

# FIGHT RACISM! FIGHT IMPERIALISM!

Anti-imperialist paper of the Revolutionary Communist Group

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## THATCHER & SON...

Hard on the heels of the Cecil Parkinson affair, further tremors of scandal are being felt in the Tory Party. The reek of corruption is beginning to emanate from that most strident advocate of moral values, Thatcher herself. It seems that her son Mark was in Oman during Mrs Thatcher's state visit there in October 1981, to secure a £300m contract on behalf of Cementation International Ltd to design and build a university. For this he is said to have received a fee of up to £300,000 - what a person on an average wage would take 50 years to earn! Mrs Thatcher claims to have been merely 'batting for Britain' (as she nauseatingly puts it) in Oman, because Cementation Ltd was the only firm involved. But it wasn't. *The Observer* (26/2/84) states that three other firms are known to have been interested in the project but it was never put out to tender. Thatcher has refused to answer any questions, asserting that her family have an absolute right to privacy in their business dealings. The parasites Mark and Denis Thatcher, who according to the *Sunday Times* (4/3/84) share a business bank account, can conduct their shady deals in private while millions of people on social security have to endure interrogation and being spied on for the sake of a few pounds a week!

## ... & FRIENDS

And that's not all. The closure of the Scott Lithgow shipyard on the Lower Clyde was recently announced, due to the cancellation of a rig for Britoil. The speed at which a company named Trafalgar House has pushed forward to take over the yard from British Shipbuilders - but with a loss of 2,250 jobs - has amazed workers, unions and MPs and has left the two other major companies interested in the yard way behind. Mrs Thatcher has supported in Parliament the takeover and privatisation of the yard by Trafalgar House. And yet it just so happens that Trafalgar House is the parent company of Cementation Ltd, that Nigel Brookes, its chairman, is a close friend and protégé of Mrs Thatcher and a frequent visitor to No 10 Downing Street, and that his company gave £50,000 to Tory Party funds last year. The cancellation of yet another rig, this time by BP, has raised a few uncertainties, but Trafalgar House have stated their determination to proceed. Could it be connected with the announcement on Tuesday that the government would cover privatisation of the yard with £125m? This has shocked workers and managers at the yard. After all, they had only asked for £20m to underwrite the delays on the Britoil rig and to keep them as part of British Shipbuilders. Thatcher herself has in Parliament 'deplored' the unions for not being grateful for the chance of retaining 'between 1,000 and 2,000' out of 4,000 jobs. After all, 2,250 jobs lost is nothing to Thatcher & Friends compared with the chance of a tidy bit of asset stripping - with £125m thrown in.

continued on page 5

**NEW BOOKS  
NEW BOOKS  
NEW BOOKS**  
see page 2

**Anti-imperialist  
weekend  
April 14-15**  
see page 14

# booted out...



## LEBANON imperialist strategy in tatters

**SPECIAL  
FEATURE**  
centre pages

## Women prisoners on hunger strike

Five women in the maximum security 'H' wing at Durham prison have just ended their hunger strike started by Lorraine Greenwood on 2 February. Four others, including Judith Ward, joined the protest later. The strike ended on a Home Office promise of improvements in conditions, particularly the food.

Lorraine Greenwood, aged 22, has been imprisoned for the last five years and her requests for transfer have repeatedly been ignored by the Prison Department. Judith Ward on a life sentence (over 30 years) has spent ten years on the wing, the longest of all prisoners.

'H' wing is notorious for its repressive regime (see FRFI 36). It is a prison within a prison that was first opened in 1961 as a special security unit and punishment block for men. In 1965 security was increased and repeated protests took place against the oppressive conditions. Hunger strikes, escape attempts and barricades drew attention to the poor exercise and visiting facilities, overcrowding, limited association and intolerable working conditions (men had sewn mail bags for months on end). Two government reports criticised the claustrophobic atmosphere of the wing and it was finally closed in 1971.

Three years later, Roy Jenkins, Home Secretary of the Labour government, reopened the wing as a maximum security unit for women. £100,000 was

spent on tightening security still further: more barbed wire, flood-lighting and crash barriers added to the closed circuit TV cameras, windows with three sets of bars, electronically operated doors and guard dogs.

Women are kept under constant surveillance and can never leave the wing. The gym, library, kitchen, hospital and leisure areas of the main prison are closed to them. Their small exercise yard just off the wing is an expanse of concrete overhung with barbed wire with no sight of grass or trees. All the women suffer regular cell and body searches and association is strictly limited (only three prisoners in a cell at a time with the door open). They are locked in their cells from 8pm to 8am and the day is spent making overalls. Educational facilities are practically non-existent. Visits are held under restrictive conditions. There is room for only three visits at a time, and visitors are screened by TV cameras before entering the wing. Two prison officers are

continued on page 12

The US Marines, British and Italian troops have been forced out of Beirut. The oppressed masses have led the way in delivering a tremendous blow to imperialist strategy in Lebanon. They now threaten to shake to its foundations the sectarian Lebanese state whose US-trained and supplied army crumbles and retreats from strategic positions. Combined with the mass popular resistance and armed struggle in Israeli-occupied south Lebanon, these developments herald a powerful resurgence of the revolutionary forces in Lebanon after the 1982 Israeli invasion.

On 2 February, in an attempt to take control of Muslim West Beirut, the Lebanese Army subjected it to 3 days bombardment killing 400, wounding thousands and destroying schools, hospitals and orphanages. In response the popular and progressive forces led the way to a popular insurrection. Nabih Berri, leader of Amal the main militia in West Beirut, was compelled to break all relations with Gemayel, 'the little Shah' and called upon Muslim units in the Lebanese Army to desert. Overnight, Gemayel's army which had consumed \$1 bn disintegrated as 9,000 Muslim soldiers handed in their weapons to Amal

and other revolutionary organisations. Sensing their strength, the oppressed masses surged forward and in bitter clashes drove the remnants of the Lebanese Army out of West Beirut. The progressive forces were in full control. Alarm bells rang in Washington: the model force that was to be the lynchpin of US strategy to wipe out revolutionary forces in Lebanon was being smashed. The advancing masses and their militias threatened to annihilate the US Marines. Reagan ordered them to withdraw offshore. Thus began the humiliation of the 'multi-national peace keeping force'. One after another the British, Italian and US troops withdrew from Lebanese soil.

The relentless bombardment from the US fleet off Beirut, combined with repeated Israeli air raids failed to stem the advance by the progressive militias. In rapid succession they threw the Lebanese Army out of strategic positions in the Shouf mountains. Carrying the momentum forward to the coast they took Damour, Khalde and a string of other villages thus securing a link between West Beirut and the Shouf. 12,000 Lebanese Army soldiers, defeated and demoralised, fled for safety into Zionist occupied Lebanon. The anti-imperialist forces were poised to settle accounts with Gemayel and the Phalangist state.

continued on page 8

## SWAPO FOUNDER RELEASED FROM PRISON

The South African government has released Herman Toivo Ya Toivo, a founder member of SWAPO from Windhoek prison after 16 years. Toivo Ya Toivo was given a rapturous welcome in Katura where he pledged his continued determination to fight for Namibian freedom. Hopes by the apartheid regime that Toivo Ya Toivo would act as a force to divide SWAPO were dashed as he pledged his continued support for SWAPO. FRFI sends its congratulations and solidarity to Herman Toivo Ya Toivo and pledges its continued support for SWAPO struggling for Namibian independence.



**ALBERTINA  
SISULU  
GAOLED**

Albertina Sisulu, President of the Transvaal United Democratic Front (UDF) and wife of imprisoned ANC leader Walter

Sisulu, has been gaoled for 2 years after 8 months in detention on charges of furthering the aims of the ANC. Together with Thami Mali, who got 5 years, Albertina was accused of singing ANC songs and distributing banned literature at the 1982 funeral of Rose Mbele a member of the Federation of South African Women. The 2 year sentence against Albertina who is 66 is a severe escalation of the South African government's attack on the UDF - a mass movement many of whose leaders and organisers face constant persecution. We urge all readers to send letters of protest against these sentences to the South African Embassy, Trafalgar Square, London.

## INSIDE

Manifesto of the RCG	2
South Africa: Stop the deportations	3
School strike against racism	4
If you want peace fight imperialism	5
Notes & Comments, Police File	6
Iran-Iraq war; Japan	7
Lebanon: imperialist strategy in tatters	8&9
Reviews	10
Western Sahara, Euzkadi, Kenya	11
Prisoners under attack	12
Ireland: show trials, ISW news	13
Solidarity with Irish POWs	16

Imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism. This manifesto stands in the tradition of Lenin who said that the briefest possible definition of imperialism is that it is 'the monopoly stage of capitalism'. Lenin quoted numerous statistics to show the enormous concentration of capital in the hands of a wealthy few and the significance of the export of capital. Imperialism as a world system has expanded massively: no part of the world is free from the influence of its exploitation and its barbarism. The imperialist banks have accumulated vast amounts of capital. So wealthy are the bankers that they control the fate of whole nations and industries. As is shown in the early part of the manifesto, many countries are unable to pay their debts. International syndicates representing the richest imperialist nations such as the IMF (International Monetary Fund) sit in judgement over the fate of millions of starving people. Just one criminal decision by international bankers to raise the rate of interest for an oppressed nation can mean death for hundreds of thousands. From their luxurious hotels in New York, London and Tokyo they attempt to choose whole governments for these oppressed nations and leaders who will guarantee their fat profits. Lenin argued that imperialism is not a policy of the capitalists but an historical stage in the development of capitalism. Its destruction or survival is the life and death issue for the oppressed masses of the world. Thus Lenin described imperialism as the 'eve of the social revolution of the proletariat' and thus it is the central issue for communists today. For that reason the paper of the RCG is called 'Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!'

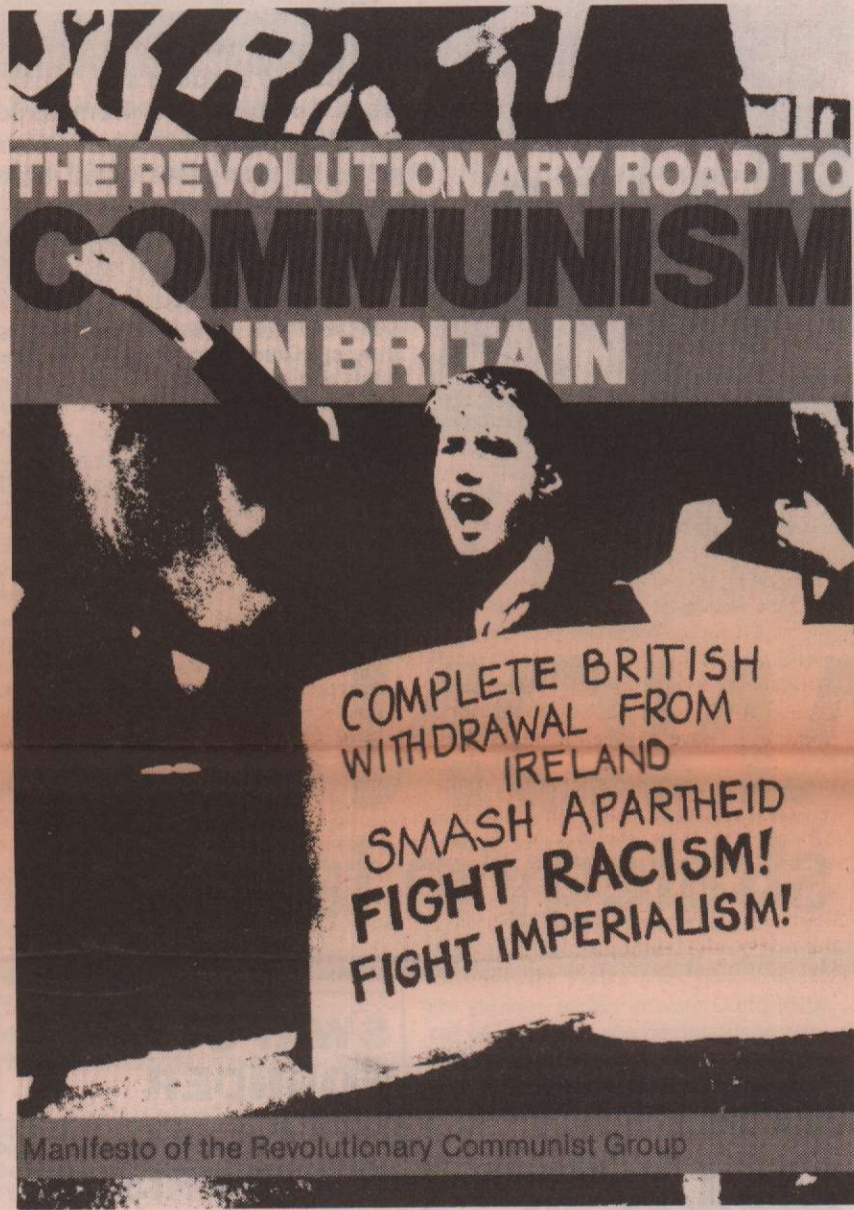
The manifesto is more than an analysis—it is a revolutionary manual. It locates the forces of progress in the world today—those who are fighting imperialism from Asia to Palestine to Central America, those countries which have fought imperialism to establish a revolutionary democracy such as Angola, and those socialist countries free from imperialist exploitation such as the Soviet Union and China. The manifesto gives particular emphasis to those struggles which today pose a major challenge to British imperialism: in particular the struggle of the Irish people, of the people of Southern Africa, of black people in Britain.

Through a close connection with the revolutionary movement of his day and a thorough background in communist theory, particularly Marx's work on the Irish question, Lenin developed his position on the right of nations to self-determination. Similarly continuous practical work on the question of Ireland by the RCG combined with communist theory has been the major factor in the political standpoint of the manifesto. Lenin argued the critical importance of the struggle of the Irish people for the British working class. He argued in support of the Easter Rising of 1916 against the socialists of his time, including Trotsky, who described the Rising as a 'putsch'. A study of the history of

*The Revolutionary Road to Communism in Britain, published this month, brings together 10 years of practical and theoretical experience of the Revolutionary Communist Group (RCG). It is a work of both great depth and clarity. The depth is shown by the fact that it provides an explanation of every major question facing socialists and anti-imperialists today, its clarity in the fact that, through the method of scientific socialism of Marx, Engels and Lenin, each argument is established, each slogan explained.*

# THE REVOLUTIONARY ROAD TO COMMUNISM IN BRITAIN

## MANIFESTO OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST GROUP



Manifesto of the Revolutionary Communist Group

British rule in Ireland shows that British imperialism cannot play a progressive role in Ireland; that the failure of the British working class to make 'common cause' with the Irish people's struggle

for freedom has undermined the struggle for socialism both in Ireland and Britain, and strengthened reaction in Britain; and that the Republican Movement is a movement of the op-

pressed fighting for national liberation.

By siding with the oppressed against imperialism you must inevitably break with the long tradition of British socialism, aptly described by Lenin as socialism in words and chauvinism in deeds—'social chauvinism'. Virtually without exception the British 'left' including so-called communist organisations have attacked the struggle of the Irish people and its leadership the Republican Movement. For to support this movement means to break with those forces which the British 'left' see as the lever of the British revolution—the reactionary racist official British Labour and trade union movement. This manifesto outlines the imperialist record of the Labour Party—no different in fact from that of the Tories. It restates the position taken by Marx and Engels and developed by Lenin that, through the accumulation of super profits from the exploitation of oppressed nations, imperialism can buy off a section of the working class—a labour aristocracy. In Britain this aristocracy finds political expression in the Labour Party and official trade union movement: these are the forces of the past in British society. The forces of the future are the youth, the unemployed, the low paid, the millions on the poverty line—in short all those who have no interest in supporting British imperialism. Furthermore, these forces will play a vanguard role by drawing to their side other sections of the working class as the crisis of British imperialism deepens.

The British working class can only advance if it takes the side of those fighting imperialism throughout the world. In doing so it must break with the reactionary leadership of the Labour Party and trade union movement. Many times the RCG is criticised for being too narrow or 'sectarian' in our approach. But in reality this criticism means only that we are not so blinkered in our approach as to look to skilled privileged,

continued on page 10

## in brief

### SOUTH AFRICA

#### ● Alexandra bus boycott

Since the end of January there has been a boycott of PUTCO buses in the black township of Alexandra, outside Johannesburg in protest at steep fare increases. Five members of the Alexandra Commuters Committee and Alexandra Youth Congress have been detained, and three have been charged under the Intimidation Act. There have also been a number of injuries as a result of clashes with the police. Many of the taxi drivers who have been transporting commuters to and from work are being repeatedly arrested and charged with a large number of minor traffic offences. One taxi driver, Solly Mojokeng, received 32 tickets in one day from the same traffic inspector. The UDF have issued a statement in support 'of the commuters' action and the heroic people of Alexandra, and have condemned the 'unwarranted detention of our people.'

