

# FIGHT RACISM! FIGHT IMPERIALISM!

Anti-imperialist paper of the Revolutionary Communist Group

Issue No 38 April 1984 Price 20p

## Thatcher & Son

And still the scandals continue of the parasitic Thatcher family's business interests. As Thatcher uses 8,000 police to seal off entire counties to prevent miners fighting for their jobs, news has come that a new 'job' has been found for the loathsome Mark Thatcher in the USA, far away. Selling high performance cars for Lotus will earn him £45,000 a year - not bad for a salesman. The announcement was made by David Boddy, now employed by Thatcher & Co, but previously employed both by Tory Central Office as a 'press adviser' and by Cecil Parkinson at the height of the Sara Keays affair. With her son out of the way, Thatcher is clearly hoping that press stories about the Fraud Squad investigating the London end of one of Mark's Hong Kong companies and the Inland Revenue investigating another, will die away. Meanwhile Thatcher herself was forced into admitting on 15 March that she had after all met the Middle East director of Cementation Ltd (the company which employed her son to win the Oman university contract) both at a constituency dinner in 1980 and at another unspecified 'social occasion' last year. This admission only came after she had denied in Parliament meeting him officially.

The latest is that Mark Thatcher has got yet another 'job' - as a consultant for the British car auction group - also in America. The company belongs to the Wickins group of companies, another of which, Artwoods, employs Denis Thatcher as deputy chairman. According to the press this company is well in front in the race to grab contracts resulting from the Tories' push to privatise public sector waste disposal. cont page 6

# MINERS ON STRIKE



After two weeks of bitter struggle the miners' fight to save jobs has dramatically demonstrated the fundamental political features of working class struggle in this period. These are first and foremost the split in the working class movement. Second the reactionary and oppressive character of the British imperialist state, its police, laws and courts. Third, the ruthlessness with which the British ruling class in a period of intense crisis will use all means at its disposal to crush any opposition to its rule. And finally that only by going beyond legal, constitutional and traditional methods of trade union struggle can such a fight be won.

On 1 March 1984 Ian MacGregor, chairman of the National Coal Board and previously architect of the destruction of the British steel industry, gave four weeks notice of the closure of Cortonwood Colliery in Yorkshire. The pit had at least five years working life left. The Tory government, encouraged by its victory against the NGA, had decided that

the moment had come to take on the miners. Given the level of coal stocks and with warmer weather on the way, Thatcher and Co knew that this was the best moment to test the ability of the National Union of Miners (NUM) to defend jobs, given that any strike would have to be a long one. On 6 March Ian MacGregor announced NCB plans for 1984/5 continued on page 2

# PEOPLE versus STATE

On Friday 23 March, Sarah Tisdall was sent to prison for six months having been found guilty of breaking Section 2 of the Official Secrets Act. Justice Cantley, the man who handed out life sentences to the Balcombe Street Four in 1975, declared that 'people who leak classified material shall not escape custodial sentences' - in other words people who reveal the truth will be sent to prison. The only 'offence' committed by Sarah Tisdall is that she decided to let people know about Government plans for cruise missiles.

## Tisdall in gaol

As British ruling class repression becomes ever more overt and extends into wider areas, there will be individuals in State employment who will feel driven to oppose this process. This vindictive and cruel sentence on Sarah Tisdall is designed to prevent anyone from fol-

lowing her example. This fact underlines the criminal role of the *Guardian* editor Peter Preston in this affair.

In the trial it was clear that the returned document was the *only* evidence that led the police to Sarah Tisdall. Peter Preston is directly and personally responsible for her imprisonment. This act of treachery by the *Guardian* exposes its sham 'liberal' claims.

The *Guardian* has repeatedly attacked anyone who decides that oppressive laws cannot and should not be obeyed. It has exhorted the NGA, miners, peace activists and Liverpool Council (to name only the most recent examples) to obey the law. The truth is that obeying the law means submitting to oppression. The *Guardian's* much vaunted liberalism is simply a fraudulent cover for conniving at oppression as the case of Sarah Tisdall so clearly proves.

Preston is also the man who happily accepts apartheid blood money for printing racist lying adverts on behalf of the South African apartheid regime. Under the heading of 'free speech' (well-paid for 'free speech') the *Guardian* connives at apartheid terror. The only democracy the *Guardian* defends is the 'democracy' of the rich and powerful - the imperialist ruling class.

Sarah Tisdall is now condemned to six months in the overcrowded foul modern slum of Holloway prison. All democrats should immediately demand her release. And any journalists with a shred of conscience should demand the sacking of Peter Preston.

Terry O'Halloran

	Profits		Bad debt provisions	
	1983 (£m)	change from 1982 (%)	1983 (£m)	change from 1982 (%)
Barclays	557	+ 12½	475	+ 45
Nat West	503	+ 15	264	+ 15
Lloyds	419	+ 27	219	0
Midland	225	- 10	318	+ 62
	1704		1276	

## Profits from misery

Last year business failures reached a new record level of 12,466, up 12 percent on the old record figure of 1982. Britain's manufacturing sector already devastated by the deepening crisis has barely recovered and was in October 1983 still 17 per cent below its highest point in 1979. Unemployment continues to grow, and employment in the manufacturing sector was some 25 per cent below the 1979 level. These conditions bring misery to millions of British people. Yet out of such misery the power and wealth of the British imperialist banks continues to grow.

Despite a massive bad debt provision of £1,276 million, an increase of 24.6 per cent, the four major British banks achieved record profits of £1,704 million - a rise of 13.5 per cent on the previous year. This record was achieved in spite of a 10 per cent fall in profits from Midland Bank arising mainly from the £17m loss made by its US subsidiary Crocker National Corporation.

The fifth largest bank Standard Chartered, despite a rise of £51m in bad debt provision to £134m, increased its profits by £26.1m to £268.1m, a rise of 11 per cent. The operating results for 1983 were said to reflect 'excellent performances' from its South African subsidiary.

Barclays is the other bank whose profits are also riding high because of its central involvement in financing the brutal oppression of black people under the South African regime. While Barclays

overall profits grew by 12½ per cent, its profits from South Africa increased by £40m to £118m - a staggering rise of 51 per cent.

David Reed

### INSIDE

Editorial: Miners on strike	2
Isolate Apartheid, Call to action	3&4
Fight Racism, Miami rising	5
Notes and comments	6
Imperialist recovery flounders	7
Sean Mac Stiofain reviews Ireland: the key to the British revolution	8&9
Drugs under capitalism	10
Lebanon, El Salvador, Grenada	11
Britain's racist prisons	12
Dublin: people fight heroin	13
Irish POWs: Week of action	16

## STOP THE CITY



Stop the City! was the slogan of over 1,000 colourfully dressed young people who poured into the City of London on Thursday 29 March in a protest 'against war, oppression and exploitation'. Their target was this nerve centre of British banking and financial institutions which make billions of pounds profit from exploitation and oppression.

Pin stripes and bowler hats, bank

managers and insurance company bosses, looked aghast at the colourful and boisterous intrusion into their profit and loss accounting. Bands of youth marched and sang through the City streets, hurling an occasional rock which broke bank windows. Theatrical sketches and slogans daubed on walls denounced the robber banks and war makers.

The police, guardians of the wealthy, were prepared. Commander Hugh Moore declared the City an 'exclusion zone', 'cancelled' all demonstrations and deployed 40 mobile police units to break up the protest. They resorted to indiscriminate brutality. Over 400 were arrested. FRFI supporters saw some badly beaten up after their arrest. One woman had her head split open, another her baby snatched away. Mounted police rode their horses into the crowds. Journalists and photographers recording incidents of police brutality were threatened with violence and arrest. City AA supporters who went to picket Barclays HQ had their banner ripped from them and were threatened with arrest.

Police brutality will not stop mounting anger against imperialism, oppression and war. It will only teach the lesson that to challenge it successfully unity must be forged with all those, internationally and in Britain, who are fighting imperialism.

## Continued

from page 1

involving a 4 million tonne cut in production, 20 pit closures and 20,000 redundancies. Arthur Scargill, President of the NUM, argued that this plan would actually mean 40 pit closures and 40,000 redundancies and that the NCB's eventual aim was to reduce the coal industry from 174 to 100 pits and the workforce from 184,000 to 100,000. Two days later in a blatant attempt to bribe miners into accepting redundancies, the NCB announced a massive increase in redundancy payments. The payment for a miner with 30 years service trebled from £11,197 to £33,262. It was now clear that the long running overtime ban was not going to prevent pit closures. The time for a decisive battle had come.

The government was relying on deep divisions which exist in the NUM to prevent any serious resistance to pit closures. These divisions are a reflection of the split in the working class movement as a whole. This split, between the relatively privileged upper layers of the working class and the ever growing numbers of workers increasingly condemned to unemployment and poverty as the crisis deepens, is the central political feature of our time. It is precisely because the official Labour and trade union movement represents the interests *only* of the privileged upper layers that it has not merely failed to

local areas to take strike action from Monday 12 March following large pickets of the NUM headquarters in Sheffield.

On Monday 12 March, the whole of Yorkshire and Kent, and most of South Wales and Scotland were out. Heavy picketing ensured 100 per cent in those areas by the weekend. Early reluctance in Scotland and Wales was due to the fact that Yorkshire had not supported them in previous calls to action. The NCB meanwhile took court action against the Yorkshire NUM and obtained an injunction against illegal picketing. This was ignored and mass picketing continued particularly in Nottinghamshire where miners are traditionally moderate and are relatively secure with highly productive seams. The NCB has so far not gone back to court. Clashes occurred between police, miners and pickets. During one running battle at Ollerton, a young miner from South Kirby in Yorkshire, was killed in circumstances that are still unclear. The consequence of not holding a national ballot has been that the tactics of the struggle have been dictated by the miners under threat and not by the more privileged sections of the union. This is the political significance of the mass pickets aimed at forcing the more privileged miners to join the strike. Those who are now calling for a national ballot are, in effect, demanding that the more privileged sections of the NUM be allowed yet another opportunity to impose their own narrow interests on all miners. This is why the ruling class and

got through to picket every working pit. Many pickets hid out overnight in Sherwood Forest and were guided through the back ways by sympathetic Nottingham miners. The number of pits closed rose from 127 on Monday 19 March to 146 on Wednesday 21 March. On Thursday, police tried to seal off every pit in a ring of half a mile radius. Every car was stopped and searched. They smashed in one car's windscreen with a crowbar.

At the Yorkshire NUM HQ in Barnsley, 1,000 miners gathered to defend their union from bailiffs in the event of the NCB's court action being successful. An arrest led to attempts to turn over a police van whereupon the man was released. Reinforcements of police rushed in and in the ensuing fighting the press was justly attacked by the miners. MacGregor prudently called off his court action. By Friday 23 March the police had been forced into sealing off the entire county of Nottinghamshire. Miners were arrested if they did not turn back at road blocks. Pickets that do get through – up to 1,000 per day – are kept from working miners by massive ranks of police. In the same week, some train drivers and seamen began to refuse to move coal and the open cast miners in the TGWU have refused to move any coal.

In the third full week of the strike, pickets found new ways of voicing their anger. For two days running on 27 and 28 March, 700 miners have tried to prevent the 1,000 workers at the NCB HQ in Doncaster from getting in to work.

ing and inevitable repression directed by a ruling class which will use any means necessary to protect its wealth and privileges. It has exposed once again the alliance of forces ranged against the working class: the ruling class, its laws, its courts, its police and its agents in the working class movement. The miners can only win this struggle by refusing to allow their fight to be limited by the legal and constitutional rules laid down by the Thatcher government or by the narrow self-interest of privileged layers of the working class, their organisations and political parties. Any determined struggle will inevitably bring them into confrontation with the representatives of these privileged layers both within the NUM and outside of it.

On Tuesday 27 March nine members of the NUM Executive held a 'secret' caucus from which they issued a very public call for a national ballot and a return to work. These leaders, like Syd Vincent (Lancashire), Ray Chadburn (Notts) and Jack Jones (Leics) are prepared to sacrifice thousands of miners' jobs in order to maintain the privileged position of the miners they represent. They are devotees of the Len Murray school – the luxury-carpeted offices lunches with the management, lie down and submit style of trade unionism. They are agents of the ruling class in the working class movement. Unity with such people would be the unity of the graveyard for the mass of miners. A few days after this meeting the Lancashire miners, deeply divided, voted to go back to work.

To win any miners' strike depends on solidarity action from other workers particularly those involved with the movement or use of coal. Two railway unions, NUR and ASLEF, the National Union of Seamen, the TGWU and the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation have pledged support. But again there are the same inevitable splits in their ranks. Within a day of pledging support to the miners strike Bill Sirs (ISTC) declared on Friday 30 March

'We want to support as much as we can but I am not here to see the steel industry crucified on someone else's altar.'

What Bill Sirs means is that he will not allow *his* privileges and *his* position to be threatened in a fight for basic working class rights. This, it should be remembered, was the man who in 1981 wanted to go to South Africa in order to pull black workers 'out of the dark ages and provide the sort of training shop stewards have here', and who opposed mandatory sanctions against South Africa on the grounds it would undermine British jobs. Once again this racist was not prepared to allow his privileged position to be threatened by the revolutionary struggle of black workers in South Africa against imperialist oppression and exploitation. Unity with the likes of

families, prevent movement anywhere without a pass; where striking and protesting workers are brutally beaten, arrested, shot dead and where their leaders are tortured and murdered in prison. But we must ask what steps have British trade unions taken to prevent subsidiaries of British companies in South Africa calling the South African paramilitary police to disperse, harass and arrest striking workers in South Africa. The capitalist system makes profits out of brutally exploiting people throughout the world. Where democracy and profits come into conflict then democracy will go. The black people in South Africa know this. Oppressed peoples throughout the world know this. British trade unionists are being forced again to understand this.

Jack Taylor, however, could have found comparisons closer to home. In Ireland the British ruling class, using its army and the RUC, have perfected techniques of 'riot' control, road blocks, legal repression, rigged juryless courts, torture and murder against the Irish people fighting for the basic democratic right to self-determination. In 1981 British trade unionists stood by and watched as ten Irish prisoners of war were murdered on hunger strike. In the same year the same British trade unionists stood by and watched as black and white unemployed youth fought the racist British police on the streets. 4,000 of those involved were arrested and 700 were sent to prison.

The failure of British trade unionists to unite with the black people in South Africa against British imperialist backed apartheid, with the Irish people against British imperialist rule, or with the youth of 1981 against the racist British police has aided the strengthening and perfection of the machinery of repression which is now turned against the miners. It allowed the installation of Newman as head of the metropolitan police. Newman is undoubtedly masterminding the present national police operation against the miners, drawing on his experience in Ireland.

Arthur Scargill correctly pointed out that

'Brixton, Toxteth and St Pauls were warning shots that injustice and inequality can only be pushed so far' (*Morning Star* 28 March 1984)

But he should have added that the failure of trade unionists to support the youth has allowed the Thatcher government to attack and defeat different sections of the working class one by one, because they stood alone. *Socialist Worker's* gross sectarianism forces it to deny this essential point by saying that:

'agitation and action among organised workers worries (the Tories) much more than the short-lived eruptions of unemployed youth' (31 March 1984)

# Editorial MINERS ON STRIKE

defend workers' interests but also actively sabotaged serious struggles. This has been seen time and again, most strikingly in the health workers' dispute in 1982 and the NGA dispute last year. The difference this time, in the latest miners' dispute, is that a section of trade unionists under threat have, so far, determinedly refused to allow their struggle to be defeated by a privileged layer of workers within their own ranks.

The creation of the divisions in the NUM has been a conscious strategy of the ruling class since 1974. In 1977 it was the Labour government that began the process with a productivity deal which meant that miners in high-productivity, high investment pits could earn considerably more than their fellow workers in less productive pits. Today a miner in Nottingham can earn more in bonus payments alone – around £80 per week – that the basic take home pay of a surface worker elsewhere – just under £74. By these means two distinct sections of miners are being created: one higher paid with relatively secure employment working in high investment, high productivity pits; the other low paid, now under constant threat of redundancies, and working in less productive pits. Arthur Scargill has argued that some of these latter pits have been deliberately starved of necessary investment. From 1972 to 1984 over 100,000 miners' jobs have disappeared and 115 pits have been closed down. MacGregor's strategy is simple and ruthless: to pour money into the productive pits and to buy off the miners at those pits through the introduction of separate productivity bonuses for each pit – and thus divide the NUM even further.

Up to now this strategy has been successful. Twice since Arthur Scargill became President of the NUM he has failed to secure the necessary 55 per cent majority in national ballots to call a national strike against pit closures. Isolated sections of the NUM have been left to fight alone as happened with Kinneil colliery in Scotland in 1982/3 and Ty-Mawr Merthyr, South Wales, in February last year (see *FRFI* 28, April 1983). Faced with the stark reality of MacGregor's latest announced plan which Arthur Scargill had correctly foreseen, thousands of miners had no choice but to fight. This time no national ballot was called. Instead the NUM Executive called on



its media are backing this call. It soon became very obvious to Thatcher and MacGregor that the miners were not going to be stopped either by the dictates of the more privileged sections of the union or by court action and piecemeal policing. So the organised power of the state was brought to bear in a police operation designed to physically crush the miners' struggle.

### MASSIVE POLICE OPERATION

On Sunday 18 March, in a huge operation, 3,000 police reinforcements were sent in to the Nottinghamshire area, equipped with riot gear, with some of them being put up in army camps. TV viewers were treated to the sight of the police operations room at Scotland Yard where movements of police (data on their equipment, their training in riots, use of dogs etc), pickets' movements, local intelligence, car numbers, ballot predictions and breakdowns, and without doubt telephone conversations, were all collated. This system was last used in the 1981 Uprisings and has been refined since then. In addition, Kent miners going North to picket were stopped at the Dartford Tunnel and threatened with arrest if they left the county. (They turned round and went another way.) Police also began to stop and turn back Yorkshire miners on their way to the Nottingham pits – but thousands still

## 'Brixton, Toxteth and St Pauls were warning shots that injustice and inequality can only be pushed so far'

Masses of police were drafted in to keep the HQ open. Stones were thrown by pickets at police, several of whom were injured. Miners have also, in 150 strong convoys, blocked up all the lanes of the A1 and M1 motorways by driving at 12mph. Coachloads of police have been used to force miners off the roads. A convoy on the A38 in South Derbyshire on 28 March resulted in 48 arrests, with police smashing car windows. In return police have been injured, being dragged along by cars and police coaches have been smashed up. An estimated 20,000 police are involved in this national operation to defeat the miners' strike. At any one time up to 8,000 police are involved in violently preventing miners forming mass pickets. This police operation is costing £500,000 a day. The ruling class is never short of money to police its own interests. In spite of all this between 130-140 pits remain closed – the rest can only be kept open by police violence.

### UNITY – BUT WHAT KIND OF UNITY?

The miners' dispute is not a simple trade union struggle or a simple fight for jobs. It has become a fight against the grow-

Sirs would be the unity of defeat. Workers in other unions who want to unite and fight with the miners will be forced to confront these leaders.

It is no coincidence that South Africa has been raised a number of times during the miners' dispute. Arthur Scargill argued that British deep-mined coal is the most economically produced coal in the world except for that produced with *slave labour* in South Africa. But it is British companies and British banks which gain enormous profits from that slave labour in South Africa and British trade unions that have shared in the loot. The failure of the British Labour and trade union movement to oppose British imperialism's backing of the slave labour regime in South Africa has strengthened the very British imperialist state that has now turned against the miners.

The Yorkshire miners president Mr Jack Taylor compared police action against the miners to that used in South Africa and South America, and Scargill has spoken of a paramilitary police exercise. In reality it bears little comparison yet to South Africa where vicious laws herd black people into ban-tustan concentration camps, separate

The point is that the eruptions were shortlived precisely because the 'organised workers' refused to support them. The point is that the miners' struggle faces a strengthened and more confident ruling class precisely because of this.

The miners can find real allies and real unity amongst all those sections of the working class, the youth and unemployed, black workers and Irish workers who have already learned who are the friends and who are the enemies of the working class. These forces have no interest in defending the privileged position of either the ruling class or its agents in the working class movement and have every interest in the victory of the striking miners in their struggle for jobs. The miners have much to learn from these forces. Only this unity consistently fought for not only in the present miners' dispute but in all the battles in the years ahead can lead the way to the victory of the working class.

FRFI fully backs the striking miners and urges all readers and supporters to give whatever support they can, on the picket lines, financially and in their own organisations.

**Victory to the Miners!**

# SOUTH AFRICA

## South Africa and the Frontline States

# Isolate Apartheid Now

The security pact between South Africa and Mozambique, signed on 16 March, represents a serious setback to the struggle for liberation in Southern Africa and an advance for the racist apartheid state. Since the overthrow of imperialist rule in Angola and Mozambique in 1975, the liberation war of the ANC and SWAPO has been waged with the full support of the Frontline States – Angola and Mozambique in the forefront. With the signing of the non-aggression pact Mozambique has been forced to withdraw its support for the liberation movements and to open its doors to imperialism.

FRFI has argued that part of imperialist strategy in this period of crisis is to destroy the socialist countries and People's Republics. This not only discourages the hopes of liberation movements still fighting for self-determination, it also opens up vital new markets for exploitation. It is this policy which South Africa, with the full backing of the United States and Britain, has pursued with vigour against the Frontline States – in particular Mozambique and Angola.

The rapid way Mozambique has been brought to its knees is a measure of imperialism's success. The apartheid-backed MNR counter-revolutionaries were able to deal successive blows to the Mozambican economy. But the more insidious blows were dealt by imperialism itself through refusal to aid economic development and through increased support – both politically and economically – for the apartheid regime. In 1982 South Africa was granted a £690 million IMF loan which was used to increase spending on the war against the Frontline States. It is no surprise that the current political agreements coincide with the re-scheduling of Mozambique's debts to the imperialist banks.

The so-called 'peace' pact, signed with much pomp and ceremony, is only the surface reflection of a fundamental change for Mozambique. The consequences will be far wider than abandoning support for the ANC. Behind the scenes imperialism's representatives – the likes of Oppenheimer and Tiny Rowlands – are busy negotiating oil and mineral concessions, and renewing the possibilities for capitalist exploitation in every area of the economy. On 25 March the homes of ANC members in Maputo were raided and four people arrested.

### Apartheid's 'clean-up'

Within South Africa the strategy towards the Frontline States has been mirrored by apartheid's internal strategy. Whilst offering superficial reforms to apartheid – a separate subservient parliament for Indians and Coloureds, recognition for trade unions which toe the apartheid line, etc. – the Botha government has hardened apartheid in practice. Forced removals to the bantustans have been escalated alongside the everyday brutality meted out to black

people. In the not too distant future, the apartheid state would like to be able to present a cleaned up version of itself to the world, with the different races apparently existing side by side in peace, pursuing their separate development.

The reality of such a 'clean-up' will be the economic and political domination of white South Africa over the whole of the region of Southern Africa. Inside South Africa it will mean the total subjugation of black people within defined, overwhelmingly poor areas – the puppet bantustans – with black migrant labour only in the white areas. In a word, barbarity.

Such an outcome would suit the white South Africans and ensure their continued privileged existence. Most of all it would suit the imperialists. With black people neatly 'tidied away' into their own 'independent' states, imperialism would be set loose to exploit Southern Africa to the fullest degree without even the minimum outcry at their complicity which exists at the moment.

