

# FIGHT RACISM!

# FIGHT IMPERIALISM!

ANTI-IMPERIALIST PAPER OF THE  
REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST GROUP  
INCORPORATING HANDS OFF IRELAND!

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## BRITISH BANKS LEAD IMPERIALIST OFFENSIVE

Britain's workers face the worst job prospects since the 1930's. Unemployment already well over two million can only rise with manufacturing output forecast to fall by 6% before the end of the year. Many young workers have no chance of a job. Youth unemployment is three and a half times as high as that for adults. Black workers have the worst prospects of all. Black workers are twice as likely to be unemployed as white workers and black youth four times as likely as their white counterparts.

Poverty in Britain is rapidly gaining ground. Nearly 15 million people, over 25% of the population are on or below the poverty line. The old-age workers for whom the capitalist system has no further use suffer worst of all. 3.7 million (44%) live on or below the poverty line. The cuts in the social services will make matters far worse.

If the British workers are faced with the harsh prospects of the growing crisis of capitalism, the oppressed peoples of the world are confronted with far worse. Imperialism has created underdevelopment, has driven millions into poverty and starvation as it has squeezed out super-profits from its rapacious business activities all over the world.

In what the imperialists with their



Lloyds Bank burns during St Pauls uprising

patronising deceit call 'developing countries', life expectancy is on average 20 years below that in the imperialist countries themselves. In whole areas of Africa life expectancy is only 42 years, in Bolivia it is 47, in Pakistan 50, whereas in Britain it is nearly 75. Infant mortality rates tell the same horrific story of imperialist brutality. 240 out of every 1000

children die in the black rural areas of South Africa, 282 in the Transkei. Other areas of Africa suffer similar appalling totals. In Asia the rate is over 150 per 1000, in South America 110. Whilst in Britain it is 13. Seventeen million children in the oppressed nations die before the age of five while imperialism reaps its profits.

## SUPPORTERS ARRESTED UNDER PTA

In what is the most serious attack on the right to sell anti-imperialist and communist literature on the streets of Britain, two *Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!* supporters in Glasgow were arrested on Saturday 9th August and charged under the racist PTA. The two, Mike Duffield and Kirstin Crosbie were simply selling *FRFI* and *Hands Off Ireland!* badges outside the Glasgow Celtic football ground, when the police dragged them away and told them they were being charged with 'behaviour liable to give people cause to believe they were members or supporters of a proscribed organisation.'

By their first appearance in court on Monday 11 August the charge was altered to the more serious one of:

'soliciting and inviting financial and other support for a proscribed organisation - namely the IRA.'

This charge carries a sentence of up to 5 years imprisonment and or an unlimited fine. In court the police opposed bail. Mike and Kirstin were therefore remanded in custody and held in prison for one week. For nothing more than selling a communist newspaper!

Only a vigorous campaign which was

initiated immediately the arrests took place forced the authorities to retreat. By holding pickets at the court and at the prisons, by winning support from various civil liberties bodies, MPs, trade unions, left organisations and anti-imperialist groups we were able to force the police to drop the PTA charges. However instead of dropping all charges the two comrades now face the less serious, but *still* political charge 'of conducting themselves in a disorderly manner' by shouting 'inflammatory slogans likely to occasion a breach of the peace.' No doubt the imperialists find the very name *FRFI* 'inflammatory'!

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While the prospects for workers and oppressed peoples throughout the world are rapidly deteriorating, there is great rejoicing in the citadels of imperialist finance: the British banks. Out of the growing worldwide poverty and starvation, British banks are accumulating vast amounts of wealth. Last year British banks were the most profitable in the world. Barclays Bank was the number one, being the world's most profitable bank, with National Westminster second, Midland fifth and Lloyds seventh. Barclays profits in 1979 were £529.3m an increase of 42% on the previous year. The total profits of all four major clearing banks was over £1½bn, an increase of 43% over 1978. Their total assets amounted to nearly £91bn.

### Imperialism - parasitic and decaying capitalism

As industrial production and manufacturing output decline, as millions of workers find themselves without work or livelihood, as hundreds of children are dying every day in the famine spreading through East Africa, the profits of imperialist banks keep growing and growing.

Yet banks produce no wealth. They simply control and move around vast quantities of money-capital and make enormous profits out of doing so. Their financial power has gained for them an increasing share of the profits which arise from the exploitation of workers in industry, mining and agriculture not only in Britain but throughout the world. The banks are totally parasitic. They foster and feed off the financial helplessness of others, especially of the oppressed peoples of the world. This is a characteristic of imperialism - parasitic and decaying capitalism.

Imperialism is accompanied by the enormous concentration and growth of the banks. These monopolistic banks by virtue of the size and extent of their operations, by their ability to give and restrict credits, through their connections with industry and commerce, can exercise a dominant control over capitalist society.

During the early phases of the post-war boom British businesses were able to finance their expansion from their massive profits made at home and abroad. With the growing crisis of capitalism, as the rate of profit started to fall they were forced to borrow from the banks - at first to continue their rapid expansion but later more and more just to survive.

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Sales continue at Celtic football ground, scene of PTA arrests



# FIGHT IMPERIALISM

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	Rate of Profit	Bank Borrowing as % of total debt
1963	11.6%	38%
1979	4.1%	75%

A large slice of their profits go as interest payments to the banks. The hold of the banks over even large corporations rapidly increases. Rolls-Royce (1971) and British Leyland (1975) went bankrupt when the banks decided that their profit outlook did not merit them receiving further loans. Under capitalism production of material goods is at the mercy of a handful of powerful banks.

## Banks lead assault on the oppressed nations.

As the fate of even large corporations can be determined by the banks, so the survival of the peoples of the oppressed nations massively in debt to the banks depends even more on the decisions of a few powerful imperialist bankers.

Imperialism has always exacted high profits from its investment in oppressed nations. In 1972-77 British imperialism declared a rate of profit of 18-20% from its investments in the oppressed nations. Compared to the return on domestic industry of between 3.6%-4.2% these are indeed super-profits. International banking is also an extremely profitable business.

The international banks have directed a great deal of their business towards the oppressed nations over the last ten years. At present banks provide almost two thirds of the net external financing required by the (non-Opec) oppressed nations compared to less than one third in the early seventies. The Eurocurrency market is a central source of loan capital throughout the world. Over the last period a greater proportion of these rapidly increasing credits went to the oppressed nations. Those going to the oppressed nations (Opec and non-Opec) increased from 36.4% (\$3.5bn) in 1972 to 57.9% (\$48bn) in 1979. Even if we include the international bond market used mainly by borrowers from the imperialist countries, 41.3% (\$52.1bn) of total international borrowing went to the oppressed nations.

The hold of the international banks is now devastating. The total debt burden of all oppressed nations is expected to reach \$451bn (£190bn) this year. To service this debt will require \$88bn (£37bn). More than half the debt owed to the imperialist nations is owed to the private sector – mainly the banks. The non-Opec oppressed nations will need \$27bn (£11.4bn) a year alone simply to pay their total interest payment on their debt of \$150bn (£63bn).