#### ● Another detainee murdered

On 20 January, 50 year old Samuel Tshikudo died whilst in detention under security legislation in the so-called 'independent homeland' of Venda. Together with five other political detainees he had been held, without charge, since November 1983. Amnesty International have said that he may well have died as a result of torture, the official medical report gives the cause of death as salmonella enteritis. Requests for a family doctor and psychiatrist to be allowed to visit the detainees have repeatedly been turned down. Following Samuel Tshikudo's death, two of the detainees were charged under the Terrorism Act and three were released. Minutes after their release, Alfred Denga and Wilson Sinyegwa, were re-arrested under security legislation. Alfred Denga, who was recently hospitalised, had deteriorated so much that he was barely recognisable to his wife when she visited him. Before his detention he had been in good health but now he has suffered a major loss of weight, his eyes are severely sunken and he has a kidney complaint.

#### ● British Military Collaboration

Airships are being taken seriously again, as it has been discovered that they are an asset to modern sophisticated weaponry. South Africa has just had its first airship delivered by the London-based British firm, Airship Industries. The sales-promotion literature of Airship Industries emphasises the military potential of all their models. Some of the advantages are that its gaseous bulk will not show up on a radar screen, it does not attract heat-seeking guided missiles, it is an ideal anti submarine weapon, and it is well-suited to mine laying and minesweeping. Moreover it can carry missiles as well as paratroopers. A British company has once again violated the international arms embargo against South Africa, increasing the racist regime's military might.

Ruby Khan

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## PUBLICATIONS FUND

### £2555.90 TO GO

First the good news. We have raised a total of £1444.10 for the publications fund. This has taken us a long way towards our £4000 target and we send many thanks to all supporters who have contributed so far. Money has come in from East Lothian, Fife, Kinross, Edinburgh, Blackburn, Southport, Cleveland, Manchester, Leeds, Liverpool, Bradford, Chesterfield, Chester, Nottingham, Bristol, St Albans, Ilford, London, and Margate. Special thanks to our supporters in Spain, Germany, Australia and Canada and thanks also to Esther Cantillon, Brian Cummings, 'Breakout!' Collective and Graham Little (prisoner) for their donations. Over the last issue £1152.50 came in, once again thank you very much for this tremendous response.

Second the bad news. All the 'progressive' distributors who distribute left publications have refused to distribute the Ireland book. Reasons given have been: 'too detailed', 'not of commercial potential', 'too much on the British left', 'some members of the collective are not happy about doing this' and so on. So much for 'democracy' and 'freedom of speech'. So we now have to do all the work ourselves. Together with you, our supporters, we can defeat this censorship. We have to distribute the books to every major town in the country. With one book out and the other due out over the next six weeks the pressure is really on to raise the money we still need to cover printing, publicity and distribution costs. Please keep your donations coming in fast and get your friends to contribute too! Those who have already given—please can you give a little more?

Send cheques, POs etc to: Publications Fund, Larkin Publications, BCM Box 5909, London, WC1N 3XX

## BLACK WORKERS MILITANCY

The ever increasing strength of black trade unions has been demonstrated in the massive upsurge in strikes and stoppages in the first few weeks of 1984, involving over 20,000 workers from a number of different unions. The biggest strike was organised by the South African Chemical Workers Union (SACWU) against AECI, one of South Africa's biggest chemical and oil corporations. 8,750 workers went on strike for a week at four of AECI's explosives plants. It was the first 'legal' national strike by black workers but predictably having gone through the complicated and lengthy official dispute-solving channels, they were still issued with an ultimatum from AECI - return to work or be dismissed. In another strike action 1,500 members of the National Union of Automobile and Allied Workers Union downed tools at BMW's Rosslyn plant over wage increases. Also, 2,000 members of the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union went on strike at numerous branches of Pick n' Pay, one of South Africa's largest supermarket chains. The striking workers have demanded that the supermarket chain's chairman explain to them personally why the company cannot afford an immediate 10% pay increase. The workers say they have now 'had enough' and are demanding that the company sticks to its slogan, 'We don't only say it but we do it.'

Ruby Khan

# STOP THE REMOVALS

For the past nine years, over 20,000 black people living at Crossroads, the squatter camp on the outskirts of Cape Town, have been waging a long and bitter struggle against the repeated destruction of their homes by Western Cape Administration Board Officials (WCAB) and security police, in their attempt to force the people at Crossroads to move to the sandy wasteland of Khayelitsha, 35km from Cape Town.

The women at the squatter camp are the backbone of this fierce resistance. In order to live together with their husbands and families, thousands of women are defying apartheid's barbaric laws, and are 'illegally' squatting in the Cape Peninsula.

**'You can rather shoot us - we are not moving'**

Unable to quench the magnificent spirit of resistance, Crossroads has long been a thorn in apartheid's flesh. Almost every day bulldozers move into Crossroads to flatten their shelters of corrugated iron, plastic sheeting and cardboard,

accompanied by hundreds of armed WCAB officials, armoured vehicles, and security police with batons and guns. The people resist, singing and chanting, with anything they can lay their hands on - sticks, stones, rocks and iron bars. Some are knocked down as they stand in the way of the bulldozers, others are bludgeoned unconscious by security police and dragged off to gaol. Savage police dogs are unleashed and while the police wear gas masks hundreds of people, including babies and little children choke, vomit and faint from the effects of the teargas being fired all around to disperse them.

Over the years, a number of people have lost their lives, including Sindele Ndela, who was shot dead in 1978 when 600 police stormed Crossroads. Families clutch onto whatever belongings they can as WCAB officials throw their building materials and possessions into bonfires. As a result many families spend nights in the open, their thin blankets offering meagre protection against the biting cold, wind and rain. Some even have to sleep in holes they have dug in the earth. In addition to this, hundreds are arrested in late night or early morning raids for pass law offences. Women, together with their young children, have spent months in Pollsmoor Prison, while men are imprisoned for 'introducing and harbouring wives and children'. Despite this they will never give up, as one man at Crossroads said,

**'It's better in gaol than going back to the Transkei. In the meantime, I'm going to rebuild a shelter for tonight.'**

**'Crossroads is a symbol of provocation and defiance of the government, and we want to destroy that symbolism at all costs.'**

*- Deputy Minister of Co-operation and Development*

**'If they demolish our pondoks (corrugated iron shacks) here at Crossroads, I will remain here because I have no other place to go... I will stay here even if I have to stay under a bush.'**

*- a woman from Crossroads squatter camp*

For years now the apartheid regime has been saying that Crossroads will definitely be demolished as many other squatter camps have been, yet the Crossroads community continues to grow and flourish. The Women's Committee has been responsible for improving living conditions at the camp, and also for organising much of the everyday running of the camp. There is also a thirty member elected committee to run the vast area, further divided into wards each with their own committees. The community at Crossroads has created its own laws and justice system, with a people's militia patrolling the streets! The United Democratic Front (UDF) has also pledged its support to all those in Crossroads and at other squatter camps of Nyanga, Langa and Guguletu, who are fighting against removals.

Since 1960, over three and a half million black people have been removed to the bantustans, and at least another two million are under threat of removal in the near future. These mass population removals have been carried out to ensure that the apartheid regime maintains total political control, and benefits to the

## SOUTH AFRICA AND THE FRONTLINE STATES

The agreements being currently negotiated between Angola and Mozambique and the South African Government are of great political significance for the liberation struggle in southern Africa.

The Angolan Government has agreed to restrict SWAPO activities in Angola in return for an end to South African support for counter-revolutionary UNITA and the withdrawal of South African troops from southern Angola. Meanwhile the Mozambiquan Government has agreed that it will not permit the ANC to launch armed operations from its territory if the apartheid regime ceases supporting the bandits of the MNR.

The South African Government, for the past 8 years, has attempted to destroy the Peoples' Republics of Angola and Mozambique through a combination of ruthless war and financing and supporting counter-revolutionary organisations. In this it has failed and is now compelled to sit at the negotiating table with black anti-imperialist governments. While concessions have been made to the apartheid regime, ANC and SWAPO leaders have repeatedly affirmed and proved that they are capable of conducting their struggle from within South Africa and occupied Namibia. The ANC and SWAPO have ample bases and mass popular support to do so.

The apartheid regime has been forced to the negotiating table because of the failure of its previous counter-revolutionary strategy. It now has to reassure its imperialist backers that it is capable of stemming the tide of revolution by a new set of tactics: negotiation and further 'reforms'. Such bogus reforms, however, will never succeed for the tide of revolution in southern Africa has strengthened. They have been forced to the negotiating table on Namibia's independence after years of proclaiming that there would be

no compromise. They now have to face the growing militancy within South Africa itself.

That Angola and Mozambique have been forced to make concessions is a result of 8 years savage war against the Frontline States. Since independence in 1975 South African aggression has cost Mozambique 333m dollars. 900 rural shops, 495 primary schools 86 health centres have been destroyed and 141 communal villages affected. In Angola repeated invasions and bombings have killed 10,000 people and destroyed homes, schools, hospitals and factories.

This terror and destruction against the people of Angola and Mozambique was only possible through continued British, US and other imperialist support for the apartheid regime. Yet for the last 8 years, the official British Labour and trade union movement has hardly raised its voice against this degradation, let alone acted to end British support for apartheid. When US Marines invaded Grenada, the TUC managed an emergency meeting. Yet, when South Africa invaded Angola in January this year there was no emergency meeting. The real criminals and betrayers of freedom and democracy are those in the imperialist countries who have done nothing to ease the terrible plight facing the peoples and governments of the Frontline States.

The apartheid regime will not rest until it has completely destroyed or subjugated the Frontline States. The MNR and UNITA continue their sabotage and no doubt South Africa will keep up its bloody pressure - whether economic, political or military. The duty of democrats and communists in this country is to build an anti-imperialist movement to end all British collaboration with apartheid and to give solidarity to the liberation struggle.

Chris Fraser



maximum economically. They aim to reduce the number of black people living in the 'white' areas in order to minimise the political threat they pose. Furthermore forced removals are designed to consolidate the bantustans policy, swelling the numbers within the ten bantustans and thus creating an even greater reserve army of cheap black labour.

Thousands of black people are being

The fascist apartheid regime has over the years shot dead and detained many of those who refuse to give in to their bully-boy tactics. In April 1983, Saul Mkhize, the community leader of the thriving Driefontein village was shot dead at a meeting where thousands of villagers gathered to protest at their proposed removal to the bantustans. In Mgwali, in the Eastern Cape, the people have refused to move to Frankfort in the Ciskei. Their spokesman, Mr Wilson Fanti has been continually harassed by both South African and Ciskeian security police, and has been detained for two months now.

Throughout South Africa, hundreds of thousands of black people are challenging apartheid's bestial forced removals policy. They are determined never to submit to the daily intimidation and brutality of the racist bullying thugs. The struggle to remain on the land of their birth continues. As a woman from Crossroads promised,

**'We are not moving... We will die and be buried here!'**

Ruby Khan

## APARTHEID SPY GOES FREE

On 17 January self-confessed apartheid spy Peter Caselton was released on parole from Maidstone prison having served only 13 months of a four year sentence for espionage activities on behalf of apartheid South Africa.

Caselton was jailed in December 1982 along with Edward Aspinall on a range of charges including conspiracy and burglaries of ANC, SWAPO and Pan African Congress Offices in London. The South African Embassy - a nest of apartheid spies - was deeply implicated in the plot but always denied its involvement. Yet when Caselton was released he was collected by a black Mercedes Embassy car with diplomatic plates - a gold square on the number plate bearing the letters CD in black.

Whilst in Maidstone prison, Caselton was given privileged treatment by being allowed to live in the hospital wing - first as a 'blue band' and later as a 'patient'. On top of this, he was released on parole at the earliest possible opportunity.

The treatment of Caselton underlines the close collaboration between the British government and the apartheid regime. Apartheid spies may freely harass, persecute and spy on anti-apartheid organisations. If, by chance, they are caught out they can be assured of the mildest 'punishment'.

Terry O'Halloran

## DOROTHY NYEMBE

South Africa The Imprisoned Society has asked for postcards and letters to be sent to welcome Dorothy Nyembe due for release on 26 March after 15 years' imprisonment by the apartheid regime. They should be sent to her c/o her daughter at the following address: Mrs Beatrice Mhlongo F579 Ntuzuma Township PO Kwa Mashu, Natal 4360 South Africa

## ANTI-APARTHEID MONTH OF ACTION MARCH 1984

**LOCAL DEMONSTRATIONS**

- Edinburgh 16 March
- City of London 24 March
- Bradford 31 March
- conferences
- meetings and street
- activities

**NATIONAL LOBBY OF PARLIAMENT**

21 March

see page 14 for details

## STUDENTS STRIKE

On 15 February, Emma Satheke, a 15 year old black schoolgirl, died as a result of internal injuries sustained during fighting between students and police in the black township of Atteridgeville, near Pretoria. Many students were treated for teargas poisoning, and 20 have been held in custody to be charged with public violence. Over 2,000 students from Hofmeyer, Saulsridge, and Saulsville schools are boycotting their classes in protest at the use of corporal punishment, the frequent assaults on students by teachers and the barring of over-age students who had failed exams. The students have said that the boycott continues until their demands are met.

# FIGHT RACISM

## Smash All Immigration Controls

# NO DEPORTATIONS!

A black family who fled from the racist Rhodesian regime to come to Britain 7 years ago have been told to leave the country. Eddie McCullagh (whose grandfather was British), emigrated to Rhodesia and married a black Rhodesian woman, his wife and 3 children (2 of whom were born in Britain) had expected to stay under the 1971 Immigration Act's 'patriality' provision which states that if citizens from the 'Commonwealth and dependencies' have a British-born ancestor they will be allowed to live in Britain. This racist rule was designed to allow white British citizens entry into Britain whilst excluding black British citizens.

A Turkish couple, Polat and Yedre Hasbudak came to Britain from Turkey in 1975. Their 2 children, aged 7 and 5 were born in Britain and have British passports but will have to leave if their parents are deported as 'illegal' immigrants. The children attend the William Patten School in Stoke Newington and the teachers there have mounted a campaign to save the Hasbudaks from deportation. They are appealing to the European Court of Human Rights and have organised several demos including a picket of the Home Office attended by the children's classmates. Polat and Yedre are in hiding and the Children's Legal Centre has now taken up the case.

Margaret Appiah is fighting a Home Office order that her Ghanaian husband, an 'overstayer', should return to Ghana leaving her and their baby daughter in Britain. A Zimbabwean student Raymond Dangarembizi has been in custody at Ashford for several months accused of breaching immigration regulations. Atherton Nursery in Hackney, in protest at his imminent deportation has declared itself a no deportation zone. Raymond's 2 year old daughter Anisha attends the nursery. Malika Bonkhalifa and her young daughter

As unemployment increases and more people are living below the 'official' poverty line, the British state is looking to deport an increasing number of black people.



### DEFEND KAMAL KUMAR

The Home Office wishes to deport Kamal Kumar, who lives in Manchester. It is attempting to create a precedent undermining even the minimal rights of black people in Britain. Kamal Kumar married Naranjan Kaur in July 1978, having been admitted to Britain as a fiancé. Immigration rules only allow black people the right to permanent stay in Britain if their marriage is intact after one year. In August 1979 Kamal applied for this right. But the Home Office has more dirty tricks up its sleeve. In Kamal's case, it simply delayed considering the application hoping for a breakdown in the marriage.

The Kamal Kumar Defence Committee was set up to fight against Kamal's deportation. The KKDC has held successful public meetings and on 1 February picketed Labour-controlled Manchester City Council, demanding that it adopt an anti-deportation policy. Over 30 people supported the picket including the Manjit Kaur Defence Committee and FRFI. On the legal front, Kamal is the first person to take the Home Office to the Court of Appeal. If Kamal wins, the legal precedent will be a victory for all black people.

For more details write to Kamal Kumar Defence Committee, c/o AL-HILAL Community Project, 443 Cheetham Hill Rd, Manchester 8. Malik Sivam

were abandoned here in 1977 and are desperate to stay, the alternative being an uncertain future in Morocco. Afia Begum had her application to stay in Britain with her family after the death of her husband refused. 73 year old

Ujagger Singh came to live with his son in Southall in 1978 and 1 year later his solicitor applied for permanent leave of residence to be granted. The solicitor put the application through 1 day late so Ujagger became an 'overstayer'. On

12/1/84 the Home Office issued their third order for the police to remove Ujagger.