The apartheid regime has already launched its advertising campaign to convince the world that a 'cleaned-up' apartheid system is on the way. Many national newspapers in Britain have carried their adverts precisely to this end. The adverts are an important part of Botha's strategy to legitimise approval for fascism.

Before such a strategy would be convincing, however, the Frontline States had to be dealt with, and in particular their support for the liberation war. Mozambique has been forced along this path.

### Angola

In Angola, South Africa and the imperialists has similarly set out to destabilise the democratic republic. Over the last nine years full support has been given to the UNITA counter-revolutionaries, backed up by South Africa's invasions and bloody onslaughts. Whilst facing a similar situation of economic destabilisation to Mozambique, the Angolans have so far shown their determination to honour their commitments to Namibian freedom. A recent joint statement by Presidents dos Santos of Angola and Fidel Castro of Cuba laid down four conditions for the

### SWAPO HITS BACK

Every day PLAN freedom fighters of SWAPO hit back against apartheid's illegal occupation of Namibia. Two recent incidents carried out by SWAPO combatants are, the destruction of telephone poles in Nkongo, and an attack on a boiler room of a softdrinks factory at Oshakati causing damage estimated between R300,000 and R500,000 (£150-250,000). The latter attack is significant in that Oshakati is a fortified settlement which is a South African command centre for part of the 'operational area'. It is surrounded by a double security fence, including watch towers with machine guns. The only entrances are heavily guarded. All black people have to leave at night. The black township is surrounded by a high wire fence and a curfew has been imposed during which anyone seen moving can be shot. SWAPO can attack even inside heavily guarded enemy areas.

Nomsa Langa

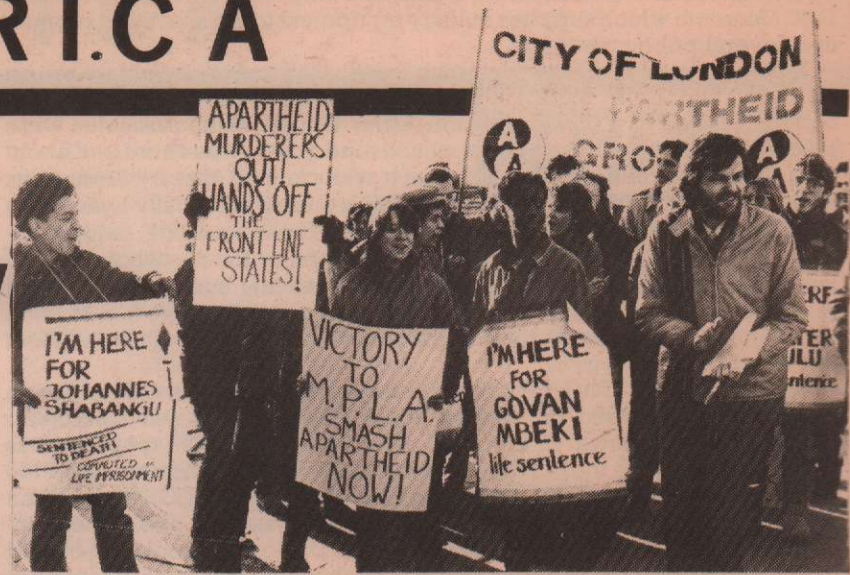
### MK STRIKES AGAIN

The African National Congress (ANC) has vowed to intensify the armed struggle, and recent weeks have seen the armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, carry out a number of successful bombing attacks on strategic installations. On 23 February, three explosions rocked the Escrom power plant near Maritzburg. On 10-11 March, 5 petrol storage tanks in Ermelo, near the border with Swaziland and the intended site for the signing of the peace treaty with Mozambique, were badly damaged in a series of explosions starting fires of 30ft high flames, which took eight hours to control. Buildings housing the Ciskeian consulate are popular targets and the extensive damage caused to their offices in Durban, Johannesburg and Pretoria has forced the owners, Anglo-American Properties, to ask the Ciskeian authorities to move elsewhere. The South African Defence Force has also received marching orders – they are once again in search of more secure property following the destruction of their recruiting offices in Durban and Johannesburg.

Viva Umkhonto we Sizwe!  
Ruby Khan.

withdrawal of the 25,000 Cuban troops at present stationed in Angola:

- The unilateral withdrawal of South African troops from Angola;
- The 'scrupulous implementation' of UN Security Council resolution 435 providing for independence in Namibia (and withdrawal of South African troops from that country);
- The cessation of all 'acts of direct aggression or threats of aggression' against Angola by South Africa, the US, 'or their allies';



● The cessation of all help for the Unita organisation or any other dissident group in Angola.

### Solidarity

Over recent weeks both SWAPO and the ANC have shown that they do not depend on Angola and Mozambique in order to continue the war against apartheid. To show its ability to launch attacks from inside South Africa, the ANC has blown up the power plant in Geordedale, near Maritzburg, with 3 explosions, the Mandini Escrom power station in Zululand, and a petrol depot in Ermelo, near to the site for the signing of the peace treaty with Mozambique. Similarly SWAPO has been able to hit back in areas heavily guarded by South African forces in the heart of Namibia. (See boxes)

Following the signing of the peace pact the ANC issued a statement placing the responsibility for the current situation fully on the shoulders of the South Africans and their imperialist backers, and restating its aims over the coming period:

'Our principal task at this moment therefore is, and must be, to intensify our political and military offensive inside South Africa ...

The central and immediate question of South African politics is the overthrow of the white minority regime, the seizure of power by the people and the uprooting by these victorious masses of the entire apartheid system of colonial and racist domination, fascist tyranny, the super-exploitation of the black majority and imperialist aggression and expansionism.

This question will be and is being settled, in struggle, within the borders of our country and nowhere else. We are entitled to expect that all those anywhere in the world, who count themselves among the anti-colonial and anti-racist forces, will join hands with us to bring about this noble outcome.

At a recent meeting in London President Oliver Tambo of the ANC stated clearly that, in the absence of a full policy of sanctions against South Africa, the ANC has no choice but to escalate the armed struggle. The ANC's legitimate concern is that the apartheid system should not be given credence by the world, but should be seen as it really

is – fascist tyranny which has the full support of imperialism.

These recent events have shown that a much stronger, active solidarity movement has to be built in Britain to give vital support to the liberation movements, ANC and SWAPO. As long as imperialism is able to give aid to South Africa freely and without hindrance, then the full burden of its attack will fall on the people of Southern Africa. The ANC's statement is a call to us here in Britain to increase our efforts to build an anti-imperialist movement in solidarity with the people of Southern Africa and to thwart the designs of the British imperialist state.

Chris Fraser and Carol Brown

## No Butts-isolate Apartheid sport

The latest attempts to break the international sports boycott against apartheid South Africa have included the decision by the Rugby Football Union to go ahead with its tour of South Africa, and the Daily Mail's import of white South African runner Zola Butt.

The overwhelming decision of the Rugby Union came as no surprise and was backed by a statement from the its president that 'We believe that contact is more constructive than leaving people out in the cold'. The facts are that 'contact' with the South Africans has never led to the end of apartheid policies. On the contrary, such tours are used by the apartheid regime to give an air of legitimacy to a thoroughly barbaric regime. Sports sanctions have never been thoroughly applied. Sports Minister, Neil Macfarlane expressed the government's true position: 'This is a free country and ultimately it is for the RFU to decide whether the tour takes place'. He also ruled out sanctions or any attempt by the government to stop the tour.

The Daily Mail's bid at sanction-busting involved importing 'Wondergirl' runner Zola Butt, devoting a three page spread to her charms, and backing her for the British Olympic team. Of course they failed to mention apartheid or why the South African people have demanded the isolation of South Africa.

In the hope of being able to participate in international sport, the apartheid regime has made a few cosmetic changes to con people that sport in South Africa is multi-racial. Millions are being spent in huge cash offers to bribe top sports personalities to violate the Gleneagles 1977 Agreement. In Britain there is a powerful pro-South African sport lobby, with groups like 'Freedom in Sport'.

The issues are very clear – and it's also clear that it's no good relying on Britain's pro-apartheid government to stop the rot. A powerful campaign has to be launched to stop sport with South Africa, in the context of a total isolation of apartheid.

Meanwhile let's wait and see whether Zola Butt has to go through the same lengthy, harrowing process of getting a British passport that is meted out to black people in Britain. Somehow we doubt it.

Ruby Khan

# Conspiracy to bust sanctions

As exposed in the Guardian, the apartheid South African regime has over the past 5 years acquired a network of freight companies in Britain and elsewhere to enable it to continue to import and export goods in the event of effective world-wide trade and oil sanctions.

At the centre of this network lies Freight Services of South Africa, the freight-forwarding and clearing company responsible for shipping most of the oil into Rhodesia after UDI was declared in 1965. Since then, fearing wider sanctions could be imposed on the apartheid regime, Freight Services has set about buying up over 60 freight-forwarding companies in Britain and the rest of the world.

Paper companies have been set up in

London, Edinburgh, Jersey, the Netherlands, the Bahamas and Panama, to act as holding companies of British registered companies and thus disguise the South African connection. In 1979 Freight Services found a company ideally suited to its purposes – Davidson, Park and Steel of Glasgow. It was then owned by the British and Commonwealth Shipping Co Ltd, and controlled by the Cayzer family who have close ties with South Africa.

British and Commonwealth Shipping Co Ltd has a 21% stake in Safmarine, South Africa's biggest shipping line. 51% of Safmarine is owned by the South African government, and wait for it... Safmarine in turn has a 50% stake in Freight Services of South Africa. Lord Cayzer sold the company without informing any of his employees and complex take over procedures ensured that there was no visible link to South African ownership.

Davidson, Park and Steel expanded rapidly, taking over many other companies and creating a web of companies which combined freight-forwarding, procuring goods, air freight and con-

tainers.

Mr Lutyens, chairman of Davidson, Park and Steel stated that 'we have done nothing that would be disapproved by either the South African or British governments'. Quite so. Business as usual has always been the major concern of British governments, whether Labour or Tory. Bob Hughes MP, chairman of the Anti-Apartheid Movement is pressing for a change in company law to stop the South Africans penetrating the British economy.

Isolate Apartheid!  
Sanctions Now!

Ruby Khan

# CALL to ACTION

City of London Anti-Apartheid Group organised a challenging series of events for the Month of Action. They included a picket of Barclays Bank headquarters in Lombard Street during the Stop the City day, a picket of GEC/Marconi which supplies military equipment to the apartheid regime, and several public meetings.

The major local events of the month were a Call to Action conference on 10 March and, on 24 March, a demonstration from Hackney to Trafalgar Square, ending in a picket of South Africa House. Many obstacles were placed in the way of these events; rumour and gossip was circulated about City Group's intentions. In particular it was claimed that by holding its local demonstration, City Group was acting undemocratically against the AAM Annual General Meeting decision not to hold a national demonstration. City Group went ahead with its programme for the whole month, including its demonstration, in the firm belief that such events would mobilise local support against apartheid. They certainly achieved this with a militant and vocal march through Hackney, the City of London and Fleet Street.

On this page we give a report of three speeches from the Call to Action Conference—focussed on ending British collaboration with apartheid. Despite the withdrawal of the ANC, SWAPO and SACTU speakers less than 24 hours before the conference began, the Call to Action attracted 150 people who heard contributions from Ken Livingstone (GLC), Vince Allan (Westminster Labour Group), the Greenham Women, the American-Indian Support Group, FRFI, Stanley Clinton Davies, Amandla Kitson and many others. We reprint here extracts from three speeches: the Convenor of City Group; Comrade Mrs Adelaide Tambo—a founder member of City Group; and David Reed.



Throughout the month of March FRFI supporters and anti-apartheid activists have been campaigning against apartheid. We report here on just some of the events called as part of the Anti-Apartheid Movement's Month of Action

'I want to thank all of you, individuals, organisations, especially City of London Anti-Apartheid Group for all the work that you have done over the years to support our freedom struggle in South Africa. I especially want to thank those who took part in the pickets outside South Africa House during what has been a very difficult time for all of us in South Africa, for Nelson Mandela and all the others...

'What I want to say to you is carry on the good work that you are doing. Support the ANC. Support SWAPO. Support the events for the release of all political prisoners in South Africa. And put your endless support behind the City of London Anti-Apartheid Group'

Comrade Mrs Adelaide Tambo

## British banks and apartheid

David Reed

British collaboration with apartheid is very profitable. But profitable for whom. Not for the black masses in South Africa, whose meagre living standard declined by 4% in the year up to May 1983. Not for the four million unemployed in Britain and the 15 million people living on the poverty line. But British collaboration with apartheid is profitable for a definite section of the British population—the British capitalists and their South African partners in crime, their partners in the super-exploitation of the black people of South Africa.

Barclays Bank, in the midst of the greatest crisis in this country since the Second World War, announced an increase of pre-tax profits of 12½ per cent, to £557 million. The four major British banks had profits this year of £1.7 billion. And this, comrades and friends, is in spite of what they call bad-debt provisions... And Barclays increased its bad-debt provision to £475 million. So Barclays can lose £475 million to people unable to pay back their debts, and still make a staggering profit of £557 million... It is quite clear that the people who run, own and enjoy the fruits of Barclays Bank are not part and parcel of the crisis that is affecting the black people of South Africa, and millions of British people at the present time.

It has been pointed out that Barclays

Bank, whose subsidiary has assets of £7.4 million in South Africa, increased its profits by a staggering 51 per cent in South Africa... It increased its profits by £40m to £118 million—profits made out of the brutality imposed on black people in South Africa. That's what business means, as far as Barclays is concerned. While black living standards fell in South Africa, while millions of black people are herded into the bantustan concentration camps to starve and die, while one in four black children in the bantustans do not live beyond the age of five, Barclays increased their profits by 51 per cent.

Nothing better measures the crime of British imperialism against the South African people, than those facts put together side by side. Behind the sickening refrain of business as usual, lies the barbarism of the capitalist system, nakedly exposed for all to see in South Africa. Britain is up to its neck in that barbarism.

Between mid 1979 and mid 1982 British banks lent at least \$1.1 million to South Africa. Britain is the third largest foreign market for South African goods. South Africa is Britain's biggest customer in Africa. Britain has the highest foreign direct investment, that's excluding banking investment, in South Africa. 34 per cent of all foreign direct investment in industry comes from British companies. The United States and West Germany own 25 per cent each.

The justification for this criminal role in South Africa is business. It doesn't matter which government is in power, you'll hear the same justification. Paul

## Convenor of City of London Anti-Apartheid Group

You may have thought you were coming here today to discuss the horror, the repression, the torture and the murder inflicted on black people in South Africa, and what we can do to aid them.

We are in no doubt that horror certainly exists and we can give you the facts...

But that isn't the emphasis of what I have to say to you today.

I want to turn the tables on you. I want you to know that the black people of South Africa are not victims—they are our inspiration. Whilst they suffer the horrors of apartheid they do not do so lying down. They are a fighting people who, despite all the horrors of

apartheid, continue to fight. They fight for freedom, for democracy for all South Africans regardless of their colour, they fight for peace, they fight for a better life for all of us...

The spirit of the people of South Africa is unbroken despite all the horrors of apartheid.

And if we in this country fail to show our solidarity with their struggle—if we fail to oppose our own country's support for the racist apartheid system—then we are failing the fighting people of South Africa—and ultimately we are betraying ourselves, our own future and that of our children.

For South Africa is not the exception to the rule. It is not a pocket of exceptional racism in a democratic world. No, rather South Africa is a clearer, sharper expression of the system we all live in, that governs all our lives.

South Africa is a reflection of the world around us. While the big industrial capitalist countries have an excess of food—butter mountains, grain stores, the destruction of crops to keep the prices high—the people in the oppressed nations starve. Human skills are squandered on the development of weapons to kill the majority—instead of using those skills to develop food production, health care, education for the benefit of the majority. As a nation we in Britain are privileged at the expense of the majority of human beings in the world.

And Britain's relationship with South Africa says it all.

Britain is undoubtedly the biggest investor overall in the apartheid system, for there are big profits to be made from the black workers of South Africa. Britain's investments... and profits... increase year by year.

Britain is up to its neck in apartheid. No wonder that no British government, of whatever persuasion, has ever implemented sanctions against South Africa despite the appeals made by the fighting people of South Africa, despite all the talk of human rights.

And the relationship between Britain and South Africa is not just economic, it is political. That same system which profits from the oppression of black people in South Africa—which profits from the oppression of the majority of human beings—oppresses us also here in Britain. Poverty, unemployment, racism, the depletion of democratic rights in Britain, they are all a product of the same system which tortures the black people of South Africa.

So when we make a stand in solidarity with the people of South Africa—to end British collaboration with apartheid—we make a stand for our own future in Britain—for the future of the human race.

The way forward isn't easy. Ending British collaboration with apartheid isn't easy. There are plenty of people who would like to stop us because there is a lot at stake. So Barclays don't like us picketing their Lombard Street headquarters, which City Group does quite regularly. The Guardian don't like us picketing their offices either. Safeways don't like us telling people not to buy South African goods, and the South African embassy doesn't like us standing outside telling the truth about apartheid. They have their spies—and it is appropriate that today we are within spitting distance of that nest of spies.

And I'll tell you something else, the British government doesn't like us protesting against the profits that are made: they don't like us protesting when the British Foreign Secretary is inside bingeing with the racists. They often call the police. Sometimes our members are arrested on trivial, and sometimes not so trivial charges. Most of those charges are thrown out of court. We know



## SCOTLAND ON THE STREETS

On Friday 16 March over 250 people gathered for a torchlight demonstration organised by the Scottish Committee of the Anti-Apartheid Movement. The demonstration marched through Edinburgh city centre, uniting groups from Dundee, Aberdeen, Glasgow, Paisley and Edinburgh under the demand 'Stop the Apartheid War'. FRFI supporters gathered behind our new banner 'No British Links with South Africa! Smash Apartheid Now'. The Edinburgh Irish Solidarity Committee banner followed directly behind. Our joint forces constituted a militant presence on the demonstration. The rally heard Freedom Mkhwanazi of the ANC, Information on Angola, Gavin Strang MP, and speakers from Dundee and Aberdeen Anti-Apartheid groups.

During the month of action Edinburgh FRFI organised in support of the Student Week of Action, as well as organising weekly pickets of banks, shops and travel agents. A material aid collection was held in a local working class shopping centre and a great response received. The FRFI events were rounded off by a Rally featuring music, the film of the Formation of the UDF and speakers from AAM and FRFI.

why—it is harassment. It's meant to discourage us. It's meant to stop us making any kind of protest against that regime.

Others use more subtle methods. Rumour and gossip are spread about us. I've heard that City Group members are 'all drug addicts', 'layabouts', 'pay people to come on our pickets'. Look around you, it's not true. It's meant to discourage us. It's meant to stop us fighting. Rumours go round that we are undemocratic, that we don't hold the right activities. That we are altogether too militant. I want to tell you that none of that is true. They are trying to keep us at home watching the television, accepting the status quo. They don't want us out on the streets threatening a system from which the minority profit and the majority suffer.

We're not discouraged. We take our inspiration from the fighting people of South Africa. And they suffer much more than we do. We haven't suffered anything yet. They have the harassment, the intimidation, the brutality—and they have the rumour and the gossip. But they still keep fighting and they are fighting for a better life for us all.

At the end of today, when we have discussed, City of London Anti-Apartheid Group wants you to leave here committed to end British collaboration with apartheid. You can make that commitment on any level you want. ... You can come to the activities of your local Anti-Apartheid Group. You can come to the National Lobby of Parliament on 21 March. You can come to demonstrate with us on the streets of London.

You can come and join us. You are all welcome. We don't care about the colour of your skin, your creed, your political opinions. We only care about your commitment to fight against apartheid. When you make that commitment, at whatever level, you make a stand alongside the fighting people of South Africa. What is more you are making a stand against oppression in this world, wherever it exists.

## BRADFORD & MANCHESTER AGAINST APARTHEID

Nearly 100 people marched through Bradford on Saturday 31 March in Bradford Anti-Apartheid Group's demonstration calling for an end to British collaboration with apartheid. Headed by Bradford AAM, the march was joined by contingents from FRFI, Bradford CP, Keighley Labour Party Young Socialists, No Intervention in the Caribbean and Latin America, Bradford Animal Rights and youth from Stop the City. As the marchers passed through the city centre a group of 15 working class youth joined it adding their voices to the shouts of 'End British Collaboration with Apartheid', 'Thatcher, Botha—wanted for murder.'

The demonstration was the culmination of the month's activities in Bradford. A 12 hour picket in Manchester organised by Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! the week before attracted 20 supporters. Funds were raised for the ANC during the picket. One young Asian school pupil raised funds in his school and then brought his friends on the picket.



## STOP AYSE'S DEPORTATION

Ayse Halil's parents are British citizens. They came to England from Cyprus in 1971 with Ayse's brother Ahmed. Ahmed was granted British citizenship after five years and all three now live and work in Brockley. Ahmed has married and has a young daughter. Ayse followed her family to England with her husband a few months later. For ten years they lived with the constant threat of deportation hanging over them and in June 1981 after a long legal battle they were finally deported to Cyprus. Ayse was six months pregnant at the time. Their two children both have British passports and so could not be deported, one of her sons stayed with her parents so that his education would not be disrupted. In Cyprus Ayse and her husband separated and Ayse returned to England to rejoin her family. Now the Home Office want to deport her again with her two year old daughter. All she wants to do is to continue bringing up her children alongside her parents in the country she has known for the last 13 years and her children have known all their lives.

David Waddington, immigration minister at the Home Office, has stated that can see 'no exceptional compassionate' reasons for allowing Ayse to stay. He also states she 'would be no markedly worse off than any other divorcee in Cyprus with children!!' except that her parents and brother live here, two of her children hold British passports and the money she used to get a home in Cyprus has been taken over by her husband and she would have nowhere to live. Yet again the Home Office is happy to break up a family or send children to countries they have never known, away from their families and friends.

If you would like to know more about the campaign write to Stop Ayse's Deportation, c/o Myatt Garden School, Rokeby Road, London SE4 and to the Home Secretary, 50 Queen's Gate, London SW1, to protest at this deportation. Sarah Moore

## Home Office split family

Polat Hasbudak and his wife Yedre came to Britain from Turkey nine years ago. They came on a six month visa and brought £5000 to set up their own business here. This money was exhausted fighting the legal threat of deportation although, in spite of six court appearances, the Hasbudaks were never recommended for deportation until a deportation order was served in November 1983. Since arriving in Britain the couple have lived in Hackney and both worked in a clothing factory. They have two children, Zeynep, aged eight and his six year old sister Fatih, the children attended the William Pattern Infants School in Stoke Newington until the deportation order was served and the family was forced into hiding. They were both born here and hold British passports, speak fluent English and only a little Turkish. The Home Office has accepted that it cannot legally deport the children, only the parents.

The Children's Legal Centre is appealing against the deportation order to the European Court of Human Rights, on the grounds that it would be inhuman to deport the parents of two young British citizens. The William Patten School has been campaigning to save the Hasbudaks for six months now, MP Brian Sedgemore has also been supporting the campaign. In December Mr Sedgemore was told by immigration minister David Waddington that he was no longer interested in hearing about the case and that the Hasbudaks were 'irresponsible' for having had children! He also said, (probably remembering the sight of children on a picket of the Home Office, linking hands and dancing around singing 'Waddington is a wally'), that he 'resented' the 'political' involvement of the children from the school, ignoring the fact that they are becoming politicised as a direct result of the cruel and racist British immigration rules which

are designed to prevent black but not white immigration.