The continuing increase in the price of oil – which has made the oil multinationals the most profitable corporations in the world – together with the growing burden of debt, has confronted the people of the oppressed nations with a growing crisis of desperate poverty and hunger. The external debt of the oppressed nations rose from 19% of their GNP in 1973 to 25% today. It is still rising. Brazil with the highest debt in the world, over \$50bn (£21bn) last year had to pay over 60% of its export income on debts servicing alone. Turkey having debts of about \$12bn (£6.7bn) has no real possibility of paying it back as most of its export earnings are needed to pay for oil. Repressive regimes in many of these countries, backed to the hilt by the imperialists, stand as guarantor for their imperialist creditors. Arms are a major export from the imperialist nations to these countries – we can understand why!

## British banks strengthen British imperialism

A myth exists among the privileged strata of the British labour movement. It is a myth that is also peddled by the British left. Its argument is that the decline of Britain's industrial production shows that Britain is a declining imperialist power or not even an imperialist power at all. Tony Benn puts this view, a view shared both by the Labour Party and the CPGB, most clearly of all:

'Britain has moved from Empire to Colony status. It is a colony in which the IMF decides our monetary policy, the international and multinational companies decided our industrial policy and the EEC decided our legislative and taxation policies.'

Britain which has bulldozed its way through most of the oppressed nations of the world,

which still brutalises the people of its oldest colony Ireland, which is the major backer of the racist South African state and whose banks are the most profitable in the world, is called a colony!

The more 'left' you go, the more subtle the tune. The SWP denies not only the export of capital to the oppressed countries but also denies the existence of a privileged strata of working class that has arisen on the basis of the super-profits of imperialism. That is the SWP denies the essence of imperialism. All of the British left have failed to expose and denounce the imperialist role of the banks. Mr Frank Richards of the RCT has emerged as a leading apologist for the British banks by arguing that the world-wide export of capital by the British banks shows the weakness of British imperialism! From Tony Benn through the CPGB to the SWP and RCT we see the left covering up for British imperialism.

The facts, which these petit-bourgeois willfully ignore, speak loudly. The export of capital to the rest of the world by British banks has in the recent period reached staggering proportions. It dwarfs all other investment abroad. In 1962 UK banking and commercial claims abroad stood at £2.3bn – 18% of the total of all British assets held abroad. In 1979 they were 73% of all external assets reaching the massive total of £133.5bn. For the record, British banks at the end of March 1979 had assets of \$32.7bn (£13.8bn) in non-Opec oppressed nations. Its claims outside the main industrial capitalist countries were in the region of \$90.4bn (£38bn) including \$14.7bn (£6.2bn) in the socialist bloc. British banks have large investments in countries like Brazil, South Africa, South Korea, where workers defending their jobs and wages are shot down by troops acting in the interests of imperialism. Is it any wonder that those who deny the essence of imperialism wantonly ignore the role of British banks leading the offensive against oppressed nations, and wantonly ignore the pillage and devastation British banks inflict on millions and millions of oppressed peoples.

## British workers and the banks

British banks are leading British imperialism's drive to maintain a commanding position throughout the world. Only if Britain stays a

major imperialist power will it be possible out of the super-profits of imperialism for the ruling class to maintain a small privileged strata of the working class to defend capitalism. This strata, whose spokesmen include Tony Benn on the left of the Labour Party, are isolated from the unemployment and falling living standards threatening the vast majority of the working class.

While workers in Britain face growing unemployment and falling living standards, the banks make massive profits. While the workers and peasants of the oppressed nations are driven to poverty and death by the brutal rule of imperialist backed repressive regimes, the banks exact enormous profits. The workers and oppressed peoples have the same enemy – the imperialist banks. The peoples of the oppressed nations are fighting back. In Iran, Ireland, Nicaragua, Southern Africa and many other places they have taken up the fight against imperialism. When the uprising began in Soweto in 1976, one of the first targets was the township branch of Barclays Bank. The black youth of St Pauls expressed the same revolutionary spirit when they burnt down Lloyds Bank in St Pauls. All British workers must begin to take on the banks. In the interests of all workers, they must call for more than the nationalisation of the banks. For nationalisation, given Britain's imperialist role, is a demand for the state to direct an even more organised repression and exploitation of oppressed peoples. This is why this demand could be a key element in the programme of the Labour Party because it can only be in the interests of the small privileged strata of the British working class.

Communists stand with the oppressed peoples of the world in their struggle against imperialism. Communists therefore demand the nationalisation of the banks and the liquidation of all oppressed nations debts. Only by fighting for this demand can the British working class show its determination to unite with the oppressed peoples to destroy their common enemy, the imperialist British banks.

David Reed  
September 1980

# POLAND: EDITORIAL STATEMENT

For weeks the British bourgeois press has been full of 'support' for the Polish workers. Ruling class hypocrites and their hacks who have attacked every workers' struggle here in Britain, who called the striking hospital workers 'murderers' suddenly found great sympathy for the Polish workers. Why? Only because the British ruling class has tried (unsuccessfully) to use the struggle of the Polish workers as a stick with which to beat the socialist countries, the Polish CP and, indeed, the very idea of communism.

In this task they have been aided and abetted by the petit bourgeois left SWP and IMG. They too, like the echoes of the ruling class which they are, have filled their papers with 'solidarity' with the Polish workers. In reality their 'solidarity', like the 'support' of the ruling class, is nothing of the kind. Under the cloak of 'solidarity' they have aided the reactionary imperialist Cold War drive.

What did their 'solidarity' consist of? Did they say that the fundamental cause of the economic problems facing the Polish economy is imperialism? That we, as socialists in an imperialist nation, recognise that support for the Polish working masses must and can only take the form of building a movement to destroy British imperialism?

On the contrary, **Socialist Challenge** and **Socialist Worker** produced such offerings as:

'Poland already proves that even under the most oppressive conditions workers can resist.' (**Socialist Worker**)

Even in the 'most oppressive' conditions? What is this but an echo of ruling class talk of 'totalitarianism'? Such talk ill-becomes socialists in the heartland of imperialism from which the British state has launched the 'most oppressive' war against the Irish people, torturing and killing them. The 'most oppressive' conditions in Poland where the strikers won their demands unmolested by the authorities contrast forcibly with Britain where the Grunwicks strike, of overwhelmingly Asian women for basic trade union rights, was broken up by 5000 police – one quarter of the Metropolitan Police Force.

We could expect no better from the SWP which, in the face of the heroic Irish people's struggle against the British army, has campaigned tirelessly... against the leading force in that struggle: the Provisional Republican movement. We could expect nothing better from the SWP than covering up for imperialism. Thus while admitting that Poland is in debt to western imperialist banks to the tune of \$20bn and that this year its debt service repayments requirement is \$7.1bn – 68% of the value of projected exports – the SWP refuses to draw the conclusion that the task of workers in

Britain is to assist the removal of this grotesque burden on the Polish people by **destroying British imperialism**.