And so the list grows. In 1982 nearly 1,500 people were deported. If the Home Office decides that someone is an 'illegal' immigrant they can be arrested, detained (in 1982 about 1,000 people were held in prison on this basis for an average stay of 60 days but some for as long as 18 months) and removed without any right of appeal. The Home Office is also operating immigration control through other forms of discrimination. Home Office collaboration with the Department of Health and Social Security leads to individuals being refused benefits so they are starved out of the country before they can challenge Home Office decisions about their status. The Home Office repeatedly refused to accept evidence of maternity or paternity and accuses people of having made marriages of convenience. The government is destroying the arranged marriage system and thereby attacking the culture of Asians in Britain through an immigration rule which prevents female British citizens bringing foreign husbands or fiancés to live with them unless they can satisfy an immigration officer that the primary purpose of the marriage is not the man's entry into Britain. Entry clearance officers use a system of interrogation which is designed to get a man to say he wants to come to England which then leads to his refusal. The questioning amounts to telling people that they can only come to Britain if they don't want to. The proportion of fiancés refused entry under the 'primary purpose' rule has risen from 7 per cent in the second quarter of 1983 to 83 per cent in the third quarter. The overall rate of refusals for husbands and fiancés was 53 per cent and is rising fast as a greater proportion of cases were considered under the new rules. An ever-increasing number of black people are being denied their basic rights and are being subjected to humiliation by the Home Office and immigration officials.

**Fight Racism! Stop racist deportations now!**  
Sarah Moore

### Police harassment in Bristol

Bristol police have stepped up their harassment of black youth in St Pauls and Easton over the past few weeks. Learning a painful lesson from the 1980 uprising following a typically British raid on a cafe in full daylight, they now tend to pounce early in the morning or late at night.

Meanwhile women police officers pose as prostitutes on the street corners, both to catch kerb-crawlers and to spy on the neighbourhood. Only last week three men were taken to court charged with conduct likely to cause a breach of the peace. Their defence counsel protested that the policewoman caused the incident by acting as an agent provocateur.

The police from Trinity Road station have earned themselves a particular reputation for racist intimidation. One mother told me of the terrifying and humiliating experience suffered by her family early in February. As one of her sons got ready for college and with the other still asleep, police sealed off the whole residential area with cars and vans and descended in force on the terraced house. Five men stood on the doorstep and demanded to speak to the two teenagers. They then tried to follow Mrs A up the stairs but she stood her ground and insisted they wait.

They amused themselves while waiting by trying to frighten the younger children, saying they knew all about their brothers and they would get them. This enormous show of force was to pick up two lads for questioning about a minor crime that took place in December!

While in the police station the two youths were called 'black bastards' and the older one was mocked for having ideas above his status. The police were quite indignant at the thought of him training for a profession. Didn't he 'know his place'? As they told him, 'it hasn't stopped us putting others like you away for five years.'

The police staged a fiasco of an identity parade behind the solicitor's back for one of the youth. Shorthaired and brownskinned, he was placed next to black Rastas with dreadlocks! What a surprise that a woman should pick him out straight away!

This incident is only one of many. Trinity Road police are trying to reassert their racist control of the youth by intimidation and an arrogant show of strength. But every time they treat the youth and their families like dangerous criminals, and with every word of racist abuse they hurl at them, the community's growing feeling of resistance hardens. They think they can frighten and shame people into accepting a police state. They will find they are wrong!  
Sheila Marston

NUT Ian March has also been conducting a particularly vindictive and slanderous campaign against CARBS. In a recent circular to all NUT members in Bradford he writes:

'This group deliberately used the willingness of some adolescent pupils to get involved with something they saw as exciting, to intimidate teachers and undermine people's confidence in the school... The NUT is now seeking an agreement with the Authority on measures to prevent such a situation recurring at Wyke or elsewhere.'

We denounce all these attempts by the press and Bradford NUT to cover up the justified grievances of the Wyke pupils. And we condemn their efforts to isolate them from the community, who also understand what it is to suffer racism and brutality—whether it be from racist school teachers, or the police. CARBS will continue to support all such actions by school pupils in Bradford, and demands the right for anyone to organise in opposition to racism.

Jenefer Thomas/  
John Stevenson

### NEARLY MURDERED

At the trial of Anthony Anika, a black Edinburgh man charged with assaulting 5 police officers, even the racist judge was forced to condemn the actions of Leith police.

On 19 June last year following a family argument no less than five police officers, only one in uniform, entered Anika's home and severely assaulted him. Anika was beaten unconscious and found himself pinned to the pavement. He was taken handcuffed to Leith police station in a van and during the journey was kneed and kicked repeatedly. In the station he was dumped on the

ground and then in the charge room six uniformed officers rotated in kicking him to the ground and tripping him up when he attempted to get up again. Anika only escaped death by shouting that he had AIDS and that they would be infected from him. This so baffled them that they immediately ceased.

The facts of the case were so blatant that the same judge who questioned Anika on how long he had been in the country, where he was from, why he came, etc., and listened to a 'medical' witness speaking in 'biological terms' about 'typical negro over-reaction' without blinking, had to find Anika guilty only of a breach of the peace and admonished him.  
Aileen Randall

### OPPOSE THE REPATRIATION OF PRISONERS BILL

A new bill is currently making its way through Parliament. Like the Police Bill this racist piece of legislation is aimed primarily at Black youth. The Repatriation of Prisoners Bill is expected to become law by summer.

Under the guise of being 'humanitarian' the British state intends to 'transfer' prisoners and those incarcerated in mental institutions to complete their sentences in 'their or their parents country of origin'. Claiming this to be a purely humanitarian measure we are assured that 'there is no possibility of anyone being repatriated without their "consent"'. Far too many black people are locked up in British mental institutions: who will give their consent? Black youth are well over-represented in British prisons and borstals: what kind of inducement will the racist screws give to force these youth to 'consent' rather than suffer the continual racist repression meted out to them? The

Home Office also claim that, on completion of sentence, the ex-prisoner could return here, providing they had the 'right to re-entry'. Seeing countless Black people returning here and being deported after a holiday and the Nationality Act, who is supposed to believe this?

If Britain had any humanitarian concern for prisoners, it would not condemn them to overcrowded cells in Victorian conditions, it would grant Irish POWs the right to serve their sentences in Ireland closer to family and friends as they are demanding. British racism and hypocrisy isn't hard to see through and this bill alongside all the racist immigration controls, the coming Police Bill and the outright attack against Black people doesn't fool anyone.

Hands Off Black People - Oppose the Repatriation of Prisoners Bill!  
Ace Kelly

# school strike against racism

**Bradford - Wyke Manor pupils say 'Enough is Enough'**  
Racism and brutality is alive and kicking in Bradford schools - this was the message of 300 black and white pupils at Wyke Manor Upper School when on Monday 13 February they organised a mass walkout to protest at the racism and brutality of three of their teachers.

The Campaign Against Racism in Bradford Schools attended the protest in solidarity with the pupils and their actions. At 10.15 am the pupils streamed out of school, and armed with placards and leaflets they began to relentlessly chant their demand: 'End Racism and Brutality Now!'

The headmaster and several teachers looked helplessly on as the pupils seized the CARBS banner to lead their spontaneous demonstration around the school. Before long the police arrived - but faced with the pupils' anger and a potential riot they too were powerless to use their usual heavy handed tactics. The protest ended with a meeting in the school hall, where the pupils demanded that the teachers concerned come forward to answer to their allegations. This the headmaster refused. Eventually the pupils agreed to write statements stating their grievances. 50 such statements were made. On the Saturday following

the walkout the pupils held a press conference where black pupils related incidents where they had been physically and verbally abused by these teachers. One girl spoke of how one teacher ripped her skirt and punched her in the face. After the protest one girl was told to 'go back to your gutter'. The pupils also told of how they'd been threatened with maximum suspension and expulsion should they organise any further action. They explained that they were forced to organise the protest because the headmaster had done nothing about their repeated complaints.

The response of both the local and national press to the protest has been quite disgusting. Resorting to outright lies and distortions they have claimed that the protest was organised by 'communist agitators' (*Bradford Telegraph and Argus*) and that we lured pupils from their classrooms (*Daily Telegraph*). General Secretary of Bradford





# IRAN-IRAQ WAR

The war between Iran and Iraq has entered its fourth year. A war that has brought nothing but poverty, destruction and death for the masses of people in both countries. Dozens of towns and cities have been completely destroyed and their inhabitants forced to take refuge in other cities away from the front line. Hundreds of thousands of people have either been killed or have been badly wounded. Official statistics alone put the casualties at half a million. The economic pressure caused by this most futile war has brought higher unemployment and poverty. From a population of 54 million (40 million in Iran and 14 million in Iraq) more than 6 million are unemployed; many are also refugees from the war. Military expenditure accounts for a massive percentage of the Iranian and the Iraqi annual budget. Most of the 700 mile long front line is in Kurdistan; the Kurdish people who are fighting for self-determination are therefore being 'doubly oppressed' by both countries.

Both regimes have been using the war as a means of gaining popular unity. Thus the war has served to shore up the cracking facades of both regimes. This is of particular importance for the Iranian Islamic Republic regime; being unable to satisfy the very basic demands of its oppressed people, it presents the war as being the only real problem and confronts any opposition with long terms of imprisonment or the firing squad.

Khomeini, in an interview about the war, says,

'The war has brought us blessing and we should be thankful to God for that ... even if it takes 20 years we shall continue fighting.' (Keyhan, November, 1983)

The use of children in the Iranian army is very common. They are told that they will go to heaven if they die and that their families will be specially rewarded and, if they do not die, they will get a financial bonus; but how many ever return from the front line? Sometimes, due to lack of arms and ammunition,

they are sent to the war zone without any weapons.

## THE ROLE OF IMPERIALISM IN THE WAR

The Iraqi regime has openly bought arms from British and French imperialists. Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Egypt and some other countries are helping it by sending construction workers, soldiers and dollars. On the other hand, Iran, which verbally opposes imperialism, to keep an anti-imperialist image, secretly buys arms and spare parts for its American equipped army from US imperialism and Israel. Since these arms are bought on the black market, Iran has to pay far above market price. This is one of the reasons for Iran's oil sales to imperialist countries at up to \$10 below the OPEC price. Neither Iran nor Iraq have any social or economic relationship with the Soviet Union. It is in the direct interest of imperialism that both regimes continue to suppress the

people's struggle for freedom and democracy.

During the past four weeks another round of bitter fighting has begun with thousands more people killed. The Khomeini regime has warned that it will shut the Straits of Hormuz, through which passes vast oil supplies to the imperialist nations, if Iraqi forces attack Iranian oil installations. President Reagan declared that in such an eventuality US warships from its Rapid Deployment Force will intervene. This threat of yet another imperialist military operation in the event that the Iran-Iraq war gets 'out of hand' was backed by Thatcher who said

that British forces may join such a US offensive.

There is no doubt that the war between Iran and Iraq is yet again providing imperialism with enormous profits. If imperialism sees its interests in jeopardy anywhere in the world, it does anything it can to protect those interests, whether by engineering a coup or simply by invading the country in question as in the cases of Grenada and Lebanon. At the moment imperialism sees no reason to intervene to decisively end this war. Currently it serves its interests.

Only the struggle of people in Iran and Iraq alone will be able to sever the hand of imperialism in the region and end this reactionary war. There are already many liberated zones in Kurdistan and the struggle of the Kurdish people alongside all other oppressed people of Iran and Iraq will topple the oppressive regimes of Khomeini and Saddam.

Shahin Shirazi



Residential areas of the city of Hamadan devastated by Iraqi fighters

## JAPAN

### Behind the economic miracle – women's oppression

Behind the economic miracle of Japan we find that it is based on the oppression of many other Asian countries and, especially, the oppression of women. Today, women have to fight Japanese imperialism for an end to prostitution, for equal rights for single parents and divorced women, and for the right to abortion.

#### PROSTITUTION

Ten years ago Korean women appealed to Japanese women because many Japanese men had been visiting South Korea to get prostitutes and that Japanese women should stop the 'Prostitution Travel' to their country. Some Japanese women set up a group called the Asian Women Group and started to campaign. They had demonstrations in front of the airports and called on wives not to allow their husbands to go. But now the Prostitution Travel is expanding from South Korea to Formosa and south-east Asia, especially Thailand and the Philippines. The Japanese firms and other multinational companies have invaded these countries and taken over their national economies. Just as many farmers have to go to the city as cheap labourers, women in their teens and twenties go to the city as prostitutes. On the one hand Japanese capitalism destroys Asian national economies, and on the other hand it buys Asian women.

It is the same situation as during World War II when the Japanese army killed many people and raped women in Asia. Each regiment had some Asian women, especially Korean women, as prostitutes who were called 'the consolation women'. Of course, if they became pregnant they had to have an abortion

or be killed in order not to profane the purity of the Japanese nation.

Now the Yakuza (the gangsters) import (!) many Asian women into Japan on a tourist visa, or other performance visa, and work them in various kinds of sex shops. More than one hundred thousand Asian women work in the busiest quarters in Japan. Their working conditions are very severe: they must work hard overnight; sometimes they can't get any money; even if they get money, it's only half what the Japanese women get; some women, finally, run into their embassies to be free from the Yakuza. But in the Philippines, Thailand, Formosa and South Korea the dictatorial government encourage their women to work in Japan to obtain foreign exchange.

#### DIVORCED WOMEN

In Japan many women cannot divorce their husbands because the divorce will do their children harm. Japanese companies don't employ single women with children. Under the present conditions when women face their husbands' gambling, violence, alcoholism, disappearing and so on, they are forced to choose to divorce their husbands. Only a few young women divorce their husbands by

mutual agreement with them. The state tries to force women to keep in their marriage, however unhappy. While widows get a small state benefit to look after their children, divorcees get only a quarter of this. Although the children looked after by the Korean mother who has divorced her Japanese husband have Japanese nationality, they are not given any state benefits at all. The government won't give single mothers benefits either. The companies try to sack them and their trade unions won't support them. Now that Japanese companies are introducing office automation systems, and they want to sack many women, the first to go are women with children. Single mothers have to work as cleaners, dish washers, waitresses and cashiers in the supermarkets which are low paid jobs and not full time. They also have other jobs at night or deliver newspapers!

#### THE ANTI-ABORTION CAMPAIGN

Before World War II many women became criminals under the 1880 Anti-Abortion Law which punished only women and doctors who helped them to have an abortion. The government used these laws against handicapped people and immigrants, especially Koreans.

In the post war period women were supposed to be allowed an abortion on health or 'economic' grounds, ie because they could not afford more children. But even then women could not use the National Health Service and discuss their abortion with their doctors or

other women because an abortion is seen to be bad. In 1973 'Seichoh-no-ie', a fascist group which has many supporters amongst the ruling Liberal Democratic Party, began the first of its annual campaigns to restrict abortion rights. They say that out of 'Respect for Life' women should not have an abortion for economic reasons. Ten years ago they also said that if an embryo was found to be 'abnormal', the woman should have an abortion to keep the Japanese race perfect. Now they want to prevent handicapped women from giving birth at all!

The women and handicapped people have been meeting to speak about the abortion issue. Especially about such items as: that the seriously handicapped women can't have any children because women are prevented from having children by the government to 'save' the caring work. While some women are forced to have a child, other women are forced not to. Now the government is trying to change the Maternity Health Service Act in its favour – checking the pregnant women, newly born, babies and children periodically and making records on them. The records will include their physical and mental health condition and their political positions!

As husbands work for their companies like soldiers, at their home they order women to do everything like superior officers. They treat their wives like rubbish bins. Sometimes they get prostitutes to get rid of their violent frustrations. A man who works like a slave needs his slave. This slave is a woman!

MASANO KURUSU

## in brief

### ● Racist murder in Australia

Five policemen in Australia were brought to trial because of the threat by Aboriginal elders to sing them to death (singing traditional chant to punish wrongdoers). They have been sent for trial (9 April) on charges of killing John Pat, a young Aboriginal, 16 years old, who died on 28 September from a 'closed head injury' in the juvenile lock-up at Roebourne, 1200kms north of Perth.

At the 24-day inquest 70 witnesses were heard. Some of them said they saw the victim being punched to the ground by a policeman outside the Victoria Hotel. He was then 'dragged, thrown in the police van, beaten and kicked in the police station yard' (reports *The Age* 7 Feb 1984). The racist police tried to cover up its crime: blood-stained boots and clothing worn by two policemen were produced in court; these two men were not cross-examined! Furthermore, a forensic scientist admitted that some of the clothes had been washed, making it impossible for him to establish whether the bloodstains were human or animal. Perth Coroner, David McCann, said there was enough evidence for him to send for trial Constables Terrence James Holl, Steven Alan Bordas, Ian Frank Armit and James Young, plus a police aide, Michael Walker. All have been suspended from duty and granted bail of A\$1000 – not a bad deal, considering the crime!

