hospitalised that day.

DIGNITY TO THE END - THE BATTLE NOT THE WAR

Even then when all was lost, the strikers left in utter dignity, fists raised, chanting slogans and marching to their own point of dispersal. Since then the factory has been reopened and workers are being allowed back only a few at a time, vetted and interrogated. The Talbot strike has resolved nothing for the government; on the contrary. The socialist and 'communist' who make up the government were seen to send in riot police to break a strike. Their 'compromise' plan was exposed as a sham. For black workers the struggle has immense significance, being only the first one in the coming wave of mass redundancies. Those workers were seen not to be intimidated: they were provoked into forging a new identity in opposing redundancies and demanding their rights.

Black workers throughout the industry have seen from this experience that they cannot rely on the trade union institutions to represent their real interests, nor can they turn to the socialist and the so-called 'communist' parties. They saw their brothers demonstrating fighting spirit and dignity to the end: an inspiring example for all those facing the 'social death' of redundancy over the coming months.

Sheila Marston

Of course, any worker following this lead and conscious of such 'responsibilities' should logically accept redundancy with a good grace in order to assist management in making profits more efficiently!

The CGT leadership in the factory could not be quite as crude, with so many militant workers in the rank and file, but over the weeks of struggle their true position was revealed.

CGT STRATEGY

Immediately after the agreement between government and management, the CFDT (socialist-dominated union) led an occupation of the factory. The CGT was less interested in organising shop floor action than in obtaining further consultation with management and government. As a Moroccan CGT member was to say later on:

'For more than a week the CGT has only fought to demand this tripartite meeting. You only want to negotiate better conditions for the redundant... We say, like the CFDT: no redundancies...'

A great split developed within the union as the most militant section reacted against their leadership's acceptance of redundancies in practice. Deepening the anger was the realisation that these leaders had no idea what it meant to be a redundant immigrant.

The CGT wanted negotiations to continue so that they could press for retraining schemes, job re-evaluation and a small subsidy for any immigrants want-

ing to return home. They hoped to persuade Talbot to shorten hours and take back a few hundred workers later on. They talked of the need to examine every case for redundancy on its merits. They wanted to give all the workers the choice between retraining, job evaluation and leaving the factory. They expressed the belief that there would be jobs found for all who wanted them somewhere in the industry over the next period. In contrast to this pie in the sky, the black workers of the rank and file had no illusions.

BLACK WORKERS' RESPONSE

To the proposal of retraining schemes they pointed out that the great majority had never completed their basic education. Many could not read or write French. Many again were getting old: with the brutalising work on the assembly line, people were worn out, old before their time and sometimes disabled by the age of 45. And finally, what jobs could this retraining lead to, in a time of recession and cutbacks? Retraining schemes were rejected as being only a way of defusing the situation. As for job evaluation, accepting lower grades of job, this assumed the firm could maintain profitability with the same size workforce - an obvious nonsense. The workers knew it would be used as a ploy for kicking them out later on.

The offer of a subsidy to return to the country of origin was a mere pittance: less than £2,000 after possibly 20 or 30 years work in France. A cheap 'solu-



● Cop crawls curb

More vice from the vice squad (they do like to live up to their name). No lesser man than Detective Chief Inspector Robert Warner, head of Lincolnshire fraud and drug squad was arrested in Nottingham when he made an improper suggestion to what he thought was a prostitute. The woman turned out to be WPC Walker, who later in court accused the lusting policeman of leaning out of his car window and asking her for 'straight sex'. Mr Warner put forward a vigorous defence, claiming that he thought the woman had been attacked by another man and was offering assistance, and his presence in a red light district of Nottingham was explained by saying that he had 'lost his way' (he should have asked a policeman).

● Paola's payola

'Quite devastating to the image of the police' (so said the judge) was the conviction of a Bristol police inspector for taking a £1,000 bribe from an Italian restaurateur. 51 year old James Thomas was sentenced to 18 months (half suspended of course) after Mr Vito de Paola informed police that the inspector had threatened him with the loss of his drinks licence if the bribe was not paid. A tape recorder was fitted to Mr de Paola and Thomas was caught red-handed. Not only will the errant inspector go to prison; he will also lose his police house, pension, and a £24,000 golden handshake. Crime doesn't pay.

● Fascist in black

The fascists in blue are coming out. A legal assistant in the Metropolitan police has been suspended from duty after visiting a London pub, dressed in Nazi uniform and armed with a revolver. Why he was not satisfied with the fascist uniform of his colleagues we know not. Oh, and the name of the pub in which he was arrested? The Colonies.

● Rubbish found on tip

An interesting clue to the spying activities of the police has been found on a rubbish tip in Edinburgh. A box full of confidential police reports, amounting largely to petty and malicious gossip, and containing the most intimate details on people's lives (low grade information) was discovered. The deputy chief constable of Lothian said the reports were 'basic intelligence (sic) from the man on the beat'; they contained personal information about 'criminals' and their associates; people were named as drug addicts, prostitutes, homosexuals, thieves and transvestites; included were surveillance reports on the Tollcross Community Centre.

Interestingly the community centre has been used by Edinburgh FRFI and Irish Solidarity Committee. The files on the Tollcross area are only the tip of the iceberg - the new £1 million police computer in Edinburgh is the repository for the Lothian police's diseased investigation into the lives of all Edinburgh's citizens. (Andy S)

● Please can I have my band back?

Chief Constable James 'Holy Roller' Anderson is up in arms about the loss of musical accompaniment to the sound of crunching truncheons. They are taking his band away! On the instructions of the police committee thirty full time bandmen are to be withdrawn to serve on the aptly named beat.

notes and comments

GCHQ: WHOSE LOYALTY?

On Wednesday 25 January Sir Geoffrey Howe announced that from 1 March workers at the spy-base Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ) would be forbidden to belong to trade unions. On Thursday 26 January a form was distributed to all GCHQ workers. It said:

'... I agree to resign from membership of any trade union to which I belong. I also undertake NOT to join a trade union...'

Britain being a 'democracy' GCHQ workers can choose: either agree and get £1,000 bribe; or disagree and get the sack. This attempt to ban trade union membership is a blatant attack on fundamental trade union rights and must be resisted as such.

Thousands upon thousands of civil servants have responded instantly and correctly by mass walk outs all over the country. 1,000 GCHQ workers took part in a mass protest meeting and many have pledged to refuse to sign the infamous form. Some non-union workers at the base have joined unions in protest against the Government attack.

However, the endless and nauseating protestations of 'loyalty' from the Labour and trade union leaders has starkly revealed the crucial political problem that faces British trade unionists in their fight to defend their rights. John Sheldon, General Secretary of the Civil Service Union (the largest union at the base) said that the Government was trying to buy the loyalty of the GCHQ workers but: 'What they don't understand is that they have got your loyal-

ty already'. It is precisely this loyalty - loyalty to British imperialism - that will prevent any successful defence of trade union rights today.

The organised Labour and trade union movement has been loyal: loyally betraying the Irish people; loyally betraying black people; loyally supporting the Malvinas/Falklands slaughter; loyally obeying the courts in the NGA dispute - the list is endless. Workers are paying the price for this loyalty in the repeated and successful attacks by the present government on all rights. The workers at GCHQ do indeed have a choice: loyalty to the interests of the working class or loyalty to British imperialism. There is no middle path.

GCHQ itself is a crucial part of the British imperialist state machine. Set up as a result of a secret deal with the USA in 1946, it is the centre of surveillance, spying, directed against the socialist countries. The workers at GCHQ are paid to aid a task - the destruction of the socialist countries - which, if successful, would doom them and all workers to unrestrained imperialist barbarity. Again they have to choose where their loyalty lies: with their enemy the British ruling class or with their allies the socialist countries.

The success or failure of the resistance to this ban on trade union rights in fact depends on this choice. To defend the rights of the working class and oppressed it is necessary to abandon all loyalty to British imperialism. Only by opposing British imperialism, its state and its agents in the working class movement can these rights be defended.

Terry Marlowe

JAILED FOR OVERDRAFT

An Iranian man narrowly missed spending Xmas, New Year and his marriage day in Edinburgh's Saughton Prison for overdrawing his bank account. Mr X had advised the bank that he would soon be receiving a large sum of money. They made no objection to his request for a large overdraft, and he and his fiancée, who is Scottish, went off on a pre-marriage honeymoon.

Back in Edinburgh one evening, Mr X had uninvited guests in the form of the CID - plainclothes police who forced their way in without offering any identification. They arrested him for fraud, impounded his colour TV and other valuables, and failed to notify anyone - not even his fiancée - that he was being taken into custody. The bank had called in the fraud squad...

Appearing in court once a week Mr X found himself repeatedly remanded to prison - every week for 5 weeks. The court lawyer assigned to him was mostly drunk and not at all interested in his case. Changing his lawyer Mr X was able to establish that he had no case to answer, and he was released 10 days before Xmas having spent 33 days in jail.

Mr X is understandably relieved to be released in time for his marriage. He is in no doubt that he was remanded with no case to answer because he is Iranian. No compensation or apology has been forthcoming from the bank, the police or the courts. Nor has Mr X been told he can have his property back.

Paul McKinlay

GUARDIAN'S 30 PIECES OF SILVER

The Guardian newspaper has put Sarah Caroline Tisdall on a charge under the Official Secrets Act in return for the good favour of the courts. Sarah Tisdall is charged under Section 2 of the Act (maximum sentence 2 years) with having leaked to The Guardian a secret memorandum from Michael Heseltine telling Thatcher of the arrival date for cruise missiles in Britain (1 November 1983) and his plans for deceiving the British public about this. On 16 December the Court of Appeal ordered The Guardian to hand over the document which they did.

The Guardian should have defied the court, but it supports our bourgeois democracy - that is democracy for the rich, and repression for the poor. There is nothing democratic about hiding the facts of their horrific weapons. The only reason they do deceive is because of the massive opposition they face, led by the Greenham women, some of whom picketed Sarah Tisdall's first hearing.

The law itself is only used in the interests of the rich. Thatcher's press officer leaks 'secret' information to trusted journalists every day; she is not prosecuted. The armed forces leak information to the press

whenever they want more money or weaponry: they are never prosecuted. The police leak information to the press frequently often ensuring that no fair trial is possible: they are never prosecuted.

By bowing down to the Court of Appeal The Guardian has discouraged other civil servants from leaking the truth: the very purpose of the Official Secrets Act. We call for the charges against Sarah Tisdall to be dropped. She appears in Bow St Magistrates Court (London) on 7 February.

Chris Fraser

NUCLEAR COVER-UPS

The attempted cover-up at Sellafield (Windscale) nuclear reprocessing plant continues. Six workers from Sellafield have recently received compensation payments from British Nuclear Fuels Ltd after contracting cancer or leukaemia. Following the payments the records of 20,000 people who have worked at the plant since the late 40s are being examined to see how many have died from cancer due to radiation. Meanwhile at Seascale - the village next to Sellafield - the nuclear waste is still coming ashore. A study at Newcastle University has revealed that cancer among young children in Seascale has been 10 times the national average for the last 25 years.

In the last few days concern over reports of radioactive leaks at the nuclear arms factory at Aldermaston and at a government installation in Teddington, has been dismissed as scare-mongering by government spokesmen. The untold suffering caused by the criminal cover-ups at Sellafield, shows how justified such scares are.

Liz Cherry

FREE ENTERPRISE GOES INTO PRISON BUSINESS

This month will see the opening of the first of a chain of new prisons in the USA built and run by private enterprise. Investors who are making good profits out of private medicine through the Hospital Corporation of America now hope to do the same from private sector prisons. They have set up a new group Corrections Corporation of America which is making a multi-million dollar investment in the prison business.

The US authorities are fully supporting privatisation of the prison system. The Immigration and Naturalisation Service which has a record of persistent racist harassment of ethnic minorities in America, has granted a contract for the first such prison. It is in Texas and will hold 300 offenders and cost \$4 million. Corrections Corporation will be paid £16 a day for each inmate.

To sub-contract the prison system to private enterprise is a new departure even for Uncle Sam. But to make imprisonment a profitable business has long been established in the USA. The Director of the Bureau of Prisons (Federal) is one and the



WOMEN FIGHT LITTLE CHEF BAN

The decision to bar Greenham women from the Little Chef roadhouse was political. We had been taking our custom there for over two years without problem when the ban was imposed. The reason lies in the takeover of the Little Chef chain by TrustHouse Forte - and Rocco Forte was one of those included in Thatcher's New Year's Honours List.

We queued up outside in the freezing rain from 8.30am onwards. We were making a stand against discrimination, against the Companies as a whole - that gang of profiteers who are really in control. The police came and evicted us from the doorway, just like they do at the base, it is one and the same. We remained outside. People eating in the cafe forced themselves to continue

GREENHAM COMMON

continued from page 1

In another action, women who did not identify themselves, demonstrated their solidarity with the oppressed fighting imperialism when on 12 January they invaded the US munitions depot at RAF Walford, 10 miles away from Greenham Common. They ripped down 30 yards of fencing and painted slogans on the warehouse buildings, stating their attack was in protest at 'the military intervention of the Americans in Grenada and elsewhere in Central America'. On the evening of 25 January, hearing that Michael Heseltine was visiting the Guardian offices in London for a private meeting with the Editor, two Greenham women decided to hold a protest action. No amount of cajoling and threats from the exasperated Editor could make the women go away! Upon Heseltine's arrival they followed him up the stairs, trying to talk to

same man as the Chairman of the Executive Board of UNICOR the prison industries conglomerate.

To those who accept that profits should be made out of a nation's health it may seem logical that profits can be made out of the prison system. But to the rest of humanity it makes the stench of private enterprise reek more than ever.

Susan Davidson

NO ROOM AT THIS HOSPITAL

The brutalisation of the NHS by Thatcher's Government is rapidly tailoring it to fit in with the overall ideology of ruthless capitalism. Future changes are to be implemented by a business-world supreme, set to earn £60,000 a year to do to the NHS what Edwardes did to Leyland and MacGregor did to the steel industry. This new post is the lynchpin of the Griffiths plan (reported in earlier FRFIs). The rules of the game are generally in operation already. Health authorities are under ministerial orders to privatise. Improvements to existing laundry services within the NHS have been blocked in the West Yorkshire and Cornwall areas by health ministers who have sent orders to privatise even if it will cost more money.

as if nothing was happening. The police eventually left, warning us that we would be arrested if we tried to enter. We went in and sat down waiting to order breakfast. People ate their egg on toast as policemen dragged the women out, one by one to a waiting van. At Newbury station we were crammed five in a cell. We were rowdy inmates - they weren't going to get us down. One woman took off her clothes immediately. She refused to put them on until she got food. It was four hours before we were given water; there was no ventilation and the heater was on full blast. The women in the end cell had decorated their cell with a tube of paint they had secreted in. As a punishment they were being refused the basic right to be allowed out to the toilet.

WOMEN HAD TO PISS AND SHIT IN THEIR OWN CELL. After 6 hours they brought us food - a few cold beans and a piece of slate dry bread. We smeared it on the walls in protest. The police were finding it hard to control women together who were now screaming for their rights, hammering on the doors. The women who were allowed out to the toilet refused to return until the others were let out. They dragged us back and still did not let them out. Eventually they let us all out - they nearly had a riot on their hands. We sat together as they discharged us one by one. Two women were retching on the toilet. We had been held for 9½ hours.

The treatment of Greenham women by the authorities is similar to that suffered by black and Asian people and Irish prisoners of war - the injustices suffered by Republicans in the Diplock courts are now being echoed in Newbury. Women are now being sent to prison immediately if they are unable to pay the fine on the spot. One pregnant woman was sent to be stripsearched when she said she needed time to find the money. They found her chequebook. Another woman vowed to go on hunger-strike as they sent her down for 14 days. The struggle against Cruise missiles is but one part of the great struggle against imperialism and the oppression of peoples. Cruise missiles are the ultimate symbol of a mentality that puts money and power before people.

Helen

him. When he refused, they lay down in front of the meeting room, wearing gags and bits of paper saying 'as your step on me you tread on my rights'. Heseltine was forced to walk over them, shuddering as they fixed their eyes on him. GREENHAM WOMEN ARE EVERYWHERE MR HESELTINE!

We urge all readers to write letters of solidarity to women currently imprisoned in Holloway Prison, Parkhurst Road, London N7: Sheena Vaughan, Leslie Westbury, Rudi Speedwell and Anne Francis. And to those in Cookham Wood Prison, Near Rochester, Kent ME1 3LU: Edith Hughes, Katrine McHugh, H S Kent and Hannah Shaffer. Support the court cases at Newbury Magistrates Court, especially on 8, 11, 20 February. Please ring the Greenham office for further details on 226-6285, or write to 79 Petherton Road, London N5. Ruby and Claire

Oxford Health Authority has devised a scheme which has minister Kenneth Clarke's delighted support - based on the 1984 principle that 'self-care' is the 'most important care of all'. They plan to change many hospital beds to day-care only, shipping in ill patients daily and sending them home at night, to look after themselves. This plan, described as 'enlightened and radical' by the Authority's chairperson, may catch on in other areas.

But in the North Thames area the main option the regional health authority is weighing up is the closure of no less than 30 hospitals! The families of six people who died four weeks before Xmas, as a direct result of financial cuts adversely affecting the heart surgery waiting list at Wythenshawe Hospital in Manchester, will no doubt testify to the variety of ways that the vicious capitalist order will kill. Heart surgery, kidney failure treatments etc, having been developed using working class people as guinea-pigs, will now be available more restrictively - to those who pay privately. And children of working class families, such as happened in the Queen Elizabeth Hospital in Hackney, London, will be put into taxis to travel round the city trying to find a hospital with a vacant bed to take a child ill with gastroenteritis.

Tony Sheridan

Nigeria's army was formed by British colonialism prior to granting formal independence in 1960. The British ruling class has carefully groomed the senior officer corps of the Nigerian forces, training and instilling in them pro-imperialist traditions: an arrangement that has served British capital well in Africa. Almost all the Supreme Military Council have passed through British training schools; Buhari trained at the Officers' Cadet School, Aldershot and the US Army War college. British officers based in Nigeria instruct the Nigerian army, airforce, and navy, the majority of whose weapons are British supplied. No surprise that the *Financial Times*, reassured that four centuries of British plunder would continue, oozed satisfaction at 'the calibre of the men who executed the coup'. The guard had changed but the Nigerian bourgeoisie was still at its post.