On Wednesday 7 March the Stoke Newington police arrested Polat by sending a bogus registered parcel to the post office which was collecting his mail. When a friend went to pick up the

mail he was told that Polat had to sign for the parcel himself, Polat was arrested when he went to the post office. He was then held for five hours at Stoke Newington police station without anyone being informed of his whereabouts before being taken to Ashford Remand Centre to await deportation in one of over 100 special cells which are always full of so-called 'illegal' immigrants awaiting deportation. The prison officers there have refused to allow them to attend educational classes with other prisoners saying it would be a 'waste of public funds'. Polat was deported to Istanbul with no warning on Monday 12 March.

The latest news is that Mrs Hasbudak has surrendered to the police with her children in order to keep the family together. She is to be deported very soon. With over forty deportations every week Britain's racist immigration rules are responsible for splitting many families, sending people to countries where they have no future and may be faced with imprisonment or even death, and generally subjecting black people to humiliating and degrading treatment. Compare this to the state's attitude to racist white immigrants from countries such as Zimbabwe.

Sarah Moore

## IN BRIEF

### ● Reinstate Sri-Asokamala!

The GLC's Richmond Education Authority have sacked Sri-Asokamala, an Asian woman with 25 years teaching experience. Their contrived charge of failing to obey managerial instructions - Asokamala refused to teach a class belonging to a white teacher who was present in the school - is the culmination of years of discrimination and harassment. Asokamala's principled stand against racism in schools resulted in her being kept on a Scale 1 post, then demoted to 'reserve teacher' and forcibly transferred to another school, offered early retirement on a pittance, then suspended and finally sacked while less qualified, less experienced white teachers were promoted.

Asokamala has legal fees of over £600, so far the NUT have done nothing. A single parent, Asokamala has even been denied unemployment benefit. Is this how black teachers are going to be treated in the GLC's 'Anti-Racist Year'? The Reinstate Sri-Asokamala Campaign will be leafletting and petitioning on the streets of London to fight racism in London's schools.

Write letters of protest to: Teaching Staff Appeals Panel, GLC Borough of Richmond, Chief Executive and Town Clerk, Municipal Offices, Twickenham TW1 3AA. For more information write to: Reinstate Sri-Asokamala Campaign, 8 Worcester Road, Walthamstow, London E17 5QR.

### ● Picket for Clive Cumberbatch

Clive Cumberbatch is a black man who has been railroaded into prison on a 12 year sentence for an armed robbery he did not commit. The police failed to produce any forensic evidence connecting Clive with the crime, after 12 months efforts they failed to find an association between Clive and the co-defendant and there were no independent witnesses to identify Clive. The Release Clive Cumberbatch Committee demands:

- \* Clive's immediate release from prison
  - \* No person should be convicted on the sole evidence of the police
  - \* An independent public inquiry into police conspiracy to pervert the course of justice and convict Clive
- Picket 9.00am Monday 16 April, Court of Appeal, The Strand, London WC2  
Clive Cumberbatch is Innocent!

### ● Mass raids in Paris

French police harassment of the poor and oppressed is so commonplace, that 400 police descending on an immigrant area looking for drugs is barely newsworthy.

On 13 March near the Gare de Lyons in Paris, 300 riot and para-military police along with 100 plainclothes men raided 15 blocks of flats. This massive operation resulted in a mere 29 arrests, 22 for possessing drugs, 400 grammes of heroin and cocaine were found.

This was the third such raid in the space of one month. The previous two had unearthed 1.5kg of heroin, with 1,000 people taken in for questioning and 50 deported.

However, the police got a taste of their own medicine on this occasion. Squatters in a hostel met the police with a barrage of teargas grenades!

SM

### ● £8,000 damages

Mrs Clementine George, a 46-year-old black woman from South London, has been awarded £8,000 damages against the Metropolitan Police after they broke into her home, smashed her furniture and beat her up.

The judge who awarded the damages said, 'I accept her evidence in preference to all the police officers. All these police officers have deliberately lied to me about what happened and I regret their evidence!'

Mrs George began the prosecution of the police after they came to her home, looking for her son, in September 1980. The police forced the door and hit Mrs George with their fists and kicked her, causing serious bruising.

The police, led by Detective Sergeant Ronald Fulcher, denied the allegations and concocted false evidence. They had no lawful excuse to arrest Mrs George's 18-year-old son in the first place!

William Gray

## LABOUR PARTY RACISM

On 2 December 1983, the Hoe Street branch of Walthamstow Labour Party held a special Annual General Meeting and expelled Doctor Safar Malik. Prior to the June 1983 elections, Dr Malik had been encouraged to recruit black members to the Labour Party. Following Labour's crushing defeat he was told to end his recruitment campaign. However by this time numerous black people had applied to join. None of these applications have been acknowledged and delays in processing the applications are as long as eight months. When Dr Malik protested against this 'racism in the party', Walthamstow Labour Party chairman Phil Rees denied the charge, adding that a sub-committee had been set up to investigate the allegations. True to LP style, this committee consisted of Phil Rees and three other white Labour Party members. Phil Rees and John Braggons did not even bother to attend a meeting on 19 November, before Dr Malik's expulsion, which was to discuss the grievances of black Labour Party supporters.

The campaign against Dr Malik continued with a demand that he disband the Young Socialist Group he had formed after the June 1983 elections. Ian Rathbone, the local LP press officer, was forced to resign because of his support for Dr Malik and other black people wanting to join the LP. He told a meeting on 9 December how he and a number of black people were barred from the LP EC meeting at which they wanted to lodge a complaint against the racist treatment of black people applying for membership. Eventually Ian was allowed to enter the meeting. He is white. None of the black people with him were allowed in. Another white woman told of the sniggering which accompanied the announcement of the name of black applicants to LP membership.

On 24 February this year, the Walthamstow General Management Com-

mittee voted by 20-19 to uphold the Hoe Street branch decision. The deciding vote was cast by chairman Phil Rees. Afraid of a public scandal LP members are urging Dr Malik not to conduct a public campaign against racism in the Labour Party, but to take his case to the LP NEC instead. A hearing date has been set for this. On 5 April, George Page, secretary of Greater London Region LP, will preside over the appeal. In true style, Dr Malik has only been allowed three witnesses - all of whom must be members of the Labour Party.

This incident demonstrates clearly that the LP is interested only in black people's votes and not drawing them into the Party itself. Black people can have no faith in such a party which has proved its racism throughout its history.

Ken Hughes

## MIAMI RISING

In December 1982 police officer Luis Alvarez entered an amusement arcade in Miami's black neighbourhood. There he claimed to have noticed 'a bulge' in twenty year old Nevelle Johnson's sweater. Alvarez pulled his gun, held it to Johnson's head telling him they were going to leave the arcade. Johnson turned around and police officer Alvarez shot him point-blank between the eyes. Alvarez was charged with manslaughter, which carries a lighter sentence than murder. At his trial Alvarez claimed self-defence, and his lawyer accused Johnson of being a dangerous criminal although Johnson had no criminal record. After 56 days of listening to evidence the all-white jury took two hours to reach its not guilty verdict on March 15 this year. The Miami courts allow the defence counsel to exclude black jurors.



This verdict follows a string of others, four in the past year alone, made by all-white jurors exonerating the killing of black people by white Miami police. In May 1980 four police were acquitted after clubbing a black man, Arthur McDuffie, to death. Miami's black community responded and fought police and National Guardsmen for three days. Eighteen people were killed. The struggle spread to other towns with the slogan 'McDuffie is dead, the cops are free, and that's what the rich call democracy!' In December 1982, upon hearing how Johnson was murdered, the black oppressed youth again fought state forces for three days. This time the racist US ruling class had prepared for the response to the utterly predictable Alvarez verdict.

The British Economist magazine glowingly reported 'credited leaders of the black community and respected black youth leaders... acting vigorously to quell tempers by persuading young blacks that violence spawns more violence.' Meanwhile, police patrol veh-

icles were stocked with weapons and riot gear, and mobile 'field units' toured black neighbourhoods, guns bristling from lowered car windows. Within 24 hours of the verdict freeing Alvarez 400 black people had been arrested, mainly for vagrancy, in a police sweep through the black community. An unofficial curfew was in force. However, the youth would not be cowed and took the police on with rocks, petrol bombs and occasional sniper fire in two days of insurrection.

Miami is a breeding ground for fascists. It is infested with Cuban counter-revolutionary gangs, Central American exiles who finance the 'death squads', and its banks are known as 'the Wall Street' of the heroin and cocaine trade. The 'respected black youth leaders' are their hand-servants in the black community. The oppressed are learning only too well that the duty of such 'credited leaders' is to serve-up the next black youth to be slain 'in the line of police duty'.

Joe Hunt

# notes and comments

## JAMES DAVEY INQUEST

The inquest on James Davey, which ended on 30 March, delivered the verdict the state wanted - 'accidental death'. Fully a year had passed since his death. Coroner Dr Charles Kenderdine had undermined the family's search for justice by refusing to allow Davey's body to be refrigerated. This prevented a second independent pathologist's examination. The family now intend to sue Kenderdine for negligence. The first pathologist had stated that asphyxiation was caused 'by an arm from behind and his head forced backwards'. In what was a blatant prejudicing of the inquest, the police had already passed their investigation of the officers involved to the DPP, who had duly exonerated them totally - a loud intimidating message to the jury that this was to be considered a lawful killing. So much for the sub judice laws which are used so cynically and consistently to prevent the defence side and bereaved families such as Davey's getting the publicity they need. Counsel Michael Mansfield complained bitterly at the start of the inquest that he had been refused access to police and nurses' witness statements.

James Davey was asphyxiated in Little Park St police station, Coventry on 11 March 1983. Dead on arrival at hospital, he was put on a life support machine until 22 March. As usual, at the inquest, the police tried to show that Davey was in an hysterical condition. Then came the hint that later evidence involved cannabis. (Crumpled cloth was found in Davey's rectum, implying that he had hid it there to conceal cannabis. Yet no cannabis was found in his blood, suggesting it was planted there after his death.) The stage was well and truly rigged for another cover up of one more death at the hands of the police.

Davey was refusing to be transferred to London for fear of being 'set up' by the Met for a murder there. Police evidence showed how he was lured from his cell by two officers to phone his mother. (In fact she was already in the station.) 10 other officers hid along the corridor. He was set upon by at least 5 officers. Shortly after, he was dead. Sergeant Speed was the one who held Davey in the grip that asphyxiated him. When questioned, Speed admitted that complaints against his conduct ran at two a year during his 13-year career. Speed is also distinguished for being a witness in a crown court case thrown out when a statement was found to be bloodstained. Questioned on Davey's death, Speed boasted: 'There is nothing on my conscience'. He did not bear any responsibility and would do the same again.

He had been well trained by his superiors. One of these, Inspector Adderley, did not see any 'undue force' being used on Davey: 'He was face down. There was a belt around (his) legs ... a piece of rope around the lower part of his legs. There were two pairs of handcuffs. I got the impression (Speed) was holding him in some sort of head hold.' He did not feel any immediate concern and felt the situation to be under control. Another Inspector, Arkill, was asked why he had not left his paperwork when he saw through the door of his office Davey's legs on the floor of the corridor. He said he was a professional man who believed in doing his job properly. He must have been well-satisfied with the job his colleagues had done on Davey.

The jury was sent back twice by Dr Kenderdine who rejected their verdict - accidental death with 'unreasonable force' having been used. The pressure on them had prevented the only true verdict - 'unlawful killing'. Finally they succumbed and delivered the verdict the state wanted: 'accidental death'. We join with the Supporters of Jimmy Davey Campaign in their demand for an independent inquiry into his death and their intended writs against West Midlands police and Coroner Kenderdine.

Tony Sheridan

## TERRITORIAL EXPANSION

The present strength of the Territorial Army - part-time army reserves - stands at 66,800, built up from 55,000 in 1979 when the Tories came to power. This week Minister of Defence Heseltine announced the formation of six new territorial infantry regiments - all to be equipped with the latest in weaponry - and a helicopter force. 19,200 extra part-time soldiers are to be recruited and the cost will be £270m. Since Heseltine is interested in recruiting more unemployed people he is about to do a deal with the DHSS that will lead to benefits being unaffected by money earned for territorial duties - £11.50 to £17 a day according to rank. As Thatcher and the Tories are all firm believers in buying billions of pounds worth of cruise missiles to 'defend Britain' from its external 'enemies', the massive increase in the reserves must have another purpose in mind - the putting down of internal disorders?

Olivia Adamson

## NO BUDGET FOR LIVERPOOL

Liverpool City Council has become the first Labour council to put words of opposition to Tory spending cuts into action. It has proposed a budget for 1984-85 which will preserve 'jobs and services' and allow a rate rise of 9%. This is illegal since the income raised will be anything between £30 and £50m short of expenditure. However, due to the government's array of penalty clauses for council 'overspending', to balance a budget would require a further income of up to £170m or a rate increase of 200-300%. Commendably, the majority of the Labour councillors have refused to act as agents of the government in cutting services or jobs despite the abuse heaped on them in the moneybags press.

Seven of the councillors betrayed the majority and refused to support the budget. Since Labour have only a majority of 3 on the City Council their actions prevented the budget from being approved at the council meeting on 29 March. The City Council is now without a budget; the Labour group will stall till after the May elections after which there'll probably be a large enough majority for the budget to be approved.

There is mass support for the stand of the Labour councillors: on the day the budget was presented 30,000 workers went on strike and there was a demonstration of 10-15,000. But the most significant opposition has come not from the moneybags press or from the 7 defecting councillors but from the Labour Party leadership. Kinross in particular has voiced his complete opposition to the stand of the majority, stating that they should not support any illegal actions. His own proposal - for a 60% rate rise to preserve existing jobs - would cost the average employed household some £3-£4 a week. Should the city council eventually approve an illegal budget or go bankrupt, the government will send in commissioners to run the city. There will be open confrontation. In this context, the Labour councillors will have to make a choice: continue to support the fight against cuts and job losses or, in the name of party unity, knuckle under.

Robert Clough

## SUPPORT GREENHAM

For the second time this month, cruise missile launchers accompanied by a convoy of police and US army vehicles have been driven out of the Greenham Common air base for practice runs around the countryside. Early in the morning on 29 March, Greenham women threw themselves in the path of the 26 vehicle convoy of cruise missile launchers, returning to the base having completed a 120 mile secret training exercise to RAF Lyneham. Women were brutally punched, kicked and beaten by police, as they tried to stop the cruise launcher re-entering the base. Several hundred people had been mobilised by the women, with only a few hours' notice. Some drove cars in front of the convoy, forcing a missile launcher truck to swerve onto a grass verge, smashing down part of

## THE 1984 BUDGET

The *Economist* described it as 'Lawson's small revolution'. The widespread media gloating which followed it was, however, unrelated to Thatcher's promise that the 1984 budget would 'protect the poor'.

Lawson's description of his budget as 'neutral' was pure hypocrisy, based only on the raising of basic tax thresholds. This does indeed take some people out of the tax bracket, but gains for the poor are insignificant. The marginal tax rate - the proportion of each extra pound earned the taxpayer takes - is left unchanged and the poverty trap thus untouched. This pathetic adjustment - the only provision to benefit the poor at all - must be seen in the context of far greater rises in regressive taxes which hit the poor hardest: the extension of VAT to take-away food, the rising cost of National Insurance contributions, car tax, petrol and so on.

The budget exists alongside other government legislation, including health, housing and fuel costs. It continues consistent attacks on the working class and the unemployed in particular: for example, the abolition of earnings related supplement on benefits and of industrial injury benefit. Nor is the transfer of taxation onto the poorest - accelerated in 1982 by the taxing of unemployment benefit - halted by this budget. It is estimated that under the Tories, while the unemployed family has lost £13.44 per week (15%) in real terms, the company director on £50,000 is £158.32 (43%) better off. Significantly, the skilled worker is marginally - 3.1% - richer.

It is clear whose interests the budget serves. Lower corporation tax will cut

## THE NHS

Since re-election, the Thatcher government has redoubled attacks on the NHS, which was supposedly 'safe in our hands'. It may be recalled that Lawson's first move as Chancellor was to 'revise' NHS cash limits by £131m in July 1983.

Private interests that have divided and exploited the NHS since it began in 1948 are encouraged by Thatcher's savage individualism. The government's sickening ideology is backed by far-right 'research institutes' like the Institute of Economic Affairs, which advocates the sale of hospitals, and claims that marketing health care like any other commodity creates 'freedom of choice'. IEA publications are sponsored by multinational Valium producers Hoffman La Roche. The Thatcher government is ideologically committed to the complete dismantling of the NHS - at best to the retention of a residual service along American lines.

Thatcherism is a theft of resources from the working class. For example, North West Thames Health Authority aims to cut £50m a year, losing 25% of its beds and 1,000 jobs. Funds will be shifted from deprived London areas to improve services in wealthy Hertford. In a particularly vicious move, a London unit for severely handicapped children, originally built for thalidomide victims, faces closure for lack of £400,000. Latest profits of Distillers, the thalidomide producers, were £190.8m.

Privatisation benefits only the parasites who prey upon the NHS. UK pharmaceutical companies make £300m profit a year from it. Recent reports show how NHS facilities - clinics, beds, pathology labs etc -

business tax bill by £900m over the next 2 years. The abolition of investment income surcharge benefits only those with unearned annual income over £8,100. This gift to those with over £70,000 will cost £360m a year: nearly enough to repay the forthcoming housing benefit cuts *twice over*. The 1% of the population who get a quarter of all investment income won't object. Capital transfer tax is cut by 15% - on estates over £285,000.

The *Economist* may call Lawson's budget 'egalitarian' - yet from 1 April 2 million people on standard housing benefit will lose up to £5 per week. 18-20 year olds on supplementary benefit will lose their £3.10 non-householder rent contribution. The reality is that cuts like these were necessary to fund massive concessions to the rich. Lawson's illusion is that fiscal conjuring tricks can solve the crisis of capitalism.

Dave Burton



Fowler: vampire of the NHS

are increasingly abused by private practitioners. NHS managers, after getting 'golden handshakes' around £20,000, have been re-employed within months. This in an industry where wages for ancillary workers start at £65.84 - where one third of male ancillaries and 75% of women get below 2% average earnings. These workers, needing a 22% rise to reach even this poverty line, are offered a derisory 3%. Private contractors at Barking Hospital expect cleaners to work for under £50 for a full week! The Green Paper of March 1984 on long-term expenditure warns that pay rises will be funded by service cuts.

The future is bleak for the NHS. Norman Fowler has welcomed the House of Commons Social Services Committee's 'support for the general thrust of the Griffiths report.' This report, by the managing director of Sainsbury's, proposes a MacGregor style executive: effectively to dismantle the NHS. (See previous FRFIs). But it should also be clear that the demise of Thatcherism will not save the NHS. The Labour government of 1974-9 prepared the ground by reintroducing prescription charges - which will have risen eightfold to £1.60 by 1 April. No Labour government has kept manifesto promises to abolish pay-beds. Health expenditure since 1979 has risen by 6.6% - representing major cuts in real terms. Labour's record was a mere 0.4% better. Denis Healey was proud of Labour's cuts: 'Although I have cut expenditure in many social fields, I have been increasing expenditure in the business field.'

Dave Burton

Thatcher & Son continued from page 1

## Scott Lithgow

At the same time comes news that the sale of the Scott Lithgow shipyard is in the bag for Thatcher and her close chum and supplier of Tory Party funds, Nigel Brookes, chairman of Trafalgar House (the parent company of Cementation Ltd). A last minute bid to set up a cooperative by management and unions was outstripped by the agreement reached between rival firms Trafalgar House and Howard Doris (an American company) to divide up the spoils on a 75%-25% basis. The sale comes with a fat £71m government subsidy. Workers feel they have won a victory with the saving of 2,900 jobs (600 lost), but this will be only temporary. Trafalgar House wanted to cut them down to 1,250 jobs originally and is already talking of reaching 1,500 by the end of the year. Trafalgar will be 'paying' £12m for the yard - £3m down and the rest over 3 years. Yet already Trafalgar is anticipating government contracts from the Ministry of Defence worth £30m!

It is not the first time that Trafalgar House has mopped up a company on the cheap, liberally assisted by government funds. In April 1982, Trafalgar bought up a British Steel subsidiary Redpath Dorman Long for £10m - on the basis that it was about to fail. Former employees said the price should have been nearer £100m. Only a month later in May 1982, the company won £26m worth of orders and was found to be not such a dead duck after all. Isn't privatisation wonderful! The matter was referred to the Office of Fair Trading but was hushed up. It is thought that further government and EEC subsidies meant that not even £10m was paid.

Meanwhile at the Ministry of Defence, Heseltine has brought forward by 2 years the sale of the Royal Ordnance Factories (armaments) and has ordered privatisation plans to be drawn up in *one month's* time. Obviously Thatcher & Friends can't wait to get their hands on the packet to be made out of this one!

Olivia Adamson

## NIGEL SEED

Nigel Seed is a barrister and member of the Association of Conservative Graduates who has defended prisoners' rights in the High Court, defended Irish people accused of military actions in Britain and defended FRFI supporters against police censorship. Until recently he was a member of the Holloway prison Board of Visitors. But the Home Office has refused to re-appoint him. They have given no reason for this.

The reason, however, is obvious. Nigel Seed happens to be one of the few barristers who believe that basic principles of the law - innocent until proven guilty and the right to a fair independent hearing - apply to prisoners, Irish people and other groups that the Home Office believes should have no rights at all. This is his only 'offence'. He has broken no law, breached no rule of legal conduct nor transgressed any rule of Board of Visitors proceedings.

That someone like Nigel Seed can be attacked in this way indicates the determination of the ruling class not to allow anyone to interfere with the smooth operation of their legal and judicial machinery of oppression. It also exposes the alleged 'independence' of prison Boards of Visitors.

Terry O'Halloran

the fence. Previously, cars trailing the convoy had raced up the wrong way of the motorway in order to overtake the convoy. The first exercise took place on 9 March.

In the week leading up to this exercise the women at the Blue Gate were evicted three times. On 9 March, at 12.30 am the women, exhausted by this time, were completely overwhelmed by 100 Thames Valley police, with alsatian dogs and sirens blaring. British troops stood as back-up, behind the perimeter fence. The women stood helpless as the convoy of a cruise launcher and two support lorries drove out of the base. One woman who tried to drive away to sound the alert had her car blocked by police vehicles.

Over the past few weeks there have been numerous evictions of the peace camps around the Greenham Common base. Even though women at certain camps have been evicted several times in the space of a couple of weeks, they return to set up camp with whatever materials are available. This is often not very much, as their tents, sleeping bags, cooking utensils, plastic sheeting and personal belongings are

seized by the bailiffs and thrown into the council's shredding machine. On 6 March, 13 women were arrested and charged with criminal damage, for splattering paint over the side of the council's dustcart, during the eviction of 3 peace camps. Another 3 camps were evicted on 19 March, with one arrest for criminal damage. Determined, they carry on - as one of the Greenham women, Helen, said: 'They can take our homes, our belongings - they can't take us.'