Only a medieval theologian, skilled in counting the angels on the head of a pin, could find the difference between the SWP and IMG – although the former holds the Soviet Union and the East European states to be 'capitalist' whilst the IMG believes them to be 'deformed workers states'. **Socialist Challenge** tells us:

'it is... of the utmost importance for the international left including the Western CPs, to alert the whole of the Labour movement to the danger of Soviet intervention and to make clear their firm opposition to the gangster-like methods of the Kremlin'

In the tortured logic of Trotskyism this is called 'defending the Soviet Union'. In reality it is defending imperialism.

**Socialist Challenge** proudly told its readers:

'in giving half this weeks paper to the events in Poland, **Socialist Challenge** declares its total solidarity with the Polish workers who are fighting against their equivalents of Jim Callaghan and Len Murray.'

It has never been known for **Socialist Challenge** to devote half its pages to the Irish people's struggle against the British imperialist 'gangsters'. Indeed when, two weeks previously, the British army ran amok shooting men, women and children, the best **Socialist Challenge** could manage was 2 pages. Nor did **Socialist Challenge** remind its readers that far from fighting Callaghan it campaigned for his re-election in the last general election.

**Socialist Challenge** tried to give the Polish workers' struggles a totally anti-socialist con-

tent. Despite the fact that the Polish workers made it clear throughout that they recognised the leading role of the Polish CP, **Socialist Challenge** wished it to be otherwise:

'The real choice is either workers' democracy with the right of the masses to elect whoever they want, and freedom of political organisation for those elected (including people with bourgeois or petty bourgeois ideologies or programmes) or a decisive restriction of the political rights of the working class itself, with all the consequences which flow therefrom.'

What nonsense! The Polish workers were not fighting for bourgeois democracy such as we endure in Britain. Such 'democracy' means nothing but democracy for the exploiters and want for the oppressed and workers. No, the Polish working masses are struggling to solve problems which **would not exist** if imperialism did not.

The revolutionary communist position is clear. We support the aspirations and struggles of the Polish working masses. We recognise that their struggle was not aimed at overthrowing socialism in Poland (as the IMG and SWP wished it to be). We recognise that it is parasitic imperialism which is the fundamental cause of the economic problems facing Poland. In that situation the international task of the British socialists is simply this: to build a movement capable of destroying British imperialism. That is our task and the fulfillment of it is our major contribution to the struggle of workers and oppressed peoples throughout the world. Such a movement will both defend the socialist countries and hasten the victory of communism worldwide.



# PRISON NEWS

ASSOCIATED PRESS



Prisoners protest at Wormwood Scrubs

## PRISONS: THE MURDEROUS REGIME

'A Thousand Days of Solitary' by Doug Wakefield. Published by PROP. Price £1.20

Doug Wakefield ends his statement, a statement laboriously written on toilet paper over a two month period and then smuggled out of Long Lartin prison, with these words:

'What I know for certain is that I have now spent over 1200 days in total isolation and if this statement fails to draw support I'm as good as dead.'

To know the lengths of refined cruelty and swinishness that the British state is capable of we need look no further than its prisons. There, as Doug Wakefield's experience testifies, the British state, safe behind the closed prison doors, reveals its true nature. Behind the high prison walls a world exists in which there is no end to the outrages committed against that most vulnerable section of the working class, the prisoners.

For Doug Wakefield this has meant that since his imprisonment in 1974 he has spent over 1200 days in total isolation. He has suffered beatings, drugging and in fact every conceivable attempt has been made to destroy him mentally and physically. What he has suffered is horrifying. It is the most extreme persecution that the prison authorities are capable of. But countless prisoners have experienced the same persecution if at a less intense level. Long term prisoners, and amongst them especially Irish POWs and black prisoners, suffer similar long periods of isolation, beatings and drugging. The numbers of 'mysterious' deaths in prisons mount. The names of Richard Campbell and George Wilkinson are merely the most well known of the recent deaths. Inside British prisons, as Doug Wakefield shows, that most experienced of all oppressors – the British ruling class – has established a murderous regime.

Doug Wakefield, as many prisoners are doing, refused to bend his knee to the prison authorities. He fought back against constant harassment with one of the few weapons a prisoner has – he once took a warder hostage and on another occasion unsuccessfully attempted to do so. Despite the fact that he inflicted no injury on any warder, from that day on he was a marked man. He was placed in the strong box at Leeds prison. He describes what this meant:

The strong box is a soundproof cell and is without windows. It is stripped bare and has no furniture inside at all. The bed consists of a wooden boarding that is encased within the cold concrete floor. The only articles allowed in this cell are a plastic container for doing toiletries in and a jug of water, nothing else is permitted. Generally speaking the usual period that any prisoner is subjected to such a

harsh and restricted existence as the strong box offers does not exceed 2 or 3 days...

I was detained in the strong box at Leeds prison from November 7 until 12 April 1976, a total of 156 days without interruption. This is still the longest number of days spent in any strong box in the UK prison system. During the whole of this 156 days I was not allowed possession of my radio. Nor was I given any books or newspapers and to all intents and purposes I was thus effectively cut off from the rest of the world in every respect. I received no visits and was not allowed to associate with or even see any other prisoner at any time. I was given no work to do that might occupy my mind. My only alternative occupation was either to daydream or sit staring at a cold blank wall. Throughout the entire 156 days, during which occurred an exceptionally cold and frosty winter, I was issued no sheets, blanket or mattress. The clothes in which I stood were the only ones given to me and these were not changed for me at any time. All my meals were brought to my door and were constantly tampered with. Dirt was frequently evident in the food and a white (toilet cleaner?) powder in the tea. During each night the night patrol guards constantly kicked and banged the cell door and told me how I would not try to take a prison guard hostage again, until eventually I abandoned any hope of getting an unbroken night's sleep and subsequently slept in short snatches whenever the opportunity presented itself.

This torture was inflicted in a British prison and the responsibility lies with those same British imperialists who hypocritically babble about so-called violations of human rights in the Soviet

Union. Let us see some journalist expend a small fraction of the energy they have spent writing nonsense about 'Gulag Archipelagos' exposing what is going on under their noses in British prisons.

For his second attempt to take a warder hostage Doug Wakefield was charged with attempted murder. Despite the fact that even the judge was exasperated at the lack of evidence against him, he was sentenced to a further five years in prison.

What followed was a nightmare. He has been transferred from prison to prison no less than 19 times in five years. Often this has been a transfer from one segregation unit to another. He has not for a single day been free from harassment. On one occasion when in the psychiatric wing at Parkhurst he witnessed a fight between two prisoners one of whom later died. The prison authorities demanded that he inform on the prisoner. He would not do so. For this he was again isolated and for three months was persistently harassed in order to force him to inform. At the end of this three months he was horrified to find that he had been charged with murder. Moreover he was immediately shipped to Winchester prison and put into the dreaded 'strong-box' – this time for 86 days. He was told that if he pleaded guilty the charge would be reduced to manslaughter and he would get off lightly. The alternative was an unlimited length of time in the strong-box. This he could not face, he decided to accept the 'deal'. But as with all such deals he found he had been tricked. He was sentenced to 'life' imprisonment and transferred to yet another segregation unit this time at Wormwood Scrubs.