British capital's 'wellbeing'

The dawn of British capitalism rose from a blood-red ocean of slavery: ten million Africans were stolen from Nigerian territories. British transnationals like Unilever have a family-tree rooted in the accumulated profits of the slave trade. Today, Nigeria is second only to South Africa as a source of profits for British capital in Africa, with firms such as Unilever, BP, Shell, ICI, Lonhro, Taylor Woodrow, Patterson-Zochonis, Beecham etc etc holding over £2bn worth of direct investment in the country; over 40 per cent of all foreign direct investment in Nigeria. Unilever made £10m profit in Nigeria in just three months last year.

Until last year Nigeria was third only to the EEC and USA as an export market for British firms, buying over £1bn worth of goods a year. British merchant banks advise the Nigerian government, and many of Nigeria's imports are



NIGERIA Changing the Guard

On 31 December the Nigerian army removed the government of President Shagari and resumed full state power under a Supreme Military Council. The British capitalist press held its breath, and then gave a long sigh of relief as the identity of the new military head, General Buhari, became known, and the new regime's first debt repayment to imperialism was channelled through Barclays Bank International. The *Times* announced 'This was the best coup that could have been hoped for.' No need for an invasion here!

bought with loans and trade credits which, in turn, yield a profit to the British banks and government: Barclays, in particular, is deeply committed, and the British government's Export Credit Guarantee Department has insured up to £2bn worth of credits still to be repaid.

'Squandermania'

Along with parade ground salutes and respect for British capital the British ruling class has taught its Nigerian proteges an ostentatious contempt for the masses. Moët et Chandon report annual

sales of 1.5 million bottles of champagne to West African elites, most of it guzzled by Nigeria's bourgeoisie in mimicry of their metropolitan masters. Meanwhile, the Food and Agricultural Organisation reports that 14 million Nigerians go 'seriously undernourished'. Such contempt combined with the rival greed of the transnationals and local bourgeoisie for the spoils of Nigeria's oil revenues spawned the corruption that riddled Shagari's administration. Bribery was the bargain the contenders struck.

Oil revenues make up 95 per cent of

This will have to be covered by other imperialists investing in the USA. If this continues, it will eventually undermine the US as the leading imperialist power. This has been frankly stated by Martin Feldstein, Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers:

'Since 1960, the total US private investment and lending abroad exceeded the corresponding inflow from abroad by about \$225bn or about \$10bn a year. It would take very few years of trade deficits to offset these decades of net foreign investment by the United States. The eventual result would be to deny us the stream of interest and dividends that we now collect from the rest of the world.'

These are the inevitable consequences for US imperialism of its rearmaments programme. It is also having serious effects on other imperialist powers and on the oppressed nations.

While the US trade deficit has led to some expansion in other imperialist countries, high US interest rates threaten to choke off any recovery.

In the oppressed nations, the strong dollar means that their exports bring in fewer dollars. Yet at the same time, increased interest rates means increased dollar payments to the banks - every 1% increase in interest rates means that these countries have to pay an extra \$4bn in interest. Squeezed by both the dollar and higher interest rates, the oppressed nations have to hand over even more of what they produce to the imperialists.

These intense economic pressures, generated by US war spending, cannot be maintained for much longer without something giving. A political crisis involving the US or a major loan default could trigger a sudden run on the dollar. When that happens, the already high interest rates will soar even further, choking off the expansion, driving the US economy back into recession and exposing all the talk of recovery as idle boasting.

Steve Palmer

Nigeria's export earnings and 80 per cent of government income. During the 1970s they multiplied many times over but the lot of the Nigerian masses deteriorated as wealth was squandered on Lear-jets (personalised jets) and Mercedes, pilots and chauffeurs; contracts were bought, suspended and resold; buildings hung unfinished, cargoes were ditched, and wages went unpaid. Peasant farmers have been driven from their lands, and the prices paid for their crops depressed to pay for the urban chaos, while the crops have been hoarded by speculators inflating the prices of essential foodstuffs for the urban workers. In ten years Nigeria has switched from being a net-exporter to a net-importer of food. Now, the economic crisis in the imperialist heartlands has more than halved Nigeria's oil revenues in three years. Debt service repayments will soak up a third of Nigeria's export earnings in the coming year, and food imports a further quarter. Imperialism is forcing the Nigerian bourgeoisie to step up its assault on the Nigerian masses in order to sustain itself.



Ex President Shagari

Two million Ghanaians and other Africans were scapegoated and expelled from Nigeria last year. As the leading Nigerian writer Wole Soyinka stated, while the British press was lauding Nigerian democracy during last August's elections and praising Shagari for his 'tolerance, modesty and personal integrity', his police were rounding up political opponents and critical journalists, hired thugs were burning down opponents' newspaper premises and radio stations. In Shagari's 'democracy' fifty unemployed people were roasted alive in a police black-maria; scores of defenceless farmers were gunned down in Sokoto for demanding compensation for land seizures; schoolchildren were shot at for demanding decent food in Kaduna, and for protesting at the running over of a schoolmate by a police landrover in Zaria. Rightly, Soyinka pours disgust over a media whose principles stray no further than the right of British capital to loot:

'Every time the Western press with its love of the status quo, has found arguments of double standards for legitimating the intolerable, even if "democracy" has to be redefined in the process.'

With what ease the capitalist press turned its praise for Nigerian 'democracy' into congratulations for a military regime that has outlawed all political parties!

Indignation

As the IMF and British banks clamour for measures that will choke Nigerian living standards in exchange for further credits, the military rulers are aware of and fear the Nigerian masses. Repeated variations in administrative means have failed to solve Nigeria's national and economic problems which are rooted in imperialism. Radical junior officers have been imprisoned, powers of detention have been extended. However, soldiers, recruited from the masses, have acted without authorisation forcing merchants to cut food prices at gunpoint. As Lenin observed 'The deeper the indignation of the people grows, the less reliable the troops become.' Their discontent must merge with the revolutionary organisations of the masses to rout imperialism forever from Nigeria.

Trevor Rayne

● The people vs IMF: Resistance in Tunisia and Morocco

In January the Tunisian masses took the streets, fighting state troops and police to force the Bourguiba government to remove 115% price increases in basic foodstuffs, demanded by the IMF in exchange for loans. Their Moroccan brothers and sisters followed the Tunisia example and showed that they too are not prepared to be pushed into further poverty and hunger by the IMF when King Hassan attempted to implement IMF orders raising food, water and electricity prices. In both countries the youth and unemployed led the fighting. Both regimes responded by unleashing their armies to try and crush the revolts: in Tunisia taking around 100 lives, in Morocco up to 200. Yet neither state could break the spirit of the masses.

Significantly, in Tunisia, the 'bread riots' began in the south and south-west - an area almost totally undeveloped compared to the relatively industrialised urban north where a wealthy and privileged class of Tunisians has emerged. In Nefzaoua, Sfax, Gabes, Gafsa, and Mareh the people attacked the police and tore open shops. The protests rapidly spread to the capital Tunis and the northern cities. This massive show of anger forced Bourguiba to declare that price rises were cancelled. Yet Tunisia's debt crisis will not go away.

In Morocco, where 42% of the people are reported living below the poverty line, youth and school students, facing poverty and no prospect of employment, spearheaded the uprisings, forcing Hassan to cancel the price rises on 22 January for the time being. Earlier in January Hassan's US-trained troops and police were used to put down protests by students in Marrakesh, Agadir, Rabat and Casablanca against increased charges for education. 500 were arrested and two killed. In 1981 they murdered 600 civilians to crush a general strike across Casablanca. The Hassan dynasty will soon find that it must fight the Moroccan masses as well as Polisario to the south in its bid to survive. The Tunisian and Moroccan oppressed have shown that they are prepared to fight imperialism.

● Hongkong: Rule by Fear Defied

Hongkong is the world's third largest financial centre (after New York and London), gold market and container harbour, largest exporter of clothes, toys, radios and watches, largest warehouse in Asia, and No 20 in the list of leading trading nations. Its population is 5.5 million living on 400 square miles of which large parts are uninhabitable hills so that population density in some areas is as much as 165,000 people per square kilometre. Almost 25% of Hongkong's inhabitants are under 15 years of age. Between August and October 1982 100,000 people were unemployed, 4% of the 2.5 million workers statistically counted in the active work force. Amongst the groups most seriously affected by unemployment are youths, especially between 15 and 19 years old.

It was the youth that took to the streets on 13 January drawing with them passers-by and raising fear in the hearts of the capitalists who control this colonial cesspit of exploitation. 10,000 tore through Hongkong's tourist gold mine Nathan Road and the Mongkok district overturning cars including 25 double-decker buses, setting them on fire to erect barricades against the police and stoning them as they advanced. The youth were aided by residents of the 20-storey overcrowded tenements who dropped debris and bottles onto the street despite police pointing their guns at them. Tear gas and batons finally defeated the youth after 5 hours battle, but not before many had got away with handfuls of jewellery, clothing and electrical appliances that are in the tourist shops in abundance. More than 30 people were injured, 172 arrested - by the police Tactical and Emergency Unit whose basic anti-riot 'philosophy' is shoot-to-kill and whose representative boasted to the *Guardian* after the 1981 youth riots '... Our philosophy is a deadly and efficient one that works well in Hongkong because it's rule by fear.'

Ulla May

United States war spending prepares crisis

Like apostles predicting the resurrection from the dead, US imperialists are proclaiming that 'recovery' of the crisis ridden US imperialist economy is beginning. These deluded worshippers of profit, impatiently anticipating a reversal of capitalist decline, have pushed Wall Street shares to dizzy record heights. The reason for the excitement is the rapid expansion of the US economy last year: unemployment fell by 3m, while profits were 23% up on the 1982 figure.

Yet this sudden expansion is neither surprising nor contradicts communist predictions about the collapse of the capitalist economy. The US imperialists have embarked on the most rapid military build up since the Korean war. Military spending in the US is projected to rise by 17% this coming year. Last year, it was a record \$249bn - up from \$121bn in 1979. This is an enormous sum - greater than the entire national output of India, a nation of 700m people. It would be quite extraordinary if spending on this scale, financed by government borrowing, did not expand the US economy.

Nevertheless, this expansion can only be temporary, and has no chance of turning into a full scale recovery of the US economy, let alone of the whole of the imperialist dominated world. The reason for this is that armaments manufacture does not expand the productive capacity of the capitalist economy. The imperialists' extra guns, missiles and soldiers produce nothing which can help to expand capitalism - they produce no raw materials, food or machinery. As Marx pointed out 'economically it is exactly the same as if the nation were to drop a part of its capital into the ocean'. There is no way that US rearmament can revive the US economy. The much-vaunted 'recovery' will prove to be short-lived.

While the 'recovery' has left the poor untouched (the richest country in the world has more than 2m homeless - the highest figure for half a century) it is

having major repercussions on the imperialist economy. The rearmament programme has to be financed by the US government either through taxation or by borrowing. Emperor Reagan has cut taxes on the rich and the monopolies: the top rate of income tax has been slashed from 70% to 50%, while the monopolies only pay one twelfth of the US tax bill - down from one sixth in 1976. So the government has resorted to borrowing.

The budget deficit - the amount by which revenue falls short of government spending - is running at some \$200bn. Borrowing on this scale has pushed up US interest rates, attracting a flood of foreign capital into the United States, where other imperialists believe they can make fat profits with security.

However, the budget deficit is helping to intensify inter-imperialist rivalry. The huge inflow of foreign capital has pushed up the dollar making foreign commodities comparatively cheaper. Imports have soared, leading to \$69.4bn trade deficit last year. This has strengthened US imperialism's competitors - Japan's trade surplus is running at over \$30bn while imperialist Germany has a surplus of nearly \$17bn.

At the same time, the strengthened dollar will reduce the value of US imperialists' income from their direct investments abroad. Normally the inflow of imperialist super-profits is sufficient to offset the US trade deficit, but in 1983 the US current account was \$40bn in the red.

THE LABOUR PARTY

Many have seen in the post-war Labour government a glimpse of what a proper socialist Labour government might achieve if it were elected in the future. In fact, this government was as brutal and reactionary an imperialist government as any British one before or since. In one sense, it was far worse, for it was elected to office with phrases about freedom, democracy, justice and social progress springing in torrents from the lips of its spokesmen, only to trample them down and drown them in blood throughout the world.

The end of the second imperialist war found British imperialism almost bankrupt. It was heavily in debt to US imperialism; and there was no immediate prospect of these debts being honoured. To finance the war effort, it had sold off a third of its overseas investments, cutting its net overseas income to below half its pre-war level. There had been massive disinvestment through failure to replace plant and machinery. Not only that, it was under immense threat throughout the world from the rising tide of socialist and anti-colonial struggle. Provisional governments based on liberation movements which had gained immense strength in the struggle against the Japanese occupation had been established in Vietnam, Indonesia and North Korea. In China, the Communist Party, with the overwhelming support of the peasantry, was continuing the struggle against the pro-imperialist Kuomintang forces. In Burma and Malaya, liberation forces headed by the respective Communist Parties, had the overwhelming support of the oppressed. India was in an uncontrollable ferment.

Decisive action was required, if British imperialism was not to sink altogether. The Labour government was not lacking in the required determination. In this immediate post-war period, it was to act as a world policeman, ensuring the maintenance of imperialist world rule wherever it felt able, brutally suppressing the risings of the oppressed. Its policeman's role started whilst it was still in coalition with Churchill in 1944 — in Greece.

GREECE: THE RISE OF THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE

From early 1941, Greece lay under the yoke of German occupation. A quisling puppet government had been installed, supported by its own small security force, the Security Battalions, and by no less than fifteen to twenty German divisions and some Italian forces. Guerrilla resistance started in early 1942; in December, the Greek Liberation Army (ELAS) was organised as the armed wing of the Greek Liberation Front (EAM), in which the Greek Communist Party (KKE) was the leading force. Over the next 18 months, EAM/ELAS was to grow rapidly in influence and military strength, despite the hideous barbarity of the occupation forces. It built its own youth, working class, women's and relief sections. It was the first time that women had been involved in any political life; for the first time, they were able to vote, in EAM-organised elections, and to play a full part in the political and armed struggles. Prior to the German invasion, Greece had been governed by the fascist-monarchist Metaxas regime. All working class organisations and democratic rights had been suppressed. Hence the EAM/ELAS programme was a democratic one, which apart from calling for active resistance to the occupying forces, and those collaborating with them, also demanded that after the expulsion of the occupying forces there should be a provisional government based on the resistance organisations, with the restoration of all democratic rights, and elections to a national constituent assembly. Other resistance movements, which had links with the exiled monarchy, and which were not averse to collaborating with the quislings or Germans against EAM/ELAS, were completely eclipsed by the strength of EAM/ELAS.

By the time British troops arrived in October 1944, the ascendancy of EAM/ELAS was not in doubt, even in the eyes of its bitterest enemies. In a land with a

population of some seven million, its membership was estimated by British military observers as anything up to two million. It controlled virtually the whole of the countryside; it had the support of 80% of the population of Athens. ELAS had between 40 and 60 thousand freedom fighters under arms. The pro-royalist Chief of the British Military Mission to occupied Greece could not deny its influence:

'The initiative of EAM/ELAS justified their predominance... Having acquired control of almost the whole country, except the principal communications used by the Germans, they had given it things that it had never known before. Communications in the mountains, by wireless, courier and telephone have never been so good before or since; even motor roads were mended and used by EAM/ELAS... The benefits of civilisation and culture trickled into the mountains for the first time. Schools, local government, law courts and public utilities, which the war had ended, worked again. Theatres, factories, parliamentary assemblies began for the first time.'

EAM/ELAS was the rebellion of the oppressed — of women, the working class and the peasantry. The suffering of the Greek people had been immense. Over a quarter of a million had died in a famine in Athens in 1942 alone. Another quarter of a million had died in the struggle against the German occupation, many when whole villages had been massacred as reprisals for ELAS operations. Yet the Greek people were not to be allowed to reap the reward of their heroic resistance. From a client state of German imperialism, it was to be turned into a client state of British imperialism, and that neo-colonial status was to be continued afterwards, under US tutelage. Tens of thousands more lives were to be lost, and in this bloody train of events, the Labour government of 1945-51 was to play a crucial part.

POPULAR POWER DENIED

A Greek government-in-exile had been established under the aegis of British imperialism, consisting of various royalist and republican politicians. British intentions were to impose this government on the Greek people following German withdrawal, and use it as a lever to restore the monarchy, an institution which had been a powerful supporter of the major British financial and economic interests in the country before the war. The government was only titular — it lacked any social basis whatsoever. Its members therefore spent their time intriguing against each other. On one point they were in complete agreement: their hatred for EAM, and their desire to find any means to destroy it. Their intrigues involved the royalist officers who commanded the Greek army in exile, which, like the government, was based in Egypt. The mass of the army were EAM supporters, and they were deeply suspicious of these intrigues, believing that the royalist officers would call on the army to suppress EAM/ELAS on their return to Greece. Continual attempts were made to undermine EAM influence within the army; in April 1944, these came to a head, and the army mutinied. The rebellion spread to the navy based in the Egyptian port of Alexandria; the main demand was for a Government of National Union to be formed, to include substantial EAM representation, and the removal of certain royalist officers. The mutiny was suppressed, and ten thousand troops



British guard standing over a prisoner at Trikalla concentration camp.

marched off to concentration camps. The army was re-formed under total royalist control, its main units being the Sacred Battalion, entirely made up of royalist officers, and the 3rd, or as it was soon to be known, Mountain Brigade.

British troops arrived in Greece on 15 October 1944, with instructions that ELAS was to place itself under the orders of the British commander, General Scobie, and disarm itself. ELAS had agreed to this, on condition that the Security Battalions, the Sacred Battalion and Mountain Brigade and the quisling gendarmerie were also, disarmed. This was to be the stumbling block. The Greek government, led by George Papandreou, with five EAM ministers, refused along with General Scobie to honour these agreements. Not only would they not disarm the units of the royalist army, which had arrived a few days after the British, but they also refused to disarm the quisling police force and Security Battalions. On 7 November, Churchill had already confided: 'I fully expect a clash with EAM, and we must not shrink from it, provided the ground is well chosen'. Greece was essential to British imperialism's control of the Mediterranean and Middle East — there was no possibility of it allowing a revolutionary democratic government to come to power. On 13 November, General Scobie made these intentions plain to General Sarafis, administrative commander of ELAS:

'ELAS is exercising terrorism and will not allow people to have any relations with the British. If the situation continues and friction and clashes arise, the British government will take all measures necessary to impose respect, so bear it in mind that a guerrilla army is not able to face a modern army with heavy arms, tanks, aircraft and a fleet at its disposal.'