Colette Levy

### ● Omori must not hang!

Katsuhisa Omori was arrested in 1977 in connection with the bombing of a government office that administers affairs of the oppressed Ainu people. The 'evidence' against Omori was having a battery, sugar and a fire extinguisher! Though he insisted his innocence, Omori criticised Japanese imperialism in his trial. The court judged his thought, not his deed. Omori is now one of 54 people on death row in Japan. No warning is given, the condemned go to bed every night not knowing what awaits them the next dawn. Only close relatives are informed after the event and the media get only annual statistics of deaths in custody. On 15 February FRFI joined a picket in front of the Japanese Embassy, 46 Grosvenor Street, London W1. The fortnightly pickets are on 14 and 28 March from 12 to 2pm. Seijyu Nakajima

### ● East Timor/West Papua – the people resist genocide

A renewed Indonesian military offensive against the freedom fighters of the Revolutionary Front for the Independence of East Timor (Fretilin) was launched in August 1983. With its aim of 'liquidating ... the remnants of the Fretilin rebels', the offensive has already led to the burning of villages, mass arrests of Fretilin supporters and massacres which have been confirmed by eye-witness reports. In the town of Viqueque on August 21 and 22 1983 between 200 and 300 people were executed. In November at Luca in the south-east of Timor it was reported that hundreds of villagers were shot.

The Indonesian war against the people of East Timor has led to more than 200,000 deaths from killings and starvation since 1975. Fretilin however remains undefeated and was also effectively reorganised in 1983.

Indonesia's fascist rulers are also facing resistance in West Papua which they annexed in 1963. The Free West Papua Movement (OPM) has struggled against this barbarous rule which has seen thousands of West Papuans tortured, imprisoned and massacred. Recent reports have spoken of fierce fighting between the OPM and the Indonesian army. Freedom fighters who hoisted the West Papuan flag were recently shot at by the Indonesians.

The genocide in East Timor and West Papua has not led to any lessening of imperialist support for fascist Indonesia. British imperialism in particular has continued to sell arms and only recently the British firm Balfour Beatty secured a contract for £230 million with the Indonesian government.

Bill Hughes

## HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE CONFESSIONAL STATELET

By the mid-nineteenth century much of the Ottoman Empire was already at the disposal of European capital. The territory which is now Lebanon was of particular concern to the French bourgeoisie who sought trading profits through an alliance with the Christian Maronite community, converting a layer of peasantry and landowners into a merchant class whose interests were then tied up in European markets and the exploitation of peasantry.

In 1916 British and French imperialism struck the secret Sykes-Picot Agreement (exposed by the Bolsheviks in 1917), whereby Britain would have Palestine and Iraq, and France would get Syria and Lebanon. 'Grand Liban' was annexed from Syria in 1920, and an artificial statelet formed with the purpose of providing a stable setting for French banking and commercial interests throughout the Middle East. Christian merchants and landowners welcomed the annexation. The 1925 Constitution was designed by French administrators to secure the status quo among the different religious communities, providing

access to the state for religious leaders and a degree of communal self-administration. By this means class struggle would be channelled into inter-communal disputes over portions of state power, controlled by the religious leaders: the 'confessional statelet'. These local bourgeoisies adopted a policy of 'eating and feeding': securing for themselves privileges from commercial and state revenues and trickling a remainder back to their communities.

Formal independence came in the 1943 National Pact, formed through an alliance of Maronite and Sunni Muslim bourgeoisies against French rule. Under the Pact, Christian hegemony was institutionalised with a Christian President and a Sunni Prime Minister presiding over a Parliament fixed in a ratio of six to five in favour of Christian over Muslim members. Imperialism's interests were not threatened, and the French 'Army of the East' was simply renamed the Lebanese Army in 1945.

Popular insurrection against rigged elections and Christian dominance led to direct imperialist intervention to shore up the Lebanese state. While Brit-

ish troops were flown into Jordan, US marines landed in Beirut in July 1958. The insurrection was suppressed and US forces left in October.

A combination of relative prosperity for the commercial centres, increasing deprivation for rural areas and damaging Israeli raids in the south forced many Shi'ia Muslim peasants into the towns and cities, searching for work. By 1975 40% of Lebanon's population had moved to the cities forming 'belts of misery' around opulent commercial centres. Out of these socially and politically deprived masses came the majority of the fighters who united with the PLO to wage the 1975/76 Civil War to try and topple the sectarian and imperialist state. Only Syrian intervention preserved it. The 1976 Constitutional Declaration marked a ceasefire; retaining a Christian President, increasing the Sunni Prime Minister's powers and distributing seats evenly among Christian and Muslim MPs. For a further six years the national democratic movement was paralysed as bourgeois leaders jockeyed for state positions.



POPERFOTO

# LEBANON imperialist strategy in

continued from page 1

A Marine Sergeant reflected that the US withdrawal from Beirut 'is our biggest military disaster since Custer's Last Stand'. Yet following the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the expulsion of the PLO, imperialism was full of confidence. With Israel in occupation of the south and Gemayel installed as President, showered with guns, credits, military advisers and backed by the US, British, French and Italian troops, imperialism hoped to transform Lebanon into a bastion of counter-revolution. Such a Lebanon, in which progressive forces would be neutered, would forge an alliance with Israel. This was to be a phalanx of counter-revolution not only in Lebanon but throughout the Arab world and in particular against the Palestinian revolution.

These aims appeared on the brink of fulfilment with the US sponsored 17 May Israeli-Lebanese agreement which legitimised Israeli control of south Lebanon. Appearances belied reality. The savagery and destruction of the 1982 Israeli invasion had not dented the combative spirit of the Lebanese masses. In Israeli occupied south Lebanon increasing popular struggles against the occupation, defying Zionist guns, combined with organised and systematic guerilla warfare. The armed resistance led by the Lebanese National Resistance Front averages 15 operations a week and has claimed over 200 dead and wounded Israeli soldiers in 1983. Meanwhile, neither the Israeli invasion, nor Gemayel's terror nor the US naval guns succeeded in defeating the progressive militias in West Beirut and the Shouf Mountains.

US imperialism cannot rely upon Israel, its trusted agent, to intervene to save Gemayel. Wracked by severe economic crisis, forced to spend \$1.5m a day on their Lebanese occupation and facing mounting demands from the Peace Now movement which had a 40,000 demonstration on 4 February for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon, Israel's will and ability to intervene has been sapped. US imperialism was therefore faced with a choice: either launch full scale war with all the attendant risks or bargain with those elements able and interested to come to a compromise with imperialism and the Phalange.

### IMPERIALISM COUNTS ON SYRIA

US imperialism is therefore counting upon the reactionary Syrian regime to hold back the tide of revolutionary revival. Whilst Amal and the Progressive Socialist Party (PSP) have demanded Gemayel's unconditional resignation, Syria has refused to do so. It has invited Gemayel to Damascus, there to trade with him. The Syrian regime quakes at the prospect of the mass democratic overthrow of the Phalange state. It is conniving at yet another 'compromise' between the jockeying bourgeois forces in Lebanon. In this it is hoping to manipulate the bourgeois trends in the anti-imperialist front represented by Nabih Berri who leads Amal and Walid Jumblatt the PSP leader. Berri and Jumblatt are quite ready to come to a deal with the Phalange on condition that Gemayel is removed. Dealings with Gemayel would destroy their credibility among the resurgent popular masses. Thus Maiwan Hammadi, Jumblatt's deputy declared:

'We will not deny the Christians the privilege of holding the presidency, but we want the kind of moderates who can lead this very pluralistic society.'

Nabih Berri on the other hand wants France, whose troops remain in Lebanon, 'to play an independent role in the Lebanese crisis'. The architect of Lebanon's sectarian confessional state is called upon to assist in refurbishing it for the local bourgeoisie at the expense of the exploited masses.

Common to all these elements which would check the Lebanese national democratic revolution is an opposition to the unity of the Palestinian and Lebanese revolutionary forces. The Syrians are blocking Palestinian military operations against Israel, while Berri and Jumblatt have affirmed that they will not permit the return of the PLO to areas under their control.

Whatever schemes are designed in Washington, Paris, Tel-Aviv or Damascus, whatever the chains which would bind the Lebanese people to the sectarian state, they cannot succeed. Imperialism and the local bourgeoisie do not have the means to meet even the most minimal requirements of the masses. In occupied south Lebanon, the masses' anger and determination to struggle mounts as Israel systematically destroys the local economy and impoverishes hundreds of thousands. In Beirut and its environs with GNP down 24% since 1974, Lebanese debt up 10 times since 1978, with increasing poverty, unemployment and destruction, the oppressed masses will tolerate no further sacrifices for the Phalange.

The withdrawal of the US Marines, British and Italian forces represented a major setback for imperialism in the region. The Lebanese masses and their revolutionary organisations will deal with the dangers represented by bourgeois trends amongst them, by the Syrian regime and the Zionist occupation. Meanwhile, with the US fleet still off the shores of Beirut, and with Thatcher's statements that British forces could return to Beirut, it rests upon the anti-imperialist and democratic movement in Britain to demand an end to all imperialist intervention in Lebanon!

Eddie Abrahams/Trevor Rayne

## LEBANESE CIVIL WAR 1975-76

The 20 month civil war devastated Beirut and left 55,000 dead. It was a bloody conflict which, because of Lebanon's sectarian state structure, took on religious forms. The revolutionary forces were led by the Lebanese National Movement, an alliance of the Lebanese CP, OCA, PSP, Mourabitoun and others fighting to establish a democratic and secular Lebanon. The bulwark of reaction was the Lebanese Forces dominated by the Phalangists. Their relentless and savage attacks on Palestinian camps such as Karantina and Tel al-Zaatar led to an alliance between the LNM and PLO - the Joint Forces. They rapidly overwhelmed the reactionaries and were soon in control of 80% of the country with their own administration, health and education system.

It was at this point, in June 1976, that the Syrian regime headed by President

Assad sent the Syrian army into Lebanon to save the Phalangists. They turned their guns on the Lebanese and Palestinian progressive forces slowly defeating them. The Syrian regime's perfidious and counter-revolutionary role was epitomised during the 16 month Phalangist siege of Tel al-Zaatar. They looked on whilst the Phalangists bombarded the camp for 55 days non-stop and prevented Palestinian forces coming to the assistance of the besieged. When Tel al-Zaatar fell, 3,000 had been butchered by the Phalangists.

By October the Civil War was at an end with no clear victory, while Syria was in occupation of large parts of Lebanon. The defeat of the democratic and secular Joint Forces at Syrian hands strengthened sectarian political forces and their bourgeois leadership.





## THE BALANCE OF NATIONALITIES AND RELIGIOUS GROUPS

Nobody knows for certain either how many people currently live in Lebanon nor the precise number of each community. In part that results from the chaos of eight years. But it also reflects the sensitivity of the issue which has prevented any official census since 1932. Nevertheless, it is clearly a reality which has to be faced. The estimate below probably approximates to the current situation, but has no substantive status. Like other estimates it is partly guesswork:

<b>Christians</b>	
Maronites	900,000
Orthodox	250,000
Greek Catholics	150,000
Armenians	175,000
Other Christians	100,000
<b>Total Christians</b>	<b>1,575,000</b>
<b>Muslims</b>	
Shi'ites	1,100,000
Sunnis	750,000
Druse	200,000
Palestinians	325,000
Syrians and Kurds	100,000
<b>Total Muslims</b>	<b>2,475,000</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,050,000</b>

Text and statistics reordered from Minority Rights Group.

## POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS AND FORCES IN LEBANON

### THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST FRONT - MAJOR ORGANISATIONS

**Organisation for Communist Action in Lebanon (OCAL)**  
Formed in 1970, OCAL rapidly gained support especially in south Lebanon. It led workers' and students' demonstrations in the early '70s and fought on all major fronts during the Civil War. As a revolutionary, communist organisation OCAL opposes all religious sectarianism and is opposed to compromises with Zionism and imperialism. Following the 1982 Israeli invasion it was central to launching the armed struggle in occupied south Lebanon and plays a crucial part in the armed resistance to the Israeli occupiers.

**Palestinese Communist Party (LCP)**  
The LCP was formed in 1924. In 1948 it recognised the Israeli state, but changed its position in the early '60s. It subsequently adopted the armed struggle and participated in the Lebanese National Movement during the Civil War. It too plays an important part in the armed resistance to Israeli occupation of the south.

**Amal (The Movement of the Deprived)**  
Amal was formed in 1974. It is a Shi'ia organisation (therefore sectarian) based among the impoverished Shi'ia Muslims of South Lebanon and Beirut. While its leadership is bourgeois anti-communist (its main leader Nabih Berri is a wealthy lawyer) prepared to compromise with Zionism and imperialism as well as the Phalange, Amal has numerous more radical trends. The Amal leadership strives primarily to reform, not destroy the sectarian Lebanese state. It is the largest organisation, but by no means the only one, in Beirut and participates in the armed struggle in occupied south Lebanon.

**Progressive Socialist Party (PSP)**  
Formed in 1946, the PSP is based mainly among the Druse population in the Shouf mountains. Like Amal it has a bourgeois leadership striving to reform the Lebanese state and to do so is prepared to compromise with the Phalange and imperialist powers. Its leader Walid Jumblatt hails from a wealthy landowning family. The PSP militias played an important role in dislodging the Phalangists from the Shouf mountains during last year's September war.

**The National Resistance Front**  
This is an alliance of the OCAL, LCP and Amal. It has as its main aim the conduct of the armed struggle against the Zionist occupation. The

dominant force in this alliance is the communists as in the occupied south confessional politics is not strong.

**National Salvation Front**  
This is a bourgeois front including the PSP as well as discredited Muslim and Maronite politicians such as Rashid Karami and Sulieman Franjiyeh. Amal supports the NSF but has not formally joined. This front is primarily an instrument to try to achieve some reformist conciliation with the Phalangists, and a conduit for diplomatic relations with imperialism.

**The Pro-Imperialist Front**  
This consists mainly and overwhelmingly of the *Lebanese Phal-*

*angist Party*. It is modelled on the Nazi party and was formed in 1936 after its founder Pierre Gemayel returned from a visit to Nazi Germany. It is dedicated to 'cleaning' Lebanon of all Palestinians and all revolutionary forces. It is a savage and brutal fascist movement. (Its members popped champagne bottles and sang over the corpses of dead Palestinians when the Phalangists took the Karantina camp during the civil war.) The Phalangists are tools of Zionism and imperialism and have been infiltrated by Israeli agents. They would be impotent without Zionist and US imperialist financial and military support. After the 1982 invasion they were installed in power by the Zionists and kept there by the multi-national imperialist force. But recently they have suffered severe blows.



# tatters



## THE PALESTINIANS IN LEBANON

There are approximately 325,000 Palestinians in Lebanon settled in 15 poverty-stricken camps and in slums around Beirut, Sidon, Tyre and Tripoli. 141,000 dispossessed and impoverished Palestinians arrived in 1948 after being expelled from their homeland when the Zionist state was formed. Thousands more came in subsequent years especially after the Black September massacres in 1970 when King Hussein expelled the PLO from Jordan. The revolutionary and radicalising role of the Palestinian masses was quickly seen by the imperialists and the Lebanese ruling class. So, while the Lebanese masses welcomed the Palestinians, the Lebanese state subjected them to systematic oppression and repression. They were denied citizenship, denied the right to organise and treated as a pool of cheap labour for the tobacco fields, lemon groves and other industries. Palestinians could not work without buying a permit costing up to £50, were forced to pay social security contributions but denied all benefits and did not have the right to join trade unions.

The Palestinian masses resisted, organising their own trade unions and in alliance with progressive Lebanese trade unions fought to improve their conditions. With the formation of the PLO in 1964, they organised in the camps and by 1968 systematic armed operations were being carried out against Israel. The growth and development of the PLO gave a great boost to the progressive and revolutionary Lebanese organisations. They supported the Palestinian struggle against Zionism recognising it as a vital part of their own struggle for a secular and democratic Lebanon.

The Zionists and their Phalange allies set out to destroy the PLO and their Leb-

anese allies by means of terror against the civilian population. In 1968 the Israeli airforce bombed Beirut airport destroying 13 Lebanese civil aircraft. Numerous clashes took place between PLO and Lebanese army/Phalange forces. The armed operations against Israel continued. During the Civil War of 1975/76, the PLO and the Lebanese National Movement established strongholds in

the southern towns of Sidon, Tyre, Damour and elsewhere. Israel escalated its raids against Lebanon. In November 1977 it wiped out an entire village in Azziyeh. In 1978 it mounted its first major invasion of Lebanon, killing 2,000 people, creating 200,000 refugees, damaging 82 villages and entirely destroying 6 others. In 1981 Israel again carried out devastating raids against south

Lebanon and Beirut. Meanwhile it had increased its military and financial support for the Phalangists in Beirut and created the puppet army of Haddad in south Lebanon to terrorise the masses. It took Israel's 1982 bloody invasion to force the PLO out of Lebanon. But inevitably, the Palestinian revolutionary movements have once again begun organising in the camps.