Throughout, Doug Wakefield has tried:

'to protect my rights of independence and self-assertion and what the prison authorities were – and still are – trying to do was to have me surrender those rights unquestioned in order that they may, unbridled, proceed to break down the whole structure of my personality and character and in its place create and implant a new one.'

As he wrote his statement he was still being held in Long Lartin. He was in solitary confinement in a cell measuring seven feet by six with no natural light. His food was cold and inedible. He had no recreation, no radio and only one newspaper a week. He was forced to take visits in the segregation unit itself flanked by several silent warders. So disturbing did he and his visitors find this that he refused visits in these conditions. At night his cell light was put on every half-hour. His letters were vetted by a 'security guard' who delayed and obstructed them. He became unable to look after his sole companion, a budgie, and sent it to the prison aviary. A few days later word came that it was

dead. In case his reader should find it beyond belief that the warders vengeance should reach such hatefulness he reminds us that after the Hull riot warders were 'reprimanded' for throwing prisoners' budgies live into the prison furnace.

Doug Wakefield has described from the depths of loneliness, depression and ill-health what his persecutors have done to him. He has done so because he fears that he is travelling the same path as George Wilkinson. Wilkinson was reduced to a physical wreck by just such treatment and died after a hunger strike. He spent all but three of his last hours in the 'strong box'. Wakefield has tried all the 'normal channels'. He has repeatedly petitioned Labour MP Denis Healey who has simply told him to stop approaching him. No doubt Healey approves wholeheartedly of this systematic destruction of a prisoner. After all it was the last Labour Government who set up the Hell Blocks of Long Kesh.

Wakefield's statement touches on every aspect of the prison system. Despite the fact that 'control units' have supposedly been abolished, long term Prisoners frequently get put into solitary under the notorious rule 43 (for the maintenance of 'good order and discipline', ie a rule which gives the Governor the right to take whatever action he pleases against a prisoner).

Prisoners are subjected to drugging with large quantities of dangerous depressant drugs which often permanently disable them. Not for nothing do the prisoners refer to the prisons as 'zombification centres'. Medical treatment is non-existent and prisoners suffering severe illness are often simply given aspirin. Recently eleven prisoners at Parkhurst prison petitioned the coroner presiding over an inquest on a prisoner. The eleven prisoners wished to testify to the medical neglect which had led to the death of the prisoner from meningitis. The Coroner refused to allow them to testify.

Visits to prisoners in British prisons are officially limited to half an hour a month. In that half-hour a month prisoners must try to keep alive their family relationships and friendships. This is made even more difficult by the common practice of ghosting. Rudely awakened at 4 or 5 am the prisoner is shunted to an unknown destination. His family and friends must then track him down.

But most of all what the prisoners suffer is the unrestrained brutality of the warders. Usually the warders are right wing half-wits who delight in their task of persecution. And the British state gives them carte blanche to indulge their sadism. Beatings are frequent. Recently an article in the Guardian revealed that in 1979 a journalist had received information that a prisoner had been murdered by warders. His informant was a warder who told him that ten warders had entered the prisoner's cell and beaten him to death. A whole machinery of cover-up was instituted against which the journalist and the warder were powerless.

It is therefore not surprising that when, as is increasingly happening, prisoners take the perilous step of roof-top protests, the banner most frequently seen is that demanding an end to screw brutality. The source of the brutality lies not only in the warped minds of the screws but more importantly in the very clear minds of their masters – the British Government. Not only do the latter always conspire to conceal the result of their servants' murderous deeds – they sanction them. It is the Government itself which set up the MUFTI squad, a force which bludgeoned and beat the Wormwood scrubs prisoners engaged in a peaceful protest, injuring 53 of them.

It is the long term prisoners who suffer most from the harassment and the attempts at mental destruction. Often Irish POWs and black prisoners are singled out for the worst treatment of all. In the past six years 5 Irish prisoners have died in English prisons. But Irish POWs have also shown themselves to be tireless fighters against oppression within the prisons. As a result the screws' attempts to turn other prisoners against them have utterly failed. The recent protest by Irish POWs at Wormwood Scrubs showed that. The prisoners joined the protest

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# HANDS OFF IRELAND

## BRITISH TERROR

In recent months British Army/RUC shootings of unarmed nationalists have increased dramatically. Since 23 July four people have been shot dead and a large number seriously wounded. This new campaign of shootings, alongside the intensifying 'unofficial' terror of the loyalist paramilitary groups, shows the continued determination of British imperialism to crush the Irish people's struggle for liberation.

On 23 July Michael McCartan was shot dead by the RUC. At the time of the shooting Michael, with a group of friends, was painting slogans on a wall in the Ormeau Road area of Belfast. An unmarked RUC van pulled up nearby. As the group ran off, Michael remained to finish a slogan. When his friends reached safety they learned that Michael had been shot dead. The RUC trotted out the usual stories about warnings being given and that they thought Michael's paint brush was a gun! The shooting occurred in a well-lit area and Michael was holding a brush full of white paint and clearly in the act of painting slogans — which is not usually done with a gun! Sixteen year old Michael McCartan was the sixteenth teenager to be killed or wounded by the RUC and Army this year. The people of the Ormeau road area responded to the RUC murder by covering the wall with slogans, blocking off the area and demonstrating.

On Friday 8 August and throughout that weekend further killings and woundings took place during the annual commemorations of internment. On Friday nineteen year old Jim McCarron was shot dead in Shaws Road Andersonstown when British soldiers opened fire with live bullets and plastic bullets. About three hundred youths had fought a three hour street battle with troops and RUC when the Army opened fire. Jim McCarron was walking home at the time he was murdered. The RUC, unable to issue the usual lies about 'gunmen', simply denied that the RUC or Army was in the area at all. This lie was dutifully repeated by the British press.

Early on the Saturday morning twenty-four year old Michael Donnelly was killed by a 'non-lethal' plastic bullet. Again there had been sustained street fighting where nationalist youths armed only with stones had engaged the Army and the RUC. Again the Army replied with murder. Michael was shot in the chest at point blank range. He died before reaching hospital. At least thirty people were injured in this one burst of Army terror.

Large numbers of people were seriously wounded during that weekend. Seventy-nine year old Mary Ann Kavanagh had her right leg shattered by a plastic bullet. Fifteen year old Ann McMullen suffered a badly fractured skull, again this was a result of a plastic bullet. Ann was put on a life-support machine until the following Monday. In this case both the Army and the RUC harassed and delayed Joe McNamee who was driving Ann to hospital. The Army fired on the car narrowly missing Ann who was bleeding and vomiting on the back seat. Twenty-one year old Thomas Kelly had a steel pin inserted in his face after being hit by yet another 'harmless' plastic bullet. Seven year old Michael McNally was hit in the face by a plastic bullet. Twelve year old Joanne Hughes was hit on the back of the head and knocked unconscious by a plastic bullet. The troops also fired metal bars and pellets in place of plastic bullets in a number of incidents. The total number of people injured is not known but it is clear that the Army and RUC set out to mark internment 'in their way' with murder and terror.