Throughout these negotiations, the Greek army was being re-organised under British control; ELAS members were being excluded, whilst leadership was being kept firmly in the hands of the royalists from the Sacred Battalion and Mountain Brigade, whom even Scobie described as 'very rightist'. On 18 November, the British placed royalist generals in complete control of the Supreme Military Council. General Scobie issued orders that ELAS was to give up its arms by 10 December. Fascist bands drawn from the Security Battalions, started to attack EAM supporters. EAM ministers resigned from the government, and a demonstration was called for 3 December to protest against the disarmament. Between 60 and 100,000 marched in Athens only to be fired on by the police. 28 were murdered, and scores injured.

A general strike was called for the next day, and up to half a million marched in memory of the victims. Once again, the crowd was fired on, by supposedly disarmed fascists held in a hotel. That evening, skirmishes took place with British troops; Scobie issued a proclamation imposing martial law, instructing ELAS to vacate Athens, threatening the suspension of food supplies to the city if they did not comply — thus raising the spectre of a second, hideous famine. On 5 December, Churchill issued instructions to Scobie on behalf of the British cabinet:

'It would be well of course if your commands were re-inforced by the authority of some Greek government, and Papandreou (who had handed in his resignation) is being told by Leeper (the British ambassador) to stop and help. Do not however hesitate to act as if you are in a conquered city where a local rebellion is in progress.'

The next day, the RAF strafed EAM working class strongholds in the city; but attacks mounted by the Mountain Brigade were repulsed by ELAS. Two days later, Churchill was again emphasising what was at stake:

'The clear objective is the defeat of EAM. The ending of the fighting is subsidiary to this. I am ordering reinforcements.'

And British imperialism desperately needed reinforcements. For what the British Ambassador had called 'a silly band of communists' had within a few days taken over the whole country. British forces outside of Athens were neutralised, or driven back onto the boats from which they had landed; over a thousand troops were made prisoner. In fact, all that remained in the hands of the British were a couple of square miles in the centre of Athens, an airbase and a few other garrisons in the city area. On 13 December, Field Marshal Alexander, Middle East supreme commander, arrived in Athens to declare:

'You are in a grave situation. Your seaport is cut off, your airport can only be reached by tank or armoured car, you are outnumbered, your dumps are surrounded and you have three days' ammunition.'

LABOUR LENDS A HAND

At this moment of critical need for British imperialism, help was at hand. For in these December days, the Labour Party was holding its conference. Ernest Bevin, who as Minister for Labour had been party to all the cabinet decisions, made his reasons very clear:

'The British Empire cannot abandon its position in the Mediterranean.'

A motion condemning that British attack and calling for the withdrawal of British troops was overwhelmingly defeated, to be replaced by one calling on the government

'... to take all the necessary steps to facilitate an armistice without delay.'

But British imperialism was doing just that, by sending in the reinforcements necessary to defeat ELAS. On 15 December, the first of these troops began to arrive: two divisions and a brigade, raising the number of British troops from 13,000 to over 40,000. The fighting in Athens intensified. The RAF Headquarters was captured by a mainly woman ELAS commando unit, who took 47 officers and 538 men prisoners. But the immense increase in British firepower started to tell. Backed by the RAF, they started to push ELAS out of Athens. As they pushed forward, so thousands of suspected EAM supporters were arrested and deported to concentration camps. By the end of December, 5,000 ELAS fighters had been killed. Negotiations for a ceasefire were opened, but soon collapsed, their only consequence being the formation of a

new government led by a supposed republican, Plastiras. By 5 January, ELAS forces were in full retreat from Athens, harried by RAF bombers. Negotiations were opened for a ceasefire, leading to agreement on 12 February. Although ELAS remained in control of three quarters of the countryside, and retained 75,000 troops, the ceasefire represented a severe defeat. Many years later, the KKE was to admit that its lack of preparedness for the December fighting was a major mistake, whilst the ceasefire, known as the Varkiza agreement, was 'an unacceptable compromise, and, basically, a capitulation in the face of the English imperialists and Greek reaction'.

THE FASCIST OFFENSIVE

What followed can be best described in Connolly's words as a 'carnival of reaction'. The Varkiza agreement called for the disarming of ELAS, the legalisation of KKE and EAM, elections and a plebiscite on the return of the monarchy within one year, a political amnesty for all those involved in the uprising, and an immediate start to a purge of the Security Battalions, gendarmerie and quisling elements in the public services. But with the Mountain Brigade and Sacred Battalion allowed to keep their arms, and with the royalists in complete control of army and state, it was obvious that the agreement was hollow. Instead, a regime of fascist terror ensued. In April *The Times* reported:

'EAM and its followers are being penalised in a variety of ways. Former ELAS men are beaten up, arrested, and tried on trumped-up charges. Hundreds of employees of public utility companies in Athens are being dismissed for what is described as 'anti-national' activities, which simply means membership of EAM...'

Between February and July, there were 20,000 arrests, 500 people murdered by fascist gangs, and 3,000 officially sentenced to death. By December 1945, 50,000 had been prosecuted for EAM/ELAS activity, 18,000 were in prison. So much for the amnesty — indeed, ELAS members were prosecuted for shooting Germans during the occupation. Gendarmes who had joined ELAS during the occupation were charged with desertion. Thousands of civil servants were fired for EAM sympathies, as were university lecturers, and even priests and bishops in the Orthodox Church were victimised. Hence the

'We Socialists in Greece are coming as the people say to us: "If you are you," and they turn more to the L'

'purge' was directed entirely against the democratic forces. Commanders of the Security Battalions were simply transferred into the new army under British direction. The judges were all appointed under the Metaxas regime or during the occupation, yet retained their positions, to give a legal authority to the terror. In January 1945, a law was passed which imposed stringent property qualifications on potential jurors, so that the middle class could sit in judgement on the working class and peasant supporters of EAM, and could equally make sure that any collaborator or royalist escaped punishment. Beatings and torture were a routine occurrence both in the police cells and prison, where the administration remained as that under the German occupation. The ordinary members of the Security Battalions and supporters of the fascist 'X' organisation found their way into the National Guard, set up during the December fighting. In May, the Plastiras government fell, to be replaced by one headed by Admiral Voulgaris, who had led the attack on the naval mutiny the previous year. The most serious blow to the revo-

LIBERTY AND GREECE

1945 - 1951



POPPER/OTO

tionary forces came on 12 June, when General Aris Velouchiotis, ELAS' field commander and a brilliant guerrilla leader, was murdered by the royalist army, and his severed head placed in a gibbet on public display.

This terror took place under the direct control and supervision of the British occupation forces; the advent of the Labour government made not the slightest difference. One Labour MP who visited Greece in early 1946 commented on the extent of British domination:

Britain's power of intervention in Greek affairs is, of course, based on the presence of British troops, which number at least 40,000. A British "advisory" mission under General Rawlings has a direct say in all military questions. A police mission under Sir Charles Wickham has complete supervisory powers over the Greek gendarmerie and police. Greek currency is now under the control of the Currency Committee, on which there are a British and US representative, and whose decision must be unanimous. To complete the picture, there is a "highly qualified consultative mission on financial, economic and industrial matters" under the leadership of Lt-Gen. Clark. Nor must one forget the British representatives working in a number of Greek Ministries. Thus is justified EAM's complaint that "the colonisation of Greece is complete".

As soon as Labour took office in August 1945, Ernest Bevin, appointed Foreign Secretary, made clear that there was to be no change in policy with respect to Greece:

"His Majesty's Government adheres to the policy which they publicly supported when Greece was liberated. We stated then that our object was the establishment of a stable democratic government in Greece, drawing its strength from the free expression of the public will."

Bevin also made reference to 'the communists seeking to obtain a minority government to control the country', echoing the royalist justification of their brutal slaughter. Labour policy received full support from the TUC. At Churchill's request, Sir Walter Citrine, General Secretary of the TUC, visited Greece in January 1945. His report was of great propaganda value. Prominence was given to EAM/ELAS 'atrocities', carefully manufactured for him by the

promised by his (Bevin's) policy, Bevin's party, we cannot join

communists, whilst the royalist terror was dismissed as 'isolated cases of reprisal'. Citrine dutifully reported that the British occupying troops felt that 'ELAS were the dirtiest lot of fighters our chaps had ever encountered' concluding that 'if British troops were recalled there would be a massacre'. Malaya, Kenya, Aden and Ireland, the phrases of these labour stoocrats were the same, a portable case-book to justify the crimes of British imperialism. In Citrine's case, the imperialists made the job easier, by giving him a royalist interpreter whose name had been executed by ELAS for collaborating with the Nazis.

Conditions in Greece were appalling apart from the terror. The German occupation had left 110,000 homes destroyed, and half a million people homeless; in the two years after the war, only 100,000 houses had been repaired. The communications network created by the British fell into disrepair; reconstruction was deliberately held back by the British economic mission appointed by the Labour government in November 1945. It stipulated that no more than 10% of financial aid could be devoted to

reconstruction, whilst 38.5% was devoted to military purposes. In May 1947 the effects were such that edible fats and oil output was 15% of the pre-war level, mining output 13%, metallurgical industry 25% and building materials 32%. Unemployment, 18% in 1945, rose to 29% by early 1947, at a time when 30% of the workforce had been drafted into the armed forces. The value of the drachma collapsed - from 1,100 to the gold sovereign in 1939 to 180,000 in November 1945. The inflation imposed an enormous burden on the working class - wages fell to between half and a third of pre-war levels. Malnutrition affected 75% of the population. A semi-official American report described the situation thus:

"While the people of Greece shiver in their roofless houses and walk through snow without shoes and overcoats, fortunes are amassed in Athens... In the swank shops luxury goods from the far corners of the globe are brilliantly displayed... Swiss watches, French silks and perfumes, American cosmetics, fountain pens and cigarettes. And there are enough people to buy them... Look at the list of machinery imported into Greece and you won't find a lathe in it. What you will find is 132 brand-new high-priced automobiles for the use of the bureaucrats and politicians in mud-and-buggy Athens."

Whilst the oppressed approached destitution, the wealthy grew wealthier. They received their income in gold, which was non-taxable; hence four-fifths of all taxes were collected through indirect taxation, and therefore added to the burden of the poor.

Not surprisingly, the re-built trade union movement was terrorised as much as EAM/ELAS. Part of the purpose of Citrine's January 1945 visit had been to establish 'tame, British-style' trade unions. The leaders of the free trade unions which had been destroyed by the Metaxas regime refused to come to any agreement with Citrine, however, because free trade unions could only be a fiction with so many trade unionists either in prison or in hiding. The only signatories he could find were either former collaborators with Metaxas and the German occupation, or declared royalists. After Citrine's departure, elections were held to form a provisional executive to organise a conference of the Greek Confederation of Labour. The Workers' Anti-Fascist Coalition, ERGAS, a wing of EAM, gained 71% of the votes to the executive, the royalists 21%. At the Congress itself, which took place despite immense obstruction and harassment from the government, ERGAS swept the board, winning all 15 seats on the Executive. Three months later, in June 1946, the Greek government passed a decree limiting representation by any one political group on the Executive to five seats. The High Court then declared the election null and void, removed the executive, and replaced it with one with a royalist majority, the Chairman being a prominent collaborator with the Germans. The Labour government declined to intervene directly, but asked a TUC representative to go to Greece and mediate. The suggestion the latter came up with was in the finest tradition of British trade union compromise and contempt for the oppressed: an executive of 15 with 5 ERGAS, 5 royalists and 5 'centrists'.

LABOUR TIGHTENS THE SCREWS

In November 1945, Hector McNeil, Under-Secretary of State in the Labour government, visited Greece to impose tighter economic control on the Greek government. Vulgarism was replaced by and ageing 'liberal', Sofoulis, and elections were ordered for 31 March 1946. In the prevailing conditions of terror, it was obvious that the elections would be a farce; however, Labour was more con-

cerned with political stability than electoral niceties. McNeil himself declared in January 1946 that 'Britain must not lose Greece as she would lose Italy and Turkey as well.' Elections would be a way of legitimising the destruction of EAM/ELAS. Yet even the petit-bourgeois liberals that made up the Sofoulis government began to have their doubts about British policy as the elections approached - royalist terror did not discriminate between them and EAM. Demands were made to Labour to postpone the elections, and when this was refused, a succession of ministers resigned in protest. Amongst them was the Foreign Minister, who stated that free elections were impossible unless 'a wide amnesty is granted... Terrorism by state organs ceases... and the state machine... (is) purged of all fascists and reactionary elements.' Another was Vice-Premier Kafandaris, who declared that the British military and police missions had prevented the Greek government from making changes of personnel in the police, army and gendarmerie, whilst the Greek people remained under the impression that the government itself was refusing to make the necessary purge! In the year following Varkiza, over 1,200 people had been murdered, over 6,000 wounded, over 31,000 tortured out of 100,000 arrested. Bevin was unmoved by the pleadings of Labour's puppets; in reply to Sofoulis, he stated:

"I am much surprised by your statement that armed "X" organisations will be reinforced by almost the whole of the police and gendarmerie. Such a statement is not borne out by the reports which I have received. In any case, I cannot see how "X" organisations can compel the electors in the countryside to vote in a manner contrary to their convictions, provided a secret ballot is secured."

The next day, Sofoulis declared that a purge of the fascists and collaborators from the army and police was impossible, because this would mean the 'virtual abolition' of these forces. Forces, he it noted, established under the direction of the Labour government.

The elections went ahead according to Labour's timetable. EAM boycotted them. The electoral register was based on pre-war data; of its 2.2m names, 500,000 were of non-existent people. Women were not allowed to vote. Despite massive intimidation, forgery, personation and every other imaginable trick, the turnout was only 50%; royalists took half the votes but had a landslide of seats. As one opportunist socialist said:

"We Socialists in Greece are compromised by his (Bevin's) policy, as the people say to us: "If you are of Bevin's party, we cannot join you," and they turn more to the Left."

CIVIL WAR

Armed resistance was now the only possible avenue for the democratic forces to follow. Former ELAS units came together to form the Democratic Army, commanded by Markos Vafiadis, a former associate of Aris Velouchiotis. By the end of 1946, it had some 10,000 armed combatants in the mountains, some 20% of whom were women. Despite the terror, the mass support for the freedom struggle was evident in events like May Day 1946, when 80,000 marched in Salonika and 150,000 in Athens. As a reflection of this, the Greek Army, made up of conscripts, proved far from reliable. Mass desertions were common as units tried to join the Democratic Army; in the year following June 1946, 32 soldiers were executed for refusing to fire on partisan units, and another 230 sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. In an effort to strengthen the morale of the Army, the British Military Mission opened up 400,000 police files from occupation days to help weed out those who had suspected EAM sympathies; these were then sent off to concentration camps. A manual published for use by the gendarmerie contained this advice:

"Soldiers will approach dead bandits in groups of three. One will hold his weapon in readiness while the other two cautiously examine the bodies to ensure that they are not simulating death and holding grenades or other weapons in their hands. By using this method our soldiers will be able to avoid possible surprise attacks. The bodies should be searched minutely. They should not be left until all weapons and identification have been removed. *They should then be decapitated and their heads placed in a bag and taken to the nearest command post for public exposure.*"

US IMPERIALISM MOVES IN

The failure of the Greek Army to make any headway against the Democratic Army made it apparent that the Greek freedom struggle could only be defeated with the expenditure of even more resources. The attempt to subdue the Greek people had already cost British imperialism approaching £100m by the first months of 1947 - much more than that would be needed for the future. This British imperialism was in no position to afford. In adopting the role of world policeman, it had taken on massive commitments - in Indonesia, Vietnam, India, Palestine, Egypt, Western Europe and Africa. Furthermore its parlous financial position had been exposed in January 1947 with the near-exhaustion of a US loan of \$4.75bn made in December 1945, and originally scheduled to last at least four years. The crisis was made all the worse by the

appalling winter, when whole sections of industry closed down for a while, throwing two million people temporarily on the dole. In February, the government sent an appeal to US President Truman, implying that unless aid was forthcoming, Britain would have to withdraw from Greece. As Prime Minister Attlee later explained:

"We were holding the line in far too many places and the Americans in far too few... By giving America notice at the right moment that we couldn't afford to stay... we made the Americans face up to the facts in the eastern Mediterranean."

On 12 March 1947, President Truman went before Congress with a request for \$400m aid to Greece and Turkey - with the former taking \$300m. He declared that every nation was faced with a choice between alternative ways of life:

"One way of life is based on the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion and freedom from political repression."

The second way of life is based on the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio, fixed elections and the suppression of personal freedom."

This was US imperialism's declaration of war against the struggle for socialism and national freedom. It was the US which would now act as world policeman, because it alone had the resources. Within a few months, American aid and military equipment was flooding into Greece, together with military and economic advisers. As when British imperialism was in control, little of the aid was directed towards reconstruction. Part was spent on the import of luxury goods, the rest went into speculation and mammoth embezzlement schemes. An official report concluded that of \$150m allocated for imports in 1946, only \$58m was actually spent on imports - the rest disappeared one way or another into the pockets of the rich. In 1947, part of American aid came in the form of 109 Liberty transport ships. The Greek Minister of Shipping promptly handed them out to 23 shipping families and ten other companies. Such widespread corruption was of some embarrassment to US imperialism. Britain had already replaced the Tsaldaris government formed after the elections, forming a new government under General Maximos in January 1947. Now it was the US's turn: in September, they opted for the ageing 'liberal' Sofoulis as someone who could provide a democratic cover for the repression.

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Lenin was born Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov on 10 April 1870 in the Russian provinces, into a middle class family. When he was 17 years old, his older brother Alexander was hanged for his part in a conspiracy to assassinate Tsar Alexander III. The Tsar was the absolute ruler of Russia — no one was allowed to vote, the police were a law unto themselves, and society was riddled with spies and informers. Among all sorts of people, apart from the richest landlords and capitalists, there was widespread opposition to his rule, which expressed itself in liberal and revolutionary sentiments. The judicial murder of his brother hastened Lenin's entry into this movement — but even at this moment he knew by his own experience about the cowardice of the middle-class liberals. His mother's middle class friends refused to accompany her to the capital St Petersburg, because of Alexander's arrest.