## LEBANON'S ECONOMY AND CLASS STRUGGLE

The outline of what was to be the Lebanese economy was visible at the turn of the century: a weak manufacturing sector, a backward agriculture heavily in debt and dependent upon remittances sent from abroad, and a growing parasitical banking and insurance trade which drew in its wake tourism and property speculation. The annexation of Lebanon from its Syrian and Arab hinterland deprived local craft manufacture of its natural market for expansion and further consolidated the dominance of banking over the whole economy.

From 1920 onwards the French administration deliberately suppressed government spending in order to build up foreign exchange reserves, many of which were converted into gold to build up confidence in the Lebanese currency for banking purposes. Among the European banks drawn to Beirut was the Anglo-Palestine Bank, the official bank of Zionism, which financed Zionist settlement of Palestine. Local banks also sprang up to further enhance the wealth of Lebanese merchants and secure privileges for their sons and communities. The neglect of infrastructure consequent to the minimal government spending combined with the removal of Arab markets ensured that manufacture stagnated.

The mass of Lebanese were condemned to toil on the land, pay the state for the right to do so, and face the uncer-

tainties of exposure to the European capitalist markets. Imperialism and its successive clients have sought to prevent the unity of agricultural labour in struggle, confining them within localities and the confessional system: when Druse and Shi'ias rose against French rule in the south in 1925 the French administration distributed weapons to Christian villagers assuring them of privileges in the new state.

It is the great contrast between the prosperity spawned by the banks, and distributed according to the balance of bourgeoisies in the state, and the impoverishment of Palestinian and Shi'ia agricultural labour and the urban masses drawn from them which threatens to smash the sectarian state asunder. While waves of Palestinian refugees fled Zionist persecution from 1948 on, transnational banks recycled billions of dollars of Gulf and Arabian oil revenues through their Beirut offices. Meanwhile agricultural labour was excluded from access to social security, denied cost of living wage increases and excluded from the provisions of labour relations legislation. By 1960, 12% of total Lebanese production came from industry, while agriculture, employing 60% of the population, produced just 18% of the wealth. Banking and commerce accounted for most of the remainder. Consequently, Beirut's income per head was five times that of southern Lebanon's;

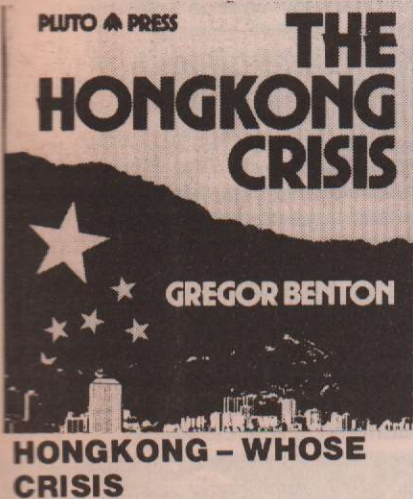
and the richest 4% of the population earned as much as the combined incomes of 78% of Lebanon's people.

The encroachment of merchant capital into the southern fishing trade led the way to the 1975/76 Civil War. When the US-owned Protein company tried to monopolise the whole Lebanese fishing industry thousands of Lebanese and Palestinians demonstrated their opposition in Sidon. Protein was headed by Camille Chamoun, leader of the Christian National Liberal Party. The Lebanese Army opened fire killing and wounding demonstrators. Chamoun's own militia and his Christian supporters marched through East Beirut in support of the Army. Unbowed, the Lebanese and Palestinian masses spread the revolt across Lebanon.

Civil War in turn scattered banking capital out of Beirut and across the Middle East. The imperialist ruling class understood that its relations with other Arab countries and the prevention of an anti-imperialist victory in Lebanon could not hinge upon the Lebanese Christians alone: French Prime Minister Chirac stated that French interests could not be equated with a pro-Maronite stance. However since 1976, the flight of capital and skilled labour has continued, the national product and living standards have fallen, remittances from abroad now amount to 40% of the national income. Neither Christian nor Muslim bourgeoisies have much left to trickle down in exchange for the loyalty of their traditional masses.

# FIGHT IMPERIALISM!

# REVIEWS



*The Hongkong Crisis* by Gregor Benton. Pluto Press £3.50

With the negotiations over the future of Hongkong in progress, now is the time in developing a campaign to get British imperialism out of Hongkong. Anyone with the welfare of the majority of Hongkong's people at heart will therefore be on the lookout for a thorough exposure of British imperialist interests and exploitation in Hongkong. Benton's book does not provide this. It is a muddled argument not against British imperialist rule in Hongkong but against the 'tyrant' China. Benton seeks a middle way between British imperialism and China's socialism and hopes for a movement to grow in Hongkong which will weaken the People's Republic. His political position is entirely untenable and does not merit discussion, but some of his facts are worth looking at - as are those he omits.

The colony is a huge sweatshop. While British direct investment is small, Hongkong shares in UK hands are worth up to £1.5 billion, and British brokers may control up to 20% of the stock market. 60 UK insurance firms account for half the Hongkong market. British banks play a crucial role in the economy. All these businesses cream off and despatch to Britain a steady flow of profits.

It is these imperialist interests which form the real barrier to democracy in Hongkong. They require rule by fear and this is what the majority of Hongkong

Chinese experience daily: fear of even worse poverty and disease, loss of employment, natural disaster to which they are so vulnerable due to bad housing, and above all fear of the corrupt and vicious police. Poverty drives people into police-run opium dens, gambling rackets and prostitution. Benton mocks at China's aim to raise average annual incomes to US\$800 by the year 2000, whereas in blossoming Hongkong 'average per capita income is already US\$4200 a year and the colony is said to absorb the same amount of food as 40 million Chinese on the mainland.' He fails to point out that upper incomes are so enormous in Hongkong that flat averages are even more meaningless than usual. Hongkong is renowned for the gap between its tiny core of immensely rich and the vast majority.

In the absence of income distribution figures, housing is the next best indicator of poverty: more than 50,000 squatters were made homeless between October 1979 and November 1982. In 1972 then-Governor Sir Murray MacLehose announced he would provide every family with a home by 1983. 10 years later the number in need of public housing has doubled. And when resettlement materialises what does it offer? 24 square feet per adult, at least 5 people per room, in it cubicles and bed spaces partitioned off obstructing the flow of air between window and door - in summer at nearly 90% relative humidity and 80-90 degrees Fahrenheit. The poor dwelling along the Kowloon hillsides in temporary shelter suffer even worse: in 1982, 28 squatters died in landslides after heavy rains; a further 900 were made homeless. And while the Hongkong government said it 'ran out of land' to create temporary housing for them, 30,000 flats were kept vacant by greedy property owners waiting for £70-85 per square foot. Property developers were due to complete a further 55,000 such units by 1983.

There are no democratic rights in Hongkong: political parties, free assembly and association are banned. Trade union rights are severely restricted: trade unions are fragmented due to legislation, not allowed full-time officials and need special permission to affiliate to international organisations.

The Hongkong Police Force is 34,000 strong. A garrison of some 7,000 soldiers can aid if internal 'unrest' breaks out, as in

1956 and 1966-67, together with the Royal Navy and RAF. All of them are there to defend the property of the rich. Any policeman has the power to stop search and arrest anyone he suspects of intending to commit a crime. A further law gives any citizen wide powers of arrest without warrant. The laws give the police free rein to harass and intimidate any poor person and to extract bribes from rich and poor alike. The 1970s anti-corruption campaign of the Police Force revealed that corruption syndicates paid a Divisional Superintendent £3400 per month. Superintendent Ernest Hunt formerly of the Glamorgan County Constabulary who had risen to command the murder squad in Hongkong admitted during his trial a monthly income of £7650. Chief Superintendent Peter Godber was found to possess the unexplained sum of £330,000 in various bank accounts. This money comes from the 'protection' of opium dens, prostitution, gambling rackets, the control of triad societies (crime gangs). Low level patrol police supplement their income directly from hawkers and vice establishments in their area. Benton never even mentions police corruption. Maybe he believes the claim that the 1970s campaign eradicated police corruption? Or did he feel these facts would distract from Hongkong's 'exceptional record of industrial harmony and social peace' as he likes to term it?

Amongst Benton's interesting facts are those of existing welfare measures in China: cheap housing, cheap travel, relatively stable prices. Free medical aid for workers who suffer injury at work plus 60-100% of their last wage if necessary until death. Free medical care plus 50-70% of their last wage on retirement for all workers. Benton gives a long list of benefits. Yet to him the right of working people to live in decency counts for less than the right of a few to disagree with the dictatorship of the majority, the proletariat.

I suspect there will be many more books like Benton's muddled account of reality, because precisely at the time when the need is greatest for a campaign to drive imperialism out of an oppressed country these would-be socialists raise their ugly heads to denounce socialist advance and cover up for imperialism. Try and read between the lines because none of them can hide the truth completely. Even Benton couldn't.

Ulla May

And the farmer's harvest  
Fills his eyes and saps his strength.

But it is lost; in 'Greetings' cash signs  
register with every salutation

The Jeweller greets you into laughter  
So he could locate your gold fillings  
... The Farmer wishes your appetite  
well ...

And the crowds of prostitutes, absorbing  
the fragments of a broken world, 'where  
men go to drown'.

Yet all is not lost, with biting irony the  
poet knows where to strike out: 'On a  
visit to Westminster Abbey' he muses  
'What a hallowed piece of real estate -  
this Christian.../But where is the  
Archbishop/Who represents the Christian  
God/To receive my confession:/I farted in  
front of the altar'. And where the sellers  
of piety and faith fail there are those  
other 'Fishers of Men',

sweeping us up  
In the factories  
In the slum streets  
Where we live  
Even in innocent places  
Where we dot the white crowds  
... Always guilty until proven innocent  
Perhaps the law's rain would  
Not beat us so much, so hard  
If the British Police were not  
'The Best Police in the World'

Trevor Rayne

## NIGERIA: THE ECONOMY AND THE PEOPLE

*Edwin Madunagu Nigeria: The Economy and the People.* New Beacon Books 1984, pp38 £1.75

A wealth of Marxist analysis is emerging from the oppressed nations, where progressive social forces are struggling to achieve national democratic revolutions against imperialist oppression. This short book is a well-aimed work of propaganda. Written before the New Year's Eve military coup (see FRFI 36) Madunagu spells out 'the link between power and helplessness,

affluence and poverty, robust life and misery' that is the capitalist dynamic of Nigerian society.

Subtitled 'The political economy of state robbery and its popular democratic negation' the author describes the means by which Nigeria's bourgeoisie robbed the masses in a system where 'the total wage bill of a state government can be realised as profit or oil commission on a single contract of construction, supply or sale of crude oil' and where the proposed Federal capital, Abuja, served as a means of plunder: 'Millions of ndira have been collected to paint houses whose sites for construction had not been cleared'.

Madunagu presents the choice imperialism forces upon Nigeria: 'fascism or Popular Democracy'. 'Popular Democracy is the democracy for workers, peasants, radical professionals, petty commodity producers, petty traders, progressive intellectuals and students.' Pitted against them are the direct beneficiaries of imperialism, the 'local comprador bureaucrats, capitalists, and merchants - clients, agents, partners and servants of expatriate capitalists - who enjoy tremendous local economic power'. Madunagu identifies Popular Democracy as a transitional state towards socialism. In it the masses must have their own political and paramilitary organisations if the balance of power is to be shifted from the bourgeoisie and imperialism. Today, its demands are for democratic rights, against state terror, for public accountability of all state institutions, against all ethnic, sexual and religious exploitation, for a free press and against imperialist subversion.

As if anticipating the recent resumption of state power by the military Madunagu asks 'How many more magicians will this country tolerate before it puts an end to the rule of fetishism and enthroned planned rationality and egalitarianism.' It is no conjuring trick which transforms the wealth of Nigeria into the poverty of the masses, the profits of British and other transnationals are listed. The Popular Democratic struggle will fight these and the current military rulers.

Trevor Rayne

## DRESDEN: ANNIVERSARY OF MASS MURDER

Just imagine: a fleet of Soviet bombers drops thousands of incendiary bombs on one of the most beautiful towns in Europe, a historic city like Bath or Paris. The town is virtually undefended, contains hardly any important military or strategic targets, and is known to be full of refugees. 135,000 people are killed (more than at either Hiroshima or Nagasaki), many of them being burnt to death. The fires started by the incendiaries are so fierce that they create a firestorm, that is, a vacuum so powerful that it sucks people into it. The town centre, containing museums, churches, theatres and an opera house, is completely gutted. If it had happened, would we ever hear the end of it - the Russian menace to western civilisation, Soviet barbarism, and so on. It did happen, only the bombers were British and American - the town was Dresden.

The raids began on 13 February 1945. The interval between the raids was precisely calculated, to ensure that the fire-fighting forces would be destroyed. The attack was concentrated on the town centre. The manufacturing districts on the outskirts, which made such warlike products as toothpaste and baby powder, were barely damaged. Dresden had a fairly important railway network, but the marshalling yards were barely damaged, and the main line bridge over the river Elbe was not even attacked. This was no accident - the techniques of precision bombing were by then so well developed that there could be no question of a 'mistake'. The town was destroyed at will. There was little opposition to the raid as the Nazi fighter defence force had been destroyed on the Russian front.

Dresden burned for seven days and

eight nights, and there were not enough able-bodied survivors left to bury the dead. Rescue operations were further hindered by continual strafing operations by the US Air Force. Immediately after the destruction of Dresden, bomber crews were told that the next target was Chemnitz (now Karlmarxstadt): the reason given for this attack being 'to finish off any refugees who may have escaped from Dresden'.

Like the concentration camp, the systematic bombing of civilian populations was pioneered by British imperialism. It began with the bombing of revolutionary peasants in Afghanistan in the 1920s. The first bombing of a city in the Second Imperialist World War was carried out by British forces on the night of 10-11 May 1940, on Mönchen-Gladbach in Germany. It became a systematic policy of terrorising the civilian population after a meeting of the War Cabinet, on 14 February 1942. By the end of the war, 600,000 civilians (of whom almost one fifth were children) were killed by these terrorist raids. The responsibility for this crime against humanity clearly lies with imperialism - despite the terrible losses it suffered during the war, Soviet forces never carried out such reprisal raids against the civilian population. The Soviet Army General Staff was deliberately misled by their 'Allies', who did not tell them that they planned mass attacks on the civilian population at Dresden. It is imperialism which has made civilians a 'legitimate' military target, which brings war to cities far behind the military lines, and which is bringing humanity to the edge of destruction. If you want peace, fight imperialism!

Patrick Newman

## PETALS OF THOUGHT

*Femi Fatoba Petals of Thought.* New Beacon Books 1984, pp55 £2.40

I recall a friend's description of the ride from the airport into Lagos City: roads glowing red, enamelled with crushed coke cans; traffic jams transformed into seething market places; the harbour, thick, like a broth; lines of beggars snaking through teeming thousands who live and sleep on the city streets; a grey municipal hearse methodically doing its daily rounds; and above it all the howl of a culture wrenched by British imperialism into the chaos of late twentieth century capitalism.

Here are poems reflecting that agony, the deceit of a 'progress' and 'development' sold by agents hired in London and New York.

The streets of Lagos  
are lined with the debts of Lagos

Femi views from the flyer,  
soon, we who escape the armies of  
armed robbers  
To crawl into our expensive hives  
Will be happy to pay tolls  
For fleeting views of the skies.

Reality has been occupied and is  
continually in the process of being  
stolen; as he contemplates the  
bewildering fact of a death suddenly  
Femi pulls up

And what about the funeral director  
Whose gentle tongue caresses  
The purse of the bereaved?

So where is the heart that shall redeem  
Nigeria, he looks back to the land

When pregnant rivers  
Break their banks  
When cultivated crops  
Fight the weeds for life

## Revolutionary Road to Communism in Britain

continued from page 2

male, British workers as the vehicle for socialist advance. In reality the position of the manifesto is extremely broad. The position of communists is to support all those forces fighting oppression, while opposing all those forces which seek to destroy the anti-imperialist struggle or undermine the gains of popular revolution. Thus alone on the left the RCG gives its full support to all those forces opposed to imperialism from the Republican Movement in Ireland to the Greenham women's peace camp in Britain.

Yet the manifesto goes beyond this to look forward to the building of a true communist party. The introduction to the manifesto shows the way in which this will come:

'The 1981 uprisings in British cities demonstrated that a section of the working class now exists which can unite the struggle of the working class in Britain for socialism with the struggle against national oppression at home and abroad. Communists have to work alongside these forces to build with them an anti-imperialist, anti-racist movement which will draw in wider sections of the working class. From the most politically conscious, vanguard elements of this movement a new communist party can be born in Britain. Its banner will proclaim "workers and oppressed peoples of all countries unite to destroy imperialism".'