Less than a week later twenty-four year old James Bell was shot dead in the Blackhill area by the British army. James was shot dead in the early hours of 14 August. The army issued the routine lies about gunmen and warnings. They claimed there were two armed men — one 'got

away' the other was shot dead. As usual no weapons were found and even the army has not claimed to have any evidence of James Bell



AN PHOBLAICHTH/REPUBLICAN NEWS

having handled any guns. When it is a case of incarcerating Irish people in Britain there is never any shortage of so-called 'forensic evidence'. Yet in the case of James Bell the army cannot supply any. It is clear that James Bell was simply shot dead — the latest victim of the new wave of Army/RUC shootings.

This renewed use of straightforward murder and shootings reflects the complete failure of imperialist strategy in Ireland. Unable to criminalise the prisoners of war, unable to defeat the military resistance of the Irish people, unable to impose imperialist 'law and order' on the nationalist areas, the British ruling class turns, once again, to murdering and maiming the old, the young and children in its savage but doomed efforts to terrorise the Irish people into submission.

Terry Marlowe



Victims of British terror

## CARDIFF TRIAL: BACK DOOR CENSORSHIP

The Hands Off Ireland Defence Campaign, which we have reported on in previous issues of FRFI, was set up to defend 16 of our supporters who have been arrested and charged since April 1979 for carrying out principled solidarity work in support of the Irish war of liberation against British imperialism. In our previous issue we reported two victories in Scotland, when as a result of our campaign one of our supporters had charges against him dismissed and the other was found not guilty.

However these victories have not ended police and court attempts to censor our revolutionary work on Ireland. On 27 and 28 August, two supporters of the Revolutionary Communist Group and a member of Provisional Sinn Fein (Britain) stood trial for organising a street meeting in support of the heroic Irish POWs held in the H-Blocks of Long-Kesh concentration camp. These political arrests took place in Cardiff nearly one year ago in September 1979 when the police incensed at not succeeding in preventing the comrades from using a megaphone, and further incensed at the support we received from the over 100 strong audience moved in to break up the meeting and charge the three comrades with distributing 'insulting or abusive literature'. During the course of the year, the police realising that the initial charge appeared too like the truth — namely a political attack on the democratic right to sell and distribute anti-imperialist literature — altered the charges to breach of the peace and obstruction of the police.

The trial took place in the wake of an energetic campaign in defence of our comrades and on the opening day over 35 supporters from the Revolutionary Communist Group as well as Cardiff Welsh Socialist Republicans, the Prisoners Defence Committee for Welsh prisoners and Cardiff IMG/TOM, mounted a militant picket.

The trial itself was a demonstration of

attempted backdoor censorship and revealed the true meaning of imperialist 'justice'.

That the arrests were nothing more than police harassment and censorship could not have been more clearly shown than by the fact that the magistrate was compelled to dismiss the main charge of breach of the peace. The flimsiness of police evidence and the utter failure of any of the witnesses to offer any specific evidence left the magistrate no choice. The dismissal of this charge was a victory.

But the police and courts did not delay the case for a year only in order to find the three not guilty! Having failed to convict the comrades on the first and main charge, normal legality would have demanded the dismissal of other charges arising from the main one. This, however, was not to be. Imperialist courts are not governed by any norms about legality. So two comrades Dave Bowker and Gerry MacLochlainn were convicted for 'willful obstruction' — a charge the police only managed to discover more than a month after the arrests — and fined £25. The 'willful obstruction' allegedly consisted of the fact that they continued to distribute literature when told not to do so by the police. That neither the literature was illegal, nor the meeting at which it was being distributed made no difference to the Cardiff magistrate who found that it was perfectly 'reasonable' for the police to make arrests!

Isn't this the backdoor censorship at which

## H-Block protest in USA

On June 29 in Washington, DC, one thousand Irish-Americans demonstrated their support for Irish Prisoners-of-War in the H-Blocks and Armagh by picketing in front of the White House, home of President Carter, in protest of his administration's hypocritical policy on human rights. The Carter administration has no interest in acknowledging human rights violations in the six counties, as US imperialist foreign policy is dependent upon British co-operation internationally, especially within NATO. Carter has demonstrated his willingness to exchange the political rights and even the freedom of Irish-American citizens to maintain the Anglo-US partnership. Well aware of the angry concern of Irish-Americans for the PoWs in British occupied Ireland and their determination not to be silenced on the issue of partition, Carter chose to absent himself from the White House and fully a week before the demonstration refused a request to meet with a delegation representative of the protestors, organized by the Irish Northern Aid Committee. Irish-Americans from all over the Eastern coast and from as far away as San Francisco brought the banners of the Irish Northern Aid Committee local units, the Ancient Order of Hibernians, The Irish National Caucus of New Jersey Inc., the Irish Association of Westchester (NY), and included dissident members of the Washington-based Irish National Caucus. The White House picket, with multitude of banners, megaphone-projected speakers and leafleteers clarifying the urgency of the case for political status, received some television coverage. Irish-Americans who continue to vocally uphold the principle of a united Ireland free of British rule are keenly aware of the Carter government's willingness to trade off their rights for British favours. As the demonstrators warned the incumbent President, 'What has Carter done for human rights in Ireland? Nothing! What'll we do for Carter this election? Nothing!'

American Correspondent

British courts are expert? Unable to prove the literature or the meeting illegal, the British state insisted on 'finding guilty' two anti-imperialists who were engaged in... legal activity! There was no breach of the peace, there was nothing illegal being done, yet because the police opposed what was being done 3 anti-imperialists have had to wait trial for 11 months and two have to pay out £25 to the British state. They were convicted for nothing more than carrying out anti-imperialist work and the police have been given a legal precedent to act 'reasonably' and arrest anyone doing legal political work! Such is British imperialist justice.

This act of police and court censorship will not go unopposed. The HOI DC and PSF are considering an appeal and whatever the final outcome work in support of the Irish freedom war and the Provisional Republican Movement will continue.

With the first stage of this trial ended, other comrades are now due to appear in court in Luton on October 1st and 2nd and in Bristol on 31 October. Both these trials have been delayed for many months by the police who hope as a result to wear down support for the Defence Campaign. We will not allow this to happen. And to ensure that it does not, we still need funds to continue fighting. Please donate generously to the HOI Defence Campaign, 49 Raiton Road, London SE24 OLN.