So Lenin realised early on that 'pressure' by the middle classes upon the Tsar to change his system would be half-hearted and ineffectual; and that only a determined struggle for power led by the most oppressed people in Russia, the workers and poor peasants, could overthrow the Tsar. A deep study of the history of the earlier revolutions convinced Lenin that Marxism was the theory which expressed the interests of the oppressed and exploited.

Of the next 24 years, up to the 1917 revolution, Lenin spent only 3 in Russia as a free person — the remainder were passed in prison or exile in Russia, or in exile abroad. With the benefit of hindsight it seems that the communist party he built, the Bolsheviks, was certain of success — but at the time it must often have seemed very unlikely. Several times during this period the revolutionary movement was very small and the party minute. For instance, after the final defeat of the 1905 revolution, during the blackest years of reaction, 1909 and 1910, sometimes only a handful of revolutionary newspapers were distributed inside Russia, and the Bolshevik party numbered a few hundred members at most. Only 8 months before the victorious revolution of October 1917, Lenin, at that time only 46 years old, said he did not expect to see the revolution in his own lifetime.

Lenin battled on with great tenacity through the bad years because of his con-

fidence in the fighting qualities of the oppressed — in Russia, the workers and poor peasants. Far more than any other revolutionary leader of his time he always listened to the voice of the poor peasants, the real masses in Russian society. Go to the Youth! Go to the Poor Peasants! were his battle cries.

He knew that the 'socialist' parties only represented the aspirations of the middle classes and the relatively well-placed workers. Even Lenin, however, was disconcerted by the extent to which such parties would betray the oppressed, when at the outbreak of the first imperialist war, all the 'socialist' parties in Europe supported their own imperialist governments sending millions of workers and peasants to be slaughtered. When he studied closely what had happened, he realised that the 'socialist' parties had gone over decisively to the side of imperialism. He established the connection between the labour aristocracy and imperialism, which was his greatest contribution to the science of Marxism. Real social forces would end the imperialist war by means of revolution — and they did, led by Lenin's party, in Russia October 1917.

After the seizure of power, Lenin continued to live the same simple life as he had done in exile. During the civil war he and the Bolsheviks shared the same hardships and dangers as the oppressed in Russia. Government officials were paid only the same salary as the average worker — Lenin reprimanded one treasury official who tried to raise his salary! Lenin himself, leader of the Soviet state, lived and worked in two sparsely furnished rooms. In 1918 he was shot by Dora Kaplan, a 'left' wing anarchist. Although he recovered within three months, the attack had done long term damage to his health, and hastened his death in January 1924. However, he had lived to see the foundations of the socialist state established, and the oppressed masses emerge victorious from famine and civil war.

Patrick Newman



LENIN 1870-1924

On the 60th anniversary of Lenin's death, FRFI has printed a small selection of reviews of Lenin's work. These books are available from Larkin Publications (add p&p): Georg Lukács: *Lenin A study on the unity of his thought*; NLB/Verso £2.00. *Lenin on War and Peace*; Peking 30p. *Lenin on Literature and Art*; Progress

LENIN: A STUDY ON THE UNITY OF HIS THOUGHT

This brilliant and compact account of the history and practice of Lenin was written by Georg Lukács — at the time a prominent member of the central committee of the Hungarian Communist Party — shortly after Lenin's death in 1924. All the central political positions developed and fought for by Lenin are shown to be part of a unified conception which has as its starting point 'the actuality of the revolution' — the possibility and necessity of making the socialist revolution in a world torn apart by imperialism.

Lukács argues that Lenin did for capitalism in its imperialist phase what Marx did for the whole of capitalist development. Lukács rejects the often-voiced opportunist criticism which questions the validity of Lenin's contribution on the grounds that he generalised from Russian experiences limited in time and space. Lenin, Lukács correctly argues, immediately recognised the fundamental question of our time — the approaching proletarian revolution — at the time and place of its first appearance. He was able to understand and explain all events, Russian as well as international, from this perspective — 'the actuality of the revolution'.

Lenin's concept of party organisation was related to the probable course and character of the approaching revolution.

"Political questions cannot be mechanically separated from organisation questions", said Lenin "and anybody who accepts or rejects the Bolshevik party organisation independently of whether or not we live at a time of proletarian revolution has completely misunderstood it."

The revolutionary party, as a centralised organisation of the proletariat's most conscious elements, and only as such, is an instrument of class struggle in a revolutionary period.

Lenin's concept of the party, Lukács argues, differs from that of others in his deeper appreciation of the different economic strata among the working class (the growth of the labour aristocracy, etc) and his understanding of the crucial importance of revolutionary cooperation of the proletariat with other classes in the approaching revolution.

A revolutionary situation involves all classes, not just the working class. The deeper the crisis the better the prospects for the revolution. But the involvement of all dissatisfied elements of the society can bring hidden dangers. Without centralised organisation of the party to ensure that the appropriate class policy is carried out, such allies can bring confusion instead of support. For other op-

pressed strata (peasants, petty bourgeoisie, and intellectuals) naturally do not strive for the same ends as the proletariat. As Lukács argues Lenin's concept of party organisation contains two fixed poles

'...the strictest selection of party members on the basis of their proletarian class consciousness, and total solidarity with and support for all the oppressed and exploited within capitalist society'.

This strictest selection of party members, however, must be combined with an equal ability to 'merge themselves totally in the lives of the struggling and suffering masses'. The failure to do this, 'even where groups of good revolutionaries are concerned' will result in a sterile sectarianism.

The masses learn through actions and become aware of their interests through struggle — a struggle which is constantly changing and in which the conditions and weapons of struggle therefore also constantly change. The vanguard party of the working class can only carry out its task if it is always a step in front of the struggling masses, to show them the way. But, warns Lukács, 'only one step in front' so that it always remains leader of their struggle'. Theoretical clarity is only valuable if it does not stop at a general — merely theoretical — level but always results in a concrete analysis of a concrete situation. Only if this is the case can it serve as a guide to revolutionary action. Lukács sums up these points:

'The party, therefore, must, on the one hand, have sufficient theoretical clarity and firmness to stay on the right course despite all the hesitations of the masses, even at the risk of temporary isolation. On the other hand, it must be so flexible and capable of learning from them that it can single out from every manifestation of the masses, however confused the revolutionary possibilities of which they have themselves remained unconscious.'

To be firm in principle, flexible in tactics, to rapidly adjust to the life and struggles of the oppressed masses in a developing revolutionary situation is *impossible without the strictest party discipline*. This then is the fundamental conception which lies behind Lenin's concept of the vanguard party.

Lukács argues that Lenin's unparalleled theoretical achievement lay in his concrete development of the economic theory of imperialism to embrace every decisive political problem of the present

epoch, so making it an indispensable guide to practical political activity.

'Lenin's theory of imperialism, unlike Rosa Luxemburg's, is less a theory of its necessary economic generation and limitations than the theory of the concrete class forces which, unleashed by imperialism, are at work within it: *the theory of the concrete world situation created by imperialism*'.

So that Lenin shows how imperialism has divided the world into oppressed and oppressor nations: how monopoly capitalism has brought about class differentiation within the bourgeoisie and proletariat (for example the existence of purely parasitic financiers, labour aristocracy etc); and how the different pace of development of monopoly capitalism in different countries drives nations into conflicts which can only be resolved by force — that is, by war.

Struggles for national liberation in this context are now no longer merely struggles against their own feudalism and feudal absolutism — 'only implicitly progressive'. For the first time in history, nations oppressed and exploited by capitalism no longer fight isolated wars against their oppressors but are forced into the context of imperialist rivalry between the major imperialist powers. Their historical significance depends on what concrete part they play in this concrete whole.

Marx and Engels had already recognised the significance of this in the relation of England to Ireland. That is why after 'deeper study' they could argue that Ireland is the key to the British revolution. Again it was Lenin who gave this position new life, developed it concretely, so that it covered the rebellion of all the oppressed, not only the workers, under imperialism. Lenin recognised that the same considerations lay at the heart of the agrarian question in Russia and fought for an

LENIN ON TOLSTOY

Lenin's great strength was his unequalled ability to discover the 'actuality of the revolution' in each and every question. Lenin is rarely remembered as a literary critic. Yet in his short writings on Tolstoy he has left us a model of revolutionary Marxist literary criticism.

Leo Tolstoy has been sanctified and appropriated by the bourgeoisie. Lenin fought not to sanctify Tolstoy, but to rescue the progressive content of Tolstoy's work for the benefit of the working class and the oppressed.

Lenin described Tolstoy as the 'mirror of the Russian revolution'. He wrote: 'To identify the great artist with the revolution which he has obviously failed to understand... may at first sight seem strange and artificial.' Lenin outlines the contradictions in Tolstoy's work: indignant, sincere and powerful raging against hypocrisy, oppression, poverty and capitalist exploitation on the one hand; 'crackpot preaching of submission' on the other. Great artist and 'landlord obsessed with Christ'. But Lenin then seeks out the roots of these contradictions and answers the riddle posed. 'The contradictions in Tolstoy's

agrarian programme for the Russian workers' party which could cement the alliance of the proletariat and peasantry in the coming revolutions. That alliance was to be a critical factor in the socialist revolution in Russia in October 1917.

At the centre of Lenin's analysis is a recognition of the general revolutionary character of the whole imperialist epoch. The swift approach of the proletarian revolution forces the bourgeoisie to abandon its own former revolutionary demands (democracy, national unity, independent Republic etc). From now on the proletariat is the only class capable of taking the bourgeois revolution to its logical conclusion. 'The remaining demands of the bourgeois revolution can only be realised within the framework of the proletarian revolution and the consistent realisation of these demands necessarily leads to a proletarian revolution'. That is why the proletariat must rise to the leadership of all the oppressed if the revolutionary possibilities of the present period are to be fulfilled.

The clarity of Lenin's analysis of these questions should be contrasted with two recurring positions in the 'socialist' movement — from the 'right' and the 'ultra-left' — based on a mechanistic separation

of the bourgeois and proletarian revolutions under imperialism. The first position observes that practically every modern revolution begins as a bourgeois revolution however many proletarian demands may arise within it. The opportunists conclude from this that the revolution is *only* a bourgeois one and the task of the proletariat is to support *this* revolution. In so doing they are calling for the proletariat to renounce its own revolutionary class aims.

The second 'radical left-wing analysis', very prevalent among the British Trotskyist 'left' today, rejects the first standpoint being conscious of the period's proletarian revolutionary character. But in turn it offers us an equally dangerous mechanistic interpretation of this. '*We have now finally entered the age of the purely proletarian revolution*'. The result of this is that all those tendencies towards decay and crisis which necessarily arise under imperialism (the agrarian, colonial and national questions, anti-racist uprisings etc), '*which are objectively revolutionary within the context of the proletarian revolution*, are overlooked, or even despised and rebuffed'. In such a way these 'theoreticians' of the purely proletarian revolution reject the most effective and most important of their allies. They ignore precisely that revolutionary environment which makes the proletarian revolution concretely promising'. As Lenin argued in support of the Easter Rising 1916, 'whoever expects a "pure" social revolution will never live to see it. Such a person pays lip-service to revolution without understanding what revolution is.'

Under imperialism the real revolution is the dialectical transformation of the bourgeois into the proletarian revolution — a process still taking place. It was Lenin's greatness that in theory and practice he was able to demonstrate the truth of this to the revolutionary movement throughout the world.

David Reed

views are not contradictions inherent in his personal views alone, but are a reflection of the extremely complex, contradictory conditions, social influences and historical traditions which determined the psychology of various classes and various sections of Russian society in the post-Reform but pre-revolutionary era.'

By going to the roots Lenin reveals the fact that to understand Tolstoy it is necessary to understand the role of the peasantry in Russia. In other words the contradictions in Tolstoy reflect the contradictions in reality: realism and superstition; the past and the future; revolt and submission. Just as the correct living analysis of Tolstoy requires understanding and *going beyond* Tolstoy's contradictions, so the correct living analysis of the peasantry requires understanding and *going beyond* the contradictions in the role of the peasantry in the Russian revolution. This was Lenin's enormous strength: his ability to make a brief analysis of one great Russian writer part and parcel of the revolution itself. Lenin snatched Tolstoy from the bourgeois hypocrites and scoundrels and transformed him into a weapon for the revolution.

Terry Marlowe

ON WAR AND PEACE

At a time when millions of people are demonstrating against imperialist war plans, Lenin's teaching on war and peace is of the greatest value. Lenin pointed out that 'War is simply the continuation of politics by other means'. To judge wars on the basis of 'who started it' or 'who broke the treaty' is pointless because reactionaries can manufacture as many 'incidents' as they need for their wars. It is necessary to judge wars from their relation to the class struggle.

Some wars could be progressive: wars of national liberation, civil wars, and wars to defend socialist countries — all helped to end war by helping to destroy the exploitative warmongering imperialist system.

This explains why Lenin was not a pacifist, opposed to war as such. He emphasised that 'an oppressed class which does not strive to learn to use arms, to acquire arms, only deserves to be treated like slaves'. Against those who called for immediate disarmament he retorted 'Our slogan must be: the arming of the proletariat for the purpose of vanquishing, expropriating and disarming the bourgeoisie... Only after the proletariat has disarmed the bourgeoisie will it be able, without betraying its world-historical mission, to throw all armaments on the scrap heap'.

Socialists could not take sides in a war between imperialist powers over how to divide up the spoils from oppressed nations. Instead they should work for a defeat of their own government: turn the imperialist war into civil war. Since the opportunists such as the Labour Party, sided with the ruling class and tried to whip up working class support for the slaughter, the fight for peace was inseparable from the struggle against opportunism. Nor was the struggle for 'peace' alone adequate, many bourgeois wanted to stop the fighting but to carry on oppressing and exploiting other nations. The struggle for peace was therefore inseparable from the struggle against imperialism.

The Russian communists, led by Lenin, put this policy into practice in October 1917 when they overthrew the opportunist Menshevik government, and established a workers' and peasants' government whose first Decree was a call for 'an immediate peace without annexations'.

Steve Palmer

continued from page 1

Cuba was 58 years and infant mortality ran at 70 per 1,000 live births. Today Cuban life expectancy is 73.5 years, one of the highest in the world and the infant mortality rate has fallen to 17 per 1,000. The Cuban people now enjoy a quality of life undreamed of before the revolution. Inoculation campaigns, improved diet, sanitation and living conditions have driven out all those diseases which wreak havoc in most oppressed nations. No cases of polio, malaria, diphtheria or infantile tetanus, diseases which once killed thousands of Cuban youngsters, have been registered in the past ten years. Over twenty per cent of the national budget is spent on health care and education. The number of doctors and hospitals has tripled. All families have equal access to medical treatment and schooling.

Imperialism thrives on ignorance. So education of its people was a priority for the Cuban revolution. Before 1959

Cuba had a million illiterates and more than a million semi-illiterates. Half of its children were unenrolled through lack of schools in rural areas, while 10,000 teachers were unemployed. Today Cuba's literacy rate of 96% is one of the highest in the world, even outstripping the richest imperialist nation in the world - the USA. At present a third of all Cubans are studying.

cratic gains of the people it was forced to take the socialist road. On 16 April 1961, more than two years after throwing out the imperialist-backed Batista regime on 1 January 1959, Cuba proclaimed the socialist character of the revolution. US imperialism responded by launching the Bay of Pigs invasion, but was routed in 3 days by the armed Cuban people. From this point on the

ON US IMPERIALISM

'The hands that arm and advise the forces of genocide in El Salvador are the same ones that organize, equip and direct the mercenary bands that attack Nicaragua from Honduran territory, that invade and occupy Grenada, that instigate and support the racist South Africans against Angola, that bomb Lebanon and militarily harass Syria. The rights of the peoples, international law, the United Nations, the agreements, treaties and world public opinion mean nothing to this new kind of barbaric Nazi-fascists, black-mailers by nature, and cowards, opportunists and connivers at heart, who just like their Hitlerite ancestors, underestimate and despise the peoples' ability to struggle and sacrifice, their invincible patriotic strength and their moral and spiritual values. (Applause)' (Castro's 25th Anniversary Speech)

Cuba now spends 17.5 times more on education than before the revolution, and there are more students per thousand of the population than in the USA. No wonder imperialism cannot tolerate the challenge of revolutionary Cuba.

The brutal US economic blockade of Cuba has cost the Cuban economy \$9bn, greater than the total export earnings from its trade with capitalist countries between 1971-80. In spite of this the Cuban economy has grown at an average of 4.7% per year since the revolution - one of the highest growth rates in the Latin American continent. In the midst of the world economic crisis, while the Latin American economies as a whole decreased by 3.3 per cent in 1983, the Cuban economy grew by 5%. A process which will no doubt continue.

FROM ANTI-IMPERIALIST TO SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

The Cuban revolution began as an anti-imperialist national liberation struggle. In order to defend itself and the demo-

working class in alliance with the peasantry took the vanguard role driving the revolution forward. An Agrarian Reform Law of May 1959 distributed land to 100,000 farmers. In 1963 the agrarian reform was further consolidated and all farms larger than 67 hectares (168 acres) were expropriated. The immense US agricultural and industrial interests in Cuba were nationalised. So were the banks, all foreign trade and the large capitalist companies. On 3 October 1965, the central committee of the Cuban Communist Party was established. Fidel Castro explained this historic step:

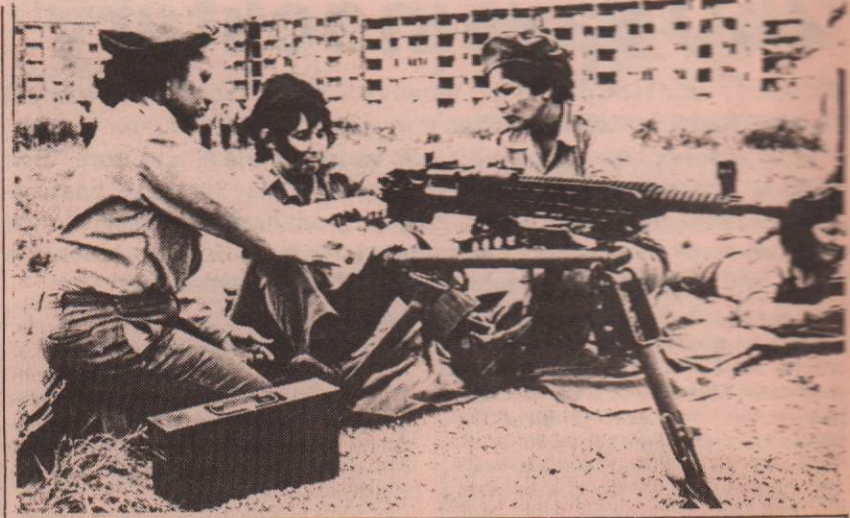
'First we were the Integrated Revolutionary Organisations (ORI), taking the first steps towards unity of the revolutionary forces... then we became the United Party of the Socialist Revolution (PURS), a sign of extraordinary progress... (But) United Party still gives the idea of something it was necessary to unite.