This party will be built with the experience of the communist movement and particularly that of the Third International. This experience is summarised in the last section of the manifesto. Because such a party can only be built out of a

mass anti-imperialist movement the last part of the manifesto, the 'Tasks of Communists in Britain today', contains a programme of anti-imperialist and democratic demands. The manifesto concludes with an outstanding quote from Lenin, a lesson for today:

'... It is... quite inconceivable that the proletariat, as a historical class, will be able to defeat the bourgeoisie, unless it is prepared for that by being educated in the spirit of the most consistent, and resolutely revolutionary democracy.'

This manifesto stands in the tradition of Lenin, in a tradition lost in Britain since the time of the Third International and the revolutionary Communist Party of that time. The manifesto offers a way forward to those involved in Irish solidarity work, anti-racist struggles and other political campaigns. It provides material for group discussion; it provides a thorough understanding for those who understand only in part. For its size and the quality of the publication, the manifesto is extremely cheap, and thus easily within the reach of working class people. The manifesto is necessarily long because, in the climate of British politics today, to put forward a clear anti-imperialist position requires providing evidence which puts this argument beyond question. The point is to read the manifesto and use its argument to bring about change. The change we aim it to contribute to is the overthrow of imperialism, and the establishment of a system organised in the interests of the vast majority of humanity: socialism.

Chris Fraser

# Nationalists increase vote

The elections of 26 February to the sham Basque 'parliament', a state imposed body involving only three of the Basque provinces, have shown again that the Spanish state's terror campaign has failed to crush the democratic demands of the Basque people (see FRFI August 83).

The revolutionary democratic coalition, Herri Batasuna, increased its votes compared to the first such election in 1980, with 157,000 cast in support of the right to armed resistance to Madrid. HB will refuse to occupy its 11 seats. With the votes of the other smaller secessionist party Euskadiko Ezkerra, the 'abertzale' won over 22% of votes cast. Fearing this result the Spanish 'socialist' government had enlarged the assembly, from 60 to 75 seats, and so succeeded in strengthening its hand, by winning for the first time more seats than HB, and weakening the relative position of the largest, Basque, bourgeois party, the PNV. The 'socialists' arranged this while receiving fewer votes in the three provinces than they gained in the general election of 1982!

The increased votes gained by HB were gained in the face of a violent assault by the 'socialist' government. Since December 1982 the state has isolated the current 350 Basque POWs in one special camp at Herrera de la Mancha outside of Madrid, offering pardons to those others that renounce the struggle. It has sent special forces into the French Basque country to attack and kidnap refugees there, denying this when agents have been unintentionally arrested by the French, but ensuring their release later. In April 1983 a new police plan, ZEN, was launched to crush resistance by massively increased harassment of nationalists.

In November 1983, applauded by the main right wing opposition party, Alianza Popular, the 'socialists' used emergency procedures to rush through legislation allowing judges to ban political associations and groups whose mem-

bers are convicted of 'terrorism', to close down media that support 'terrorism', to detain suspects without trial for up to 2½ years, and increased all penalties for 'terrorism'. It attempted to use these laws on HB leaders in December and in January sent the director of *Egin*, the newspaper linked to HB, to prison for 2 years. A mass of other trials of HB members for 'crimes' such as insulting the King, to resisting local government legislation, are in train.

Since December a new murder campaign has been carried out by the so-called anti-terrorist liberation group (GAL) killing 5 leading exiles in France by 25 February. To this has been added the shameful cooperation by the 'socialist' French government in arresting and deporting 12 leading Basque exiles to Panama, or to Northern France. The collaboration, and the terror campaign launched against Basque nationalists in France and Spain will not succeed; the recent elections have shown that the people are with ETA. In France 35 hunger strikers have gone over 40 days without food in Arbonne, in protest against French cooperation with the Spanish government, as they say 'the French cops provide the information the Spanish cops send in their killers'. But as the social and economic crisis in Spain deepens, the Basque people can only increase their struggle. They will not be defeated.

**Free the Prisoners!  
No to extradition!  
No to the oppression of the  
Basque people!**

Paul Banks

The forces of the Polisario Front, fighting for national independence and self-determination in the Western Sahara are successfully repulsing an enormous Moroccan military offensive which began in November and December of 1983. Morocco is a major ally of American strategic plans in the region and it has been the huge increase in US military aid which has proved to be a decisive factor in enabling King Hassan II of Morocco to continue his very costly expansionist war against the Saharan people. The recent period has also seen French imperialism emerge as a major military backer of Morocco.

## WESTERN SAHARA War intensifies

Morocco has utterly failed to defeat the Polisario Front who made spectacular military advances between 1981 and 1983. Hassan was forced to build a defensive wall hundreds of miles long, bristling with US-supplied radar and listening equipment. The recent Moroccan offensive has attempted to extend the length of this wall.

A Moroccan invasion force of up to 25,000 men launched a series of attacks in the north of the Sahara. US F5 jets and French Mirage F1's dropped large quantities of fragmentation bombs which have caused civilian casualties.

Reports however indicate that the fighting strength of Polisario and its deadly ability to launch lightning counter-strikes has not been impaired. Polisario has launched a counter offensive at Amgala and has also breached the wall in several places in recent

months. The experienced and daring Polisario fighters are able to move at great speed in Land Rovers and can literally melt back into the desert.

Morocco by contrast is forced to maintain an army of 170,000 men at a cost of \$1-2 million a day. This massive spending equal to some 40% of the Moroccan budget has greatly increased poverty and unemployment in Morocco itself which led to the demonstrations and uprisings in many cities in January (see FRFI 36). Opposition to the reactionary war is growing. During the uprisings in Marrakesh the outlawed Ilal-Amaam (Forward) group distributed leaflets blaming Morocco's economic crisis on 'the war that the criminal Hassan II is waging against our brothers in the Western Sahara.'

Bill Hughes

## CENTRAL AMERICA

### Peoples' vote

The Sandinista government has set 4 November as the date for Nicaragua's presidential and constituent assembly elections. US imperialism and its bourgeois allies in Nicaragua have long been clamouring for such elections, denouncing their absence as proof of the Sandinista's opposition to democracy. Now they are to take place, these same reactionaries are trying to sabotage and delay them. The Conservatives, Social Christians and others are even considering boycotting the elections.

This is hardly surprising for political parties which have opposed those measures of the Sandinista revolution which have improved the conditions of the poor peasants and working class, parties which enjoy little support and whose leaders are unknown mediocrities. Their previous sloganising about elections are being exposed as a dishonest propaganda platform to justify US aggression against Nicaragua. The Sandinistas are approaching the elections with full confidence. They have reduced the voting age to 16 after demands from Sandinista youth organisations: 'If we are old enough to die for our country, we are

old enough to vote.' The vast majority of the people support the Sandinistas, for Nicaragua is the only Central American country where literacy is rising, infant mortality dropping, where basic food items are cheap, medical care is free, where poor peasants are given land and workers encouraged to form trade unions. By calling the elections, the Sandinistas will again confirm their popular support, deny US imperialism a fraudulent pretext for aggression and expose it and its bourgeois allies as enemies of the people striving to build a better life for themselves and as enemies of democracy.

### Rigged elections

While genuine elections are prepared in Nicaragua El Salvador will witness a gruesome presidential contest on 25 March. The main contestants will be Roberto D'Aubuisson, leader of the fascist ARENA party, a 'psychopathic killer' according to an ex-US ambassador and Napoleon Duarte leader of the Christian Democrats.

The British government is giving support to this ugly farce by once again sending observers to oversee an election in a country where D'Aubuisson's death squads in El Salvador relentlessly hunt down and murder socialists, trade union leaders and other democrats, and the communist and other revolutionary organisations are banned.

While repression continues, the conditions of the masses continue to deteriorate. Today 96% of the country's wage earners do not earn enough to buy the minimum necessities of life. The FMLN which controls a third of the

country and in whose liberated zones true popular democracy is being established, are boycotting these sham elections. Their numerous proposals for a genuine democratic resolution of the civil war have all been rejected and they are therefore persevering with their military campaign. In late February the FMLN shot down two army helicopters—a severe blow to the regime as helicopters are crucial to its war effort. The army, trying to hide its embarrassment, claimed they had crashed into each other!

Eddie Abrahams.

## KENYA

### Political terror

A new wave of political detentions has begun in Kenya's Northeast Province. In the last month at least 11 people have been arrested and held without charge. They were seized under Emergency legislation which dates back to the colonial period and which allows the local administration draconian powers of detention, restriction and deportation from the area. The District Commissioner can detain anyone for 28 days and can extend the detention order indefinitely.

These arbitrary powers imprison by fear all northern Kenya from the Somali border to Turkana on the border with Uganda. The legislation has been used extensively by both the Kenyatta and Moi regimes. Northern Kenyan detainees are not normally officially listed and some have been held for many years. It is not known how many people are currently held under these laws.

Six of the eleven newly arrested people were released after 28 days. All came from Mandera. The remaining five came from the airforce base town of Wajir. They include a former Assistant Minister Abdisirat Khalif Mohamed, the Chairman of Wajir County Council, Mohamed Noor, and a former Councillor, Ahmed Elmi.

Following on from these political detentions reports are filtering out of a massive atrocity committed by Kenyan police and troops. Imperialism is rapidly transforming Kenya into a huge strategic base and arsenal. All opposition is

being savagely crushed.

Now a local councillor in the town of Wajir reports over 300 people murdered by Kenyan police and army. An additional 5,000 have been rounded up and 'forced to lie on their bellies in the hot sun... Those who resisted were shot dead and the rest denied food and water. Some were clubbed to death and others were burned alive.' These events took place between 10 and 15 February.

A giant military air base with underground hangars is being built near Wajir by an Israeli firm using imported labour. Israeli commandos are stationed in Kenya along with British and US forces.

Anyone wanting further information on repression in Kenya should contact: Committee for the Release of Political Prisoners In Kenya, c/o 76 Stroud Green Road, Finsbury Park, London N4 3EN.

DR/TR



Polisario guerilla in liberated territory, Western Sahara.

#### ● Grenada

A senior British government lawyer has been drafted in to help with the prosecution against 40 imprisoned Grenadians, including members of Maurice Bishop's government, that the stooge 'interim government' has accused of murdering the former Prime Minister and other Grenadians. This fig-leaf to justice is torn by the fact that another British lawyer, Lord Gifford, has been prevented from acting for the defence by the stooge government, quoting a legal provision forbidding any but local barristers from acting on the island. TR

#### ● Racist US mental hospitals

David Tom entered the US in 1951 as an illegal immigrant from China. In 1952, suffering tuberculosis, he entered a sanatorium. His Chinese was diagnosed as a symptom of a retarded schizophrenic. He was incarcerated in an Illinois mental institution. He was never examined by anyone who could speak Chinese. In 1978 a social worker at the mental hospital took David to a Chinese restaurant, where he had a conversation in Cantonese with the cook. The cook told hospital staff that there was nothing wrong with David. Nevertheless, it took a four-year court battle for this victim of Yankee racism to win his release in January, aged 54, after 31 years in a mental hospital. SP

#### ● North Korea

Despite North Korea proposing three way peace talks between North and South Korea and the United States, US imperialism and its South Korean allies have begun massive military manoeuvres named 'Team Spirit 84'. North Korean forces have been put on a semi-war footing because the 'Team Spirit 83' exercise simulated an invasion of North Korea. The manoeuvres involve over 200,000 military personnel including 60,000 from the US armed forces. At the same time a British Navy frigate the 'Aurora' and two auxiliary vessels are making a 'goodwill visit' to the South Korean port of Pusan.

The coincidence of this visit with the 'Team Spirit' military exercise clearly exposes the support of British imperialism for the reactionary regime of South Korea. A commentator from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea says: 'The British imperialists took part in the Korean war as an "ally" of the US imperialists' aggressive policy and splittist line in Korea and defend the US forces' occupation of South Korea in every way.'

Nigel Doyle

**PRISON NEWS**

On 21 February Michael Hickey ended his courageous 90-day rooftop protest at Gartree prison, still without a Home Office commitment to grant an appeal. Since 24 November, throughout Christmas and the bitter January weather, 22 year old Michael had been protesting his innocence and that of his cousin Vincent Hickey and James Robinson. They were convicted in November 1979 of killing 13 year old Carl Bridgewater. Michael is detained 'during Her Majesty's pleasure', the others got life. In 1981 their application to appeal was rejected. Yet there were most certainly strong grounds for appeal. Reports of their trial show that the convictions relied heavily on circumstantial evidence. There is no right of appeal in Britain, merely the 'right' to ask permission to appeal. As so often happens in British prisons, Michael Hickey had to resort to drastic action endangering his health to gain support for their demand, no other options remain.

Brittan's boasts of ending by 31 December the practice of holding hundreds of remand prisoners in police cells has been exposed as cynical politically-motivated manoeuvres. By 3 January the practice had resumed. By early February the figure in London and south-east alone had reached 122 (including 27 women) compared to the daily average of 280 in 1983. The Home Secretary wrought havoc in London prisons and elsewhere solely to achieve his boast for two days! What Lord Elton of the Home Office calls 'a radical restructuring of the functions of London prisons' has amounted to disruption for hundreds of prisoners, denial of legal visits, and solicitors and families looking for days for lost prisoners. 147 remand prisoners, many with families in London, were sent to Leicester on 20 January, 72 men were three to a cell on a remand wing built for 24, the other 75 were put in the prison hospital and the other wings. The Scrubs is also now being used for greater numbers of remand prisoners and many are being forced to wait up to five days for appointments with their solicitors. Their defence cases are being jeopardised. This is now widespread. Under new procedures in Bristol prison, defended by the Home Office on financial grounds, defence lawyers are only being admitted in 'banking hours', 9.30am-4.30pm weekdays. Many barristers will be unable to visit their clients in prison by the time court ends. Previously they visited evenings and weekends. In 1982 of 48,500 remanded in custody, 40% were either acquitted or given non-custodial sentences.

In a Government report published in January, Home Secretary Leon Brittan opposed the granting of any statutory right of prisoners to education. This is in answer to proposals from the Education, Science and Arts Committee on Prison Education to increase spending on prison education.

**Tony Sheridan**

**Durham**

continued from page 1

always present in the room. Visits at busy times like Christmas are often cancelled.

In 1978 Marie Zsigmond hanged herself in 'H' wing where she was suffering from severe depression and was refused psychiatric help. Prisoners on 'H' wing have described the oppression there as being, 'like living in a submarine', 'buried alive in a concrete box' and as existing 'within a small enclosed space, like battery hens only less productive'.

All attempts to get 'H' wing closed have been treated with contempt and ignored by the prison department. Lord Elton commented when confronted by complaints, 'I have looked very carefully into the various points... made and am pleased to say that I have been unable to find any real justification for the criticisms levelled at 'H' wing...'. In August 1981 the Chief Inspector of Prisons reported that '...H' wing staff have succeeded in establishing an extremely relaxed regime within the restraints imposed...'. These are blatant

**Prisoners under attack**

The British Home Office – still smarting from its defeats at the hands of Albany and Wormwood Scrubs prisoners – is increasing repression throughout the prisons, especially in punishment blocks, in an effort to crush growing prison protests. The withdrawal of parole for certain long term prisoners has been followed by the institution of even harsher and more punitive regimes in many prisons. In the face of the legal victories won by prisoners against the internal kangaroo prison courts, the Home Office is increasingly using solitary confinement under Rule 43 as a means of punishing prisoners who fight back.

**REIGN OF TERROR IN WANDSWORTH**

On 8 January prisoners in E1 punishment unit Wandsworth began a peaceful 'dirty' protest against prison officer violence. The prison responded with more violence.

**10 January:** Danny Grimes beaten and put in the strong box; John Seabourne beaten and put in the strong box; Danny Grimes again attacked, taken from E1 strong box to H1 strong box and throttled with a tie. **11 January:** Jimmy McCaig (John Bowden's co-defendant in the Parkhurst prison siege trial) beaten in his cell on H1 landing. **12 January:** Jimmy McCaig again beaten and put in H1 strong box. **13 January:** Charlie Dignan taken to H1 strong box and beaten; Rif Memmet beaten in cell, taken to H1 strong box and again beaten. **21 January:** Garfield Parnell racially abused, beaten, taken to H1 strong box and again beaten. Prisoners say that a young prisoner Ricky Lewis was also beaten.

H1 is a formerly disused semi-basement, poorly-ventilated and with a much higher number of prison officers than usual. Jimmy Anderson, who took part in the June 1983 Wormwood Scrubs protest and in the subsequent legal victories, was threatened with death by Wandsworth prison officers. On 14 January prison officers entered his cell and told him that he would not leave Wandsworth alive unless he dropped his assault proceedings against Wormwood Scrubs prison officers. This criminal behaviour was given legal sanction when, on 3 February, Lord Justice Tasker Watkins refused Jimmy's application for contempt of court. Prison officers may, it seems, threaten the lives of prisoners with impunity. Jimmy wrote, in a statement to Tony Banks MP:

'Please could something be done to put an end to this reign of terror... before they kill someone.'