# HANDS OFF IRELAND

## LOYALIST TERROR



COLMAN DOYLE

One of the consequences of the failure of the British government's criminalisation strategy in the North of Ireland has been a steady resurgence of attacks by loyalist gangs on the nationalist community over the past eighteen months. These attacks have fallen into two distinct patterns. There have been many random attacks directed against people living in nationalist ghettos in Belfast: over the past year twelve people have been killed in such attacks and there have been many other attempted assassinations. Parallel with these attacks, however, there has developed a more selective campaign by loyalist gangs directed specifically against Republican activists. The most prominent victims of this campaign so far have been John Turnly of the Irish Independence Party and Miriam Daly, former Chairperson of the IRSP, both of whom were shot dead in June of this year. Assassination attempts have also been made on leading members of Sinn Fein in Belfast, and on at least two occasions loyalist gangs have killed people by mistake when the intended victims were members of Sinn Fein. In addition, there have been several gun and bomb attacks on the Sinn Fein headquarters in Belfast (the most recent of which, on 20 August, badly damaged the headquarters), a bomb attack was also made recently on the IRSP offices in Belfast, and earlier this year the Easter commemoration ceremony at Milltown cemetery in Belfast was also the target for a bomb attack.

This renewed loyalist terror campaign has escalated over the past eighteen months as it has become increasingly clear that the British government's criminalisation strategy has failed and that Republican resistance is as strong and determined as ever. From early 1978 onwards the criminalisation strategy suffered a series of blows which progressively undermined its credibility. In March 1978 the Republican prisoners in the H-Blocks, in response to the increasing brutality being directed against them by the screws in the attempt to break their resistance, intensified their protest to be given POW status: as a result of this continued defiance by the prisoners world attention was increasingly drawn not only to the barbaric lengths to which the British government would go in pursuit of its criminalisation policy but also to the failure of that policy in the face of continued Republican resistance. In September 1978 the attempt to criminalise Republican political activists suffered a severe setback when Gerry Adams, Vice-President of Sinn Fein, was cleared of a charge of IRA membership in what was widely seen as a test case. This decision also made almost inevitable the subsequent release in February 1979 of twelve members of Belfast Sinn Fein who had also been charged with membership of the IRA and with conspiracy to pervert the course of justice. The following month the publication of the Bennett Report which confirmed the widespread allegations of torture by the RUC further undermined the criminalisation strategy since this strategy depended on the use of torture in order to obtain the required 'confessions' for the courts.

Meanwhile the stepping-up of operations by the IRA, consequent upon its reorganisation, demonstrated that the forces resisting British rule were stronger than ever, a fact that was confirmed by the secret British intelligence document on the IRA which was captured by the IRA and published in May 1979. These factors taken together meant that by mid-1979 the British government's criminalisation strategy was effectively in ruins. Consequently there arose demands from some senior officers in the British Army and from loyalists for a return to outright military repression involving an increase in Army operations in nationalist areas and in particular the re-introduction of internment, albeit 'selective internment'.

The British government—and the more intelligent members of the Army and the RUC—clearly realised, however, that increased use of the Army and the re-introduction of internment would simply intensify nationalist resistance while simultaneously further damaging Britain's image abroad: it would also be an open admission that the entire strategy of criminalising Republican resistance, 'Ulsterising' the forces of repression and normalising the situation had failed. Although the criminalisation

campaign had clearly failed, the British government realised that to go back to overt military repression would be counter-productive and would only serve to undermine their strategy still further: repression therefore had to be intensified within the framework of the existing Ulsterisation/normalisation strategy.



COLMAN DOYLE

Accordingly, in the past year the strength of the RUC and the UDR has continued to be built up, the militarisation of the RUC has been speeded up, and both forces have increasingly been deployed in nationalist areas instead of the British Army. At the same time 'unofficial' loyalist gangs have once again been given tacit encouragement to escalate their attacks on the nationalist community. These attacks have been kept at a more limited and controlled level than in earlier years, however, since loyalists can now clearly see that the British government's aim is to restore loyalist majority rule enforced by loyalist 'security forces' as soon as possible: loyalist gangs are therefore quite happy to serve as a supplementary 'unofficial' means of terrorising the nationalist community into accepting loyalist rule in the knowledge that a full-scale loyalist assassination campaign would only tend to undermine the British government's Ulsterisation/normalisation policy still further.

The activities of official and unofficial loyalist forces therefore now coexist to an even greater extent than in previous years within a

single overall strategy. This can be seen most clearly in relation to the more isolated and therefore more vulnerable nationalist ghettos in Belfast. The shooting dead of a teenager as he was painting Republican slogans in the Ormeau Road area of South Belfast in August, for example, differs from the series of random killings carried out by loyalist gangs in the same area earlier this year only in that the killers were members of the RUC: the intention—to intimidate the local nationalist community—was exactly the same. In the same way the 'unofficial' loyalist terror—in the form of a series of random assassinations—which was inflicted on the Short Strand in East Belfast in late 1979 has now been superseded by the deployment of the 'official' loyalist thugs of the UDR in this area. The parallel more selective campaign by loyalist gangs directed against Republican political activists is similarly designed to aid the Ulsterisation strategy by silencing and intimidating political opposition to British rule without undue embarrassment to the British government. There is no doubt that those activists who have been the targets of loyalist assassination gangs over the past eighteen months would have been among the first to have been interned if internment had been reintroduced—'selective assassination' by unofficial loyalist gangs serves the same purpose as 'selective internment' but without the same embarrassing repercussions for the British government. Hence the failure to criminalise Republican activists in 1978 was followed in 1979 and 1980 not by the reintroduction of internment but by a series of unofficial attacks on such activists.

The relationship between the 'official' and 'unofficial' loyalist forces of repression, however, is much closer than simply one of a shared aim and a common strategy. Loyalist gangs have frequently boasted of their close links with the RUC and UDR and in particular they are known to plan their attacks on Republican activists on the basis of intelligence information supplied by members of the RUC, the UDR and the British Army. The close relationship between official and unofficial loyalist terror, and the attitude of the state towards the latter, were publicly exposed earlier this year in a series of court cases involving 'unofficial' sectarian attacks committed by RUC men. Although the RUC tried to salvage something from these cases by cynically claiming that they showed that the RUC was an impartial force prepared to prosecute its own members in fact the prosecutions resulted solely from the fact that one of the RUC men involved confessed to the offences and implicated several of his colleagues, thus more or less forcing the RUC to prosecute. In the event two RUC men were convicted of murdering a Catholic shopkeeper (the murder having been committed in association with two UVF men), and one of the two was also convicted together with another RUC man of kidnapping and threatening to kill a Catholic priest and, with two other RUC men, of a gun and bomb attack on a pub in which a man was shot. At the conclusion of the trials the attitude of the state towards such 'unofficial' acts of loyalist terror was made clear by the Lord Chief Justice, Sir Robert Lowry. He imposed *suspended* sentences for the kidnapping of the priest and for the attack on the pub and although he was forced by law to impose a life sentence for the murder he refused to recommend any minimum length of time that the two policemen should be kept in prison, describing the murder itself as 'understandable' and as 'really an act of retribution or revenge because of other murders that had been committed' (a reference to IRA operations directed against the British occupation forces).

It is important to emphasise that the attitude expressed by Sir Robert Lowry in this case is not just a reflection of the fundamentally sectarian nature of the Northern Ireland state. More immediately it reflects the realisation by the British state that, with the failure of its criminalisation strategy it must necessarily rely once more on open and undisguised loyalist terror—both official and unofficial—in its attempt to crush nationalist resistance and restore loyalist rule.