Now we can say there is only one type of revolutionary and... the name of our party must say not what

ously, the US administration is also increasing pressure on Nicaragua accusing the Sandinista government of backtracking on its December concessions and demanding that they enter into negotiations with the 'contras' who have just opened up a new campaign of sabotage. In Honduras, the base of US operations in Central America, joint Honduran/US army exercises are being extended to keep these forces in trim for an eventual invasion of Nicaragua. On 13 January, a US helicopter flying over Nicaragua was shot down. So obvious was its spying and reconnaissance mission that US charges of Nicaraguan aggression came to nothing. These steps have been followed up by Reagan's announcement that he will present a comprehensive plan on Central America to Congress including \$8.4bn in aid as recommended by the Kissinger Commission Report.

The US imperialists and their propaganda lackeys raise a mighty hue and cry when Cuba or the Soviet Union provide aid to progressive anti-imperialist governments like Angola, Nicaragua or Grenada before the US invasion, which use this aid to improve the life of the masses and defend themselves against violence and aggression by racist apartheid or US-backed reactionaries. Yet the Kissinger Commission Report, brazenly and shamelessly, recommends billions of dollars to prop up regimes which the whole world knows are responsible for the most barbaric crimes against their own peoples. The revolutionaries in Central America have denounced the hypocrisy of the Kissinger Report and exposed it as no more than an effort to provide 'sophisticated' arguments supporting US imperialism's aggression against progressive movements and governments. They will continue their struggle until imperialism's complete defeat.

Eddie Abrahams



ON SOVIET UNION

'Our revolution is a truly autonomous one. But it was fortunate for us that the Soviet Union existed. We would not have been able to survive if we had not found a market for our sugar, if we had no access to fuel and oil supplies for our country, if we had not access to a supply of weapons which we needed for defense against the threat of invasion, as in the Bay of Pigs, against assassination plots and sabotage. I'm not concerned with statements by Reagan, he's a total liar. It's a traditional charge. We have no puppet complex whatsoever. The Soviets do not have a single property in Cuba. There are mutual relationships and influences, but they are as independent from us as we are independent from them.' (From an interview with Newsweek)

we were yesterday but what we are today and will be tomorrow...

'The word communist has been much maligned and detracted over the centuries. There have been communists throughout history, people with communist ideas... And all the exploiters, all the privileged, always hated the word communist...

'The imperialists, as if they would offend us (by it)... talk of the communist government of Cuba... and the word communist is not an offence for us, it is an honour.

'We are heading towards a communist society... From now on, gentlemen of the UPI of the AP, when you call us communists be aware that you are calling us the most honourable name you could call us.'

viewed by Newsweek and asked what he would say if he had the chance to speak to Kissinger before the delivery of the Kissinger Commission Report, Fidel Castro answered in the true spirit of Cuban internationalism.

'I would not pick up the phone because I have nothing to talk to him about. I have no trust in him. He gave us examples of his personality during the Vietnam War. In a cold blooded manner he planned the bombing and murder of thousands of people...

When further questioned about a bargain with US imperialism, of a trade-off between full diplomatic, trade and economic relations for ending support for Nicaragua, Angola and revolutionary movements such as SWAPO, Castro replied

'They would be asking a price too high for our honour and our principles in exchange for material benefits that we are not too interested in. But even if we were interested in those benefits we would not be willing. We would never pay such a high price.'

Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! salutes the Cuban revolution and the Cuban people on its 25th Anniversary. It pledges itself to honour the example of Cuba and will continue the fight against British imperialism so that one day the British working class will be part of the revolutionary and internationalist tradition that the name of Cuba represents throughout the world.

Trevor Rayne/David Reed

JAMAICA

The new year opened with the Seaga government putting electricity, gas and petrol prices up by up to 50 per cent. Street protests by bus drivers and motorists against the petrol rise ended in gunfire, deaths and a joint police and army operation that swept through downtown Kingston into nearby St Andrew, rounding up over 150 people. Six days later the 11 January swearing-in ceremony for the stooge government was met by thousands of demonstrators demanding an end to IMF directed assaults on their living standards and for the calling of fair elections.

Seaga's troop deployments, now turned on Jamaicans as well as Grenadians, are a taste of what is to come. US military aid to Jamaica has multiplied four-fold in the past three years. Jamaican officers now train alongside El Salvadorian junta forces in US military colleges, and British police drill their armed Jamaican counterparts. The imperialists and their local bourgeoisie are bracing themselves for the anger that is rising up among the Jamaican people. Trevor Rayne

\$8 bn to fascists and counter-revolutionaries

For US imperialism, the new year opened disastrously in El Salvador. The Reagan administration must supply \$3.7m to replace the vital Cuscutan Bridge blown into the Lempa River by the FMLN at midnight on New Year's Eve. The bridge's destruction isolated El Salvador's 4 eastern provinces from the rest of the country allowing the FMLN further to consolidate its control in the east. This blow followed the regime's biggest setback yet when 2 days earlier another FMLN brigade in Chalatenango captured and destroyed the country's fourth largest and most modern military base at El Paraiso killing 100 government soldiers and capturing another 114. The FMLN then announced the launching of a new offensive called 'All of the People Against Imperialist Intervention - Until Victory!'

US diplomats are speaking in ever more desperate tones of an 'overwhelming collapse of morale' in El Salvador's army and admitting that the FMLN's command, control, communications and intelligence are superior to that of the government army. According to US military authorities El Salvador's army needs a 10:1 superiority over the FMLN to even have a chance of defeating it. Unable to comprehend that the army's hopeless performance is a function of its complete isolation from the people, its lack of social support and its reactionary and barbaric nature, the Reagan administration is hoping to bolster it by further massive infusions of aid.

In this context, the much talked about Kissinger Commission Report provides Reagan with timely grease to slide millions more dollars through Congress to reactionary governments and counter-revolutionaries in Central America. Speaking of the Kissinger Commission Report, Fidel Castro said:

'Kissinger... planned the bombing and murder of thousands of people

(in Vietnam)... The Kissinger Report will be an aggressive and reactionary one. It will be a mirror reflection of Reagan's intentions.'

Indeed, conjuring the spectre of expanding 'Cuban', 'Soviet' and 'Marxist Leninist' influence in the region, Kissinger recommends that US aid is doubled to a staggering \$8bn over the next five years. It endorses US support for El Salvador's regime which in the past 5 years has butchered 47,000 people, it endorses Reagan's political and economic war against Nicaragua and supports assistance to Nicaraguan 'contras' carrying out sabotage and terrorism against the Nicaraguan people.

Hard on the heels of the Kissinger Report, White House officials have demanded Congressional approval for \$140m additional aid for El Salvador this year. The sop to liberal imperialist sentiment in the report that aid be conditional on an improvement of human rights in El Salvador is as expected being disregarded by all concerned. Simultan-

THE CRISIS OF IMPERIALISM

'Today the United States can afford to invade Grenada, economically blockade and threaten two small countries such as Cuba and Nicaragua, and show its claws and its teeth in El Salvador and Central America; but the system of imperialist domination in Latin America is in crisis. The right-wing military dictatorships in Chile, Argentina, Uruguay and other countries - imperialism's and capitalism's last resort - have failed resoundingly, leading these countries to ruin and economic collapse. There is nothing left of the "Brazilian miracle" but a 100,000-million-dollar foreign debt and the constant news of social calamity: unemployment, hunger, inflation, decline in the standard of living, increased infant mortality, disease and grocery store raids by the people. The so-called bourgeois representative democracy is also in crisis, drowning in inefficiency, corruption, social impotence, unpayable debts and economic ruin. Unemployment, insecurity and hunger are spreading like the plague. The reformist illusions and the disreputable and onerous remedies of transnational investments have been left behind. Structural and social changes are inevitable. Sooner or later they will come about and they will be more profound, the deeper and more unsurmountable the crisis becomes, a crisis which is not merely a passing moment. Cuba cannot export revolution, nor can the United States prevent it. (Applause) That being the case, will it be able to blockade and interfere in all of Latin America in the future? Does Reagan imagine that Brazil is the size of Grenada? One way or another, the United States will have to resign itself to coexisting in this hemisphere with different social and economic systems and independent countries. (Applause)' (Castro's 25th Anniversary Speech)

PRISONERS FIGHT BACK

250 days in solitary

Prisoners who took part in the Albany prison protest have now spent over 250 days in continuous solitary confinement for their protest. These prisoners have won a historic victory in the High Court. Their internal charges were dropped or remitted. They have not been re-charged with, much less convicted of, any prison disciplinary offence yet they remain in solitary confinement. So much for the courts, the laws, and all the lying paraphernalia of British 'democracy'.

The Home Office simply lies to explain away its vindictive attack on the prisoners. Paul Hill in Strangeways was originally told that he was in solitary because of a 'transport' problem! On 8 December, after months of solitary confinement, he was informed that he was no longer on Rule 43, but as Paul writes:

'... I am being punished as no matter what they may call this 23 hours a day lock up it is punishment.'

Paul Norney and others, likewise remain in solitary.

The Home Office claimed that Paul Norney was in solitary because of 'lack of suitable accommodation. This obvious lie was challenged by Lord Avebury. Lord Elton replied:

'I am not saying that the conditions which Mr Norney experiences at Durham... match those generally available in the dispersal system or that he should continue to experience them indefinitely though the extent to which subversive prisoners dedicated to the disruption of the prison system should be able to enjoy the full range of facilities they seek to destroy is at least questionable.' (our emphasis)

Elton speaks in the authentic cultured tones of British hypocrisy and civilised barbarism. The 'offence' of the Albany prisoners is attempting to 'disrupt' an organised system of inhumanity - the British prisons.

For this 'offence', despite High Court rulings, the prisoners are punished. They are continuing to resist but they

need solidarity from the outside. All readers should write to the Home Office demanding the immediate release from solitary confinement of all these prisoners and write to their MP, especially our Labour 'defenders of civil liberties', and demand that they act immediately. Protest to:

Home Office Prison Department
89 Eccleston Square, London SW1

Terry O'Halloran

JIMMY ANDERSON ATTACKED

The latest news on Jimmy Anderson indicates that he is once again under attack from the prison authorities. Jimmy has been moved into a formerly disused part of Wandsworth prison with a small group of other prisoners. They are held in solitary in semi-basement cells. They are subjected to a control-unit style regime where prison officers regularly form gauntlets that they have to pass through and regularly assault them. Jimmy in particular is being singled out for harassment because of his role in the Wormwood Scrubs protest of June last year, in the subsequent victory in the courts and his persistence in pursuing legal actions against Wormwood Scrubs prison officers for assault.

FRFI urges all readers to immediately demand an end to the harassment of Jimmy Anderson and his comrades.
Terry O'Halloran

WOMEN IN PRISON

Fifteen women have died in prison since 1975, from fire, medical neglect and preventable suicides. In 1974 Patricia Cummings burned to death in her cell in Holloway - the lever of her emergency bell was bent back and her cries for help went unheeded. Other prisoners set up a Prisoners Action Group to protest - they lost rights and privileges and nothing was done about Patricia's death.

Julie Potter, aged 21, had spent her whole life in institutions. In 1981, again in Holloway, she was moved to the segregation unit after threats to set herself alight. The next day, at her own request, she was returned to her normal cell from which, 24 hours later, screams were heard. Two officers went to her door but left her burning inside while they consulted the regulating officer. Julie suffered with a 35% full thickness burn from which a blood clot formed causing her death.

56 year old Yvonne LaPas suffered from a severe heart condition and chronic asthma. She requested heart tablets which were denied and her asthma spray was taken away at night. She had a severe attack which went untreated for 2 to 3 hours. Consequently she died of heart failure - the one oxygen bottle on the wing was empty.

Marie Zsigmond hanged herself on her fortieth birthday. Imprisoned in the oppressive H wing, Durham, she became depressed and was refused psychiatric help.

Christine Scott had a history of mental illness. She was given 6 months imprisonment for breaking a window pane. She had previously attempted to drown herself and in 1982, in Holloway, she threw herself around and at the walls of her cell. She was found dead the next day of a subdural haemorrhage.

Gross lack of care is found in the so-called 'special hospitals'. At Broadmoor one in six women are ill suffering from diabetes, sclerosis, stomach ulcers

and the effects of drugging. Sufficient fresh air is denied them, also sunlight which reacts with the Largactil given them causing skin rashes.

Alongside medical neglect leading directly to death goes systematic drugging. 4 of the top 5 drug users are women's prisons. Holloway - number 1, 4 years running - dispenses 1 dose of behaviour modifying drug per prisoner per day.

In 1981, Holloway, Abbena Simba Tola, a 17 year old rastafarian woman, was denied permission to wear a wrap around her head, punished for refusing to wear shorts for gym, given food made with animal fat which she was not supposed to eat and called by the slave name she had rejected. She was in solitary for most of her 16 month sentence and given psychotropic drugs, Largactil and Depixol. The latter is given by injection into the buttocks. She was forcibly stripped and held across a table in front of male guards. Such brutality and racism abounds in women's prisons.

In 1971 the notorious 'prison within a prison', H wing Durham for men was closed. In 1974 the Labour government reopened it as a maximum security prison for women. £100,000 was spent on

'conversion' - i.e. more security, extra barbed wire, flood lighting and crash barriers. The windows have 3 sets of bars and the doors are electronically operated. Women are under continual TV surveillance and suffer regular cell and body searches. 32 women are held in H wing - 4 category A prisoners have been there at least 3 years and one woman is serving her ninth year.

Women prisoners have organised protests which have been crushed by the authorities and ignored by the media. In one case a seven man MUFTI squad was brought in from Strangeways prison to contain a 'riot' in Styal. The 2 women on protest were aged 16 and 17. After the MUFTI squad attack on prisoners in Wormwood Scrubs, women in Holloway smuggled out a letter containing their demands. They called for an end to: racist, sexist treatment by prison staff; forced labour; pre-trial remand; drugging; imprisonment of women with children; political victimisation; censorship; harassment of gays, blacks, feminists and political prisoners and demanded basic democratic rights. This too was ignored.

The vast majority of women in prison are poor and working class, a large number are black. The brutality, racism, drugging and killing of women prisoners are all part of the imperialist machinery of repression. It is long past time to actively fight for the democratic rights of women prisoners and expose the dehumanising oppression of the British state and its prison system.

Alexa Byrne

If any reader knows a woman in prison who would like to have FRFI sent in to her please let us know. Write to FRFI, BCM Box 5909, London, WC1N 3XX

PETERHEAD PROTEST

The protest at Peterhead prison on 9 January was the last resort that the prisoners had in trying to stop the daily repression meted out to them by the prison system. The latest protest follows the 'modernisation' of A Hall. This 'modernisation' includes a new special isolation unit costing £500,000 for ten cells. The Scottish Council for Civil Liberties has described it as a 'behaviour modification' unit. The immediate cause of the latest protest was the treatment of prisoner Arthur Robertson.

On Thursday 5 January, Arthur was moved from A Hall to a less restrictive hall. However, in the early hours of Friday morning warders arrived at Arthur's cell, dragged him from his bed for a 'cell search'. After searching high and low and maddened by finding nothing, Deputy Governor Pearce began hurling abuse at Arthur. He kept this up until Arthur was on the verge of hitting him. At this stage eight warders jumped on Arthur. One warder put his arm round Arthur's neck, causing so much pressure on his windpipe that Arthur became unconscious. They then dragged him off to the punishment block.

And so, when the opportunity arose

the prisoners took it. At about 9pm Monday 9 January, they 'evicted' warders, took control of the hall and went onto the roof. At least 56 prisoners were involved. They had extra clothing to protect themselves against the extremely cold weather.

Contrary to gutter press reports and the Governor's claims, they also had a list of demands, the main one being 'parity with prisoners in special units'. The warders were, by now, clad in MUFTI gear and took the unprecedented and highly dangerous step of using high pressure hoses on the protestors.

The warders sent water cascading through the roof from the inside, sending roof tiles flying in all directions. The prisoners could either fall to their deaths or come down off the roof. They came down. After this soaking in Arctic cold weather, they were taken to punishment cells with no heating, stripped naked and left there. This is so-called British justice.

Smash the prison system! Victory to the prisoners!
AC Glasgow
Aileen Randall Edinburgh

FRFI FOR PRISONERS

British prisons hold over 44,000 prisoners in squalid conditions amongst the worst in the world.

• 696 prisoners died in prison from 1969 - 1980 - 49.2% from 'unnatural causes' in 1980 • The list of black people dying in prison in suspicious circumstances is growing fast • 5 Irish political prisoners have been murdered by the prison authorities since 1974.

In the face of this repression prisoners have fought back and won significant victories. FRFI has consistently publicised and supported prisoners' struggles for their rights.

Help us to build on this work by giving a donation to our prison fund. Anything, however small, is welcome. £4 pays for a year's cost of sending FRFI to a prisoner. 60 prisoners already receive FRFI free. A regular donation will help us to put this vital work on a firm basis. £10, £5 or whatever you can afford will contribute to the books, pamphlets and other necessities we send to prisoners.

We often receive donations from prisoners for political campaigns. Return this solidarity - support our Prisoners' Fightback Fund. Donations, cheques/POs (payable to Larkin Publications) should be sent to: FRFI, BCM Box 5909, London, WC1N 3XX

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Yet even with the enormous US commitment, the Greek Army made little headway against the Democratic Army. Instead of engaging the Democratic Army, much of the effort of the Greek Army went in ravaging the countryside in an attempt to deny any supplies to the partisans. Destroying the peasants' crops rendered them destitute, and forced them to become refugees. They were then herded into 'refugee camps', which were guarded by the Greek Army. Although this placed great restrictions on the ability of the partisans to recruit new volunteers, by early 1948 they had 25,000 under arms. Yet by this time, there were some 500,000 refugees, 50,000 in concentration camps, trade unionists were being tried and executed. Bounty hunters operated in the countryside, returning with severed heads as evidence of their success, which were then put on public display. Mass executions were common: 35 on 23 November 1947, bringing the total number of deaths by then to over 45,000; 238 more between 1 and 3 May 1948. The new head of the US Military Mission, General Van Fleet, announced 'Greece is our laboratory experiment', which it certainly was, with the first use of chemical defoliants and the dreaded napalm.