Wandsworth has long been a particularly vicious prison. Its present Governor, Guinan, was, as Deputy Governor, responsible for the brutal attack on six

Irish POWs in Albany prison September 1976 (see back page this issue). A prison doctor at Wandsworth who was asked by the prisoners to speak out, replied: 'I just tend to wounds.'

**WORMWOOD SCRUBS 'DIRTY' PROTEST**

PROP has released information revealing the background to the 'dirty' protest in the Scrubs. On 7 January a mob of prison officers appeared in the punishment block dressed in new riot gear: green plastic outfits and yellow plastic helmets with see-through visors. They charged into the prisoners. After this attack, prisoners were charged with assault. Six went on the 'dirty' protest. Two dropped out after a couple of days leaving four: Jimmy Rodrigues, Micky Waite, John Garcia and John Hasse. By 20 February Jimmy Rodrigues and John Garcia were still on the protest. The punishment block is described as 'stinking of piss and shit.'

Micky Waite has simply vanished. Micky, who staged a rooftop protest at Winson Green against the murder of Barry Prosser, was badly beaten up and thrown into the strong box cell. He has not been heard of since.

**GARTREE PROTEST**

Gartree was long infamous for extensive use of drugs against prisoners. The new doctor, Hall, is reputed to be against the punitive use of drugs but the more primitive medical officers are continuing to deal out massive doses.

When a prisoner, suspicious of the dose he was given for sleeping, refused to take it standing up, he was threatened with punishment for disobeying an order. Eventually he was allowed to take the dose in his cell. That night he was dragged from the cell to the punishment block and assaulted.

The next day prisoners on the wing protested and refused to go back into their cells until their comrade was produced. He appeared on the wing with a black eye and bruised ribs. Following the demonstration prisoners were transferred to local prisons into solitary confinement. Irish POW John McCluskey and prisoner Stephen Smeeth were among them. Other prisoners, including

Steve Ablett, were fined. None of the prisoners have been charged with any offence.

**WAKEFIELD F WING CONTROL REGIME**

Irish POW Shane Paul O'Doherty has exposed details of the control regime being imposed in Wakefield F Wing. Prisoners are not allowed to speak to each other or stand near cell 'windows'. They are not allowed bedding during the day. They must exercise alone. They are not allowed to go to Mass. They are not allowed to wear T shirts, trainers or denims but wear prison grey uniform at all times.

The cell 'window' consists of 18 three inch square semi-opaque thick glass blocks seven feet from the ground and set two feet into the wall with two sets of bars inside and wire mesh outside. F Wing is the former control unit and the use of petty rules, silence rule and constant observation were elements of the control unit regime. Shane has been held in these conditions since 14 February, Steve Blake (Irish POW) since May 1983 – nearly ten months. Shujaa Moshesh, black prisoner who took part in the Spaghetti House siege, is also there. All are, of course, in solitary confinement.

**SOLITARY**

Paul Norney (Irish POW) and Fahad Mihyi (PFLP) have both been held nearly ten months in solitary confinement in damp 10ft by 5ft cells in Durham prison. Graham Little has just finished over three months in solitary in Bristol. Pat Guilfoyle has just finished over three months in solitary in Liverpool Walton. Many other prisoners are presently in solitary or have just come off long periods of solitary in local prisons. Eddie O'Neill (Irish POW) remains in his tenth month of solitary in Brixton.

The Home Office is increasingly using solitary under Rule 43 to punish resisting prisoners. There is no appeal against Rule 43 solitary.

Arbitrary punishment, brutality and violence. This is the reality of the British prison system: a monstrous machine for the crushing of human beings. The Home Office Thug-in-Chief Leon Brittan is directly responsible for the increased repression directed against prisoners. Also responsible are those Labour Party and trade union 'champions of liberty' who are so concerned about the rights of GCHQ spies but are coldly indifferent to the rights of prisoners. Prisoners are fighting back against the arbitrary violence meted out to them. Irish POWs, black prisoners and other

working class prisoners are uniting and resisting at great personal sacrifice and regardless of the inhuman savagery dealt out to them. But they must not be left to fight on alone. Anyone who cares about the democratic rights of the working class must recognise that prison is a weapon aimed against the whole working class. The present repression is part of the ruling class preparation for meeting any resistance from any quarter. Therefore solidarity with the prisoners is an immediate and vital issue. They must not be left to fight on alone.

**Defend Prisoners' Rights! End Solitary, Control Regimes and Beatings Now! Victory to the Prisoners!**

Terry O'Halloran

**Another death at Glenochil**

On Thursday 16 February at 3.30pm William McDonald, an inmate at the detention centre of the Glenochil complex (also containing a Young Offenders Institution) was found hanging in his cell. William was due out the following week. Glenochil complex has been in the news time and time again – William's death being the fourth in the last 18 months. 12 have occurred in the last decade.

The Fatal Accident Inquiry which is required by the law after a death in custody is a charade which is used to put people's minds at ease. However, more and more people are wanting to know the truth about what is happening behind the bars of Scottish prisons. Former victims of the Glenochil regime say that the law of the jungle prevails. Far from any attempt at rehabilitation or improvement, the regime at Glenochil only strengthens gang rivalry, the rule of force and 'divide and rule' wins the day.

The sheer misery and terror which could drive a young boy to his death less than a week before his release can hardly be imagined – his parents quite rightly want to know why a petty offence led to such a grotesque punishment for their son.

The Scottish Office has consistently refused the use of a public inquiry into prison deaths for fear of the facts that would become available and the truth that would be known.

As Irish youth are the victims of British rule, as black youth are the victims of police harassment, William McDonald was as surely a victim of the Scottish Penal system.

Andy

**HUNGER STRIKE IN WALTON PRISON**

Category A prisoner Bryan Elton has recently come off a five week hunger strike in protest against visiting conditions for Category A prisoners in Walton prison, Liverpool. Bryan is deaf in one ear and has only 20% hearing in the other. All Category A prisoners at Walton are forced to have closed visits – behind thick wired glass. For Bryan this is, in effect, no visit at all.

Bryan decided that his only course was to go on hunger strike to draw attention to his demand for open visits. After 35 days on hunger strike he'd lost two stone and was suffering from headaches and back pains. When his wife, Sheila, visited he was in a wheelchair in the prison hospital. Bryan came off the hunger strike on an assurance from the Governor that his application for re-categorisation would be considered.

Bryan is now back on the wing. He is determined to win his fight for re-categorisation and against closed visits.

**Neil Martin**

**Close 'H' Wing Now! Alexa Byrne**

For more information contact: Women In Prison, 25 Horsell Road, London, N5 1XL, tel 609 3198

Send cards to Lorraine Greenwood and Judith Ward, 'H' Wing, HM Prison Durham, Old Elvet, Durham City.

**FRFI FOR PRISONERS**

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

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

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

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

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

# HUNGER STRIKE PLANNED

The corrupt and inhuman use of informers in the Six Counties of Ireland has now driven some of the men held on remand in Crumlin Road gaol and charged on the 'evidence' of informers to announce that they will be starting a hunger strike in mid-April to protest against the use of informers. Three men have been selected from amongst those held on the 'word' of INLA informers. The hunger strike will be started by Bobby Tohill, charged with murder on the word of informer Harry Kirkpatrick (24 are now awaiting trial on his 'evidence'). Bobby Tohill's wife, Cathy, was part of a delegation to London to campaign against the use of informers; the delegation, invited to London by the Haldane Society and some Labour MPs, included representatives from Relatives for Justice, Stop the Show Trials (Bernadette McAliskey) and Concerned Community Organisations. They demanded, 'End the use of Perjurers in Northern Ireland' and 'Release all those jailed under the Perjurer system'.

Cathy Tohill said that Bobby had already been held from March 1982 until September 1982 on the word of informer Jackie Goodman, who in September 1982 retracted his 'evidence'. Bobby was later rearrested in May, 1983

on Kirkpatrick's 'evidence'. He had since applied for bail when his three year old son, Michael, who suffers from cystic fibrosis, was to go into hospital for a serious lung operation - this application was ignored. His trial won't start

until 1985 at the earliest, by which time he will have been in prison for one and a half to two years, in common with many others held on the word of informers.

The 16 Derry men, held since November 1982 on the word of Robert Quigley, have only just come to trial in Belfast Crown Court, facing 84 charges on uncorroborated evidence. Three weeks into the trial Quigley has admitted implicating an innocent man, Terence Moore, and has admitted making mistakes and 'picking things up wrongly'. Yet at the eight show trials which have taken place there have been (on figures available) 59 convictions on such 'evidence'.

Not everything is going the way of the RUC, however, as the number of in-

formers retracting 'evidence' grew to 18 last week. Barry Llewellyn, who is English-born but living in Downpatrick, retracted his 'evidence' against five South Down men. He revealed that he had been threatened with deportation from the North and that his Downpatrick-born wife would be served with an exclusion order from Britain if he refused to turn informer.

Yet despite the retractions we must continue to shout even louder against the use of informers. As Cathy Tohill said whilst in London,

'If it was in this country there would be an outcry, supergrass trials wouldn't go ahead without corroborating evidence. Why is there one law for one kind of people and another for others? We need an outcry from the public to demand an end to this system and the immediate release of all those remanded and sentenced.'

Pauline Sellars

## IRA Attacks

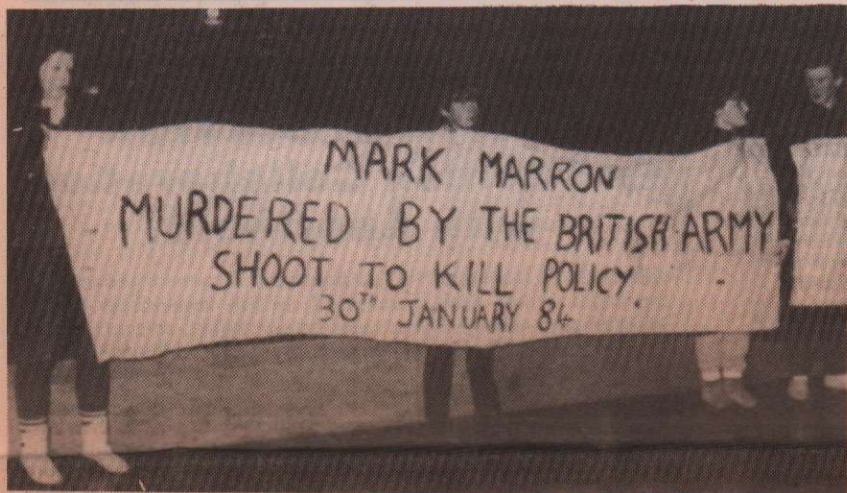
On 27 January the IRA's most devastating operation this year killed 2 RUC men from Forkhill barracks in South Armagh when a 1000 pound culvert mine destroyed their armoured patrol car. As the IRA statement said:

'This attack indicates the ease with which the IRA can continue to strike in border areas in the war of liberation.'

Commercial and British forces targets faced increasing attacks during the past month. A series of blast and incendiary bombs were used to damage furniture showrooms and shops in Dungannon on 16 January; in Belfast on 26 January and 3 February; in Newry on 27 January, 2 February and 17 February; in Lurgan on 1 and 18 February. On 19 February several bombs in the Bairnswair knitwear factory in Armagh caused several millions pound worth of damage. On 18 February Campbell's

Garage in Rostrevor was bombed and the South Down Command of the IRA issued a warning to other business premises serving members of the British forces.

On 23 January a British soldier was wounded by a bomb as a patrol passed a semi-derelect building in Clonard Street, West Belfast. 2 RUC men were injured by a bomb at Stevenson's Bakery in Derry on 27 January. On 28 January an RUC reservist and ex-British army soldier was shot and wounded in County Down. On 13 February an IRA volunteer who had been acting as an informer for 30 months was court martialled and executed near Crossmaglen. On 16 February a UDR man escaped when his van crashed near Killowen, South Down after an IRA ambush. On 21 February the IRA killed one and seriously injured a second member of an SAS stake-out team in Dunloy, County Antrim. However 2 volunteers were killed by SAS back-up units as they returned to base. Frank Coughlan



Republican youth picket British embassy in Dublin.

## British murder policy continues

Just four days after the British Army murdered another unarmed nationalist, Mark Marron, a team of international lawyers began a major inquiry into the shoot-to-kill policy used by the British Army/RUC to try and undermine nationalist resistance in the Six Counties. The Inquiry heard a mass of evidence including estimates of the numbers of men, women and children killed since 1969 as high as 140. Very few soldiers/RUC men have been charged in connection with these murders and not a single soldier or policeman has ever been found guilty.

Evidence submitted included the following:

- Martin Malone, 18, shot by the UDR at point blank range on 30 July 1983. Malone's murderer is still patrolling the nationalist area of Armagh.
- Bridget Foster, 77, gunned down last November whilst she was collecting her old age pension.
- Patrick McElhone was shot dead as he mowed hay. Both his parents died shortly after Patrick's murder and another brother has needed psychiatric treatment. A British soldier charged with Patrick's murder was freed by a Diplock court on the grounds that he was new to the area and was therefore a bit edgy.
- Dorothy Maguire and Maura Meehan were both shot in the back of the head when an Army patrol opened fire on their car. The Inquest returned an open verdict despite the fact that an Army officer admitted giving the shoot-to-kill order.

He was shot in the back on 30 January. The press dutifully reprinted Army lies that they had fired when the car crashed through a checkpoint. The truth later emerged. There was no checkpoint and the car had stopped when a soldier walked over and, pointing his rifle through the window, shot Mark.

On 21 February two IRA volunteers Henry Hogan and Declan Martin were killed by an SAS undercover squad. An SAS undercover unit had been secretly watching Hogan's house and the IRA having spotted it organised an ambush in which two SAS men were shot, one fatally. But as Henry Hogan and Declan Martin were returning to base across a nearby field they were shot by a further SAS undercover squad. Eyewitnesses saw the two shot and report that whilst one was lying wounded and shouting for help a soldier ran up and fired three or four more shots into him.

Even the Government-appointed Northern Ireland Standing Advisory Commission on Human Rights has expressed concern and called for tighter controls on the use of firearms by the Army and the police.

Alan James

Name after name - Denis Heaney, Patrick Duffy, Eamonn Bradley, Neil McMonagle, Manus Deery, Kathleen Thompson... and now Mark Marron.

## IRISH SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT NEWS

### UNITY CALL

The ISM has called for a joint and democratic mobilising committee to organise a demonstration for the commemoration of Bobby Sands and the other hunger strikers who were murdered in 1981. A letter has been sent to Sinn Fein (Britain), IRSP, IFM, TOM, LCI, Ireland's War Support Group, and the Armagh Women's Coordinating Committee, containing the proposal. The recent ban on the Bloody Sunday commemoration demonstration by the Sheffield City Council in collusion with the Tory government is a major setback for the Irish solidarity movement in Britain. A united response to such bans and censorship will not allow the British state to inflict such defeats on the Irish solidarity movement as a whole in the future.

In the spirit of unity the ISM supported the Irish Freedom Movement's march against the bans on 3 March in Sheffield. Amongst those on the march were: IFM contingents, ISCs from London, Manchester and Leeds, Sinn Fein (Pearse/McDaid Cumann) and the Crossmaglen Patriots Band from Glasgow. The ISM was amongst the speakers at the march.

### EDINBURGH ARREST AND CAMPAIGN

Following the arrest and strip searching of a woman supporter of EISC, Edinburgh ISC have launched a campaign against the strip searching of women political activists. The campaign intends to draw in support against the now increasingly common practice of strip searching women who are arrested when involved in political demonstrations, and bring to the attention of the public the barbaric treatment of the women prisoners of war who are continually strip searched in Armagh prison in the Six Counties of Ireland. Write to EISC for further details: EISC Box 110,

First of May Bookshop, 43 Candlemaker Row, Edinburgh.

### NEW AFFILIATES TO ISM

East London ISC and Bristol TOM have affiliated to the ISM. These two new affiliates are the second and third since the ISM's delegates conference in November 1983, the first being the newly formed Leeds ISC.

### DELEGATES MEETING IN MANCHESTER

On 26 February delegates from ISM-affiliated bodies attended the quarterly National Committee meeting in Manchester. Future campaigning work agreed included: another week of action in support of the right of repatriation for Irish prisoners of war from 4-10 June; a national series of public meetings against the PTA in July; a national demonstration and conference on 13/14 October. There will also be a large ISM delegation to Ireland on 11 and 12 August. Those wanting further details should write to ISM, BM Box 1320, London WC1N 3XX.