To combat these constant evictions, women are building 'mobile benders' to enable them to move their benders quickly from one gate to another and then back again after the eviction is over.

The most serious eviction of all is scheduled for 2 April. That is the date set by the Department of Transport to evict all the women at the Main Gate, in order to start work on the latest ploy to crush the women's struggle - widening the road leading up to the base. Previously, the women had always been able to move onto Department of Transport land when they had been evicted off Newbury Council land, now the Depart-

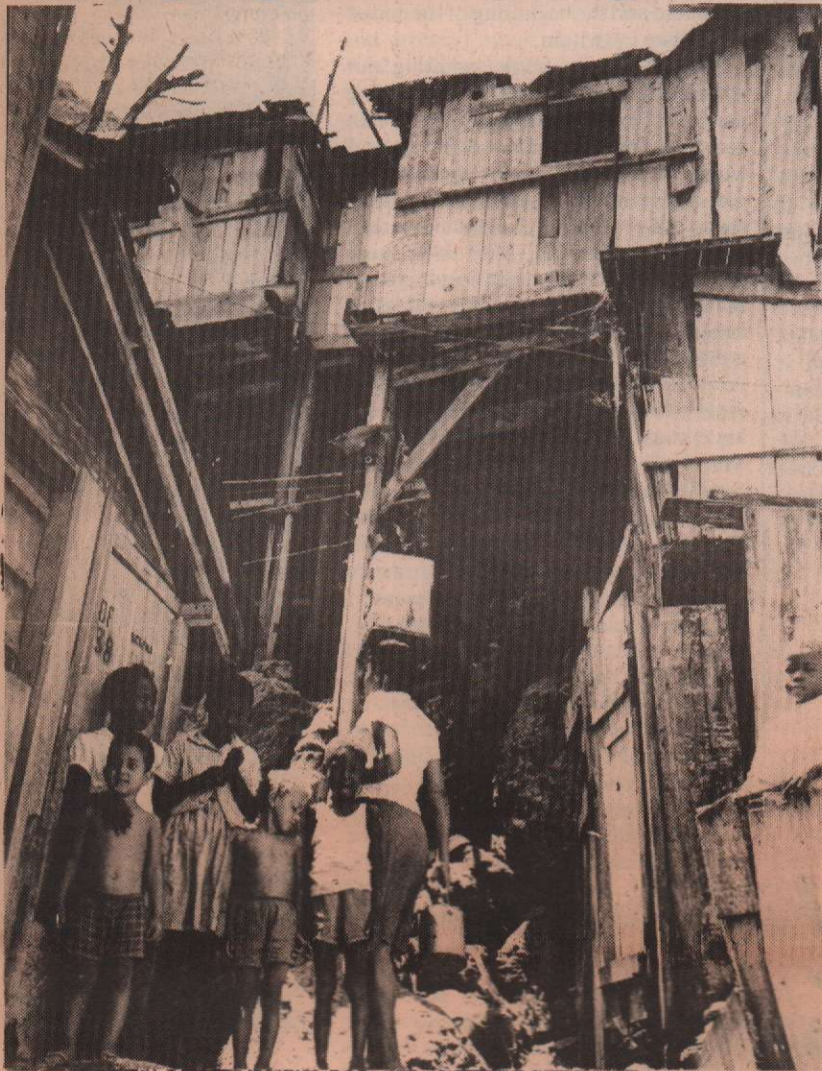
ment of Transport have been granted a possession order for the land.

It is also no coincidence that the eviction has been timed to coincide with the start of a two week crown court trial of 15 women for criminal damage for cutting the fence last July. The women have appealed for support during the trial at Reading Crown Court. The atmosphere at Greenham continues to be one of high spirits and defiance. The women are determined to foil these latest attempts to move them. They know that whatever happens, they'll be back.

The women at Greenham need more women to join them at this crucial time. The problem is that large numbers of Greenham women are serving prison sentences, some up to 5 months. There have been over 550 arrests in the last three months alone and the stream of courtcases seems never-ending. Many women have also had bail conditions imposed on them banning them from the vicinity of the base. The Greenham women need much more support - join them even if it is only for a short while.

Victory to the Greenham women!  
Ruby Khan

# Imperialist recovery flounders



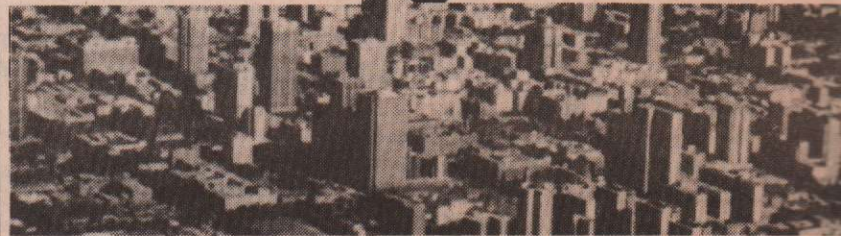
POPPERFOTO

weighed by the super-profits sucked in from US imperialism's export of capital abroad. Now with the huge inflows of foreign investment into the US, the massive borrowing required to finance the budget and trade deficits and the high value of the dollar the net earnings on the foreign investment account etc (invisibles) are falling. Last year the overall surplus dropped by \$6bn. This year it could be much worse with the US expected to borrow some \$80bn from abroad.

There is a price to be paid for all this. At the end of 1982, US imperialist investments abroad exceeded those of foreign investors in the US by \$168bn. On 30 September last year, US investment abroad totalled \$834.2bn, while total foreign investment in the US had grown to \$711.4bn, reducing the net investment position to \$122.8bn. Paul Volcker, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, has recently sounded the alarm:

'It is ominous that the recorded net investment position of the United States overseas, built up gradually over the postwar period, will in the space of only three years - 1983, 1984 and 1985 - be reversed... the largest and richest country in the world is on the verge of becoming a net debtor internationally.'

The potentially dramatic change in US imperialism's relation to the rest of the world is highlighted by the fact that the external net creditor position of the US imperialist banks declined from



(EEC) have always been present. But in the years of rapid economic growth they could be held in check. Stagnant growth and rising unemployment in the present crisis have now brought those differences to the fore as each country attempts to impose its own narrow national interests on the rest of the EEC.

The EEC faces bankruptcy. A 30% rise in spending on farm subsidies left the EEC about \$600m short at the end of last year. The short fall this year could be in the region of \$2.5bn - 10% of the EEC budget. Two-thirds of the EEC budget is used to subsidise farmers and the budget can only be balanced if the subsidies are cut. So all the member states are battling to protect their own interests and keep their own budget contributions down. French farmers are blocking roads, burning tyres, digging up railway tracks in opposition to proposed cuts in farming production quotas. The Irish economy faces devastating consequences if it is not exempted from proposed cuts in milk production to 1981 levels - a cut of 14%. The British want to cut their budget contributions whatever happens. And so it goes on. While millions of people all over the world are starving the EEC has to force its member states to cut back the production of food in the interests of profitability.

The crisis facing the EEC, even if patched up this time, will get worse as the European economies continue to stag-

the 1930s. Living standards in some countries have already fallen to the level of the 1960s.

For the principal 21 oppressed nation borrowers from the imperialist banks about two-thirds of external debt is a floating interest rates and nearly 80% is dollar dominated. So the high interest rates and high value of the dollar to finance the US military budget have disastrous consequences for the oppressed nations. Every one per cent increase in interest rates adds \$4bn to debt repayments of oppressed nations. This year's rise of interest rates alone has already wiped out any 'gains' of the negotiated lower margins on the latest rescheduling of Mexico, Brazil and Peru's debt. And the rise in rates is expected to continue.

Latin America has 60% of all oppressed nations debt extended by the imperialist banks. Towards the end of 1983 its total external debt had risen to a staggering \$366bn. The outstanding debt is now equivalent to 56 per cent of Latin America's GDP and 325 per cent of its exports. And the imperialist banks are now massively cutting back their lending. Last year oppressed nations raised only \$35.5bn on international markets which represents a decline of more than \$11bn or nearly 24 per cent on the previous year. The entire decline can be attributed to Latin American countries. Most of the money lent is now tied up with IMF austerity programmes and rescheduling of debt. In the period 1973-1981 net capital inflows to oppressed nations exceeded the interest payments on external debt by some 2½ per cent of GDP. Today the opposite situation exists. Interest payments on external debt exceeds net capital inflows so these countries are making net financial payments to their creditors. This has devastating consequences for the economic growth and long-term development of the countries concerned and has brought about massive reductions in living standards.

In Latin America the net outflow of capital rose to \$20.2bn in 1982 and \$29.5bn in 1983 - equivalent to 4 per cent of the region's GNP in 1983. This has led to large cuts in imports particularly capital imports needed for long-term development. Imports in 1983, a \$56bn, were \$42bn down on the level of two years before, a fall of 43 per cent. Investment fell in real terms by 13 per cent in 1982. Little wonder that Argentina with a \$43.6bn debt now has \$2.7bn interest payment arrears and is technically in default on a large part of its debt. The situation will inevitably deteriorate threatening the profitability of a large number of imperialist banks and further undermining international trade. Faced with starvation and poverty, the people of these countries will begin to fight back.

Alarm signals are being sounded. The head of the Inter-American Development Bank warned a gathering of 2,500 international bankers, economists and government officials last week of the 'possibility of a social backlash in reaction to austerity programmes in Latin America'. Whatever the 'solutions' the imperialists dream up, the mass of the people of those countries are faced with a clear choice - ruin or revolution. And the bankers and their friends are now clearly worried that, having forced the oppressed nations on the road to ruin they are soon to get their just deserts - revolution.

David Reed

## quicksands of armaments, rivalry and debt

The imperialist crisis continues to take its toll, forcing millions more people into unemployment, poverty and starvation. Although the US imperialist economy continues its rapid expansion on the basis of the biggest military build up since the Korean war, this expansion can only be short-lived and its effects worldwide very limited. There is no prospect of any overall economic recovery in the present conditions. For the European economies continue to stagnate and the oppressed nations are being driven further along the path of economic ruin as international bank lending is rapidly cut back and world trade fails to take off.

The US government has unveiled its budget for 1985. The largest part, nearly one third, is on military spending. The US military machine wants \$305bn to prepare for war, up 13 per cent on 1984 - the largest military budget since world war two, including those of the Korean and Vietnam wars. And while the US government budgets over \$800m a day for war preparations the poor are being hit. Welfare spending, Medicare and food stamps are being cut from 9.3% of GNP in 1980 to 7.5% this year.

While such expenditure has fuelled the recent rapid expansion of the US economy it carries future long-term problems. The US government, having cut taxes for the rich and big business, has been forced to borrow massively to cover its budget deficit - \$190bn last year. The resulting rise in interest rates has attracted huge inflows of investment from abroad, the dollar has appreciated in value, by 27% against other currencies since the beginning of 1981, so undermining the competitive strength of the US economy against the other imperialist powers. Faced with stagnating European economies and the economic ruin of the oppressed nations - especially those in Latin America - the potential consequences for US imperialism are serious.

### US imperialism - from creditor to debtor nation?

In 1981 US imperialism had a \$5bn surplus on its balance of payments current account. A \$40bn deficit on trade relations with the rest of the world was outweighed by large service incomes (invisibles), principally income from foreign investment. In 1984 the trade deficit is expected to be greater than \$100bn, resulting in a current account deficit of \$60bn or more.

In 1981 the US economy had a surplus of \$11bn on its trade in manufactures with the rest of the world. In 1984 a deficit of \$60bn is predicted. The high dollar, the stagnant European economies and the devastation of the oppressed nations' economies due to the debt crisis are now taking their toll. The normal US surplus in trade with Western Europe has practically disappeared. Along with European and Japanese exporters, the US has seen its sales to Latin America fall by 40% and more since 1981. Latin America's inability to pay for imports because of its staggering debt has turned US imperialism's \$7.5bn trade surplus with it in 1981 into a \$13.9bn deficit in 1983 - a turn around of more than \$21bn.

In the past US trade deficits were out-

\$130.5bn to \$115.8bn, a fall of \$14.7bn, over a six-month period in the middle of last year. The consequences for US imperialism are serious. In 1982 US imperialism raked in \$80bn profit on its overseas assets while paying out \$39bn to foreigners on their assets in the US. If foreign investment in the US and borrowing from abroad increases at its present rate, this net inflow of super-profits will gradually disappear.

Little wonder that pressures to cut the budget and trade deficits are building up. Calls to cut spending and raise taxes will have little impact however before the US Presidential election. Protectionism is rampant and there are threats of a trade war with European and Japanese competitors coming from important sections of US business and government. Whatever steps are taken to defend US imperialist interests, the growing numbers of poor people in the US can expect no respite. Vast government funds are being switched from the poor and needy into the coffers of blood-sucking financial institutions and the Pentagon armoury. Between 1982 and 1985, cuts in social welfare programmes will have totalled \$110bn, while increased interest payments come to \$124bn. The number of poor people in the US is increasing both relatively and absolutely. In 1982 some 34.4m Americans, 15.2% of the population, were living below the official poverty line, up from 26.1m (11.7%) in 1979. Amongst black people, the proportion was 35.6% - more than 1 in 3.

### European 'community' in disarray

The differences among the countries in the European Economic Community

nate. The EEC countries are very dependent on the growth of international trade. Exports are on average equivalent to 24% of GDP of EEC countries (Britain - 20.4%) - compared to 7% of the GDP of the US and 13% of Japan. Most exports of EEC members go to other EEC countries - 53%, but 18% (Britain - 21.7%) go to oppressed nations and only 7.7% to North America, (Britain - 14.3%). The economic ruin of the oppressed nations due to the debt crisis has had a dramatic effect on EEC exports leading to a fall of nearly 14% in one year alone between 1982 and 1983. For Britain the fall was nearly 20%.

The prospects are bad. EEC growth in the next few years is expected to be in the region of 2-2½%, well below present US growth levels of 4-5%. It will have little or no impact on the massive levels of unemployment which already exist. The strains within the EEC will almost certainly intensify. The political pressures are certain to build up and eventually explode, and with them will go all the optimistic predictions of those servile 'economists' who never tire of telling us that 'recovery' is on the way.

### The economic ruin of the oppressed nations

The impoverishment of the oppressed nations by imperialist exploitation prevents them paying off their debts to the imperialist banks. In the last year or so this has led to a dramatic fall in international bank lending to those nations, with disastrous effects on economic growth and long-term development. The reductions of living standards of the people compare with those which occurred in the great depression during

# IRELAND the propagandist war

Ireland: The Propaganda War Liz Curtis  
Pluto Press 1984 336 pages £5.50 paperback

There is more than enough material in this book to condemn British press and TV reporting on Ireland as an organised machine for the production of lies.

The British ruling class needs to prevent wider sections of the British public from realising one simple truth: that Britain cannot rule Ireland except by force and terror. To this end both Labour and Tory governments alike have taken great pains to ensure that TV and press coverage of Ireland is censored and distorted. Thus after the introduction of internment in 1971 the Tory government moved like lightning to prevent any hint of the torture of internees being broadcast. Maudling and Carrington piled on pressure and the result was a grovelling letter from the then head of the BBC, Lord Hill:

'The BBC and its staff abhor the terrorism of the IRA... as between the British Army and the gunmen, the BBC is not and cannot be neutral.'

Labour governments have followed the same path. The obnoxious Roy Mason, Labour's Northern Ireland Secretary in 1976, attended a BBC dinner along with Army chiefs and RUC Chief Constable Kenneth Newman. Mason's after dinner speech was a tirade against the BBC for its 'disloyalty'. He proposed a three-

by Maxine Williams

month ban on news of IRA activities. He left the party with the words: 'If any of this ever gets in the papers I'll have the lot of you.'

Chief Constable Newman, needed no lessons in media manipulation - he is an expert in psych-ops. By 1977 mounting allegations of torture of detainees by the RUC led both BBC and ITV to screen investigations. A few hours before one programme Newman issued a statement putting the RUC on 'special alert' and suggesting that the programme would provoke attacks on the RUC. Mason made similar noises blaming the TV for the murder of a prison warden. Such pressure always produces results and between 1968 and 1983 Liz Curtis lists 45 TV programmes on Ireland either banned, censored or delayed.

Nor have the newspapers done any better. From the 'liberal' Guardian to the racist Sun they have failed to report the truth and have backed and covered up for British imperialism. The Guard-

ian's cowardice (well-exposed today by the Tisdall affair) has a long record. After the Compton Report whitewashed allegations of brutality against internees (for which Britain was later found guilty in Europe) the Guardian said:

'Vigorous and tough interrogation must go on'.

Other papers are even cruder. Hence when former Vice President of Sinn Fein Maire Drumm was murdered in her hospital bed the headlines screamed: 'Hate Granny Shot Dead', 'Grandma Venom', etc. The press has uncritically reported Army accounts of incidents and even the most absurd fantasies dreamt up by the Army and police. Hence we have had 'Danger Woman', the 'Bald Eagle', the 'Jackal' etc, all designed to whip up hysteria. Papers printed the tale that IRA men were given prizes of sweets and cigarettes to punch themselves in the eye and then allege RUC brutality. No story, no nonsense, is too absurd for them to print. Chris Ryder of the Sunday Times appears several times in the book having penned such stories as the tale that seven named IRA men had embezzled IRA funds. No doubt a story the Army hoped would provoke an internal feud.

This book is a valuable and detailed account of the role of the media, but it does not attempt to explain why the media plays this role. The explanation is not difficult. The press and TV are owned and controlled by the ruling class and will go to any lengths to defend their system. As for the journalists it is enough to recall the ditty: You cannot hope to bribe or twist Thank God! The British journalist. But seeing what the man will do Unbribed, there's no occasion to.

Ireland: the key to the British revolution David Reed  
Larkin Publications 1984 450pp £3.95 paperback

David Reed's book gives as detailed account of the last 140 years of the anti-imperialist struggle in Ireland and its effect on the workers' movement in Britain. It is written in a simple and easy to read style and must be of great value to the teenage youth experiencing his/her first stirrings of political consciousness and also to the adult worker who knows little about the struggle in Ireland or its vital importance to him and his workmates.

The book is not without fault - what book on Ireland is! - but overall it makes an excellent contribution to the limited number of books that even try to explain the situation in Ireland. In particular it explains in very clear terms the vital link between the end of British rule in Ireland and the beginning of the end of capitalism in Britain.

It is an honest book, pointing out what I can only describe as the amazing naivety of both Marx and Engels with their original viewpoint that Ireland would be liberated not by the national movement but by the British working class. Years later, after deep study and analysis of the relation between Britain and Ireland, and above all, after Engels' tour of Ireland, they, in their greatness, admitted that their early position was wrong and came to the same view that all Irish revolutionaries have, that is that the workers in Britain will never be free until imperialism in Ireland has been destroyed.

What a great pity that all those who claim to be followers of Marx and Engels do not have the same honesty and the same principled viewpoint towards the revolutionary struggle in Ireland. All true followers of Marx and Engels must stand by those who wage armed struggle against imperialism in Ireland as well as in Southern Africa, in Belfast as well as the West Bank in occupied Palestine.

Throughout the book, but particularly in chapter two, the hypocrisy of the British labour movement in not only Ireland but on the entire question of self-determination, is brought out very clearly - the British Labour Party always pursued an active colonial policy that was, and still is, every bit as oppressive as any policy that the Tory Party pursued.

The so-called British left could never accept that great principle 'No nation can be free if it oppresses others'. Time and again over the past 100 years those who called themselves British socialists faced the test of true internationalism and this comes out time and again in this book.

The 1913 strike made it clear to Irish workers that they could only defeat the bosses when imperialism in Ireland has been smashed. Those lessons have obviously been long forgotten by the so-called Irish left. I consider chapter two to be one of the most important in the book, not only does it show how British workers, in failing to support the struggle in Ireland, betray their own interests, but it lays down the basis for a principled solidarity movement.

The increasing number of Irish Labour Party members and supporters who are dissatisfied with their leaders and their party policies should read this book, it will help them understand why the political influence of their party has continually diminished since 1916: because its leaders have always betrayed James Connolly's principles and have always ignored his teachings. The Irish Labour Party is like its counterpart in Britain, a reactionary party that must support imperialism. If David Reed's book helps even a small number of them to understand this, then on that alone his work would be worthwhile!

One interesting point in chapter four, is Leon Trotsky's totally wrong assessment of the 1916 Easter Rising. To term, as he did, the greatest single blow ever struck at imperialism in Ireland as 'a putsch' showed that he understood nothing about Ireland or the relation between the Irish struggle and the struggle for socialism. Again David Reed reminds us how his followers of today attack the Irish revolutionary movement.



In contrast the small Communist Party in 1921 supported 'the dauntless fight of Irish Republicans' (page 77) and said that 'the barefaced betrayals of Ireland and her workers by the British trade union leaders is on a level par with that of the Labour Party'. What a pity that the present day CPGB does not fol-

## The bi

'An excellent lesson of class struggle'

The all-Ireland 1918 election saw Sinn Fein winning 73 out of 105 seats, including a majority of seats in Ulster: an unambiguous declaration of the Irish people's demand for an independent Ireland. British imperialism responded by unleashing military terror in the South and conniving at the organisation of illegal loyalist terror gangs in the North.

By 1920, illegal armed loyalist gangs were operating throughout the Six Counties with the co-operation of British imperialism. Arms for these gangs were openly stored in Unionist Party headquarters. The Royal Irish Constabulary supplied information. Fred Crawford - organiser of the pre-war UVF Larne gun-running operation - met Captain J L Hardy of British Intelligence. Hardy agreed to supply information to the UVF. The two discussed, among other plots, a plan to kidnap Arthur Griffith. By mid-June 1920 these illegal terror gangs were in action: shooting and bombing nationalists. In a single attack, the UVF shot dead four nationalists in Derry on 18

# NEW BOOKS on Ireland

## One step forwards two steps sideways

The British in Ireland a suitable case for withdrawal Geoffrey Bell  
Pluto Press 1984 pp 120 £2.95 paperback

Bell's book represents a significant change of position on certain issues: condemnation of revolutionary Republican violence is now grudging justification of it (p48); sneering at Marx and Engels' position on Ireland (see review of Bell's *Troublesome Business* FRFI 26) is now grudging acceptance (pp26/27); the loyalist working class is clearly defined as a sectarian labour aristocracy (Chapter 5); and there is a good chapter on British revolutionary support for the Irish struggle in the past (Chapter 2). So much for the good news.

The bad news is that Bell remains firmly in the middle class socialist camp. The communist position recognises that imperialism not only divides the world - into oppressor and oppressed nations - it also divides the working class - into a small privileged labour aristocracy dependent on imperialist super profit for its very existence and the mass of the working class and oppressed. The labour aristocracy acts as the agent of the imperialist ruling class within the working class movement. The influence of this layer is the major political problem facing the British working class. The Irish struggle threatens not only the ruling class but also this layer itself. Ireland is the key to the British revolution. Bell censors this standpoint although his material on the

by Terry Marlowe

trade unions in the Six Counties and the CPGB draws heavily on RCG material produced over the last ten years.

For Bell the Provisional Republican Movement is progressive only in so far as it can be made to fit his own British image of socialism (see chapter 4). The early Provisional leaders are dismissed as 'conservative' yet it was they who recognised that British rule could not be reformed but had to be destroyed; that armed struggle was inevitable and justified; and that the parliaments in Britain and Ireland could not be forums for the defeat of imperialist rule (revolutionary

abstentionism). For Bell, the Provisional Republican Movement must be made acceptable to the British middle class left, in order to be 'progressive'.