Operating throughout the length and breadth of Greece, the Democratic Army had fought the 180,000 strong army of reaction to a standstill. A Provisional Democratic Government was formed on 23 December 1947 with a radical democratic programme: agrarian reform, the erection of a system of popular justice, nationalisation of industry. In spring 1948, a US senator, Glen Taylor, was complaining that US spending had reached an average of '\$8,600 for each ragged, ill-fed partisan holding the mountains'. He added:

'This is one of the costliest, most extravagant military operations in history, in which our wastefulness has

only been equalled by our inefficiency.'

Yet in 1948, the tide turned. This was not a consequence of the superior forces of the reaction, but of crucial mistakes in the political leadership of the struggle. From the early days of EAM/ELAS, there had been a split in the KKE between a revolutionary and opportunist wing, the former based in ELAS, the latter in the city hierarchy. At crucial moments of political conflict, it was the opportunists who predominated. The revolutionary ELAS wing had been against concessions to the government-in-exile in 1944, for the immediate establishment of a revolutionary provisional government in October 1944, against British intervention, against the Varkiza agreement in February 1945, especially its disarmament provisions, and for a more extensive guerrilla struggle in 1946. It was the opportunist wing who prevailed, however, and made unnecessary concessions to the exile government in 1944, which held off against the British in late 1944, which concluded the Varkiza agreement, and which also tried to make accommodations with the puppet governments of 1945-46. The worst example of this was an official denunciation of Aris Velouchiotis just days before his murder as an adventurist and renegade. With the start of the civil war, the opportunist leadership sought to restrict the scope of the armed struggle by forbidding supporters in the towns and cities from joining the Democratic Army, and ordering them to remain to organise legal political struggle. This left them easy prey for the police, especially when the British released the police files; many were arrested - 20,000 alone in a six-week campaign in summer 1947.

The final dispute centred on the tactics of the armed struggle: whether it should take the form of guerrilla warfare, or set-piece confrontations in

the hope of capturing major towns. Given the immense disparity between the opposing forces, it was obvious that the latter strategy was suicidal. Yet this was what the opportunists had decided on, and the political dispute ended with their triumph, and the removal and denunciation of General Markos Vafiadis as commander of the Democratic Army, in August 1948. The dispersed partisan units were congregated into larger units, and despite their heroism, were defeated in the set confrontations that followed. By early 1949, they were in retreat from the Peloponnese in the south. The final battle took place in August, on Mount Grammos, close to the Albanian border. With 40 of the latest fighter-bombers loaned by the US, government forces defeated the last group of 4,000 partisans. On 15 October, the Provisional Democratic Government announced it was suspending hostilities.

Greece had been saved for imperialism. It had required five years of fascist terror and the death of over 150,000 people. Not that the official end of the military struggle brought any respite for the working class. Under the direction of US imperialism, successive Greek governments sustained the machinery of vicious repression against the Greek people: there were no meaningful democratic rights, the secret police had free reign, torture was endemic. The re-emergence of the mass movement in the mid sixties came to an abrupt end with the 1967 Colonels' coup and the subsequent seven years of brutal military dictatorship. Today, Greece remains a weak capitalist power, where the working class is at the mercy of the current imperialist crisis. Forty years ago, they were on the road to revolution. But the obstacle on which their drive for liberation foundered was the Labour government of 1945 to 1951.

Robert Dornhorst

BRITISH 'JUSTICE' REVEALED

John Morgan, and the step-up in the campaign against the show trials in the Six Counties and here in Britain. With over 300 men and women still being held on the evidence of informers, with 8 known informers waiting to give evidence and many more unknown, January 1984 saw no let-up in this latest strategy of judicial terror against the nationalist people of the Six Counties.

On Monday, 19 December, at Crumlin Road Court, the trial of four Belfast men, on the evidence of informer John Morgan, ended. Morgan admitted lying to the court, and Judge Murray had to admit that Morgan was a 'dishonest' and 'most unreliable' witness. He was forced to acquit the four men. Despite their acquittals, one of the defendants, Patrick Fitzpatrick, was immediately re-arrested outside the court and the next day was charged on the sole word of Harry Kirkpatrick. Fitzpatrick had already spent 20 months on remand prior to his acquittal, and could now spend years on remand before his trial date is set.

BRITISH 'JUSTICE' REVEALED

In London, on Thursday 12 January, the Cobden Trust, a British research group, released a report - 'Supergrasses - The Use of Accomplice Evidence in Northern Ireland', prepared by Lord Tony Gifford QC. In it he called for an end to the acceptance of uncorroborated evidence; that jury trials be restored in the Six Counties; and that no further immunities from prosecution be offered to turn informer.

That same day, 12 January, another show trial began with Robert Quigley giving 'evidence' against 20 nationalists

in Belfast. The trial of 45 nationalists on the evidence of Raymond Gilmour will be starting soon. 12 January also saw the quashing of charges against ex-RUC Special Branch officer Charles McCormick. McCormick was convicted on the evidence of informer Anthony O'Doherty but on appeal Lord Chief Justice Lowry declared that in the absence of 'cogent and compelling' corroborating evidence McCormick should be freed. It is a different story for the nationalist men and women convicted on uncorroborated evidence.

UNITED ACTION

The campaign against the show trials continues; a petition calling for the release of defendants is being circulated in Belfast; street meetings, rallies and a march on New Years Day in the Six Counties have been building up support for the campaign. At a rally in White-rock, Belfast on 10 December, Maura McCrory, of the Stop the Show Trials Committee, stressed that the committee is prepared to work with any political party that condemns the show trial strategy. Martin McGuinness, in response to Lord Gifford's pamphlet, said,

'All those professing an interest in Justice should unite to expose and end the show trial system.'

Pauline Sellars

BANS AND DIRTY TRICKS

continued from page 1

Movement, Red Action, TOM, RCL, RCG. A picket of the Evening News was agreed and successfully held on 25 January.

MARCHES BANNED

The traditional Bloody Sunday March held to commemorate the shooting dead by British soldiers of 14 unarmed civilians in Derry 1972 was scheduled to take place in Sheffield on 29 January. But Sheffield Council, a Labour council allegedly leaders of the Socialist Republic of South Yorkshire, applied for a ban on the march. They also banned the post-March rally from taking place in the City Hall. Subsequently, Home Secretary Leon Brittan announced that all marches were banned in Sheffield, Bradford and Rotherham on 28/29 January. As a result the march organisers called it off. For the first time since Bloody Sunday there will be no commemoration march. In Scotland, Labour-dominated Motherwell District Council banned a Bloody Sunday Commemoration march called by Clydeside Troops Out Movement. The police did not object to the March but the Council definitely did and so banned it. They do not ban the annual Orange Order marches in the area which are displays of sectarian bigotry and hatred. Some of the Labour councillors are said to have links with the Orange Order. So much for the Labour Party's defence of free speech and democratic rights.

PRIOR TURNS INFORMER

A SLISC supporter has been asked for an 'interview' by Scotland Yard for protesting to James Prior at the treatment of 2 nationalist women by the RUC in Derry. On Tuesday 6 December 1983 Peter Flynn on behalf of the South London Irish Solidarity Committee wrote to James Prior MP to express SLISC's condemnation of the treatment of Anna and Jacqueline Moore at the hands of the RUC. Anna and Jacqueline had been arrested, interrogated, abused, threatened and beaten by the RUC. A doctor was refused access to examine them and their solicitor refused details of their interrogation. The letter demanded their release, compensation and an explanation from James Prior.

Instead of the reply from James Prior, a letter was received from New Scotland Yard. Detective Chief Inspector D C Gunn wrote asking for an interview with Peter Flynn concerning his letter to James Prior. Gunn had been asked, presumably by Prior, to do this.

Is it now illegal to write letters of protest, to express any opposition to the imperialist system, whether it be on Ireland, CND or NHS cuts. It would seem so. On Monday 23 January 1984 the *Daily Mirror* reported Special Branch demanding photographs from a local paper of a protest against NHS cuts. It is vital that each and every attack on the democratic rights of those who oppose British rule in Ireland is fought.

in brief

● The phantom McGlinchey

Now you see him, now you don't! Hardly a week goes by that Dominic McGlinchey is not in the news. The combined 55,000 British and neo-colonial Irish 'security' forces have failed repeatedly to capture him. Now he is branded as 'Ireland's No. 1 Wanted Terrorist', and as a 'Mad Dog' by the racist British press.

At least twice in the last six months he has almost been captured by the Garda. But on each occasion he has escaped, having first tied up the Garda and stripped them of their uniforms. Now word has it that Garda wives in Dublin insist that before their husbands go on duty, they wear clean underwear!

The fact that McGlinchey can move around the country so freely, and stay in so many safe houses, means that he has substantial support for 'his' cause throughout Ireland. This infuriates Dublin politicians who constantly tell us that Republicans have no support. Garda are now obsessed with capturing him (no doubt this time with their clothes on) and with the increased use of guns by them (temporarily, we are told by deceitful politicians), there is every danger of him being shot on sight. Furious that he escaped again in December and gave two interviews to the Sunday Tribune and the *Starry Plough*, this is a real danger.

But in the words of a Belfast wall mural 'You can kill the Revolutionary but never the Revolution'. Dominic has said that should he be murdered or jailed, the struggle against British imperialism in Ireland will continue. What scares the 'security' forces is that there may be dozens or hundreds more McGlinchey's all with a desire to wear Garda uniforms!

Cathal

● Strip searches in Armagh

The degrading experience of strip searches of nationalist POWs in Armagh continues. Marie Wright from Andersonstown, who has been on remand since July 1983 has been through this degrading form of torture 18 times during her imprisonment in Armagh. On 29 December Marie was again ordered to strip on her way to yet another court appearance. Marie asked if she could leave her underwear on as she was having a period. The request was rejected and she was forced to strip once again. She made a complaint to the prison doctor who told her he thought it was

'very healthy for a woman to strip in front of a man, or indeed anyone.'

Marie was later charged with refusing to obey an order, using abusive language and assaulting a warder. Needless to say she was found guilty and sentenced to 3 days solitary confinement and 7 days loss of remission.

In a letter smuggled out of Armagh the PRO of the POWs stated,

'Women have been compelled to experience degradation, to have the privacy of their bodies violated for far too long. The psychological effects of this procedure are too great and too alarming for young women to bear.'

FRFI calls on all its readers to demand the end to this barbaric torture by writing to those who are responsible - The Northern Ireland Office, London SW1.

● Hennessy Report

The Hennessy Report on the escape of 38 IRA prisoners from the H-Blocks predictably blames security lapses for the breakout. To have said anything else would have been to admit the discipline, daring and expertise of the prisoners themselves in escaping from a heavily fortified and Army-guarded prison. So the Governor has resigned and the fault found with the prison officers. The latter are said to be suffering from 'low morale' and the report states interestingly that their enormous wages have attracted a low-calibre of prison officer to the service! British governments usually hunt around for small-fry scapegoats after suffering humiliation at the hands of the oppressed. Meanwhile 19 of the escapees are still at liberty and Brendan McFarlane's name has been linked with the Tidy kidnapping in the 26 Counties.

Irish Solidarity Movement

Between 16 and 22 January the Irish Solidarity Movement launched its first national campaign, a week of action against the use of informers and show trials in Ireland.

Edinburgh ISC organised two court pickets, one of the Sheriff's court, the other of the High Court. Edinburgh ISC's public meeting was attended by 25 people, and received a solidarity message from Citizens against the Show Trials. The success of Edinburgh ISC's week of action is emphasised by the fact that four new people joined the committee at the end of the week.

Leeds ISC held a picket of the Crown Court, which was attended by Leeds TOM.

Manchester ISC had pickets of Manchester Crown Court and Strangeways prison, where the police stopped MISC supporters from taking photographs and forced one MISC member to expose a whole roll of film. MISC's public meeting was besieged by the press attempting to discredit MISC after a forged press statement had been circulated in MISC's name, and 'extracts' from it published in the Manchester Evening News on 16 January. In spite of the press's cynical attitude, 40 people attended the meeting to support MISC and condemn British 'justice' in Ireland.

London ISC's picket of the Old Bailey was supported by Middlesex Polytechnic Irish Solidarity Society. 60 people attended a public meeting which was addressed by Michael Holden. Two street meetings were also held in London, with the open air meeting in Kilburn being supported by two members of the SWP.

MEP ASKS QUESTION IN EUROPE

At the moment many prisoners involved in the protests of 1983 are tortured and viciously punished in strip cells in solitary confinement. Alf Lomas MEP has agreed to put a question to the Council



Picket of the Old Bailey

of Ministers concerning the continuous solitary confinement of Paul Norney Irish POW.

PRISONERS WEEK OF ACTION

The ISM is launching a campaign to support the right of repatriation for Irish POWs. The week of action will include demonstrations, pickets, and public meetings, and is to take place between 12 and 18 March.

The ISM must build a united campaign to support the rights of Irish prisoners. These men and women are held in this country as hostages. They have led the fight for democratic rights in English gaols, and have worked to further the Irish people's struggle in Britain. Inside English prisons Irish prisoners have been beaten, tortured, suffered long periods of solitary confinement, often up to

3 years, and denied the right to be treated as political prisoners. Their example of courage and determination must spur all democrats, socialists and communists to support ISM's week of action and support the Irish POWs in their struggle for their just rights.

DUNDEE UNIVERSITY IRISH SOLIDARITY SOCIETY BANNED

At a mass meeting of the students association at Dundee University, the reactionary Students Representation Council managed to rig a vote to endorse its earlier decision to ban the Irish Solidarity Society. This denial of democratic rights must be condemned and we urge our readers to write to the Executive Council, Students Representative Council, Students Association Building, Arlie Place, Dundee University, and protest.

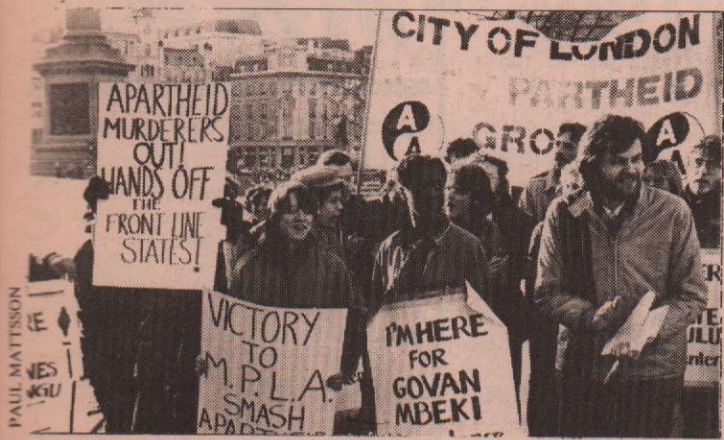
On 8 December South Down Brigade IRA used ten bombs to attack five commercial targets in Newry while a further attack on 14 December destroyed a tyre warehouse in Bridge Street. Tyrone Brigade IRA destroyed British Army/RUC drinking club the Royal Arms Hotel and caused £1m damage in Omagh town centre with a 150 lb bomb on 16 December. A Tyrone Brigade blitz on 1 and 2 January damaged commercial targets in Cookstown, Cabra and Dungannon. 3 bombs in an Armagh city furniture store caused tens of thousands pounds of damage on 2 January. Belfast Brigade used a series of hoaxes and incendiaries to disrupt the Christmas sales. On 28 December a 200 lb car bomb damaged dozens of shops in Upper North Street Belfast, while on 5 January a shop was destroyed in the city centre Haymarket Arcade.

The IRA employed a variety of weapons to attack military targets throughout the Six Counties. The IRA shot dead a UDR soldier on 17 December, a UDR soldier in Castlederg on 2 January and an RUC man near Warrenpoint on 11 January. The INLA shot dead a UDR soldier in Dunmurry on 20 January. Newly appointed judge Robert Carswell escaped in Belfast on 5 January when he discovered a booby trap under his BMW car. On 9 December a mine attack in the Upper Irish Street/Ogle Street area of Armagh city injured all 3 members of an RUC patrol. On 31 December a South Down IRA volunteer threw a grenade which injured one member of an RUC patrol in Marcus Street in Newry. A 20 lb mine detonated by command wire in Shipquay Street in Derry injured 2 RUC men on 9 January. On 11 January 2 RUC men escaped serious injury when a Tyrone Brigade IRA culvert mine blew their armoured patrol car off the Plumbridge to Donemana road.

The variety, number and success of these attacks once again shows that the struggle for a 32 county democratic socialist republic will continue throughout 1984 and on until victory.

Frank Coughlan

Round-up



City of London Anti-Apartheid Picket of South African Embassy – Tuesday 17 January. SWAPO, SWAPO Women Solidarity Campaign, the Namibia Support Committee, War Resisters, Development Aid From People to People – a group of youth travelling from Holland to build clinics in Zimbabwe – Westminster councillor Vince Allan and FRFI supported this 40-strong picket demanding 'Hands Off the Frontline States! South African Troops Out of Angola!'

● Policeboys sent packing

On Friday 20 January two Leeds FRFI supporters defeated a rather pathetic attempt by several police to break up a street sale.

PC 119, a smart clean-shaven lad, approached one of the sellers and demanded to know his name. The seller replied that unless he was being arrested he did not have to give his name. 'So you know the law, do you?' the policeman snorted. After eyeing up the paper and the ISM Troops Out petition, he stalked off to radio his superiors, muttering something about 'You'll lose' – thereby displaying the 'neutral' and 'non-political' qualities which the police are famous for.

Ten minutes later three more young policemen (PCs 3200, 519 and 1132) descended on the other FRFI seller. 'We've received a phone-call from someone saying you've been harassing him to buy a paper. You're causing a lot of ear-ache round here so you'll have to move on.' One of the uniformed youths then claimed that the slogan 'Victory to the Irish People' was illegal! The sellers stood their ground and the PCs eventually left.

Afterwards an elderly man came up to tell the sellers not to take any notice of the 'bloody police'. Another man, a black woman and a youth all stopped to express the same view. DJ

● Police Bill demonstration

The National Campaign Against the Police Bill's demonstration 'Kill The Police Bill' on 21 January demonstrated the labour movement's woefully inadequate response to the onslaught on democratic rights that the Police Bill represents. Amongst the 2,000 who rallied in Trafalgar Square the number of Labour Party and trade union banners could be counted on the fingers of one hand.