### PRISONERS WEEK OF ACTION

The ISM's Week of Action is gaining broad support. Sponsors for the week of action now include Jeremy Corbyn MP, Alf Lomas MEP, Bernadette McAliskey, Ron Brown MP, Janice Turner (Chairperson of the National League of Young Liberals), and prisoners Graham Little, Steve Lannigan, Ricky Wrethman, Peter Wardlaw and Cirus Noor. Irish political prisoners who have sent messages of support to events during the Week of Action are Eddie O'Neill, Vince Donnelly, Liam Baker and Stephen Blake. We urge all our readers to support the Week of Action in support of the right of repatriation for Irish prisoners of war. Write to ISM, BM Box 1320, London WC1N 3XX.

### ● Criminal Justice Bill

Just as all of us are presumed to like chocolate, so we are presumed to be against crime. In times of economic crisis when governments further increase the hardships suffered especially by the poor, the unemployed, the elderly - a cry of 'get tough on crime' is a great political ploy. Its aim is to divert attention from the issues and enable greater repression to be used against the oppressed. So the Criminal Justice Bill at present before the Dail must be seen against the background of the worst crisis in the history of the Free State. It suffers the highest unemployment in the EEC - now standing at 215,552 out of a population of three million. The new Bill aims to add to the battery of repressive measures which the reactionary Free State authorities already have. It allows extended periods of detention and interrogation; it ends the right to silence of a suspect; it contains provisions to enforce the use of informer evidence and the use of confessions by one person incriminating another without the accuser even having to come to court; photographs, fingerprints and forensic tests on detained persons are allowed and if resisted the detainee may suffer a fine of IRE800 or a year in prison. Already in the 26 Counties there is massive media censorship of all things Republican, mass telephone tapping, new prisons being built, more police being recruited and the infamous Special Criminal Court still in use after 12 years although said to be only temporary. So much for freedom in the 'Free State'.

Cathal

### ● Nicky Kelly

Nicky Kelly, framed for the Sallins robbery in the 26 Counties, serving a 12 year sentence in Portlaoise Prison. In spite of a 38 day hunger strike and widespread anger and protest about this frame-up, the 26 Counties government and Department of Justice vindictively continues to imprison this innocent man. Now they have added insult to injury. Nicky Kelly, suffering from a series of injuries and illnesses sustained in custody. He needs specialist medical attention in a hospital. But the 26 Counties government says he cannot go to hospital unless he pays the costs of the transport and the security arrangements. These are estimated at between £800 and £1200. The Free State regime has learned a lot from its British imperialist masters. First to beat up a man, frame and imprison him and then charge him for medical treatment. What next? Rental payments for the cells into which the régime throws Republicans? MW

### ● Sinn Fein councillors banned

On Wednesday 25 January and Wednesday 8 February, the Dublin Coalition government clearly showed itself to be anti-democratic and anti-Sinn Fein.

On 25 January a delegation of local councillors from Co Donegal took the proposal for a sewerage scheme for the Inishowen area to Leinster House, after the repeated failure of the government to finance the scheme. They were met with the news that Liam Kavanagh had refused to see them because Eddie Fullerton, a Sinn Fein elected representative was among the delegation.

Fullerton, instead of jeopardising the meeting taking place, decided to leave. When asked why he replied:

'I decided that if I stayed, then Kavanagh would have had his excuse to do nothing for Buncrana and rather than let him worm his way out by scoring political points, I left.'

If he was going to deny me the right to represent the people who voted for me, I had no intention of giving him the excuse to deny them their needs.'

A similar incident occurred on 8 February when Liam Kavanagh again refused to meet a delegation seeking road improvements in Longford, because Michael Nevin, chairperson of Longford County Council was present in the delegation. Following Fullerton's lead, Nevin decided to leave so as to allow the meeting to take place.

This is typical of the Dublin government and clearly shows them up for what they are - puppet imperialists - their strings being tied down in Westminster. Veronica F





# HANDS OFF IRELAND

## Solidarity with Irish POWs

### The struggle for repatriation

At least 55 POWs are currently imprisoned in Britain: 25 are serving life sentences; a further 12 have sentences of over 20 years. Many of the POWs are almost totally cut off from families and friends in Ireland because the British government refuses to transfer POWs to prisons in Ireland. Over 60 British army soldiers convicted of offences in Ireland – including rape – have been automatically transferred to British gaols and Loyalists convicted in Britain have been transferred to the Six Counties. But Irish POWs are denied this right – purely for political reasons.

The Irish POWs have constantly fought for the right of repatriation. To the Home Office, the issue is a weapon in the war against the Irish people, the prisoners are political hostages. Only once has the British government given way on this point. In 1975, 4 Irish POWs were repatriated – Marian and Dolores Price, Hugh Feeney and Gerard Kelly – after a lengthy and courageous hunger strike and the death of Michael Gaughan. No other POWs have been repatriated despite the murder on hunger strike of Frank Stagg in 1976.

Shane Paul O'Doherty has taken the fight for repatriation to the European Commission of Human Rights. For this he is punished. Since November 1983 he has been constantly transferred: Long Lartin to Winsong Green; Winsong Green back to Long Lartin; Long Lartin to Bristol; Bristol to Wakefield. He has been in solitary in Wakefield F Wing since 14 February for refusing to do prison work. Two other POWs – John McCluskey and Roy Walsh – have joined their petitions for repatriation to Shane's.

### Murder, brutality and beatings

British governments – Labour and Tory alike – have consistently picked out the POWs for brutal treatment. Five POWs



Irish POWs' rooftop protest, Gartree 1978.

The Irish Prisoners of War in English gaols suffer a brutal and bureaucratically sadistic regime. Many of them may have to face 30 or more years of this hell: some as captured soldiers; some simply because they are Irish and were framed. After military actions by the IRA in Britain there are orchestrated campaigns of anti-Irish hysteria. Amidst the hysteria, random Irish men and women are arrested under the PTA, held, questioned and – if lucky, released. Others are not so lucky. They will then join the other POWs facing years of torment in British gaols. Some 115 Irish men and women have been imprisoned in British gaols since 1969 for political charges.

– Michael Gaughan, Frank Stagg, Noel Jenkinson, Sean O'Connell and Giuseppe Conlon – have been murdered (see box). Four of them were murdered by the last Labour government. If murder is the ultimate weapon, beatings and brutality are the daily resource of the prison officers.

In August 1976 Irish POWs joined the Hull prison rising. After the rising, along with other prisoners, they were viciously attacked. Gerry Cunningham, Ray McLaughlin, John Walker, Paul Hill, Martin Brady and Joe Duffy were forced to walk the gauntlet; prison officers tried to force them to drink urine-laced tea and sing 'God Save the Queen'. The POWs resisted and were repeatedly beaten. In September 1976 6 POWs in Albany protested against the continued solitary confinement of Brendan Dowd. A mob of prison officers in riot gear attacked and beat them. Father Fell suffered a broken nose. Sean

Campbell suffered a broken arm, broken leg, broken fingers, a punctured lung, extensive bruising and abrasions. In August 1979 prisoners in Wormwood Scrubs were viciously attacked by the MUFTI squad for staging a peaceful sit-down protest. Over 69 prisoners had to be treated for head wounds. Irish POW Roland Lynch suffered a badly bleeding head wound and extensive bruising to the head and body.

### Isolation

Isolation is a weapon against protesting prisoners in general and Irish POWs in particular. Of the 55 POWs all but 2 are Category A which means special restrictions on visits, and special security conditions. Of 12 prisoners in Special Security Blocks, 6 are POWs. These blocks are prisons within prisons completely cut off from the rest of the prison population.

Solitary confinement is the major weapon used against prisoners who resist and POWs in particular. **Hugh Doherty** and **Brendan Dowd** spent two years and four months in solitary whilst Leicester SSB was being built. **Patrick Hackett** spent over 2 years in solitary in Wakefield. **Joe Duffy** spent 18 months

### MURDER

**June 1974** Michael Gaughan was murdered on hunger strike when a force feeding tube was rammed through his gullet and punctured his lung.

**February 1976** Frank Stagg was murdered on hunger strike. He had been promised repatriation during the first hunger strike but the lying Labour government broke this promise. He died on his third hunger strike.

**October 1976** Noel Jenkinson was found dead in his cell. He had been fit and well when visited just before his death. The Home Office refused an independent autopsy on his body.

**October 1977** Sean O'Connell died after suffering terribly from untreated cancer for 18 months. His type of cancer could have been treated. He was murdered by deliberate medical neglect.

**January 1980** Giuseppe Conlon died after years of pain and suffering. Giuseppe was framed with the Maguire family and went into prison a sick man with only 30% lung capacity. He was put to work in paint shops and woodwork shops where dust and fumes crippled him. Again he was murdered by deliberate medical neglect.

in solitary after Hull. **Ray McLaughlin** did 12 months after Hull and 7 months after the Albany protest May 1983. **Michael McLaughlin** spent two years in solitary under Rule 43. **Paul Norney** is now in his tenth month of solitary in a 10ft by 5ft barely-furnished and damp strip cell in Durham. At present between 8 and 12 POWs are known to be in solitary.

What visits POWs do get are frequently disrupted by prison officers or prevented altogether by the device of transferring a prisoner just before a visit. In July 1977 Sean O'Connell's mother, an OAP, travelled from Bristol to Gartree for a visit. She arrived to be told that Sean had been transferred to the Isle of Wight one hour before. She never saw her son again.

### Resistance and solidarity

Despite beatings, isolation and solitary confinement, Irish POWs have stood in the frontline of the struggle against the cruel and barbaric British prison system. In Hull 1976 and Albany 1983 this resistance and solidarity was given its finest expression.

On 31 August 1976 Hull prisoners rebelled against the beating of prisoner Artie Clifford. They seized control of A Wing and the Hull rising began. Irish POWs played a leading part. Prisoners broke into the punishment block and freed the men in there, including Artie Clifford. They took to the roof and displayed banners: 'Four Screws beat up one prisoner' and 'Provos rule Hull OK'. After 4 days, on 3 September, the rising ended in a peaceful and disciplined fashion.

On Friday 20 May 1983, 7 Albany prisoners – including 4 POWs – staged a five day roof-top protest. Hundreds of prisoners took part in the Albany protest. The men on the roof – Eddie O'Neill (POW), Paul Norney (POW), Tony Clarke (POW), Steve Blake (POW), Fahad Miyhi (PFLP), Michael Jamieson and Vincent Brown – held up banners calling for prison reforms, repatriation for POWs and denouncing Zionism. 32 prisoners were charged, 28 with mutiny. But an organised legal fightback by the prisoners and their supporters outside won the right of legal representation at the discretion of Boards of Visitors and forced the Home Office to abandon all internal charges. In June long-term prisoners in Wormwood Scrubs also rebelled. None of them were POWs yet one of their demands was for repatriation for POWs.

### Victory to Irish POWs

The Irish POWs' principled struggle on behalf of their own rights and the rights of all prisoners has won them widespread respect and solidarity from other prisoners. As Irish revolutionaries in British prisons they have directly united the struggle of the Irish people for national liberation with the struggle of the working class and oppressed in Britain against the British imperialist ruling class. Their demand for repatriation is a just and revolutionary demand. They have already given two lives in the fight for this demand. Now is the time for the movement outside the prison to unite and fight for the right of repatriation for Irish POWs. Their victory will be a victory for all working class and oppressed people.

**Victory to Irish POWs!  
Repatriation on demand now!**

**Terry Marlowe  
Tony Sheridan**

### SINN FEIN ANNOUNCES POWS CAMPAIGN

At a press conference on 8 February Sinn Fein launched its Irish Republican POWs Campaign. The press conference was addressed by Alex Maskey and ex-POW Gerry MacLochlainn who put forward the campaign's five demands:

(1) The right of Irish political prisoners to serve their sentences in Northern Irish gaols, if they so request. (2) The release of those prisoners framed by the British state. (3) An end to solitary confinement and special control units. (4) The release of Patrick Hackett on medical grounds. (5) The abolition of the PTA.

At its recent delegates meeting in Manchester, the Irish Solidarity Movement agreed to support the campaign and any activities which it organises.

### IRISH SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT NATIONAL WEEK OF ACTION

12-18 March 1984

FOR THE RIGHT OF REPATRIATION FOR IRISH PRISONERS OF WAR IN ENGLISH GAOLS

SPONSORED BY:  
Helen O'Brien – relative of an Irish POW; Mike Holden – ACTT shop steward; Ron Brown MP; Keith Veness – Islington councillor; Cyrus Noor – prisoner; Asian Collective of East London; Stoke Newington and Hackney Defence Campaign; Revolutionary Communist Group; Revolutionary Communist League; Edinburgh ISC; Dundee ISC; Manchester ISC; Bradford ISC; Leeds ISC; Liverpool ISC; South London ISC; East London ISC; North London ISC; Southampton ISC; Bristol TOM; Glasgow University Irish Solidarity Society, Red Action, Janice Turner (Chairman National League of Young Liberals); Bernadette McAliskey; Ricky Wrethman (Scottish prisoner); Jeremy Corbyn MP; Alf Lomas MEP; Breakout Collective, GIFAC, Manchester IRSP, Steve Lannigan (prisoner), Pakistani Workers Association (Britain); ACTT (Hemel Hempstead Branch); Pat Doyle (Labour Councillor); Hemel Hempstead LCI, Graham Little (prisoner); Peter Wardlaw (Scottish prisoner); Edinburgh University Troops Out Society; Neil Taggart (Leeds councillor).

SCOTLAND  
Rally Saturday 10 March. Rally at Mound, 3pm Edinburgh  
Picket Durham prison Sunday 11 March 1.30pm. Called by EISC and Tyneside Action Committee on Ireland.  
Public Meeting Thursday 15 March, Societies Centre, 60 The Pleasance, Edinburgh, 7pm  
Demonstration in Dundee Saturday 17 March. Assemble 12 noon Toffhill car park; march to Rally in City Square, 1.30-3pm. Organised by Dundee and Edinburgh ISCs

BRISTOL  
Picket Horfield prison, Cambridge Road, Bristol, Saturday 17 March 12 noon. Called by Bristol TOM

LONDON  
Picket of Home Office Prison Department 89 Eccleston Square SW1 Monday 12 March 12-2pm  
Meeting Wednesday 14 March, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1  
Placard parade Thursday 15 March, Kilburn Square, Kilburn, 6-7pm  
Demonstration Saturday 17 March, Assemble 1pm Whittington Park, Holloway Road  
St Patrick's Night Social Caxton House, St John's Way, Archway, 8pm  
Picket – Wormwood Scrubs, Sunday 18 March 1pm-3pm  
Organised by London ISCs

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

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

MANCHESTER  
Street Meeting Wednesday 14 March, Longsight Market 11-2pm  
Public Meeting Friday 16 March, Support right of repatriation for Irish POWs, Longsight Library 7.30pm  
Demonstration and March to Rally and Picket at Strangeways Gaol, Saturday 17 March. Assemble Platts Fields, Wilmslow Rd 1pm  
Organised by Manchester ISC

LEEDS  
Public Meeting Wednesday 14 March 7.30pm, Leeds Trades Club, Saville Mount, Leeds 7  
Picket the BBC Woodhouse Lane, Leeds 2, Stop Censorship on Ireland! Thursday 15 March 12-2pm  
Picket Wakefield prison Sunday 18 March 1pm

### SLISC PICKET OF BRIXTON PRISON

On Saturday 18 February 45 people supported the very successful picket of Brixton prison called by the South London Irish Solidarity Committee in support of the demand for the right of repatriation for Irish POWs. Eddie O'Neill, Irish POW, has been in solitary in Brixton since last May after being transferred there after the Albany protest. Tommy Quigley is also there, facing conspiracy charges. It was fitting that at this bastion of the racist British prison system, the picket united many organisations together in their support of the prisoners; messages of solidarity were enthusiastically received by those on the picket; prison visitors eagerly took leaflets and signed the right of repatriation petition; and the prisoners shouted out to the picket acknowledging its presence and solidarity to all the prisoners there. Organisations attending were East and North London ISCs, the Stoke Newington and Hackney Defence Campaign, Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! Inquest, Lambeth TOM, the Irish Freedom Movement, the RCL. Amongst the individuals was a woman from Greenham Common, and a woman of over 70 who stayed the whole time braving the cold, and also black and white youth who joined the picket from the local area. PROP, the national prisoners association, and



RAP, Radical Alternatives to Prison, sponsored the picket. Edinburgh ISC and the Breakout! Collective sent messages to the picket. The picket greeted a message sent from Eddie O'Neill with loud cheers and spirited chanting.

'... Today the Irish political prisoners are struggling to expose and remove the nails in a plank in Britain's policy on Ireland, that is, reverse Britain's political and punitive denial to their demand for repatriation. Support and solidarity is essential for that demand to be secured. We welcome and thank you for your support. Together we can remove the plank!'

Pauline Sellars