Irish Correspondent

## Unemployment and the War in Ireland

The reality of British imperialism is being brought home to more than two million people now unemployed in Britain. In the occupied North of Ireland chronic unemployment has long confronted the nationalist working class.

In the six counties, British rule now means unemployment at 15.3%—almost double the rate in Britain. This figure disguises the massive discrimination against nationalist workers. 35.9% of the adult males in Strabane, County Tyrone (a predominantly nationalist area) are now unemployed. In some nationalist ghettos 6 out of every 10 working people are jobless. Their struggle for national liberation has a very real basis in dire poverty. The Republican Movement led by the IRA, continues the struggle undefeated. The Loyalist working class, facing significant unemployment for the first time since the early sixties, is being openly bribed into service for the forces of reaction. An unemployed nationalist worker must survive on less than £20 per week dole. Join the RUC, the loyalists are told, and start on £4956 a year, plus almost £1600 in 'special duty' payments and rent and mortgage allowances. The Ulster Defence Regiment starts an 18 year old on a basic £84 a week. The RUC and the UDR are processing up to 1900 applications per month between them from a loyalist population of one million. They may well need them, for career prospects include a very short life-span.

In Britain the length of the dole queue is forcing young and old to accept existing jobs at disgusting levels of wages. With two million desperate for work, what chance do the youth have of every leaving the dole queues? This blackmail takes a sinister turn as youth are confronted by massive advertising campaigns for recruitment to the imperialist forces—the armed services and the police.

Many young unemployed people, black and white, have made the mistake of joining up. Some of them have not lived to regret it. Desperation for a job must not mean selling yourself to British imperialism. For the young unemployed of Britain, the lesson must be learned now—do not join the forces of repression. You will be fighting the Irish people, black people, and all those who refuse to lie down and be trampled underfoot by British imperialism.

Tony Sheridan



The St Paul's uprising on 2 April 1980 shook from the ruling class an admission of its greatest fear.

'These are things that we have regarded with horror when they happen in Ulster. We never dreamed that in the England of 1980 we could have 'no-go' areas like those of Londonderry. It must never, never happen again.'  
(Sun 5/4/80)

The spectre of a mass movement able to defeat the police on the streets of British cities now haunts the ruling class. The St Paul's uprising brought the anti-imperialist struggle of the oppressed peoples right to the heartland of British imperialism. In doing this, the black youths who led the St Paul's uprising have also re-kindled the long dormant tradition of revolutionary action of the British working class.

Nearly 150 years ago, on Sunday 30 October 1831, the oppressed workers of Bristol rose up to strike at their oppressors. This uprising like the recent one in St Paul's was to be later described in court as a 'tumultuous' and 'riotous' assembly.

The immediate cause of the 1831 uprising was the refusal of the House of Lords to pass a bill for parliamentary reform. Throughout the country the young working class took to the streets with demonstrations and riots. In Derby the city gaol was stormed and the prisoners were released. Nottingham Castle was set ablaze. London was the scene of running battles as the newly formed Metropolitan Police tried to break up mass public meetings. Workers attacked the Marquis of Londonderry - so named for robbery of the Irish people - whilst he rode his horse to the House of Lords. The good Marquis was rescued by a unit of cavalry, but not before he had sustained severe head wounds.

### The Bristol uprising

In Bristol the Corporation - a body of merchants whose wealth and power came from their mass murder and enslavement of the African race - could not maintain control. The Corporation and the magistrates had no strongly organised force at their disposal. Lieutenant Colonel Brerton was to be later court-martialled for sending two thirds of his cavalrymen out of the city!

Prisoners arrested on the first day of rioting were held in the Bridewell lock-up. Sixty to seventy men and women armed with bars, sticks, pick axes and sledgehammers broke in and freed their comrades. The Bridewell was set afire. Over five hundred people then marched on the New Gaol. A squad of 20 cavalrymen arrived, and quickly departed when they saw the size of the crowd! A hole was broken in the main gate of New Gaol and shortly afterwards the 170 prisoners were liberated.

A historian of the uprising drily notes that:

'the great majority of the active rioters appear to have been from the lower working classes.'

Middle class reformers from the Bristol Political Union circulated in the crowd trying to prevent further action. They were to have little success, for inside the captured New Gaol,

'Rioters sat in a circle in the prison yard brazenly discussing potential targets. Proposals included the Bishop's Palace, banks, shipping, the Mansion House, the Council House and, on a more personal level, the home of anti-reformer Thomas Daniel, who, besides being the city's most influential alderman and a wealthy merchant, was chairman of the wealthy West India Company.'

In the event the next main target was Gloucestershire County Prison, just a mile away from the New Gaol. Again, all prisoners were released and the buildings were set alight.

### The courts

It took 1,800 constables and special constables to protect the judges when they arrived in Bristol for the trials two months later.

The first defendants to be tried, William Clarke, James Courtney, Patrick Kearney, 'an itinerant vendor of Irish linen', James Williams and Daniel Higgs, were charged with riotous assembly, pulling down the New Gaol and firing the governor's house. All but James Williams were found guilty as charged. Evans Bendall, 19 years old, and James Sims, 18 years old, were found guilty of destroying the Bishop's Palace.

Christopher Davis was charged with tumultuous and riotous assembly, and for being

involved in the attack on the New Gaol. The evidence of the prosecution witnesses reveal the political purpose of the uprising. Davis was said to have shouted,

'This is the end of your damned magistrates and bishops... Now, damn ye, we will have Reform; this ought to have been done years ago.'

Christopher Davis had been condemning the bishops, saying it was criminal that they should pocket so much money when there were so many thousands of poor people in the country.

The court did its bloody work. Seven men were imprisoned. Nineteen men were transported for life, another seven were transported for set periods. Five men, William Clarke, Christopher Davis, Thomas Gregory, Joseph Kayes and Richard Vines were hanged. This is the history of the charge 'riotous assembly' under common law, law fashioned in the court rooms of the ruling class to repress the resistance of uprisen workers.

### Aftermath

Faced with the prospect of even greater revolutionary struggles, the House of Lords was forced into acceptance of parliamentary reform. But the 1832 Reform Act was a betrayal of the working class. The industrial capitalists got the vote, and the workers were still excluded. The capitalists had promised to use their political power to aid the working class. Instead the alliance between capitalists and landowners was strengthened and the new Whig government turned on the working class. A new law increasing repression in Ireland was enacted, relief for unemployed workers was withdrawn, trade unions were outlawed. The working class launched widespread struggles. Between 1830 and 1838 over three thousand London Metropolitan Police were sent to other towns to put down riots and strikes. The ruling class had to set up local police forced to repress working class activity.