Bell cannot explain why the British Labour and trade union movement have refused to support the Irish revolution because he refuses to admit that this movement represents a labour aristocracy and cannot oppose its imperialist paymaster. For the middle class left, itself representing a privileged layer, to admit this truth requires a break with this movement. Bell sees this movement as the vehicle for socialist advance in Britain and, therefore, cannot reveal its true role in relation to Ireland.

Finally, Bell cannot explain why Britain is in Ireland. He dismisses any idea of imperialist profit in Ireland, on the grounds of the cost of the occupation (p 91). However, this cost does not affect the individual capitalist's profit as it is borne by the working class through taxation. Secondly, partition is the key to British imperialist exploitation of Ireland as a whole. Finally, provided the British working class make 'common cause' with the Irish struggle, the Irish revolution threatens British rule in Ireland and the British ruling class and its allies in Britain. This is the revolutionary significance of the Irish struggle.

Bell therefore ends up to the right of Ken Livingstone who has recognised, in part, the role of the labour aristocracy in Britain. *The British in Ireland* reveals the limitations of the middle class left standpoint. It also reveals Bell's characteristic sloppiness: the last New Left Review article on Ireland appeared in 1970 (not 1969p1) and Fergus O'Connor is not O'Conner (throughout) nor is H M Hyndman H M Hyndeman (throughout).



# Sean Mac Stiofain reviews IRELAND the key to the British revolution



1932 which ordered Republicans to vote for de Valera's Fianna Fáil in order to put out the Cumann na nGaedheal government.

That policy had a short term gain, it secured the release of the Republican prisoners — for about a year until de Valera began his persecution of Republicans and arrested many of those released in 1932. This persecution reached its height in the mid 1940s when several Republicans were executed, 3 allowed to die on hunger strike and several shot down on the streets.

As pointed out in chapter five, the IRA was unable to build a mass movement in the 1930s not because Republican policy in the Dublin parliament was wrong, but because the social and political conditions to build such a movement did not exist. But the IRA did keep alive the revolutionary tradition.

Chapter six 'The IRA on the Offensive' omits the details of IRA operations in the 6 Counties in 1941-42. Many attacks were mounted on the RUC and the B Specials, and at one stage, in the Autumn of 1942, the situation was so serious in Belfast that a local curfew was imposed on the Nationalist areas.

On page 101 the statement made by Cathal Goulding at our trial in 1953 is incorrectly recorded. Goulding's correct statement, with which I was proud to associate myself was 'We believe that only by force of arms can Irish freedom be achieved, it was to this end that we took our action, we have no apologies to offer, our only regret is that we failed to place those weapons in the hands of our comrades in Ireland'.

On page 103 we are told that 150 men blew up targets around or near the border, in fact 50% of the targets were no where near the border, not that using the border is wrong by any means. This chapter does show the contradictions of the so-called left over the years, whenever faced with an armed struggle on its door step. However, as noted on page 110, some workers in 1957 understood 'that any blow, whether by the IRA or any one else, struck at British imperialism helps the British people towards socialism'. This book must convert

many more English workers to this view.

The true nature of Terence O'Neill's policies in the mid 1960s is correctly assessed, and if his enemies in the Unionist Party did but know it, O'Neill was the most dangerous of all the Unionist leaders as he could have won over the Catholic middle class as no one else has done since.

The wrong impression is given on page 122 when it is stated that after the 1962 campaign the IRA under the direction of a new revisionist leadership turned to social and economic agitation etc. In fact for years after '62 the leadership was divided with half opposed to the revisionist policies, and half who urged the correct revolutionary policies at every opportunity.

This chapter is particularly interesting as it relates the history of the Civil Rights Movement/Campaign in the late '60s and how the repressive nature of the northern state was revealed to the whole world, and how many people had to accept the revolutionary position that only by force of arms can the people be free!

Chapter eight shows how false were the claims of the bogus left in Ireland and their friends in Britain, that the split in the Republican Movement in 1969 was one between left and right, or between those committed to socialist agitation and militarists. As David Reed states, nothing could be further from the truth.

The split in 1969 was over deep, fundamental differences in military and political policies and over the question of Stormont (the revisionists wanted to keep it so they could reform it!). The true revolutionaries recognised the movement under the leadership of the Provisional Army council. However, David Reed is not correct when he described the re-organised IRA as a new grouping. The position was then, and still is, that if the Republican Movement renounces basic Republican principles then it ceases to be the Republican Movement. Non-recognition of the Dublin parliament, of any puppet parliament that may be in Stormont, of the Westminster

Parliament, is a basic Republican principle and anyone who deviates from it is a revisionist and will end up like Mac Giolla and Co accepting not only the neo-colonial set up in the 26 Counties but also the multi-national whorehouse in Europe.

In Chapter nine, the build up to the Revolutionary War is outlined and page 161 outlines the British Army attempts to make out that IRA operations are of a sectarian nature, directed against civilians. Let revolutionaries the world over remember forever that this imperialist propaganda campaign was, and still is, aided by the Workers Party. The hypocrisy of the British Labour Party which comes out so often in this book, was characterised by the 12 point programme proposed by Harold Wilson in Autumn 1971. Proposals which were insulting to the national aspirations of the Irish people, and which I, on behalf of the Republican Movement 'rejected with contempt'.

The Irish revolution and the British left is the most important section of this chapter. As it points out, British communists and socialists are faced with a major test of their revolutionary credentials, and failed just as miserably as their counterparts in Ireland. As David Reed points out, there is no socialist option separate from the Irish struggle.

The utter hypocrisy of the so-called British left was never better illustrated than at the time of the Aldershot bombing. This is fully recorded in this chapter. At that time I was asked to comment and said 'We were not involved, but we understand the motives of those who were. This was a strike against British military. We welcome action against British military no matter who is involved'. Compare my statement with the vile bilge that the Workers Party throw up when civilians are accidentally killed by the IRA.

Another point that comes out time and again throughout this book is that building an Irish Solidarity Movement was never an important concern of the British left. That work, the building of a principled solidarity movement in Britain, is the most important work that

revolutionaries can do in Britain today. It aids the revolution in Ireland, it speeds the revolution in Britain as it sharpens the political consciousness of British workers.

In January 1970 the Provisional Army Council decided that the abolition of Stormont was an immediate objective of the movement. Stormont fell less than two and a half years later, and as the Council foresaw, the anti-imperialist struggle intensified. An obstacle on the road to Irish freedom had been removed. But this was no justification to call a unilateral ceasefire as all the reactionary forces did. All this is well set out in chapter ten, as is the background to the bilateral truce negotiated between the IRA and the British Government negotiations that obtained political status for Republican and other prisoners in the 6 Counties. The way the British deliberately broke that truce is covered as are the military response of the IRA and the British response to the new Republican offensive: withholding bomb warnings, occupation of no-go areas, increase in undercover activities, the use of agents provocateurs — all designed to isolate and therefore defeat the IRA, and all to no avail right to the present day.

Events since 1972 are excellently covered: the attempts at Ulsterisation; the torture squads; the prison struggles; the hunger strikes and their consequences. Vital passages of the Prisoners' statement on the ending of the H-Block hunger strike are reproduced (page 366)

'despite the electoral successes, despite the hundreds of thousands at hunger strikers' funerals, despite massive and unprecedented displays of community support and solidarity, the British government adhered rigidly to the precept that "might is right" ...

This confirmed the necessity for revolutionary armed struggle in the liberation of Irish people.

Chapter seventeen contains a brilliant analysis of the reasons for Britain remaining in Ireland, and the vital importance of educating the British worker that British withdrawal from Ireland is essential for the success of the revolution in Britain.

So far the British working class has failed to make common cause with the Irish fight for freedom, and in so doing have delayed their own emancipation. As David Reed points out, imperialism will only be destroyed by the alliance of British workers with the Republicans in Ireland. This book is a great contribution to the common cause of Irish freedom and the emancipation of British workers.

## Birth of a police state

Arming the Protestants Michael Farrell  
Pluto Press 1983 pp 374 £7.95 paperback

Farrell's excellent book is a detailed account of the formation of the loyalist police state in the Six Counties. At the heart of it is the story of a British imperialist conspiracy against the Irish people.

June. Five days later British troops intervened... and shot dead six nationalists. British collaboration with loyalist terror was sealed when Sir Hamar Greenwood, Chief Secretary for Ireland, and Lloyd George, Prime Minister, secretly approved the re-organisation of the UVF.

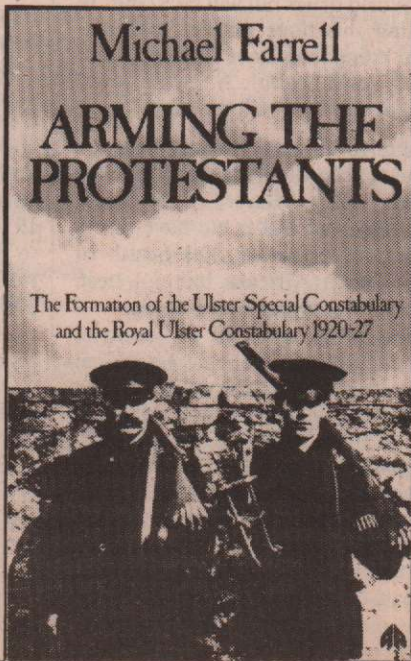
This first phase in the construction of the loyalist police state was, as Lenin remarked of the pre-war Curragh mutiny, 'an excellent lesson of class struggle'. British imperialism cast aside its democratic cloak and trampled on its own laws to co-operate in the creation of illegal loyalist murder gangs to subvert the democratically-declared demand of the Irish people for self-determination. Real power lay outside parliament.

### From UVF to USC

The next phase was the legalisation of the terror gangs. 29 July 1920, Churchill submitted a document to the Cabinet entitled 'Use of Ulster Volunteers'. It called for a special constabulary to be raised based on the UVF. The plan was accepted.

The USC had three grades: A Specials who were full-time; B Specials part-time; and C Specials a reserve which was simply a device to give loyalists gun licences. The A Specials were paid up to £5.7.6 (£5.37½) per week. Average weekly wages for skilled workers at the time were £3.7.0 (£3.35). The initial USC plans provided for 29,500 armed loyalists. By May 1922 USC recruitment plans had risen to a staggering 63,000.

by Terry Marlowe



Throughout some 48,000 loyalists were actually enrolled — an estimated 1 in 4 of the adult male loyalist population. Lloyd George himself compared the USC to the Italian Fascisti. This process began a year before the Truce. It rendered the subsequent Truce negotiation an empty fraud. For a bastion of reaction to safeguard British imperialist interests throughout Ireland had already been created.

### When is a treaty not a treaty?

When it is signed by British imperialism. The third phase in the construction of the loyalist police state was the subversion of Article 12 of the Anglo-Irish Treaty, signed on 6 December 1921. The Treaty provided for a Boundary Commission to operate in the event of 'Northern Ireland' — the Six Counties — refusing to unite with the 'Free State'. The Commission was to fix the final border between the two areas 'in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants'. This could only mean, given their large nationalist majorities, that Co Fermanagh, Co Tyrone and Derry City would be transferred to the 'Free State' destroying the Six Counties as a viable unit.

Article 12 was a lie. Lloyd George had already assured Craig that there would be no significant transfers of territory. In May 1924 both Ramsay MacDonald, Labour Prime Minister, and J H Thomas, Labour Colonial Secretary, declared that the Commission would concern itself only with 'moderate adjustments'. During, and immediately before, the Commission's meetings the USC carried out full scale 'alerts' in the border areas. The 'Free State' pro-imperialist ruling class were willing accomplices in the fraud. The final report, with its minor transfers including transfers from the 'Free State' to the Six Counties, was suppressed and Article 12 quietly forgotten.

And so the loyalist police state was formed: created by British imperialism and its loyalist allies as the front line of British imperialist exploitation of the Irish people as a whole. The story of its birth is, indeed, an excellent lesson of class struggle — 'democracy' 'parliament' 'law' and 'treaties' are just so many empty frauds designed only to clothe the naked operation of British imperialist reaction and terror against the Irish people.

# The use and abuse of drugs under capitalism

## History of opiates

The history of opiates reveals connections between drugs and imperialism. Opium, often considered a 'Chinese' drug, was not abused there until intervention by the East India Company. The 18th century vogue for China tea left Britain with a trade deficit; the Company used its monopoly of Indian opium to redress the balance. From 1740 to 1800 sales to China increased from 15 to 400 tons per annum. In some provinces, the majority of the population became addicted. When China tried to stop imports, Britain fought and won the Opium Wars of 1839 and 1856 to protect her imperialist interests. The East India Company cynically observed, 'Opium ought not to be permitted, except for foreign commerce'.

In 19th century Britain, workers unable to afford doctors treated themselves with opium and cannabis. Tincture of Opium (laudanum) was used to sedate babies put out to nurse by women working in mills and mines. In *The Condition of the Working Class*, Engels cites a case before the Coroner of Nottingham: a chemist had in one year used 13cwt of treacle to make Godfrey's Cocktail a laudanum preparation for infants from one day old. While these desperate remedies caused deaths and addictions, the Pharmacy and Poisons Act 1868 reflected the interests of pharmacists and physicians, who claimed control of profitable drugs under 'humanitarian' pretexts. Later legislation showed similar hypocrisy. Britain, the great opium seller, signed the 1912 Hague Convention against trafficking. The Defence of the Realm Act 1916 made it illegal to supply opium or cocaine to a member of the forces. Use by conscripts threatened the war effort!

## The military connection

However, military and intelligence agencies have played a key role in furthering drug abuse. Morphine issued to troops in the American Civil War left 200,000 addicted. By 1883, German armies were using cocaine against fatigue. During World War Two, 72 million doses of amphetamines were issued to UK troops, and war surplus methedrine dumped in Japan caused numerous addictions in the 1950s.

Contemptuous of human rights and dignity, imperialists have conducted 'research' into the use of drugs as weapons. The Gestapo experimented with the hallucinogen mescaline in Dachau. In America, the CIA and the Federal Bureau of Narcotics co-operated to evaluate heroin, LSD and other drugs. The 'usefulness' of forced heroin withdrawal was noted. Victims of these callous tests were army recruits, mental patients and prisoners: mostly black or Hispanic. The spread of LSD in the West was entirely due to this search for a 'mind-control' drug. The Sandoz company supplied 500,000 doses a week so the CIA could observe its effects on unsuspecting subjects. (Two known suicides, many mental breakdowns.)

## Drugs and counter-revolution

Imperialism sees even heroin producers as useful allies against communism. Rich, corrupt opium warlords like Khun Sa are aided by the government of Thailand, a country with 600,000 addicts. Most heroin used by US troops in Vietnam was imported by CIA funded groups. Drug syndicates in Italy and France also received CIA aid in return for attacking labour organisations.

British heroin abuse soared in 1979 when the fleeing Iranian bourgeoisie

FRFI 36 showed how heroin has become another tool of imperialist oppression. It has spread rapidly among working class youth, mainly in areas hardest hit by the capitalist crisis.

There are 1,000 addicts on Merseyside: thousands more on the decaying estates of Glasgow, Edinburgh and London. Present estimates suggest 50,000 addicts in Britain, maybe 100,000 or more. In working class areas of Dublin, 12% of youth aged 15-19 used heroin in 1983. However, drug abuse is not caused by inadequates or criminals, and cannot be cured by legislation. It is integral to the capitalist order.



exported their capital in portable form. Most heroin now comes from Pakistan to fund counter-revolutionary bands against Afghanistan.

As in Afghanistan, drugs fund reaction in Lebanon. Land controlled by the Gemayel family grows most of Europe's cannabis. Links between European fascists and the Phalange provide the trade route. In America, arrests in November 1982 proved that Omega-7, an anti-Castro group with CIA connections, was funded by cocaine deals.

## Coca dollars

Bolivia earns \$800m from tin exports: ten times that amount from cocaine. Columbian exports total \$3bn a year. Drug money destroys local economies and ecologies, and pays off governments and armies alike. There is unprecedented corruption: in Columbia \$100m in marijuana-linked bribes changed hands in a single year.

Who pays? Peasants may double their income by growing coca instead of food, yet they receive 1% of the drug's value. Drug barons seize their land and murder any dissenters. Such is the despair generated, only 13% bothered to vote in the Bogota elections of 1980. Who profits? A tiny number of 'narcotraficantes' and those they bribe enjoy vast returns. Above all, US financial institutions reap enormous profits from 'laundering' coca dollars.

## Legal drugs

The German pharmaceutical firm Bayer, one of the consortium that formed IG Farben which supplied gas to Nazi death chambers, first patented heroin (diacetylmorphine) in 1898 as a 'non-addictive' treatment for coughs. Last year Bayer made £250m pre-tax profits. Legally produced and marketed drugs like alcohol, tobacco and Valium create profits and social controls for the ruling class, and cause terrible damage. In Britain, there are 400,000 alcoholics, and 50,000 premature deaths a year are attributed to smoking. Only cancer and heart disease kill more Americans than alcohol, which permanently disables 2% of the world's population. In 1983 British American Tobacco made a profit of nearly £1bn. Seven multinationals control the world's tobacco industry: BAT alone has a 20% share. These companies force Third World farmers to grow tobacco instead of food. It was estimated in Bangladesh in 1983 that people

persuaded to buy just 5 cigarettes a day had to cut meagre food purchases by 15%.

Pharmaceutical industry sales were \$90bn in 1982: 25% is controlled by the top ten companies. The rapid rise of tranquillisers and sedatives shows the indifference of capitalism to the dangers of its products. For example, America produces 6bn doses of barbiturates a year. There are 8,000 barbiturate addicts in London: in Britain 27,000 died of barbiturate poisoning from 1959 to 1974.

Benzodiazepines (Valium, Librium etc), developed as 'safe' alternatives, sell in even more staggering quantities. In Britain in 1978, 25.2m prescriptions for Librium, costing £28.4m, were issued. Manufacturers Hoffman-La Roche conceal vast profits by 'transfer-pricing': fraudulently over-pricing raw materials to subsidiaries. Roche UK declared £69.3m profit 1982/3. Drug companies justify profiteering by appeal to research costs, yet spend 3 times as much on advertising. Benzodiazepines individualise and depoliticise poverty and unemployment. Significantly, 20-30% more are prescribed in the Six Counties than in England. This tranquillisation of the evils of capitalism has caused 100,000 addictions in Britain.

## Imperial Chemicals

It is estimated that by the year 2000, the Third World drugs bill will be \$72bn. In exploiting this huge market, pharmaceutical companies have claimed 'concern for world health'. A few facts will show that this is pure hypocrisy.

- 1 Capitalism invests where returns are highest: accordingly major firms like Roche, Lilly, Bayer, Ciba-Geigy, ICI, May and Baker etc have South African subsidiaries. The health of black South Africans has not been observed to improve as a result.
- 2 Useless drugs are sold to countries that cannot afford them. An Indian committee found that of 15,000 on the market (90% western made), 116 met all the peoples' needs. In 1982, Bangladesh banned 1,742 drugs as 'unnecessary and at times harmful'.
- 3 Drugs banned in the West are sold to developing nations, perpetuating the vicious racism of the East India Company. Clioquinol - side-effects blindness and paralysis - is still sold by Ciba-Geigy in the Third World.

Japan banned Chloromycetin after 10,000 deaths, but now exports it to other Asian countries, notably Taiwan.

- 4 The pharmaceutical industry disinform Third World doctors through the prescribing guide MIMS. Anabolic steroids, listed in Britain for cancers only, are listed in MIMS Africa as 'treatment' for malnutrition. Largactil has 7 uses in the US, in South America 43, including malaria and hypertension. Maximum children's dose of Valium in MIMS UK is 5mg - in MIMS Ireland 40mg. A survey revealed 40.2% of Nigerians using Valium without prescription.
- 5 Illusory 'cures' are cynically promoted. Searle sell \$31.2m worth of Lomotil a year, to 'treat' diarrhoea, the main killer of Third World children. It costs 25 times as much as other medicines: and merely paralyses the gut. Hoechst push Lasix for children with Kwashiorkor - the characteristic pot-belly of starvation; a diuretic, it reduces swelling; but hastens death from dehydration. A sales rep commented, 'Well, they'd die anyway.'
- 6 Imperialism extracts profits by exploiting Third World labour. Main investments are in Puerto Rico and Ireland. Subsistence wages paid to 10,000 Puerto Ricans save the US drugs industry \$50m per annum: tax concessions are worth ten times that.

## Prisons

George Wilkinson, described by a prison doctor as 'not mentally ill', died on hunger strike in Walton Jail in 1979. In prison he was prescribed Valium, Librium, Sparine, Neulactil, Largactil, sodium amytal, Disipal, Modecate, Dalmane and Haloperidol. The systematic drugging of prisoners is a stark example of the chemical control of society. The Home Office maintains that drugs are used only for 'mental disorders': yet in 1981, 1 1/4 million doses of behaviour modifying drugs were dispensed to a prison population of 43,000. Conditions in prisons are so bad that only sedation keeps the system workable. Warders turn a blind eye to illegal drugs, including heroin, that now circulate freely.

## Sexism

Women are oppressed as servicers of capitalism's basic unit, the family. Accordingly, tranquillisers are prescribed for 1 in 5 women in a given year. Those who deviate from the role capitalism demands are seen as 'sick': so tranquilliser adverts are aimed specifically at women. Linking racism with sexism, the Pill was tested on Puerto Rican women, at doses above and below the safe effective level, before being passed for the West.

## Racism and police repression

The same racist ideology used to justify the exploitation of the Third World is used to hold black people responsible for drug abuse, and oppress them with anti-drug laws. Although 70% of the Jamaican proletariat use ganja, it has been illegal there since 1924. The workers know the law can be used to attack them whenever necessary. In Britain, police actions 'justified' by drug laws were the final provocations of black people before the risings in St Pauls (2.4.80), Brixton (11.4.81) and Notting Hill (20.4.82).

By manipulating public anxiety about drug abuse, the state legitimates increased police powers. Powers to stop and search, and raid premises, proposed under the Police Bill, are already exercised under the Misuse of Drugs Act 1971. Section 23(4) of this allows police to arrest for obstruction anyone who refuses to co-operate. Random harassment, particularly of black youth, is thus legalised. A judge recently ruled that telephone tapping by drug enforcement agencies was valid 'to protect law-abiding citizens from crime and violence, terrorism and subversion.'

Police methods in dealing with glue-sniffing, which is not illegal, show how old laws are reinterpreted to criminalise individuals and obscure the reality which gives rise to solvent abuse. This tactic is familiar to those whose political or industrial actions threaten capitalism. Police use corrupt practices for

political and monetary gain. Allegations of drug abuse are used to discredit individuals like Colin Roach, or drugs are planted on opponents like Ace Kelly. Drug 'recycling' by police is common practice.

## Conclusion

Imperialism gains by encouraging public fears about drug abuse. Attention is diverted from the dangers and profits of pharmaceuticals. Systematic deprivation is portrayed as a series of personal failings and tragedies. Wider powers for the surveillance and harassment of threatening groups are assumed. Drug abuse itself neutralises opposition. Hunger and anger are thus blotted out.