FRFI supporters joined in the 150-strong contingent from the SNHDC and City AAM. Our favourite slogans were 'Police racism, police sexism, police murder – Out!' and 'Kill, kill, kill the Bill! Kill the racist Bill!' and 'British state – Apartheid state!'. We sold 117 FRFIs.

Andy Goddard

● ISM activist strip searched

Rhian Jenkins, a 17 year old member of Edinburgh ISC was arrested on Saturday 28 January in Edinburgh city centre for using the ISM petition demanding troops out of Ireland. She was first held under section 2 of the Scottish Criminal Justice Bill. A van then took her to the Gayfield Square police station where she refused to answer questions about the ISC and her support for the Greenham Common women. They took her possessions, including £40 Supplementary Benefit she had just got that morning. They have kept the money saying it is evidence that she had been making illegal collections – which is what they

finally charged her with.

She was then taken to be searched. A woman PC told her to remove her clothes and then turn around slowly. They made no attempt to justify or explain this.

Other EISC supporters had taken quick action to inform a lawyer and contact councillors. We called a picket for 2pm. However, as a result of the many phone calls to the police station, Rhian was released just before 2pm. The EISC will be launching a campaign to get the charges dropped and expose the now routine use of strip searching of women activists. For details contact the EISC, Box 110, First of May Bookshop, 43 Candlemaker Row, Edinburgh.

● Colin Roach

At 4.30 pm on Thursday 12 January the Stoke Newington and Hackney Defence Campaign mounted a 40-strong picket of Stoke Newington police station to mark one year since the killing of Colin Roach. Anthony Kendall, leader of Hackney Council was present to receive the Defence Campaign petition for a public inquiry and the dropping of all charges. 20,487 people had signed the petition. The militant picket was supported by, amongst others, City Anti-Apartheid Group, Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! Westdown Labour Party Branch, LSE students, Palestine Solidarity and Irish Solidarity Movement.

From 10.30 to midnight on 12 January 60 people gathered outside Stoke Newington police station for a candle light vigil in remembrance of Colin. Pauline, Colin's sister, read a statement from the Roach Family Support Committee which called on local organisations to break all links with the police until an independent public inquiry is set up to investigate all the circumstances surrounding Colin's death.

NATIONAL WEEK OF ACTION FOR THE RIGHT OF REPATRIATION FOR IRISH PRISONERS OF WAR 12 March – 18 March

LONDON

Picket of Home Office Prison Department 89 Eccleston Square SW1 Monday 12 March 12 – 2 pm
 Meeting Wednesday 14 March, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1
 Placard parade Thursday 15 March, Kilburn Square, Kilburn, 6 – 7 pm
 Demonstration Saturday 17 March, Assemble 1pm Whittington Park, Holloway Road
 Organised by London ISCs

EAST MIDLANDS

Picket of Gartree Prison Leicester Road, Market Harborough, Sunday 18 March 1.30 – 3.30pm. Called by East Midlands Prison Picket Mobilising Committee

MANCHESTER

Street meeting Wednesday 14 March, Longsight Market 11 – 2pm
 Public meeting Thursday 15 March, Support right of repatriation for Irish POWs
 Demonstration and March to Rally and Picket at Strangeways Gaol. Saturday 17 March. Assemble Platts Fields, Wilmslow Rd 1pm
 Organised by Manchester ISC

SCOTLAND

Demonstration on March 17, Public Meetings, Picket of Durham prison. For details contact EISC Box 110, First of May Bookshop, 43 Candlemaker Row, Edinburgh

LEEDS

Public meeting Wednesday 14 March 7.30pm, Leeds Trades Club, Saville Mount, Leeds 7
 Picket the BBC Woodhouse Lane, Leeds 2, Stop Censorship on Ireland! Thursday 15 March 12 – 2pm
 Organised by Leeds ISC

HEMEL HEMPSTEAD

Public meeting Speakers: Terry Marlowe (ISM) and Paul Ryan (Labour Councillor) Thursday 15 March 7.30pm, Leverstock Community Centre, Leverstock Green, Hemel Hempstead

ANTI-APARTHEID MONTH OF ACTION End British Collaboration with Apartheid!

EDINBURGH

Thursday 1 March, Picket Barclays Bank, St Andrews St, 12.30-1.30pm
 Thursday 15 March, Picket Standard Charter Bank, 18 George St, 12.30-1.30pm
 Thursday 22 March, Picket P&O Saturday 24 March, Material Aid Collection, Leith Kirkgate Shopping Centre, 10-12 Travel, Hanover St, 12.30-1.30pm
 Thursday 29 March, Picket Real Food Store, Broughton St, 12.30-1.30pm
 Friday 30 March, Public Meeting and Film Show
 All organised by Edinburgh FRFI

LONDON

Saturday 3 March, Joint City AA/Hackney AA Picket of Barclays Bank, Dalston Junction, Kingsland High Road, 10-12 noon. Followed by joint Street Meeting in Ridley Road Market 12-1pm
 Saturday 10 March, A Call to Action – workshops and discussion on British Links with Apartheid and the way to cut them. The Adelaide Centre, Adelaide St, Trafalgar Square, 11am-5pm
 Tuesday 13 March, Picket GEC/Marconi Offices, 132 Long Acre, Covent Garden, 1-2pm
 Wednesday 21 March, Anniversary of Sharpeville Massacre, City AA Picket South Africa House, 1-2pm National AA Lobby of MPs in the House of Commons
 Saturday 24 March, Demonstration End British Collaboration with Apartheid, Close Down the Racist Embassy. Assemble Hackney Town Hall, Mare Street, Hackney 11am, march to South Africa House, Trafalgar Square for Mass Picket
 Wednesday 28 March, FRFI Public Meeting, Camden Centre, Bidborough Street, (Kings X Tube) 7.30pm
 Saturday 31 March, FRFI Open Air Rally and Display – singing, speeches, exhibition, Wood Green Library, Wood Green (Wood Green Tube) 11am-4pm

LEEDS

Saturday 24 March, 12 Hour Picket, Dortmund Square, 9am-9pm
 Organised by Leeds FRFI

MANCHESTER

Saturday 24 March, 12 Hour Picket, Piccadilly, 9am-9pm
 Organised by Manchester FRFI

BRADFORD

Saturday 3 March, Bradford AA 12 Hour Picket outside Barclays Bank, Westgate, 8am-8pm
 Thursday 8 March, Bradford AA Social, Queenshall, Cellar Bar, Morley St, 8pm-late.
 Monday 12 March, Bradford FRFI Public Meeting, Queenshall, Bradford College, Morley St, 7.30pm.
 Thursday 22 March, Bradford AA, Public Meeting 'Make Bradford an Apartheid-Free Zone. End British Collaboration with Apartheid', Queenshall, Morley St, 7.30pm.
 Saturday 31 March, Bradford AA

MANCHESTER

Irish Solidarity Committee. Details and information on activities can be obtained from MISC, Box 47, 434 Corn Exchange Buildings, Hanging Ditch, Manchester M3 4BN.

EAST LONDON

Irish Solidarity Committee meets fortnightly. For information and details write to ELISC, BM Box 1320, London WC1N 3XX

WEST LONDON

Irish Solidarity Committee. For more information about the work of the committee write to WLISC, BM Box 1320, London WC1N 3XX

EDINBURGH

Irish Solidarity Committee. Meets every week – organising meetings, filmshows, street campaigning, discussion and education. Contact EISC c/o Box 110, First of May Bookshop, 43 Candlemaker Row, Edinburgh

LIVERPOOL

Irish Solidarity Committee meets fortnightly. For details write to LISIC, PO Box 94 Liverpool L69 8AY

SOUTHAMPTON

Irish Solidarity Committee. For more information contact ISM, BM Box 1320 London WC1N 3XX

LEEDS

Irish Solidarity Committee meets on Tuesdays 14 February and 28 February at Chapelton Community Centre, Reginald Terrace, Leeds 7 at 7.30pm

CENTRAL LONDON

Trade Unions – on the attack in South Africa – in retreat in Britain. Sunday 5 February. Maiden Road Neighbourhood Centre, Maiden Road, NW5. Buses 24 and 46. Fortnightly – details of future meetings from FRFI sellers

DUNDEE

FRFI Supporters Group meets fortnightly, alternate Sundays beginning 5 February. Trades Council Club, Rattray St, Dundee, 7pm

FRFI SUPPORTER GROUPS

FRFI supporters are active in local campaigns, Irish Solidarity Committees, anti-racist campaigns and other political struggles in DUNDEE, EDINBURGH, GLASGOW, LIVERPOOL, MANCHESTER, LEEDS, BRADFORD, BRISTOL AND LONDON. If you wish to join us in our activities, help us sell FRFI and help build an anti-imperialist movement, contact your local seller or write to FRFI, Box 582E, London WC1N 3XK

IRISH SOLIDARITY COMMITTEES

BRADFORD

Irish Solidarity Committee. For details contact BISC c/o Starry Plough Bookshop, The Left Club, 6 Edmund Street, Bradford.

DUNDEE

Irish Solidarity Committee meets fortnightly, alternate Sundays beginning 12 March. Trades Council Club, Rattray St, Dundee, 7pm

TYNESIDE

Action Committee on Ireland meets weekly. For details write to A S King c/o Porters Lodge, Newcastle University, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

NORTH LONDON

Irish Solidarity Committee meets at Camden Labour Club, Carol St, London NW1, near Camden Tube at 7.30pm For details write to NLISC, BM 1320, London WC1N 3XX

SOUTH LONDON

Irish Solidarity Committee meets at Lambeth Town Hall, Brixton. For details write to SLISC, BM 1320, London WC1N 3XX

EVENTS

4 – 10 FEBRUARY

■ SOUTH LONDON

Street Meeting Remember Bloody Sunday! End British Terror! Saturday 4 February, Brixton, 10.45. South London Irish Solidarity Committee

■ SOUTH LONDON

Public Meeting The Fight for Peace Speakers from: SWAPO Women's Section, Greenham Common women, FRFI. Wednesday 8 February Lambeth Town Hall, Acre Lane, Brixton, London SW2 7.30pm. Admission 30p. South London Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!

11 – 17 FEB

■ SOUTH LONDON

Street Meeting Victory to the Irish People! Troops Out Now! Saturday 11 February Balham 1.45pm. Called by South London Irish Solidarity Committee

■ NORTH LONDON

Street Meeting Fight British Injustice! Right of Repatriation for Irish POWs! Saturday 11 February, Wood Green Library, Wood Green High Street, N22. Called by North London Irish Solidarity Committee

■ LEEDS

Public Meeting If you want peace – fight imperialism! Victory to the Greenham Women! Tuesday 14 February City of London School, Woodhouse Lane. Admission 10p. Called by Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!

■ LONDON

Public Meeting and Film Hands Off Angola! End British Collaboration! Film: Angola Under Attack Tuesday 14 February Holborn Library, Theobalds Road, London WC1, 7.30pm. Admission 30p. London Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!

■ LIVERPOOL

Public Meeting If you want peace, fight imperialism! Wednesday 15 February AUEW Hall, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool 3, 7.30pm. Admission 40p. Called by Liverpool FRFI

■ NORTH LONDON

Street Meeting/Display Right to Repatriation for Irish POWs! Thursday 15 February Kilburn Square, NW6, 8pm. Called by North London Irish Solidarity Committee

18 – 24 FEB

■ SOUTH LONDON

Prison picket and Street Meeting Support Prisoners' Demands: End Prison Brutality! Repatriation on Demand for Irish POWs! Saturday 18 February Street Meeting 11.45am Brixton Tube. Picket 1.30-3.30pm Brixton Prison, Jebb Ave. Called by South London Irish Solidarity Committee

■ NORTH LONDON

Street Meeting Ireland – Greenham Common One Struggle! One Fight! Saturday 18 February, Nags Head, Seven Sisters Road, Holloway N7. Called by North London Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!

25 FEB – 2 MAR

■ BRADFORD

Street Meeting Apartheid in Bradford Schools – OUT! Saturday 25 February 11-1.30pm Daney Street/Kirkgate, Bradford City Centre. Called by Campaign Against Racism in Bradford Schools

THE FIGHT FOR PEACE

PUBLIC FORUM

Wednesday 8 February 7.30pm
 Lambeth Town Hall
 Brixton SW2
 speakers from
 SWAPO Women's Section
 Greenham Common
 Fight Racism! Fight
 Imperialism!
 others invited
 Admission 30p

DEFEND SRSP – SMASH THE PTA

Picket Barlinnie Prison every fortnight starting 8 February, 10-11.30am. Send letters of support to Donald Anderson, Remand Prisoner, HMP Barlinnie and Craig Browning, c/o Longriggend Remand Centre, Stirlingshire.

letters

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

Prison lines

Dear FRFI
A point that's often been raised in conversations I've had with various prisoners, political and otherwise, is to the welfare of the different categories of prisoner in the event of say, a nuclear war, or an invasion, or even a street riot. Anything where the authorities might think that the prison's external security is likely to be breached. One train of thought, that hasn't been denied by many screws that have been asked, is that Cat A prisoners would be shot, or otherwise put to death, rather than run the risk of their breaking, or being broken, out. Obviously, many prisoners who are in open and semi-open prisons could be released anyway, as they're not deemed to be dangerous to the public. But what of the prisoners who *are* thought, by the authorities, to be a danger. The thing is a lot of Cat A prisoners, the political ones, aren't put 'on the book' because they're considered dangerous to the public, but because they're considered dangerous to the government and their fascist lackeys. What then, of these?
Once again prisoners have been used as political pawns. After Leon Brittan's pledge, at last years Tory party conference, to have all the prisoners being held in police cells out of them by Christmas, prisoners have been shuffled about without care of the consequences, to make room for the lads in police cells. Most of these men are 7 and 21 day remands. Unconvicted prisoners being held, in my mind, illegally. How can a society that preaches that we are 'not guilty until proven guilty' condone the locking away of men and women who haven't even been tried?
Bur no Bas
Richard J Miles
Blundeston prison

Home Office bans journalist

Dear FRFI,
South African journalist Jonathan Bloch must leave the country at the end of the year when his residency permit runs out. Joint author of that excellent book (British Intelligence and Covert Action: Junction Books 1983), he has been informed by the Home Office that his permit will not be renewed. His book it seems has upset people in Whitehall and in the Foreign Office, as it exposes all their dirty dealings around the world. This he was told was damaging to the 'national interest'!
He follows journalist and ex-CIA man Philip Agee into 'exile', having been expelled from Britain in 1977 by Merlyn Rees. He discovered a plot to overthrow Michael Manley's government in Jamaica. This was a joint Anglo-American plan, and it succeeded. In 1980, the blood stained elections in which many people died, resulted in his party being massively defeated and Seaga (Reagan's puppet) being elected.
British journalist Duncan Campbell has been arrested many times and is often under Special Branch surveillance, as he has investigated the nasty side of British life, the role and extent of police computers, surveillance and their relationship with the army should there be a repeat of the 1981 mass 'street disturbances'.
Only last month the Court of Appeal ordered The Guardian to hand back an internal memo of the Ministry of Defence regarding the siting of cruise missiles, thus destroying a journalist's right to protect his source. So much for a 'free' press!
SM
London

The true face of showpiece prisons

Dear FRFI
Frankland is a purpose-built maximum security Category A prison within a maximum security perimeter. The hierarchy have a control unit mentality reminiscent of Borstal in the fifties. A friend summed it all up by saying:
'I would swap this place for the most primitive prison and conditions in the country - pisspot as well - for a little freedom of movement and peace of mind.'
Is there any justification for this attitude?
A long-term inmate is moved into Frankland. His prison earnings are cut by a third. His association period is cut by half, as is his outside recreation. He is no longer allowed to attend the main prison library. Tea-breaks

and wireless are forbidden in the workshops. Clean sheets are cut down from two per week to one. The playing fields - which would be the pride of any public school - are used two and a half hours per week. It is not unusual for prisoners to be locked in their cells whilst watching off-duty staff using these playing fields.
A prisoner is not allowed to have his cell unlocked unless there is an officer present all the time the door is open nor to associate with another prisoner in his cell. Despite a low average prison wage from £1.90 to £2.80, 13p is automatically stopped to pay for television and games. A prisoner spends approximately 17 out of 24 hours locked up in his cell. Weekends he spends longer locked up. We are not talking about a local short-term prison but the latest long-term pri-

son to be opened in this country.
Frankland is being groomed for increased security and control over and above that which already exists in other long-term prisons. Frankland is a showpiece, a nice place to show local dignitaries, media and the like around. But prison is not about ultra-modern buildings, its about prisoners, about people, their hopes, fears, futures and every other human emotion. Failure to recognise this and the fact that comfortable surroundings mean nothing if one feels repressed and controlled will result in dire results. Because this prison is the Home Office's latest showpiece there is a strong suspicion that the policies etc pursued here are dictated from the Home Office and not at a local level.
Tony Slade
Frankland prison

Dear FRFI

It is wrong for young children in Hong Kong to make toys for rich children in the west and they do not get much money for it. They should be going to school and enjoying themselves.
Love Helen.

FROM HELEN (AGE 6)

Racists call police

Dear FRFI
On 18 January I went to Conway Hall in central London to attend the ISM meeting against the use of informers in the occupied six counties of Ireland. On arrival I approached the large hall, where the NGA's 'giving in' meeting was taking place. At once I was grabbed by the guy near the door, politely I told him I'd no intention of going in and that he should get his hands off. At the same time others from the meeting came out and told me to get away. Again I had to tell them to get their hands off me, to this one backed off his jacket to fight. I felt obliged to ask why this meeting was so secret. Were they making bombs or something? Those who backed off their jackets continued to abuse me saying that I was a 'bastard and a cunt and should fuck off' as well as a coon and a black bastard which fortunately for them I didn't hear. Meanwhile one of these great fighters for union rights got onto the phone telling the police that they were under attack from a group of national front!!
Ten minutes or so later the police, 50 of them, arrived. They should have arrived in two minutes as the police station is only a stones throw away. But after all it was the NF on the attack they thought! When the police came through those doors to be told by the trade unionist to 'arrest that man he called me scum' you can just imagine their faces. After telling me to get to my meeting they left. During the ISM meeting the point was made that the NGA dispute was defeated by amongst other things racist police who physically assaulted them, yet the NGA sinks further to these disgusting racist, sexist levels, and that until the British trade union movement sheds its racist nature, its links with imperialism and joins with the oppressed here and in Ireland it will not achieve a thing.
Ace Kelly

A socialist pontificates ...