It becomes clear that capitalism maintains the drug problem if we look again at China. The ravages of British imperialism left 13 million addicts there in 1900. Millions were still addicted in 1940. By the 1950s, surveys endorsed even by the US Drug Enforcement Agency found no addicts at all. Drugs show in microcosm the exploitation, oppression and misery inherent in capitalism, and the problem will therefore remain until the destruction of the system that prospers from it.

Dave Burton

## A soldier's tale

In 1970 John left a poor working class area of New York to join the US forces. He was promised training leading to an eventual degree in electronics. No other avenues available offered John such a prospect. He was stationed off the north Vietnamese coast with the US fleet, shelling towns and villages. This barbarity frightened John. Shortly he was offered another inducement: double pay and a shore base in south Vietnam if he would take part in a special year-long experimental programme.

When he arrived at Bien Woh US air-base John was installed in its military hospital along with about 50 other young men, drawn from all branches of the US forces and all from poor working class backgrounds; many were black and Puerto Rican. John was introduced to the US Brigadier General who commanded the base, and the military doctors and CIA officers that ran the experiment. Its purpose was to test the effects of drugs on soldiers in war-stress situations. For six months John was injected with a 'cocktail' of heroin and amphetamine supplied in pharmaceutical packages marked 'Restricted for US Military Purposes'. As his tolerance increased so the dosages were increased until he was being injected two and three times a day. As his physical condition deteriorated and he could no longer eat John was fed intravenously.

While drugged John was taken to mock battlefields where shrapnel was exploded close by, tank and artillery charges mounted. John recalls one of his fellow 'guinea-pigs' being run over by a tank he either could not see or was unable to move away from. The parents, whom John later met, were told their son had been killed in action against the enemy. On one occasion John and seven other subjects were flown by helicopter 100 miles from Bien Woh. There they were again injected with the heroin-amphetamine mixture and sent off with flame throwers, grenades and M16 rifles to confront about 45 north Vietnamese prisoners of war, especially positioned by the US experimenters so that they were boxed in with no possibility of retreat. John says that 30 or so north Vietnamese were killed before that episode of the experiment was ended by doctors, psychologists and troop observers descending in a US helicopter. Only then did John realise that the Vietnamese had been prisoners of war, with POW markings in white across their corpses.

Other experimental subjects were fed LSD and their tolerance to torture tested. Dosages were raised up to 19 a day. Several of these victims are still in US hospitals thirteen years later.

After six months John could not function, was physically addicted to heroin and mentally broken. He was shipped back to a hospital in the USA. After months of treatment John was discharged from the forces as 'unfit for service', a dishonourable stigma attached to his record cards for life. Told to FRFI by an ex Vietnam GI

## LEBANON

# imperialist manoeuvres

The final nail was hammered into the coffin of recent imperialist strategy in Lebanon when French troops – the last remaining NATO military units in Beirut – withdrew in March. Direct imperialist military intervention had only roused the oppressed masses to greater resistance and forced even the compromising Muslim bourgeois leadership of Walid Jumblatt of the Progressive Socialist Party (PSP) and Nabih Berri of Amal into reluctant conflict against the Phalange state. Imperialism, with direct Syrian collaboration, has altered tactics and is now trying to use Jumblatt and Berri to control the resurgent revolutionary movement by promises to 'force' Gemayel to grant the Muslim bourgeoisie a greater stake in political power and patronage.

Since the humiliating withdrawal of US, British and Italian troops in February, the Syrian government has undertaken the task of trying to salvage the confessional state. President Assad of Syria after stopping the victorious military advances of the revolutionary militias in West Beirut and the Shouf Mountains, convened a National Reconciliation Conference in the middle of March. In a luxurious hotel in Lausanne, Jumblatt and Berri sat down to negotiations with Gemayel, 'the little shah', under the direct supervision of Syrian Vice President Abdul Khaddam. The aim was to form a new national government of Muslim and Christian bourgeois forces. Inevitably the conference collapsed. The PSP and Amal leaders knew that no shoddy bourgeois compromise would be acceptable to the forces fighting for the destruction of the Phalange state. As the conference discussed ceasefires, fighting raged in Beirut and the stand of the oppressed was expressed in the words of one militia fighter:

'We are preparing for a big war... in a month or so we will go into East (Phalange dominated) Beirut. We must have our rights.'

The Syrian regime is nevertheless persevering and has recently advanced a new programme for a reconstituted national government to include representatives of the PSP and Amal. French imperialism is lending an active hand to try and seduce Nabih Berri openly into the imperialist camp. President Mitterrand heaped praise on Berri, agreed to the opening of an Amal 'embassy' in Paris and demanded sharply that Gemayel reform the Phalange state. Meanwhile British imperialism flattered Jumblatt by inviting him to London to meet For-

eign Office Minister Richard Luce.

Imperialism will demand payment for accolades and promises they are throwing in the direction of these bourgeois politicians. Jumblatt and Berri appear eager to prove that they can pay, and are making their first tentative moves to control the revolutionary militias. At the end of March, Jumblatt ordered PSP militias to take over, in the name of law and order, the headquarters and radio station of the pro-Palestinian and uncompromising Mourabitoun (The Ambushers) militia. And as French troops withdrew from Beirut, he ordered his own PSP militias off the streets leaving the Lebanese Army and the Lebanese Internal Security Force to take over the vacated positions.

These manoeuvres by imperialism, the Syrian regime and the Lebanese Muslim bourgeois leaders are desperate ones. With no independent social or economic power and with interests far removed from the oppressed masses, Jumblatt and Berri cannot restrain the movement for any length of time. In addition, these schemes are rendered even more fragile and temporary by the mounting resistance in Israeli occupied South Lebanon. Led largely by non-sectarian and communist forces, the resistance which combines effective armed struggle and popular insurrectionary struggles is independent of Syrian machinations and the Muslim bourgeois leadership in Beirut. This resistance will act as a focus for the revolutionary forces in Beirut, the Shouf Mountains and elsewhere in Lebanon. Jointly they will take forward the anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist and anti-Phalange struggle.

Eddie Abrahams

## EL SALVADOR

# corrupt elections

The 25 March presidential election in El Salvador was ordered and paid for by the Reagan Administration. By pinning this 'democratic' figleaf on the brutal regime responsible for over 40,000 deaths, Reagan hoped to silence US Congressional opposition to further increases in military and financial aid to El Salvador's butchers. This \$10m propaganda exercise failed. The overall turnout, in a country where voting is compulsory, was lower than the equally farcical 1982 elections. Fraud, corruption and incompetence surfaced immediately. Hundreds of names of dead persons appeared on the computerised voting register, while the names of the living had been deleted. Polling stations in different parts of the country sometimes lacked not only ballot boxes, but even an electoral officer.



Women in El Salvador commemorating assassination of Archbishop Romero.

The FMLN naturally boycotted the elections, which, organised under the aegis of a fascist regime employing its army, National Guard, Treasury Police and unofficial death squads to hunt down all communists and democrats, could be nothing more than a contest between different sections of El Salvador's bloody ruling class. The two main contestants, Jose Duarte of the Christian Democrats and Roberto D'Aubuisson of the fascist ARENA party have been responsible for the bloody repression, torture and murder which takes place in El Salvador. British imperialism nevertheless lent credibility to the gruesome electoral farce by sending two observers to verify that the electoral process was fair.

The election did not produce a conclusive result and there will be a run off in May. It will not and cannot solve anything in El Salvador. It will not stop the struggle of the revolutionary workers and peasants against the El Salvador ruling class and its masters US imperialism. This fact is recognised not only by the FMLN who are continuing their armed war to liberate El Salvador, but also by US imperialism. While talking about democracy and the ballot box, US military authorities have been preparing plans for greater US military involvement in the struggle against the FMLN. The Pentagon has plans to use CIA pilots flying unmarked planes in bombing missions over FMLN controlled territory. Since February a 350 strong US military intelligence battalion has been operating spying missions over El Salvador. Across the border, US troops parachuted into Honduras for 3 days of joint exercises to coincide with the El Salvador elections. Meanwhile in the week before the elections, the El Salvador airforce carried out its heaviest bombings ever of FMLN controlled territory hitting numerous civilian targets. These attacks have not succeeded in stemming military advances by the FMLN. Throughout the period of the election campaign, during and after it they carried out numerous operations. In one instance, in the biggest victory so far this year, they almost wiped out a 40 strong army patrol killing 32 soldiers.

With FMLN controlled territory increasing constantly, the people of El Salvador are beginning to experience what real popular democracy is. Their determination to fight imperialism and its puppets also increases. In the struggle British imperialism continues its support for reaction and barbarism. As US imperialism prepares for greater military intervention, the Thatcher government has just decided to re-open its embassy in El Salvador to provide a further cloak of respectability to murderers. British democrats and communists must demand an end to all British support for reaction in El Salvador and a victory to the FMLN!

Eddie Abrahams

But the history lesson is not over yet. What the would-be tourists are not told about are the spontaneous demonstrations, led by the youth, against the occupation forces, and against the ending of the gains of their revolution. These demonstrations have taken place despite the banning of all public assemblies. Youth openly wear Maurice Bishop T-shirts and badges, stone US jeeps and shout abuse at their gun-toting occupants. The lessons of the Grenadian revolution will come back to haunt those that would roll back the course of Caribbean history.

Trevor Rayne

Anyone who wishes to help in the struggle against repression in Grenada can contact: The Committee for Human Rights in Grenada, c/o Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, London, N7 7QQ

## BRAZIL CRISIS

The appalling price the imperialist banks demand for oppressed peoples for their loans can clearly be seen in Brazil, especially in the North-East of the country. The region is in its fifth year of drought, despite the fact that it is surrounded by rivers which could, it is estimated, irrigate an area of one million square kilometers. Successive governments have done nothing to change this. Most of the area is now a desert. The drought is affecting 25m out of the 30m people in the region. Some 15m are suffering from hunger and thirst.

Local people are desperate for food. 70% of children are suffering from malnutrition. Infant mortality rates have reached 25%, 'higher than almost anywhere in the world' according to the International Red Cross. In Iracuba, rats have been the prime source of food for the last three years; in Boa Viagem, rattlesnakes are a frequent source of food, while in Caridade, the population rely upon eating small monkeys, called sagui.

Yet at the same time, millions of tons of food are being shipped out of the country to earn dollars to pay to the imperialist bankers. Soya beans are Brazil's largest single source of export earnings. Frozen chickens, orange juice and other agricultural commodities are being sent abroad. The parasitic bankers are snatching this food out of the mouths of starving children, just to

make sure their fat profits keep rolling in.

In the face of this criminal starvation, the masses are taking matters into their own hands, and fighting back against the imperialists and their local puppets. Thousands of hungry peasants have raided warehouses in more than 40 cities. In Cedro, 1,500 peasants carried off 30 tons of beans and millet, while in Serra Tallada, 400 starving peasants raided stores for food.

In the cities, the poor suffer in a different way. The International Monetary Fund, as part of its package to squeeze debt repayments out of Brazil, has demanded austerity measures. Indexation of wages has ended, social spending has been cut. But the city poor are struggling too. Supermarkets have been torn apart in raids for food, while demands are growing for direct elections to replace the military-appointed president. The demise of the military junta in Argentina has stimulated these demands, and mass rallies have been held throughout the country. Brazil is sinking deeper and deeper into political crisis, dragged down by the millstone of imperialist debt around its neck. The future, however, will be determined by the mounting resistance of the city poor and their starving rural allies, who are beginning to combine and fight the military regime.

Steve Palmer

service facilities have been closed, free medicine is going. Work creating cooperatives are shut down and Grenada's only agro-industrial plant, which was bombed, has been closed. Imperialism intends Grenadians to get back on their knees in dependency.

The trial of those accused of murdering Maurice Bishop and his comrades has nothing to do with justice, but everything to do with destroying the lessons of the revolution. Chicago Tribune correspondent George de Lama reports a senior US official stating, 'an era of Grenadian history will go on trial... in this homicide the victim will stand accused as well.' Another US official described the show to come 'when this trial is over Maurice Bishop will be no martyr, I can assure you of that.' Coard, Austin and their fellow prisoners, have been beaten and tortured to extract confessions out of them. They have been denied the legal counsel of their choice. Meanwhile, a team of senior Scotland Yard police

have been assisting with any frame-ups necessary. The imperialists intend the trial to lead onto further arrests of supporters of the PRG and any who oppose imperialism.

Vultures descend

St Georges, Grenada's capital, is full of US speculators eyeing up resort locations. One company plans 'an exercise centre for the high profile executive who travels a lot'. Miami-based Cuban counter-revolutionaries have descended on the island: not surprisingly prostitution and heroin are back with them, feeding upon people's oppression. Back in the decadent heart of imperialism 'invasion chic' is in style: New York and Washington papers run articles inviting 'anyone with a sense of adventure' to visit Grenada for 'a tour of freshly made history', illustrated with models reclining on Grenada's 'beautiful and almost deserted beaches', amid coils of the invaders' barbed-wire!

## GRENADA

### Repression and resistance

At the end of March the British media momentarily lifted its wall of silence on Grenada to tell us of the Archbishop of Canterbury's visit to the island, taking in a trip to the prison where former members of the Peoples' Revolutionary Government (PRG) are held. The Archbishop delivered 'spiritual messages' to the prisoners. Behind this disgusting replay of a colonial mission remain 1,000 US military personnel and 600 Caribbean occupation forces. They are continuing their repression and intelligence gathering operations, repeatedly interrogating people. Added to US military spending on the island the British state, which withheld aid due to Grenada during Maurice Bishop's government, is providing £750,000 for police and military training to help reforge the chains that bind Grenada.

Destruction: imperialism has brought nothing but destruction, humiliation and ceremonial charades to Grenada. Claims of over \$100m are reported to have been made against the US government by Grenadians for damage inflicted by the US invasion forces. Only \$40,000 have been met. The total of Grenadian dead from the invasion is still unknown. Three thousand five hundred Grenadians have been sacked in purges waged against New Jewel

Movement supporters. Teachers and doctors from Cuba and Europe who helped the revolution have been thrown off the island and not replaced. Thriving upon ignorance, the imperialists and their stooge Scoon administration have ended the anti-illiteracy campaign. Radio Spice Island, mounted on the back of a US Navy truck, now Grenada's only radio station, spews out the concoctions of the US Marine Psychological Operations Unit which runs it. Health

## PRISON NEWS

### DEATH FROM MEDICAL NEGLIGENCE

The callous barbarity of the British prison's medical service is revealed yet again in the death of 20 year old Richard Overton who died of cancer on the day he was admitted to hospital from Hull prison. The consultant who examined him in hospital saw immediately that his condition was terminal and that the only 'treatment' left was to ease his pain. His liver was found to be four times the normal weight, which must have taken months to develop. Richard had repeatedly reported sick and had been treated for stomach ache by Hull prison medical officers. He should have been having regular 2-3 monthly tests from a previous operation for cancer, but there was no record of this in his medical files. The prison medical service has tried to wriggle out of the responsibility for Richard's death by saying that after transfers medical documents are not always available immediately, but Richard had been in Hull prison for nearly a year when he died.

The inquest jury's verdict was death from cancer aggravated by lack of care. Richard Overton died of medical neglect. He is not the first, nor will he be the last prisoner in a British prison to be killed by the prison medical service.  
Alexa Byrne

### METAL BODY BELTS

Recent investigation has uncovered the continued use of metal body belts in British gaols. These torturous instruments of repression consist of a steel belt with padlocks and handcuffs on each side which severely restrict all arm movements and whose use contravenes the European and United Nations conventions on the treatment of prisoners. The government and Home Office have tried unsuccessfully to cover up this further evidence of barbarism in British prisons. John O'Sullivan of the prison department having insisted one minute that the belts were not used had to admit the next that they were. The British company Hiatt & Co makes the belts. British companies also manufacture leg irons, shackles and gang chains which are exported to the Bahamas and Southern Africa. Same British imperialist butchery, same British imperialist repression.  
Alexa Byrne

### DAVID MARTIN: A DEATH SENTENCE

David Martin was 'found hanged' in his Parkhurst cell on 13 March. Whether he died by his own hand or not, the British police, courts and prison authorities are responsible for his death. Martin's father and his lawyer both spoke of the enormous pressure put on him by the 25 year sentence he received. His lawyer stated that:

'Martin always believed that the police would apply enough pressure for him to kill himself. And that's the way it turned out.'

Martin's 25 year sentence, imposed for GBH, robbery and firearms offences was exceptionally savage. He had no hope of parole, following Home Secretary Leon Brittan's recent decision that those imprisoned for certain offences should never get parole. He knew that if he ever did get out of prison it would be as an old man.

And he was a marked man. The police had shown their frenzied hatred of him by the 14 bullets they pumped into Steven Waldorf's car, having mistaken Waldorf for Martin. The policemen who nearly succeeded in killing Waldorf were acquitted. But following the Waldorf shooting David Martin's fate was even more firmly sealed. He got a death sentence.  
Maxine Williams

# BRITAIN'S RACIST PRISONS

Thatcher's Britain has filled 20% of the prison population from racial minorities which make up 4% of the British people today. 15% of prisoners are black. At Ashford Remand Prison for under 21s, 50% are black. Almost 25% of the prisoners in top security dispersal prisons are black according to the *Voice* newspaper. At Camp Hill Prison, Isle of Wight, 46% of black prisoners were put on report in 1983 compared with only 6% of white prisoners. In 1980 alone 1137 people were detained as prisoners of the racist immigration laws, the average daily prison population being 192. Today the main prison for immigration detainees, Ashford, holds 117 places and is full. Black prisoners are systematically subjected to racism. The Home Office views them as one subversive group. The treatment of Rastafarian prisoners exposes this racist hostility very clearly.

### Murder by racism

In March 1980 a young Rastafarian from South London, Richard Campbell, became the third prisoner to die at Ashford between 1973 and 1980. All had been black. Labelled schizophrenic by the prison authorities, including two 'doctors', the 'socially inappropriate' behaviour which sustained this 'diagnosis' was his reference to Jah (God), his insistence on wanting to help the poor and starving in Africa, his 'lounging on the chair and looking out the window' during the medical interview. The racist diagnosis of schizophrenia was wholly based on the total contempt the prison doctors and screws have for black people's beliefs. Richard Campbell died on hunger-strike, having been force fed, drugged by Largactil, Stemetil and Depixol and allowed to become dehydrated. The jury's verdict of 'death by self-neglect' had a rider criticising the lack of adequate medical staff and facilities at Ashford. The coroner disallowed the verdict of lack of care. Following his death and other outrages, protest against the racist abuse of Rastafarian prisoners and their rights slowly built up. The Home Office sent out new 'guidelines'. In late 1981, no doubt with these in mind, Howell Grange open bor-

stal had adopted the practice of forcing Rastas to put their dreadlocks in a white elastic band. A typically British form of racism this - combining a 'concession', allowing the locks, with a humiliating rule.

### Drugging

Steve Thompson was another victim of forcible drugging. At Gartree Prison he had been drugged whilst screws cut his locks. Imprisoned in 1976, he was sectioned under the Mental Health Act five days before his release in August 1979 and incarcerated in Rampton hospital. Dr Smith at Gartree told him, 'Sorry old boy, I think you're sick... you've got to go to Rampton'. The campaign to free him succeeded in March 1980. By January 1982 the Government was forced to allow dreadlocks and were to consider the 'desirability of allowing for the recognition of minority customs and beliefs'.

### Racist screws

The Home Office gives full vent to its racist and repressive ways in the prisons. So where better for fascists to go to look for work? In many prisons 15-25% of screws are National Front members:

## dirty protest

In an attempt to crush the resistance of prisoners at Peterhead (see FRFI 36) the prison authorities have crammed full the punishment block, created a new set of punishment cells and filled them too. Immediately after the January rooftop protest rioting prison officers destroyed possessions of A Hall prisoners; the prisoners were thrown into unheated A Hall with only a blanket in temperatures below 50°F; ten were kept in temporary partitions.

However, the men are at present engaging in 'dirty' protests in both punishment sections. First news of the 'dirty' protest filtered out on 5 March. It became public when a prisoner appeared on protest at Peterhead Sheriff Court. The prison authorities have admitted that seven men are on 'dirty' protest. In anticipation of 'dirty' protests, special drains were installed in the infamous 'cages' at Inverness prison.

But the protests continue. One Peterhead prisoner is on the blanket in Saughton prison. Barlinnie prisoners broke through to the laundry block roof last month. One of the prisoners sent to the 'cages' - John O'Boyd Steele - appeared in Peterhead Sheriff Court covered in boot polish - again forcing public attention to the protests. He and two others have now been moved from the 'cages'.

Some prisoners in the Peterhead punishment block where the main 'dirty' protest is taking place have been there

since *before* the January protest. Peter Wardlaw has been there since December last year.

The state fully realises the solidarity and resistance of the prisoners and will use all the brutal methods at its disposal to crush this fightback. But their attempts are in vain - the lid is about to blow off the Scottish prison system! Victory to the prisoners! Smash the prison system!

**Aileen Randall, Paul McKinley**

Letters of protest should be sent to the Governors of Peterhead and Porterfield prisons and to the Secretary of State for Scotland, Scottish Home and Health Department, New St Andrews House, St James Centre, Edinburgh 1, Scotland. Messages of solidarity via Peter Wardlaw, HM Prison Peterhead, Scotland, AB4 6YY

their symbol - the Union Jack tie-pin. Walton, Risley remand, Strangeways, Wandsworth, Pentonville, Dartmoor and the Scrubs are the main prisons with the largest NF membership. In 1977 Brixton prison C of E chaplain Terry Spong resigned after publicity about his boasting of his NF membership at an NF conference. Like rats to a sewer, the NF feel at home with the Prison Department

### Solidarity

The Home Office fears the comradeship between black prisoners. In 1981 the Prison Department was known to be recommending that black prisoners should not be more than 30% in any one institution. Often they are forced to share their cells with known racists, a form of dispersal with a very sinister twist. Examples of racist violence are legion. At Hull in the 1976 uprising, black and Irish prisoners were given especially vicious beatings, their faces were shoved into plates of jam and urine was thrown over them. But this fear has its roots. They lie in the tremendous solidarity between black and Irish prisoners. Black prisoners suffer continuous racist harassment in the prisons. And just as the black youth have fought back against the racism they suffer on the outside, black prisoners have fought against the racist prison system, and in defence of the rights of all prisoners. The solidarity works both ways. In Gartree 1978, prisoners including Irish POWs rioted to protect Michael Blake,

a black comrade being so badly drugged that they feared for his life. In August 1979 at the Scrubs, Shujaa Moshesh was one of the three prisoners chosen to represent three groups on D Wing to lead a protest to the governor. These were the Irish, the Blacks and a group of London prisoners - Table 4. These three were living proof of the solid stand amongst the prisoners to fight for the rights of all. The resulting MUFTI Squad riotous assault is now infamous. The best account of the riot has been given by Shujaa, in FRFI June 1982. The prisoners demands included: restoration of education facilities, better cooking facilities, Sunday visits for Irish POWs (denied them for 'security reasons') and a halt to racist practices from certain screws.

Shujaa Moshesh is currently held in Wakefield Special Control Unit, in conditions of severe sensory deprivation, alongside Irish POWs Stephen Blake and Shane Paul O'Doherty.

### British prisons are racist hellholes

The racism of the British imperialist system determines the racist character of British prisons. The racist oppression which black people are subjected to in Britain makes them a doubly oppressed section of the working class. This government's onslaught has in turn filled the prisons with our black comrades alongside Irish people, the poor and the unemployed. The government has chosen to use outright repression in its prisons to try to crush its occupants, the oppressed working class. But instead it has forged a solidarity and unity that is unshakeable and growing. It fears the revolutionaries it has created. Their struggle is our struggle. Fight racism in the prisons! Unite to fight for all prisoners' rights!

Tony Sheridan

## BRUTALITY IN CANADA

Two years after a violent protest at Archambault gaol, near Montreal, in which three prisoners and two guards died, Amnesty International has published a report exposing treatment of prisoners at the gaol as being '... within the meaning of the UN Declaration on Torture, torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment ...' The report includes statements from 17 prisoners, six of whom were interviewed personally. Prisoners have suffered beatings; up to three weeks held naked in cells in cold weather with cold air pumped through the ventilation ducts; sleep deprivation; adulterated food; teargas sprayed into their faces and mouths causing painful burns to the nose and throat and breathing difficulties and to aggravate this torture prisoners were not allowed to shower for a week, thus breaking prison regulations stating that showers take place 'as soon as practicable after exposure to the gas'. When prisoners were finally

given mattresses, sheets or clothing these were 'wet, urinated upon or stinking.'

Details were given of the barbaric 'wet towel torture' which causes suffocation. A prisoner is held down by guards, a towel wrapped tightly round his head and water poured into the towel causing the prisoner to breathe in water, choke and struggle for air until the towel is removed.

After the protest one prisoner, Jason Gallant, was refused the anti-ulcer drug, Tagamet, that he was supposed to take uninterrupted. He was finally taken near death to hospital, 'vomiting green, bad smelling liquid', where he was given emergency surgery for an intrathoracic strangulated hernia.

Canadian prisons, like all imperialist prisons are institutions of torturous repression directed against the working class and oppressed.

Alexa Byrne

## BOOKS FOR PRISONERS

'Thank you for your recent issue of FRFI, and the book *The revolutionary road to communism in Britain*. The FRFI paper has opened my eyes to the world and its oppressors and oppressed. The book (I have just begun reading) I shall treasure. It is a book that all the tortured and repressed peoples of the world today should acquire and read...'

Charlie O'Connor, HM Prison Kingston

FRFI has sent the RCG Manifesto to nearly 40 prisoners at a total cost of £100. To do the same with the forthcoming *Ireland: the key to the British revolution* will cost about £250. Prisoners are entitled to political literature and as Charlie O'Connor's letter shows they want political literature. But providing it costs money. You can HELP. Send us a donation to pay for the Manifesto and Ireland book to go to a prisoner. Buy a second copy of each to send to a prisoner. The more you send us, the more we can provide this material to prisoners.

We appeal to all our readers to help us continue providing these necessary political services. Please send us a donation. You can send £4 to cover an FRFI subscription for a prisoner, or any donation large or small. Please rush your donation to: FRFI, BCM Box 5909, London WC1N 3XX. Cheques and postal orders payable to Larkin Publications.

# I R E L A N D

Dublin

## PEOPLE FIGHT AGAINST HEROIN

On Wednesday 22 February in Scoil Iosagain gym, 1,000 people from the Lower Crumlin area of Dublin began a trial – a people's tribunal to deal with the heroin bushfire which is sweeping through Dublin and the whole of the 25 Counties. The community has taken action to rid itself of the parasitic drugs peddlers. A list of those accused of pushing heroin was read out and those named invited to reply. Some denied pushing but admitted they were addicts, some denied involvement and demanded apologies – the crowd sometimes believing them, sometimes not. It was an extraordinary demonstration of working class organisation and popular justice.

With massive unemployment, poverty and no future, many youth in the 26 counties have sought to escape the daily reality through heroin. This growing problem is being met by the community coming together and organising. One of their first major victories was in the Hardwicke Street Flats in the summer of 1983. Amongst those involved in the campaign was Christy Burke, a Sinn Fein worker and election candidate. The residents succeeded in flushing the pushers out from the flats. In St Theresa's Gardens Flats heroin had been around since 1981 with the gardai taking little action. Local women set up a keep fit class and began to talk about the problem. Then they called a meeting and 70 people attended. By 3 September the three families that were still pushing heroin were given a week to get out. They left the next day and that night a human chain of 300 people moved the furniture out of a pusher's flat and stacked it underneath the balconies. People were jubilant.

As the pushers moved into other areas the people there followed this example. Local patrols were set up to stop pushers getting into flats. In Crumlin a meeting of 300 was held, and over the next few days road blocks and foot patrols were set up. They held their first march, led by small boys from local schools, they stopped outside suspected pushers' houses chanting 'Pushers Out!' Then came the 1,000 strong trial of the pushers by a peoples jury.

The gardai have consistently refused

to tackle the pushers and instead have attacked the anti-drugs campaigners. When local residents in Ballyfermot passed over details of a pusher they had spent 2 months observing, the gardai began conspicuous surveillance of him and he took fright and escaped. In Tallaght 250 people marched on a pusher's house; he saw them and fled – gardai intervention saved him.

Added to this the community groups are also faced with threats and attacks from the pushers themselves. On 21 February Joe Flynn, who had been active in St Theresa's, was shot in the legs. Six days later Francis Storey of Hardwicke Flats was shot in the legs. The pushers have now set up a so-called 'concerned criminals' group (a parody of the anti-drugs organisation Concerned Parents). 40 of the 'concerned criminals' marched, wearing balaclavas, into St Theresa's Flats. They were escorted by gardai who stood and watched as they threatened local residents. The Free State press has also attempted to link the anti-drugs campaigners with the disappearance of Thomas Gaffney, thought to be an associate of 'concerned criminals'. Gardai harassment of the community groups has now been stepped up.

It is clear that any working class organisation against the social and economic problems faced in the 26 Counties is a threat to the pro-imperialist and anti-working class Free State regime.

Chas Millington

## McGLINCHEY EXTRADITED

Shortly after 6.30am on 17 March (St Patrick's Day), Dominic McGlinchey was captured after a shoot out with about 40 members of the (Her Majesty's) Garda Special Task Force, in Newmarket-on-Fergus, Co Clare. It is understood that Dominic surrendered only because he feared that the lives of some local children were in danger. Dominic and his three colleagues were then taken under massive armed 'escort' to Ennis Garda Station. While there his two children Declan (7) and Dominic (5) were initially refused permission to see him. With their custodian they later appeared on the main parade platform in Ennis and pleaded with the people of Clare to prevent Dominic being handed over to 'Margaret Thatcher's henchmen in the North like John the Baptist'. He was held in Ennis till about 5pm surrounded by dozens of armed Gardai, then taken to Dublin under a huge joint army and police convoy. By this time his clothes had been confiscated for 'forensic tests'.

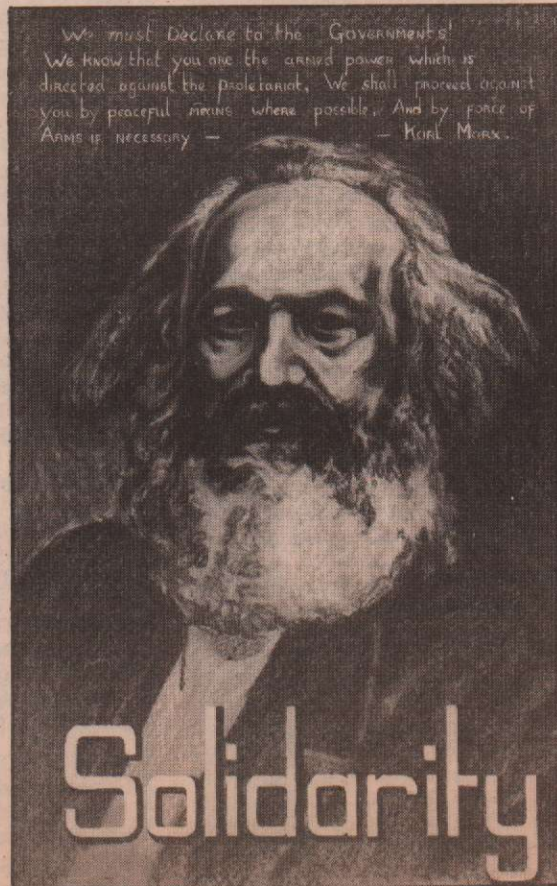
Late in the afternoon his barrister managed to get a High Court injunction (at a special sitting) to prevent his extradition to the murderous RUC. They say he is responsible for the death of a postmistress in 1977. (The Free State originally granted the extradition in December 1982, so Dominic, fearing 20 years in the H-Blocks, jumped bail and has been on the run till his recapture. In the intervening 15 months he was the subject of a vicious and disgusting media campaign which ignored the reasons for his politics).

The Free State's prosecutor appealed and within hours Chief Justice O'Hig-

gins overturned the High Court's ruling, so condemning Dominic to years in the H-Blocks. Dominic was then driven to the border again in another massive armed convoy, and shortly after midnight was handed over to the RUC before dozens of press men. He appeared in a Belfast court on Monday where the RUC refused to specify the 'evidence' against him. He is now on remand. His solicitor states that he cannot now get even a fair 'Diplock trial' due to the media's prejudices.

FitzGerald hopes that his latest act of collaboration will help his doomed New Ireland Forum (a constitutionalist talk-

## IRISH SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT NEWS



John McCluskey (Irish POW) drew this portrait of Karl Marx and presented it along with other paintings to the Irish Solidarity Movement. The ISM thanks John McCluskey and Graham Little for their solidarity and generosity.

The main energies of the ISM over the past month have gone into the campaign for the Right of Repatriation for Irish POWs. In addition local ISM bodies have supported other initiatives such as the IFM picket of Brixton prison where Tommy Quigley and Paul Kavanagh were held, Clydeside TOM's march in Glasgow and Ireland's War Support Group's picket of the Irish Embassy in protest at the extradition of Dominic McGlinchey.

In addition the ISM has continued to call for a united demonstration in May to commemorate the deaths of the hunger strikers in 1981. The ISM initiated this call in early February because it felt that the banning of the Bloody Sunday March in January was a setback which could best be overcome by a united show of strength in May. Every major organisation which campaigns in support of the Irish people was contacted by the ISM – including TOM, IFM, Sinn Fein, IRSP, Armagh Women's Coordinating Committee, Ireland's War Support Group, LCI. At the first meeting held, the ISM, Sinn Fein (as observers), IFM and Ireland's War Support Group attended. The ISM outlined its proposal for a united, democratically organised march in May and the organisations present agreed to consult their organisations further and meet again on 21 March. TOM refused to attend the meeting on the grounds that they were supporting a Sinn Fein march in May – yet the Sinn Fein comrades reported knowing nothing about a Sinn Fein march. The reconvened meeting was held and attended by ISM, IFM, and Hemel Hempstead Trade Union Committee on Ireland. TOM again refused to attend saying they were 'confused'. (In fact their steering committee had decided to support the march which they

referred to as 'organised by the ISM', a deliberate misunderstanding on their part since the ISM has made clear to them in letters and by phone that the call is for all organisations to organise the march.) At the meeting on 21 March it was agreed that before any progress could be made Sinn Fein's attitude would need to be known and a letter from the meeting was agreed asking SF for clarification. It was agreed that all organisations there would be supporting Sinn Fein's evening indoor rally on 5 May.

That is how matters now stand and a further meeting will be held on 3 April. Time is now very short and if a march is to be organised it now requires the speedy agreement of the major organisations.

The ISM has consistently initiated efforts to overcome the sectarianism which obstructs solidarity work in Britain. These efforts have not been reciprocated by other organisations. TOM has now, for example, taken the first steps towards expelling Bristol TOM on the grounds that it is affiliated to the ISM. Bristol TOM have issued a statement about this and hope to make a direct appeal to the TOM conference on 31 March.

### GET WELL MESSAGES

On learning of the attack on Gerry Adams and the other Sinn Fein comrades the ISM sent off solidarity greetings and get well messages to Sinn Fein and An Phoblacht/Republican News. Earlier the ISM had sent get well messages to former Sinn Fein President Ruairi O Bradaigh and his wife who were injured in a car crash. They responded with a St Patrick's Day greeting and are on the way to recovery.

## IRA Attacks

During March IRA Volunteers have mounted numerous attacks against British occupation forces.

A UDR soldier was killed by a booby-trap car bomb in Castlederg, Co Tyrone, on 2 March. On 3 March a booby-trap bomb killed a UDR soldier in Armagh city. A UDR soldier with a record of intelligence work was shot dead near Moira, North Armagh, on 8 March. A UDR soldier was shot dead near Pettigo, West Fermanagh, on 13 March and a UDR major was shot and seriously wounded in Belfast on 19 March. On 9 March Derry Brigade IRA fired over 60 rounds at two British army landrovers at a road junction, while on 10 March, 20 rounds were fired at the RUC and an anti-personnel mine was detonated against a British army landrover in the Waterside area of the city. On 27 March one British soldier was killed when a

## in brief

### ● Informers. Show Trial – Defendant Freed

One of 16 defendants in the Quigley show trial walked free from Belfast Crown Court after Judge Hutton threw out all charges against him. Although other charges have been rejected, the 15 remaining defendants still face a total of 81 charges. Despite Quigley's contradictions, mistakes and his admission of implicating an innocent man, Judge Hutton has refused to stop the trial and free the defendants.

In the case of informer Harry Kirkpatrick, at least three defendants have now done more than two years in gaol without trial. On 21 March, an application for bail was made by James Brown, Belfast chairman of the IRSP, who has been on remand for ten months now. Bail was refused despite him having no criminal record and never having jumped bail on previous occasions. Mr Justice McDermott pointed out to Brown that Northern Ireland's bail law was different from the rest of Britain! A fact that Irish nationalists know to their cost.

Pauline Sellars

### ● LBC phone polls

From Monday 26 March to Wednesday 28 March, the local London radio station LBC ran three phone polls on Ireland.

The first question was should 'Northern Ireland' remain part of the 'United Kingdom'? 84% said no. The second question was should 'Northern Ireland' become part of the 'Republic of Ireland'? 72% said yes. The third question was should 'Northern Ireland' become independent? 76% said no. The vast majority, therefore, opposed British presence in Ireland. Yet further evidence that British imperialism rules in Ireland only by force.

The results also show that the Labour and trade union leaders who have consistently supported British occupation of Ireland do not represent the views of anyone but themselves. Not surprisingly, this clear evidence that the British government has no significant support for its actions in Ireland, has received little or no coverage in the media.

Terry Marlowe

### ● Paul Kavanagh and Tommy Quigley

Paul Kavanagh, brought to London from Belfast and held under the Prevention of Terrorism Act has now been charged with 'conspiracy to cause explosions between 6 October 1983 and 25 January 1984'. Tommy Quigley, held since January, also faces conspiracy and murder charges. For Paul Kavanagh and Tommy Quigley's remand hearing the police stage their usual highly dramatic (and highly prejudicial) display of armed police and rooftop marksmen. It will be in this atmosphere of 'high security' and doubtless also media hysteria that the two will face the normal British show-trial.

ing shop that excludes all Republicans) and that the British will listen to his pathetic pleas.

The Irish Ambassador described the extradition on TV AM on Monday 19 March saying 'We always have been engaged in a stong and definite fight against terrorism'. He praised all those involved.

After the jailing of Gerry Tuite, the jailing of seven of the Crumlin Road escapees (June 1981), what's next for Republicans in the Free State? A return to the 1940's where military courts tried and executed men?

With friends like Fitzgerald, Thatcher can sleep well at night, knowing that he will do all her dirty work for her gladly. He will no doubt receive his thirty pieces of silver.

Cathal

# Round-up

## ● Nelson and Winnie Awarded Freedom of Aberdeen

On 20 February 1984, the District Council of the City of Aberdeen in North East Scotland voted massively to award the city's most prestigious honour, Freedom of the City, jointly to Nelson Mandela and Winnie Mandela.

This notable achievement, initiated by Aberdeen AA, was the result of several months of often furious debate and campaigning which culminated in a rout of the groups opposed to the award.

There will be an award ceremony when a major representative of the ANC or Anti-Apartheid will be invited to receive the honour on behalf of the Mandelas and will act as a focal point to further highlight the injustices in present-day South Africa, and lend yet more substance to campaigning in North East Scotland.

Representatives of all Anti-Apartheid groups are very welcome in Aberdeen when the award ceremony and combined rally take place. The actual date has not been finalised but will be published as soon as possible.

The contact addresses for Aberdeen Anti-Apartheid group are: Clive Nelson, 66 Ashgrove Road, Aberdeen, tel (0224) 42329

Krib Naidoo, Johnston Hall, University of Aberdeen  
Ross Ryrie, 43 Menzies Road, Aberdeen, tel (0224) 875664

## ● Defend the right to demonstrate

The harassment of Andy Higginbottom, a chief steward and joint secretary of City of London Anti-Apartheid Group, continues. When Andy appeared in court on Monday 5 March on a trumped up charge of assaulting the police (see FRFI 37), the police demanded political bail conditions: they wanted Andy forbidden to go within a mile of Trafalgar Square. This attempt to prevent Andy from joining his City AA comrades on weekly pickets of the apartheid embassy was defeated. However the police succeeded in getting an order to take his fingerprints.

A lively City AA picket was held at Bow Street Court during Andy's next court appearance on Monday 2 April. The date for his trial on the charge of assaulting the police was set for Thursday 3 May 2pm at Bow Street court. Andy has been denied legal aid both for this case and for the separate case of obstruction which will be heard on Monday 30 April, again at Bow Street.

Defend Andy Higginbottom. Rush

donations to City AA, BM City AA, London WC1N 3XX. Support the pickets: 30 April and 2 May at 1.30pm Bow St Court WC2 (nearest tube Covent Garden). Terry O'Halloran

## ● Isolate apartheid

On Monday 26 March Over fifty people attended FRFI's London public meeting 'End British Collaboration with Apartheid! Victory to the ANC! Victory to SWAPO!' The meeting, organised as part of FRFI's support for the AAM's month of action was addressed by Freedom Mkhawanazi of the ANC who stated that the ANC will intensify the armed struggle inside South Africa following the Mozambique/South Africa peace pact. Ndamans David of SWAPO Womens Council also spoke. In her speech she declared 'Britain has been involved in South Africa over the centuries and is the main investor in apartheid.... If Britain preferred human lives to profits... Namibia would be free today.' Ruby Khan speaking for FRFI pledged our continued support for the ANC and SWAPO.

The next Saturday our open air rally and display at Wood Green was so good that 305 people bought FRFI, and hundreds more signed our petition to demand Barclays Bank gets out of South Africa. Join the record breakers! Smash British collaboration with apartheid! Annie and Andy

## anti-imperialist weekend 14-15 APRIL 1984 LONDON

### Saturday RALLY

ANTI-IMPERIALIST RALLY Large Hall, Conway Hall WC1 7-10pm. Admission 50p waged: 30p unwaged

#### Speakers include

Lebanese National Movement  
Kathrine Kashani - SWAPO Women's Section  
Ngugi wa Thiong'o - Kenyan revolutionary and author Women for Palestine  
New Jewel Movement - Grenada  
Greenham Common Women  
Norma Kitson  
Michael Holden - ACTT shop steward  
Elisabeth Hill - mother of Irish POW  
Darcus Howe - Editor Race Today  
Asian Collective of East London  
Gareth Pierce - solicitor  
Irish Solidarity Movement  
Newham 8  
Organisation of Iranian Peoples Fedaii Guerrillas  
Stoke Newington and Hackney Defence Campaign many others invited



Ngugi wa Thiong'o



Darcus Howe

Elisabeth Hill

#### STREET ACTIVITIES

Commemorate the Easter Rising. Street meeting and street theatre. 11am-4pm  
Free speech area, Wood Green Library N22  
Picket the South African Embassy  
Trafalgar Square 11am-4pm

Sunday  
FRFI DAYSCHOOL  
Caxton House 129 St John's Way N19  
£2.50 waged £1.50 unwaged  
workshops/films/discussion

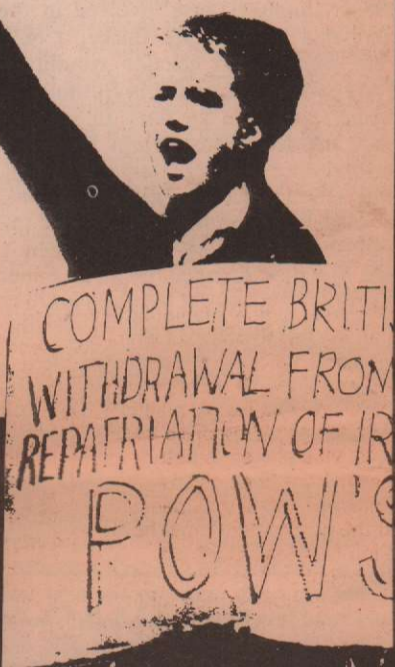
Further information from FRFI  
BCM Box 5909 London WC1N 3XX

### SPECIAL ADVANCE TICKETS

Pay in advance for the rally on Saturday 14 April and the Dayschool on Sunday 15 April

Price: £2.00 waged, £1.00 unwaged

Tickets available from FRFI sellers or direct from FRFI BCM Box 5909 London WC1N 3XX



## Larkin publications

The revolutionary road to communism in Britain  
Manifesto of the Revolutionary Communist Group  
Now published. Price £1.50 (+30p p&p) 175 pages



### Ireland: the key to the British revolution

by David Reed  
Publication date 19 April. Price £3.95 (+50p p&p) 450 pages

### FRFI subscribers: DON'T FORGET TO ORDER YOUR COPIES NOW

Special pre-publication price both books for £5 post free

ALSO: take out a 12 issue subscription to FRFI now

and get both books and FRFI for only £9. BOTH OFFERS END 19 APRIL

### £15 SPECIAL DEAL

Receive all our publications (including the books), FRFI, pamphlets, national leaflets, for £15 for one year. We hope that those of you who can, will give even more so that a donation can go to our funds. Orders etc. to Larkin Publications, BCM Box 5909 London WC1N 3XX

### STILL £2364 to go

Last month you let us down. Only £193.90 came in and this included a single donation of £100. Comrades, friends and supporters, we are in trouble. With one month to go we must achieve our target of £4000. That means £2364 has to come in this coming month. Many of you will have already sent in some money. Some of you still have to do so. Please dig deep into your pockets and send us whatever you can, big or small - every donation counts

The books we have published have a unique and vital political message to put over. Only with your help can we find the funds to get this message to every part of the country and to everyone who needs to read them.

Marx once said that the ruling ideas in every age are the ideas of the ruling class. We have to break this monopoly. You can help us to start this process by selling and distributing the books, and, most vital of all at this point in time, sending us money. Please don't wait **SEND MONEY NOW!**



### How you can help with distribution:

Can you help get the books into bookshops and libraries in your area? There are many ways you can help. We can send you publicity material with order forms to take into bookshops. You can go to your local library and order the books, especially the book on Ireland, and then give them the information on how and where to obtain it. You will be helping us by simply sending a list of bookshops in your area (including college bookshops etc). If you know of a socialist society, Troops Out society etc in your area they can buy multiple copies of the books at discount.

If you can do any or all of these things or if you have any suggestions on how else we could make sure the books are widely distributed please contact us immediately. We look forward to hearing from you.