Dear Comrade Editor
Whilst reading a copy of your paper (Jan issue No 35), I noted with some disdain a letter from comrade Jacky from Bradford, regarding an attack on the freedom fighters of the ANC, PLO and the IRA by a supporter of Militant.
Whilst I cannot condone the verbal attack reported in your paper, I think it is only right that some points are made in reply to the points raised by comrade Jacky.
Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky pointed out time and again the utter futility of acts of terror by individuals or groups of individuals against the state. The various points raised in their writings have been borne out time and again, with the state taking its own revenge not only on the so called freedom fighters, but on the working class and its organisations also.
Therefore it is essential that socialists reject the methods of terrorism and look and work to the building of their own organisations into mass movements linking up the every

day struggles of the workers and peasants (as with the ANC and PLO), and the Protestants and Catholic workers in Ireland.
Only on this basis would a mass socialist organisation armed with a campaigning socialist programme challenge the capitalist state for ever.
Finally may I add that I myself am a supporter of the Militant and I would be more than willing to supply comrade Jacky with a list of reading material outlining Militant's position on the points raised in this letter.
Yours fraternally
Brian Mark

Reply
Marx, Engels and Lenin never held the position on 'terrorism' attributed to them and were never against 'methods of terrorism' as such. Lenin stated the position of these Marxists in unambiguous terms. 'Guerrilla acts' he wrote 'in the form of terrorism were to be recommended against brutal government officials...'. Elsewhere he noted that the revolutionary Russian Social Democratic Labour Party Congress

... and a lesson in real life

Dear FRFI
Did you know that in the 24 hours that encompasses Xmas day over 40,000 children die of starvation in the viciously exploited Third World?... Harrods a symbol of real bourgeois privilege became the Brit focus of festive imperialist outrage and anti-Irish racism. Not a bloody murmur from the traitorous Labour Party or their cowardly allies on the 'left' in response to the outrages committed against the Irish people over the past 14 years of jackboot occupation. Yet up goes Harrods and they fall over themselves to close ranks with their imperialist masters.
Someone gave me an issue of *Socialist Worker* that dealt with the implications of directly attacking the imperialist home-

base. Honestly I rage inwardly when reading the arrogant pontifications of such middle class Brit student types. They condemn the Irish war of liberation because it doesn't fit neatly into their abstract, book-learned concepts of classic class struggle. These sons and daughters of the English privileged classes who have never experienced the terror and inhuman brutality of enforced colonial domination have the front to preach to the real freedom fighters on how a revolution should be conducted... They arrogantly condemn the legitimate and correct methods and tactics utilised by an army of national liberation. What do they expect the nationalist people of the Six Counties to do? Throw copies of

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I wish to subscribe to FRFI beginning with issue _____
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Address _____

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FUND DRIVE

DECEMBER/JANUARY:
£590.48

Many more donations came in during December, amongst them £2.32 from Jennie, Dylan and Lorna who spent their Xmas Eve carol singing for FRFI! So we ended 1983 with a total of £5,808. A great collective effort for which we thank all our readers and supporters. We started 1984 with £253, a bit slow perhaps, but we are sure it will pick up as the year goes on.
With FRFI 35 individual supporters sent in £62 - many thanks. The FRFI Supporter Groups raised in North London £140.21, Edinburgh £101.43, Manchester £87.05, South London £86.57, Leeds £67.37, Dundee £17.97, Liverpool £13.10 and Bradford £12.46.

Let's keep this up, because FRFI aims to involve more people in building an anti-imperialist movement. It can succeed only if its message reaches those who stand up for their rights and want to join the organised fightback against injustice and oppression. It can succeed only with your help. Act now by subsidising FRFI! Send us your donation or hand it in to your FRFI seller. Organise fundraising events - jumble sales, socials, collections.

We will publish all contributions in this column. If you want your name or your organisation mentioned alongside the donation please say so.

Make your donation payable to 'Larkin Publications' and return to: FRFI BCM Box 5909, London WC1N 3XX
I/we want to donate £ _____ to the FRFI Fund.

Name/Organisation _____
Address _____
I do/do not want you to mention my name/organisation

'recognises "terror", recognises guerilla actions for the purpose of killing the enemy.' The only condition he puts are these acts of 'terror' be under the control of the vanguard party and take into account the concrete needs of the revolutionary struggle at any particular time. Marx, Engels and Lenin were extremely flexible in their tactics and never excluded any form of struggle which would advance the revolution. Comrades interested in this issue can read Lenin's 'Guerrilla Warfare' in his *Collected Works* Volume 11, p213 - 223.

BECOME A FIGHT RACISM! FIGHT IMPERIALISM! SUPPORTER

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

Fill in your name and address on the form below, and send £5. You will receive a supporter card, a year's subscription to FRFI and details of all our activities in your area and nationally. (Postal orders and cheques payable to Larkin Publications)

Name _____
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Send this form to Larkin Publications, BCM Box 5909 London WC1N 3XX.

Your comrade-in-chains
John Bowden
Winchester prison

HANDS OFF IRELAND

Harrods

HYPOCRISY RIGHT and LEFT

The Harrods bombing, as with all IRA actions in Britain, was met with a wave of hypocritical outrage and anti-Irish repression. Bourgeois politicians, Labour and Tory alike, rushed to condemn the bombing and the Irish people's struggle for self-determination. The British media crawled through the gutters to find insults to hurl at the Irish people. Typical were:

- 'Bloody IRA Bastards' - *Sunday People*
- 'These evil Bastards' - *News of the World*

Indeed so carried away did the servile media become that BBC Radio publicly apologised for playing the song 'Mountains of Mourne' and Channel 4 cut out Norman Wisdom singing 'When Irish Eyes are Smiling' from a re-run 1961 comedy show.

What disgusting hypocrisy! When the British Army slaughtered 14 civilians in Derry 1972 this was merely (according to the Widgery Report) firing which bordered on the 'reckless'.

This anti-Irish barrage by the media created the climate which allowed the police to raid homes, arrest, detain and assault an unknown number of people under the vicious Prevention of Terrorism Act. Ex-POW Gerry Small was amongst those arrested - he was deported to Ireland.

The Harrods bombing was also used as a pretext for sections of the ruling class to call for the banning of Sinn Fein. That the British ruling class could threaten to ban a legal political organisation which has won significant victories in British-organised elections once again confirms that for the British ruling class, democracy only exists as long as it suits their purposes. The British media fuelled the call for a ban. The most outrageous example was John Ware's World in Action programme. Ware set out to 'stitch up Gerry Adams' by attempting to prove he was a member of the IRA. That the Tory government drew back from this ban has nothing to do with democracy. James Prior opposed the ban and went on to say:

'We are not prepared to give Provisional Sinn Fein recognition as far as political matters are concerned while they support violence.'

This followed Prior's call in December for Sinn Fein to choose between the ballot box and the gun. For the British ruling class it is quite acceptable for bourgeois parties to support the violence of British imperialism against the Irish people but quite unacceptable for Sinn Fein to support the violence of the oppressed against British rule in Ireland. The ruling class knows that the Irish people can only win their freedom by the use of revolutionary force just as British imperialism can only maintain its rule by the use of imperialist violence. In calling on Sinn Fein to condemn or separate itself from the armed struggle they are therefore attempting to force Sinn Fein down the impotent constitutional road of the SDLP.

In the aftermath of the Harrods bombing communists and socialists had a duty to: expose and denounce imperialist hypocrisy; to state clearly the truth that 'the deaths, injuries and tragedies resulting from such actions are directly the responsibility of British imperialism and all those who have condoned con-

tinued British imperialist rule in Ireland' (FRFI 35); and most importantly to defend the victims of British reaction. The main middle class socialist organisations did none of those things. Only the ISM, IFM and Sinn Fein (Britain) were active in opposing the wave of PTA arrests. And what of the CP, WRP, SWP, Socialist League, Labour Committee on Ireland and all the other 'friends' of the Irish people? The following are typical:

Newsline (paper of the WRP) denounced the bombing as a 'barbarous act' and an 'outrage against London workers'.

Morning Star (CPGB) described it as a 'calculated act of barbarism...' and the next day printed an anti-Republican cartoon worthy of the *Sun*.

Socialist Worker said: 'No-one can fail to condemn the bomb at Harrods'.

The left press merely echoed the anti-Irish hysteria of the ruling class media. *Socialist Action* however, went further and printed an article by the Labour Committee on Ireland (LCI) which adopted its own left version of the Prior strategy. Like Prior they seek to counterpose the so-called political to the armed struggle. After talking about a 'new generation of (Sinn Fein) leaders keen to shed their traditional image and create a popular movement' they go on to attack the IRA execution of Unionist politician Edgar Graham, the shooting of a Free State soldier and Garda following the Tidy kidnap and the Harrods bombing as 'undermining' this 'approach'. Who is it that the LCI believes these actions will drive away from their 'popular movement'? Is it the poor and unemployed in the 26 counties, who experience nothing but misery and repression from the Free State regime? Is it the op-

pressed nationalist minority in the Six Counties, who know that British imperialism has never conceded anything to the Irish people except in response to revolutionary force? Is it the most oppressed sections of the British working class, who experience nothing but racism, poverty and police violence from the British ruling class? Of course not. It is in fact the organised Labour and trade union movement in Britain that the LCI is worried about. They say:

'The Harrods bomb set back our shared goal of strengthening the Livingstone-type dialogue in order to build a withdrawal movement'.

So the LCI are lecturing the Irish people and demanding that their struggle be tailored to the narrow, chauvinist, pro-imperialist prejudices of a British Labour and trade union movement which has never lifted a finger in their support. The truth is that the interests of the Irish people can never be reconciled with those of the Labour movement in Britain, tied as it is to its imperialist paymasters. The Irish people have no choice but to wage their struggle by all means open to them. In doing so they will find their allies amongst the most oppressed in Britain. The LCI and their middle class left allies stand in a long and rotten tradition of English would-be liberators of the Irish people. Communists in Britain and revolutionary nationalists in Ireland reply as 19th century socialist Eugene Dupont replied to the would-be liberators of his day:

'Fenianism is not altogether wrong, they say, but why not employ the legal means of meetings and demonstrations? ... What is the use of talking of legal means to a people reduced to the lowest state of misery by English oppression... Having destroyed all - life and liberty - be not surprised that nothing should be found but hatred to the oppressor. The English working men who blame the Fenians commit more than a fault, for the cause of both peoples is the same, they have the same enemy to defeat....'

Today that enemy is British imperialism and all those who support its rule in Ireland.

Maxine Williams/Terry Marlowe

PTA ARRESTS

The racist anti-Irish Prevention of Terrorism Act, introduced by the Labour government in 1974, is an instrument of intimidation and censorship against the Irish community and anyone who politically opposes British rule in Ireland. The provisions of the Act allow the police to raid homes, search premises and make arrests on no evidence at all; forcibly fingerprint and photograph detainees; to hold detainees for 7 days without access to lawyers, family or friends; and finally to deport Irish men and women. Between 1974-82 5,555 people were arrested, 390 charged and less than 100 convicted of any 'offences' under the Act. The purpose of this legislation is to attack any movement of solidarity with the Irish people's struggle.

The new version of the PTA now going through Parliament strengthens and extends its provisions to allow supporters of other anti-imperialist liberation movements to be attacked. It is all the more urgent that we unite to fight for the abolition of this vicious reactionary legislation. FRFI has always consistently supported activities against the PTA. Below are reports on some of the latest wave of PTA arrests.

GERRY SMALL

Republican activist and ex-POW Gerry Small was arrested under the PTA on 21 December in Manchester. He was:

- held for 5 days without access to a solicitor
 - deprived of sleep
 - threatened that if he appealed against exclusion he would be sent to Strangeways with its NF screws
 - excluded from Britain on Boxing Day
- On his arrest the *Manchester Evening News* headline was 'IRA Bomber Held' and Granada TV broadcast a report from his street. In consequence a neighbour's house was attacked.

Gerry Small was a victim of police, press and government using the PTA as a weapon against Irish Republican activists.

MISC fully supported all the work done to prevent Gerry Small's exclusion including pickets, leafletting and protests to councillors and MPs.

JAN TAYLOR

Sinn Fein member Jan Taylor was arrested at his home in East London on Friday 9 December by 5 plainclothes police who had a warrant to search for explosives. But it was not explosives but political material they wanted and they took away: diaries, address books and Republican literature.

Jan was held for 42 hours, never questioned about explosives but only about his Sinn Fein activities and charged under Section 2 of the PTA with displaying material which might cause people to believe that he was a member of a proscribed organisation - the IRA. The material was Republican calendars sold openly and legally to raise money for the Prisoners' Dependents' Fund. Jan will appear at Horseferry Road Magistrates Court on 9 May.

The charge carries a maximum sentence of six months in prison and/or £1,000 fine. It was used against the Glasgow 2 in 1980 for selling an issue of FRFI containing an interview with an IRA volunteer. Organised political campaigning defeated this charge in their case.

LIVERPOOL

Tommy O' Reilly, Liverpool ISC supporter, was arrested under the PTA at 10pm Friday 27 January. He was questioned about his political activity: the Liverpool Hunger Strike Committee and demonstrations in 1981; about an RCG member in Liverpool and about the RCG and Liverpool ISC. LISC supporters quickly organised publicity and pressure on the Liverpool police leading to Tommy's release, without charge, after 18 hours.

SCOTLAND

Members of the SRSP were arrested under the PTA in Glasgow 18/19 December. Two, Donald Anderson and Craig Browning, were charged with conspiracy. Sandy Mathers, GIFAC supporter, was also arrested and held for 22 hours in an attempt to get him to make statements against Donald Anderson. FRFI and Edinburgh ISC are supporting the local defence campaign.

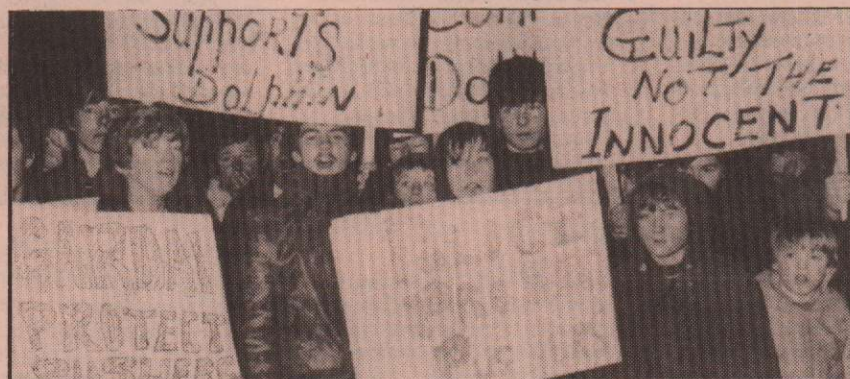
Dublin

HEROIN CRISIS

50% of the population of the South of Ireland is under the age of 25. With the highest unemployment, the highest inflation, the highest national debt (per capita) in the EEC, and with no prospect of any improvement, the youth have a bleak future. Ireland now is ripe for drug pushers.

In 1977 there was no serious heroin problem. Today there are about 6,000 addicts. It costs £80-100 a day to support the habit. As a result young girls are forced into prostitution, young men steal and families break up under the strain of watching a loved one degenerate, while the pushers get richer and richer. Jervis Street Hospital, Dublin's main drug unit regularly treats people as young as thirteen or fourteen for jaundice or hepatitis. The unit is woefully understaffed and ill-equipped. Even in jail there is no escape. One third of the 450 prisoners in Dublin's Mountjoy Jail have a drug problem. The five day detoxification programme does nothing to cure the addiction.

Only last April did the 'government' decide to take the problem seriously, by setting up a National Task Force to combat illicit drug abuse. But too late. A whole generation has been seriously affected. Obsessed with pleasing their British masters Dublin politicians spend over £400 million policing a border they say they are against, each year! They spend huge sums on the infamous



Special Criminal Court, and on harassing and jailing Republicans in the notorious Portlaoise Prison. The 26 Counties ruling class has no intention of helping the youth in their hour of need. Many of the same youth were batoned off the streets following the deaths of Bobby Sands and Francis Hughes during the 1981 H-Block Hunger Strike, as soon as they expressed support for the prisoners. Some politicians are suggesting that the youth should emigrate, as this would help solve unemployment! But there is hope. In Dublin's

Dolphin's Barn and St Teresa's Gardens housing complexes people organised community patrols which expelled drug pushers from the area in 1983. Lack of Garda action against the pushers could be explained by the well known fact that, like the RUC in the Six Counties, the police value criminals and addicts as informants. Instead Garda detectives have stepped up harassment of leading anti-drug campaigners and when Noel

Sillery visited Kilmainham barracks to complain about harassment on 16 January he was detained for 48 hours under the Offences Against the State Act. Community solidarity by local people resulted in an all-night vigil of the barracks and a picket of the Department of Justice. The people's determination to solve the drugs threat by themselves and defend themselves against Garda harassment has been strengthened.

Cathal

DERRY BLOODY SUNDAY MARCH

On 29 January 5,000 nationalist people marched in Derry to mark the 12th anniversary of the British army slaughter on Bloody Sunday 1972. The march was joined by a contingent of ISM supporters from Scotland - Edinburgh ISC, Dundee ISC, Glasgow University Irish Solidarity Society and Scottish FRFI supporters. Danny Morrison addressed the rally, attacking the informer strategy and denouncing SDLP traitor John Hume as the biggest informer of all for betraying the whole Irish people. EISC member Lorna Morgan, introduced by Martin McGuinness as speaking 'on behalf of EISC who are mostly young working class people', gave greetings and solidarity from the ISM and described its efforts to unite all working class and oppressed people in Britain in support of the Irish struggle. She ended to enthusiastic cheers and applause. Liz Curtis of Information on Ireland also spoke. Mitchell McLoughlin, Chair Derry SF, told EISC that his message to the British working class was 'Your struggle is our struggle'. This message is, indeed, the basis of the ISM's work. That is why Scottish ISM supporters went to Derry to show their solidarity with the Irish people's struggle for self-determination. 250 FRFI were sold to the marchers. The warm-hearted response of the Derry people showed the unbreakable link between the oppressed Irish people and their supporters in Britain.