Write to us at Larkin Publications BCM Box 5909 London WC1N 3XX

## EVENTS

LEEDS  
Street Meeting Hands Off Ireland! Saturday 7 April Grandways, Roundhay Road, Leeds 8, 11-1pm. Called by Leeds ISC

BRADFORD  
Public Meeting Unite to Fight Racism! and Fight Imperialism! Monday 9 April Room 3, Bradford Central Library, 7.30pm. Called by Bradford RCG

EDINBURGH  
Public Meeting The Revolutionary Road to Communism in Britain Tuesday 10 April, 7.30pm Crosswind Community Centre, Tollcross. Called by Edinburgh FRFI

DUNDEE  
Public Meeting The Revolutionary Road to Communism in Britain Wednesday 25 April, 7.30pm Trades Council Club, Rattray Street, Dundee. Called by Dundee FRFI

LEEDS  
Picket of the BBC End Censorship on Ireland! Thursday 3 May Woodhouse Lane 12-2pm. Called by Leeds ISC

Transport to Anti-Imperialist Weekend in London 14-15 April  
All prices include weekend's events, accommodation and travel

BRADFORD  
Coach leaves 7.30am Saturday 14 April from Bradford Interchange, City Centre. Tickets £10 waged, £5 unwaged

MANCHESTER  
Coach leaves 8am Saturday 14 April from Cavendish St, All Saints. Tickets costs £5 unwaged, £10 waged

EDINBURGH  
Coach leaves 10pm Friday 13 April, Waverly Bridge. Cost £5 unwaged, £7 students, £10 waged

LEEDS  
Coach leaves Infirmary Street, 8am Saturday 14 April. Tickets cost £10 waged, £5.00 unwaged

### IRISH SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT

The Irish Solidarity Movement has affiliated bodies in Dundee, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Bradford, Southampton, Bristol, North, South and East London. The ISM can be contacted by writing to ISM, BM Box 1320, London WC1N 3XX

### GREETINGS TO IRISH POWs

The following Irish Republican prisoners have forthcoming birthdays. FRFI sends our greetings and asks our readers to send birthday cards, preferably recorded delivery to ensure their arrival. Eddie Butler, 338637, 17 April, HM Prison, Welford Road, Leicester  
Patrick Hackett, 342603, 28 April, HM Prison, Parkhurst, Newport, Isle of Wight  
Eddie Byrne, 873453, 2 May, HM Prison, Parkhurst

### SPONSOR OUR MARATHON RUNNERS AND HELP FRFI

Despite the hard work to publish and distribute our Manifesto and our book 'Ireland: the key to the British revolution', our two marathon runners - David and Alan - have been training hard for this year's 13 May LONDON MARATHON. Their aim is to complete the 26 mile run in under three hours. They have both improved their times over the past two years and intend to do even better this year. However they need your encouragement: sponsor them or send in a donation to FRFI!

Runner 1, David, did the course in 2 hours 47 minutes and 52 seconds last year beating his own 1982 time of 2 hours 48 minutes and 30 seconds. Now with 41 summers behind him, a lot of determination and sponsorship from you he could do even better.

Runner 2, Alan, only 29 ran the course last year in 2 hours 55 minutes and 30 seconds also beating his own 1982 record. Despite his relative inexperience he is determined to at least tie with David this year. But to do so he needs your sponsorship.

Sponsor one or both runners and get your friends to do the same.

Send for a sponsorship form to: FRFI, BCM Box 5909, London WC1N 3XX

# 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.

## Were you arrested at Greenham?

Dear FRFI,  
Please help us. Since Greenham Women's Peace Camp began in 1981, numerous women from all over the world have been arrested on actions at Greenham, or in Greenham-inspired actions or demonstrations in their own areas. Women have been supported by each other, by friends, local community groups and the camp, but there has been little publicity and no compilation of an overall pattern of what has been happening to us - including an absence of statistics for women in prison at different times.

There is now a desperate need for all of us involved with Greenham to have such an overall picture in order, firstly, to apply political pressure and to stand up to the police and courts; and, secondly, through doing this and in sharing our experiences practically as well as emotionally, we will all be strengthened and more able in future to prepare to make the legal consequences of acting for Peace an integral part of the action, and not a deterrent or difficulty.

As a result of our recognising even over the course of the few months since October obvious trends in the Magistrates' dealing with women in court, and cases of obvious political manipulation within the law to obstruct women from electing Crown Court trials by jury on criminal damage charges, questions in Parliament have been asked by Chris Smith, MP, to which no satisfactory answers have been given - despite our lawyers' evidence that the government must have the information requested.

If the police and courts know that they are being monitored their power to behave as they do with Greenham women will be curtailed. Recognising the context in which we are struggling will help us all, and the more effective will the Greenham campaign be - especially as we face a future of intensified opposition.

The London Greenham Office will be helping to co-ordinate this project, and two of us - both of whom have been involved with several actions and who work voluntarily one day a week in the office - are appealing to women to write to us with the following information:

### Please help by letting us know:

- when were you arrested? where? what were you doing?
- what, if any, charges were brought against you?
- did you plead Guilty or Not Guilty?
- were you represented in court by a lawyer? if so, whom?
- did you represent yourself?
- did you apply for legal aid? if so, did you receive it?
- were you found guilty or not guilty?
- if found guilty, what was your sentence?
- how did you cope with this: ie, did you pay a fine; agree to be bound over; serve a term of imprisonment; or what else? (please give dates and place, if imprisoned.)
- is there anything else which you think might be relevant or significant: eg, are you relatively young/old; are you disabled; did you give details of your income which might affect your fine; have you any previous convictions; are you not a British national and what problems did this cause?

As well as providing publicity, we are providing to produce a 'pack' to help women face arrest and court and possible imprisonment or repercussions, based on the feedback coming in and in conjunction with lawyers.

Please help us by contacting the London office if you can give information or if you would like any, marking your envelope Jane or Dympna, c/o London Greenham Office, 144, Caledonian Road, London N1  
Telephones: 01-833 2831/2

## Students fight university union

Dear FRFI,  
The reactionary Glasgow student union has proven once again that its disgusting reputation is more than justified. The union only accepted women as members in 1980, when they were forced to do so by numerous pressures. There are still 'no go' areas in the union, ie 'the beer bar', where women suffer abuse, and harassment if they deign to enter where the god of masculinity presides.

The Glasgow union board members, in keeping with their chauvinistic and narrow-minded tradition, banned homosexuals from becoming members, an

action which caused the Glasgow university union members to be banned from every other student union in the country, as the disgust at this reactionary ban was widespread.

Pickets have recently been held outside the union against the pornographic film shows which take place every week. These pickets were supported by all progressive groups working within the university. The film shows are of a very explicit nature, and are found offensive by both male and female students alike.

One of the pickets that was held at the union was violently broken up by some of the more extreme right-wing thugs of the union. Some of the picketers suffered cuts and bruises as a result of this assault, and bleach was poured from buckets onto the picketers from the balconies. A picket was held the following week protesting against the union thugs and their films. This picket was supported by over 200 students and because of the force of the picket, the members of the GUU had to content themselves with verbal instead of physical abuse of the picketers. The overwhelming arrogance of these students is typical of that section of the population who believe that they are superior because they are puppets of bourgeois education. Glasgow university is breeding students with the kind of values capitalism needs, who will be the perfect upholders of the racist imperialist state. But there were 200 students on the picket who recognised and are opposed to the reactionary elements which breed like parasites in bourgeois institutions like universities, and are willing to fight to see them smashed.

Kim C  
Glasgow

## Reply to A M Hussain

Dear FRFI,  
I would like to reply to AM HUSSAIN's letter in FRFI 37 on the Halal meat ban - racist.

Animal Rights Campaigners are attacking the fascists for jumping on the band wagon on Halal meat; the reason I think it is happening is because of the growing popularity of the Animal Rights Campaign. Many ARCs are Anti-Racist (myself included) and respect the Muslim Religion and Culture when an animal is pre-stunned and not slaughtered by captive bolt it does not feel any pain and that coincides with the Muslim Religion as I understand it. So as I understand it Muslim children will be able to eat school meals and still coincide with Muslim beliefs.

Animal Rights Campaigners are not going round condemning or dictating but suggesting with Muslim beliefs in mind as with pre-stunning; the throat is still slit and the animal bleeds to death. The Vegetarian Society, Vegans and Animals Activists are also active in campaigning for Kosher meat to be pre-stunned for roughly 2 years now but this campaign has not been taken in the same way as the Halal meat campaign.

Kathryn Reynolds who has been on a number of anti-racist events, including the BNP picket on 5 January, which was also attended by Animal Activists, Leeds Animal Rights Group (LARG) and Bradford Animal Rights Group. The BNP meeting was on apartheid in Bradford schools (see issue 36). Kathryn's protest was not only to bring her views on Halal but also Kosher meat because Kathryn, who is a vegetarian, is against all forms of

## NELSON MANDELA

Has anyone the right  
To kill twenty-one years of an  
innocent man's life?  
Nelson, Nelson.  
You aren't forgotten.  
Twenty-one years that could have been spent  
Leading the blacks

of his oppressed country.

Nelson. Nelson Mandela.  
Your sacrifice isn't forgotten.  
Winnie your wife. Our symbol of hope  
They'll never destroy her.  
She's loyal. Determined. Strong.

The day will come  
When black heads  
Break down your cell door  
And lead you out, saying  
'Thank Nelson! We are free!'  
On that day, black souls will weep.  
One union. A common joy.  
The defeat of Afrikaaner oppressors.  
Nelson. Nelson.  
Your dream is not forgotten.  
The struggle will go on  
Until that day. THE day.  
Did they tell you of Zimbabwe?  
Of ANC victories? Their slow  
And painful death?  
Never forget or doubt  
The burning desire deep

in black hearts

To see YOU and our brothers FREE.  
The day. The hour. The second  
Will soon come.  
Martin Luther King said,  
'I have a dream'  
Nelson, WE have a dream  
You have a dream.  
It is one and the same  
Nelson. Nelson Mandela  
You are not forgotten.

Adena 83

## Solidarity

Dear FRFI,  
I enjoyed your article 'Prisoners under attack' (Terry O'Halloran). I myself was in F wing Wakefield and can endorse everything that has been said about it.

I wish you all the best in your week of action. I can't put into words the feeling of support you are getting for them. Well, as the song says, 'We're on the one road'. Always remember the words James Connolly spoke, 'Beware, beware of the rising people, beware of the things that are to come.'

Did you hear the news about Dave Martin who died last night in Parkhurst. I know this man very well, forgetting his personal side of life, and the slanders the press had for him, I consider him a typical victim of a system that went out for its pound of flesh and got it. His father was right when he said they hounded him to death. I would think it would be a good thing if you the group could send a few flowers on behalf of the group and the prisoners. He was a good friend of the struggle and I feel his loss greatly.

By the way as I am writing this letter the news has just come on the radio that Gerry Adams has been shot, but thank God he's just wounded. As I write this there are tears in my eyes thinking about Gerry Adams.

Solidarity and greetings  
I am with you  
Yours

Steve Lannigan  
HM Prison Albany

meat including pre-stunned but she sees it that if people must eat meat she would prefer it to be a painless death.

I feel that I am an anti-racist but I don't feel that I can support you in your pickets of council as I personally feel that if animals must die then let them die painlessly.  
Human Freedom Animal Rights!  
One Struggle One Fight!  
Keith Johnstone  
Leeds

violence. Not ones to shun a confrontation the Animal Liberationists stood their ground. One youth suffered a vicious attack from a courser while police looked on. The youth was beaten so savagely about the head with the coursers stick that he now has a fractured skull and will suffer permanent brain damage and possible paralysis.

Over the three day period 22 arrests were made for breach of the peace or criminal damage.

Massive police assaults on Animal Rights campaigners have gone unpunished. Hare coursing is a vicious sport practised mainly by the ruling class and their poor relations the farmers. It involves 'beating' (chasing) hares into an arena where greyhounds turn and harass the frightened creature (coursing) before tearing it limb from limb while adjudicators give points to the competitors.

Jim Burns NALL and MISC  
Neil MISC

## Police brutality and ruling class sports

Dear FRFI,  
300 supporters of the National Animal Liberation League faced 1,500 police at the Great Haltcar Hare Coursing Tournament which took place from February 20th-22nd.

The first day was marked by police incompetence when, mistaking them for Animal Liberation activists they attacked their own beaters! Repairing to the local pub because of rain the coursers fell out among themselves. An argument developed about coursing and during the resulting melee one courser sustained a fractured skull and later died in hospital.

Tuesday's better weather gave the animal saboteurs their long awaited snuff of the action. As the day's sport began they mounted a 'counter beat' and managed to beat the field clear of hares. Police in vizors backed up by baton wielding mounted police charged the saboteurs dispersing some with blows and arresting others. On Wednesday, the final day, the sabs crossed the river at Haltcar, early, in an attempt to scuttle the day's 'sport'. Police followed behind. As the saboteurs approached the coursing area coursers and their thugs came at them threatening

# FUND DRIVE

## MARCH: £218.61

FRFI can only sell at 20 pence if it is subsidised. We now need YOUR help and need it badly: since January we have raised £868.94. That might seem a lot, but in fact it means we have fallen short of our monthly targets by more than one-third. If we don't get the money we need, it may be necessary to put the price of FRFI up, snatching it out of the hands of our poorest readers. Whether we are forced to do this depends on what YOU do to get us the money we need. Send us money. No amount is too small - or too large! Collect money from your friends and send that. Organise to raise money for the paper - jumble sale, a social evening, a sponsored run or swim. Do whatever you can to help us - but above all do it!

Last month's contributions were £3.10 from individual readers and supporters raised in Manchester £48.30, North London £46.47, Edinburgh £42.10, South London £39.50, Bradford £25.19, Leeds £10.94, Dundee £1.61, Liverpool £1.40. We must have more than this by next month.

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 \_\_\_\_\_

## SUBSCRIBE! FRFI NEEDS YOUR SUPPORT TO GROW - TAKE OUT A SUBSCRIPTION

### SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

- Britain, Ireland £2.50 for 6 issues, £4 for 12 issues
- Overseas - surface PPR £3.50 for 6 issues, £5.50 for 12 issues
- Overseas - airmail PPR £6 for 6 issues, £11 for 12 issues

■ Single issue: 20p + 17p p&p ■ Back issues: available at 20p + 17p p&p ■ FRFI bulk orders: 10 or more copies post free  
Make cheques/POs payable to Larkin Publications. Add £0.60 for foreign currency cheques. All overseas rates given are for printed paper reduced rate and are unsealed. If you wish your mail to be sealed please let us know and we will adjust accordingly

RETURN FORM TO FRFI, BCM BOX 5909 LONDON WC1N 3XX

I wish to subscribe to FRFI beginning with issue \_\_\_\_\_

I wish to order \_\_\_\_\_ copies of FRFI issue no. \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

I enclose payment of \_\_\_\_\_ for \_\_\_\_\_ issues/copies at \_\_\_\_\_ rate.

## 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

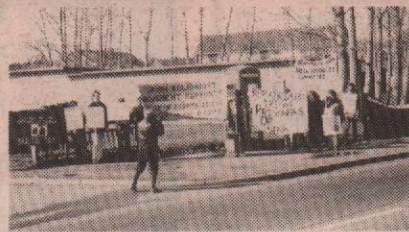
Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Send this form to Larkin Publications  
BCM Box 5909 London WC21N 3XX

# HANDS OFF IRELAND

The Irish Solidarity Movement's 12-18 March week of action for the Right of Repatriation for Irish POWs marked a good beginning for the campaign. It is 4 1/4 years since this demand – raised by Irish POWs since 1973 – was nationally campaigned for on the streets of Britain. Eight prisons were picketed – Wakefield, Durham, Gartree, Wormwood Scrubs, Strangeways, Bristol and Albany/Parkhurst on the Isle of Wight; three local marches were held – in Manchester, Dundee, London; five public meetings were held – in London, Edinburgh, Leeds, Manchester and Hemel Hempstead; numerous street events were held such as Edinburgh ISC's 60 strong rally on the Mound, Leeds ISC's picket of the BBC, London ISCs' picket of the Home Office Prison Department. All in all the local ISM bodies along with some other organisations proved that the issue of Irish POWs can be successfully raised and win support in this country. Thousands of people received leaflets, heard speeches and in the South of England saw Southampton ISC's pickets of gaols on the Isle of Wight on TV.



**SOUTHAMPTON**  
16 people took part in Southampton ISC's picket of Albany and Parkhurst gaols on the Isle of Wight. Southampton ISC was joined for the pickets by Bristol TOM, South London ISC, a supporter from Portsmouth and a member of Southampton LCI. Several prison warders with dogs followed the picket as it moved from gate to gate. It was covered by TVS and BBC South and on the front page of the *Southern Evening Echo*.



**Carole Richardson**  
INDEFINITE DETENTION

**BRISTOL**  
Bristol TOM held a 15 strong picket of Bristol punishment/transit gaol. Many signatures were collected on the Right of Repatriation petition and the event was a good success.



**DUNDEE**  
Edinburgh ISC joined with Dundee for a small but noisy march through Dundee. Edinburgh ISC had, the previous Saturday held a very successful 60-strong open air rally in the centre of Edinburgh. The rally was supported by the local Latin American Solidarity Campaign, Women for Peace, supporters of the Leninist magazine in the Young Communist League, International Solidarity Front – Iran, Stop Police Strip Searches campaign and FRFI.



**MANCHESTER**  
Despite frequent attacks on people making their way to the assembly point and the theft of the Manchester area NUS banner by fascist elements, the Manchester Irish Solidarity Committee's march of about 70 people moved off in close order. The banners of Women and Ireland, Manchester, Leeds, Liverpool and Bradford Irish Solidarity Committees, Revolutionary Communist Party (Britain) Marxist-Leninist, and Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! followed the lead banner demanding the Right of Repatriation for Irish Prisoners of War. The march, the first MISC march to go through the centre of Manchester, culminated in a rally at Strangeways prison which was addressed by Ben Hill, brother of Irish POW Paul Hill.

## Victory to Irish prisoners of war WEEK OF ACTION

'You will be pleased to know that your hard work is achieving results inside, such that where previously the POWs could safely be blamed for all 'subversion' in the prisons this is no longer the case. The 'natives' are now well and truly wised up and achieving reform in their own right, which is very encouraging to us all.... Through these prisoners we POWs feel a much stronger link than in the past with the underprivileged and oppressed on the outside of the wall.' Vince Donnelly Irish POW.

'Derry Sinn Fein welcomes the support of all British socialists who are campaigning for the repatriation of Irish political prisoners currently in British gaols. We send solidarity greetings to you at this rally (and public meeting) and hope that you will continue to work with all people committed to supporting the demands of the Irish people – a 32 county socialist democratic Republic'. Message of support to EISC from Derry Sinn Fein

'Apart from making nonsense of the British criminalisation tactics, the special treatment meted out to Irish prisoners is a crime itself.... For the sake of the Irish POWs who are denied the right to be amongst their own people, I hope the Week of Action helps draw closer the day when that right is unconditionally accorded to those who have fought for Ireland's freedom'. Peter Wardlaw (Scottish political prisoner)

It was one of the hopes of the ISM that the week of action would draw in other organisations so that the campaign for the right of repatriation could grow in strength and effectiveness. This aim met with mixed success. Non-ISM organisations such as the East Midlands Prison Picket Mobilising Committee participated by calling a picket of Gartree prison. This was attended by Nottingham ISG, Leicester TOM, IFM, London ISC and Sinn Fein. Likewise the picket of Durham gaol was partly organised by a non-ISM body Tyneside Action Committee on Ireland. In London, Red Action, Ireland's War Support Group and the IFM attended the local march as well as London ISCs and Stoke Newington and Hackney Defence Campaign and the RCG, RCL. Janice Turner of the Young Liberals spoke at the London ISC public meeting and Breakout Collective consistently supported London events. In Manchester the NUS supported the march. Overall, however, the main national organisations active on Ireland did not throw their weight behind the events. Only the ISM and FRFI were totally committed in their work and support. The Irish Freedom Movement lent very token support to two marches, sending two people to each of the marches in London and Manchester. TOM was completely absent from events with the exception of Bristol and Leicester. This virtual boycott meant that the marches for example did not reach the size hoped for. Various organisations appear to have made



**LONDON**  
The London ISC march was extremely colourful as a placard bearing the name of each Irish POW was carried on the march. As well as contingents from the London ISCs, FRFI, Stoke Newington and Hackney Defence Campaign, Ireland's War Support Group and Red Action, comrades attended from the RCL and IFM. The degree of local support was shown by a local pub turning out to clap and cheer and by the fact that FRFI supporters sold 175 papers along the route. The march was followed by a 70 strong social and the next day by a picket of Wormwood Scrubs.

their sectarian choice. FRFI rejects that sectarianism. The Irish prisoners have shown through courage and determination that it is possible to forge unity even behind prison walls. Theirs is the example we follow. The Week of Action was a small dent in the wall of lies, brutality and censorship which the British state has thrown up around the Irish POWs. We will keep hammering away!

## Assassination attempt

On Wednesday 14 March Gerry Adams and three other Sinn Fein members were shot and wounded in an assassination attempt. The attack happened when Gerry Adams and four other Republicans were driving away from Belfast Magistrates Court where they had been facing obstruction charges. A car drove alongside theirs and the assassination gang opened fire. The attack was claimed by the Ulster Freedom Fighters – a name used by the legal loyalist organisation, the Ulster Defence Association.

There are strong indications that the British state's forces were in some way involved with this murder attempt. The men who carried out the attack were chased and arrested by what was variously described by the RUC as, 'an off-duty UDR man', 'two off-duty British soldiers' and an 'off-duty RUC man'. The RUC claimed it was 'just a coincidence' that so many off-duty soldiers and police were in the immediate area of the attack. Moreover the RUC significantly changed their version of events. One of the three police/army cars in the area was seen by eyewitnesses to drive the wrong way down a one-way street to

block the get-away car. This raised the obvious question of how they knew which escape route the attackers would use. By Thursday the RUC had changed their story and were saying that only two cars were in the vicinity of the attack and that none had driven down a one-way street.

As Gerry Adams later said:  
'It was quite obvious that British intelligence were aware of an operation like that. The follow-up, the arrest of the people involved, the availability of plainclothes people, the contradiction in the first RUC

story as opposed to the second RUC story, all indicate... that they wanted myself and my colleagues out of the way and as I have said previously, the added kudos of arresting those involved.'

The RUC had in any event, made the loyalist attack much easier. First by charging Gerry Adams and the other Sinn Fein members and forcing them to court. Secondly by refusing permission for Gerry Adams to carry a firearm with which to protect himself. Not only the British state but also the media bear responsibility for this attack. John Ware's World in Action programme, for instance, aimed in his words to 'stitch up' Gerry Adams. Such reports foster the anti-Republican hysteria which has led to this and other attacks.

FRFI sends its best wishes to Gerry Adams and the other comrades injured in this murderous attack. We are confident that the Irish people will not be deterred by British terror.  
Maxine Williams



Irish POW John McCluskey and English prisoners Graham Little have presented the Irish Solidarity Movement with a set of magnificent paintings and drawings. Left is Graham Little's portrait of Bobby Sands (see also p 13). The ISM is planning to arrange an exhibition of these and other articles made by prisoners.