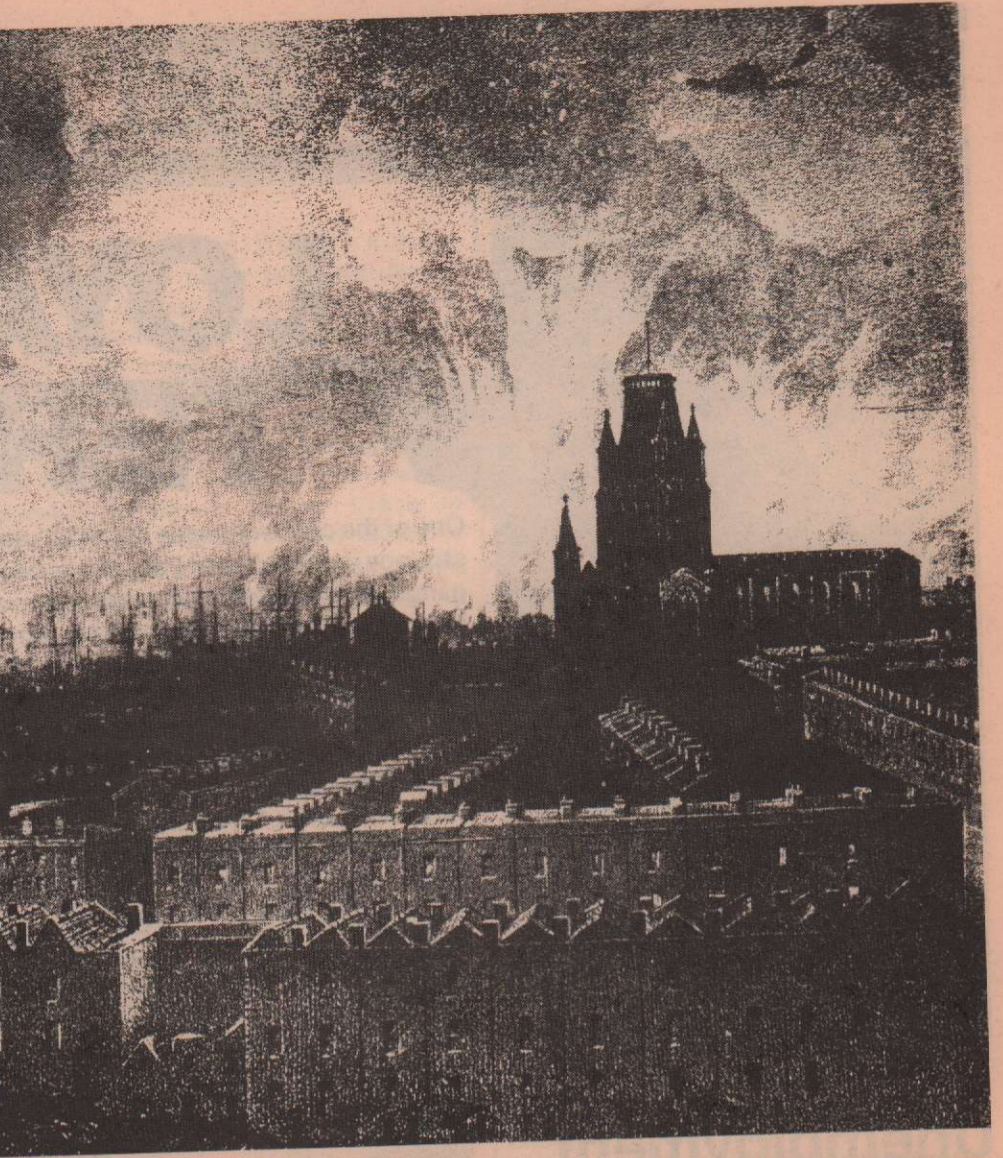
From these conditions grew up the Chartist movement. The Chartists led the working class struggle for political power. Lenin called Chartism 'the first broad, truly, mass and politically organised revolutionary movement.'

### Lessons of history

The most oppressed workers - in 1831 'the lower working classes', in 1980 the black workers - will rise up to destroy the hated oppressors - in 1831 the gaols and the Bishop's Palace, in 1980 the police and Lloyds Bank.

The middle class, fearful that its own comfortable existence should be threatened, will try to limit and render harmless the spontaneous destructive force of the oppressed. The middle class - in 1831 the Bristol Political Union and the 'radical' Whigs, in 1980 the CRE, the Labour Party and the Anti-Nazi League - will try to divert the oppressed workers with promises of reform only to betray them.

The ruling class can be defeated. In 1831 the magistrates and cavalry were paralysed for three days. In 1980 the police were driven out and St Paul's was a no-go area for the British state. The ruling class will re-organise and try to crush the oppressed workers. After 1831 the police forces were set up, in 1980 the police are organising to ensure that large forces get to 'trouble spots' quickly. The courts - with the same charge in 1980 as 1831 - are used to put



# BRISTOL UPRISING 1831

down the workers. If all else fails, the ruling class will turn to the middle class and form an alliance with it to keep the workers from siezing political power.

To convert its temporary victories to lasting gains the working class, led by the most oppressed workers, must organise a revolutionary movement. The revolutionary movement must prevent the middle class's influence from holding back the working class. The revolutionary movement must direct the spontaneous struggles of the oppressed workers towards obtaining political power that will destroy the oppressors once and for all.

In the early nineteenth century the working class made a tumultuous and revolutionary

entrance onto the stage of history. Today, black people have made a similar bold entrance. Black workers are in the vanguard of the whole working class. Working class actions such as the 1831 Bristol uprising heralded the birth of the organised revolutionary Chartist movement. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels proclaimed:

'A spectre is haunting Europe - the spectre of Communism.'

The black youths who led the St Paul's uprising have once again raised that spectre. It now haunts the British ruling class.

Andy Goddard.

## ST PAULS COURT OUTRAGE

An outrage against the people of St Paul's is being perpetrated in the Bristol courts. Already fines of £1,500 have been exacted by the magistrates. More than ten people have been convicted of offences arising out of the uprising on 2 April 1980. The most vicious attack is yet to come.

Fifteen defendants, one of whom is remanded in custody, are on a joint charge of having 'riotously assembled together' and face possible prison sentences of over two years. This charge was brought only after deliberations by the Director of Public Prosecutions. The British state is directing a calculated attack of intimidation.

The riotous assembly charge is brought under 'common law', law that is the result of decades of repression against the oppressed workers fighting for their freedom. According to common law:

'Riot is a tumultuous disturbance of the peace by three or more persons who assemble together of their own authority, with an intent mutually to assist one another against any who oppose them in the execution of an enterprise of a private nature, and afterwards actually execute the same in a violent and turbulent manner to the terror of the people.'

On whose 'authority' did the police attack the black community when they raided the Black and White cafe? Which 'people' were terrorised during the St Paul's uprising? The mass of the

people of St Paul's, the poor and oppressed, the black people, were on the streets driving away the police! The uprising struck terror in the hearts of the ruling class and its racist police, not the people!

Neither was the uprising 'an enterprise of a private nature'. The main targets were the police and the robber Lloyds Bank. The uprising signalled the political resistance of black workers and sections of poor whites to the racist British state.

The fifteen defendants appear at Bristol Magistrates Court on 22 September. Their trial will be at the Crown Court some time in 1981. They are fifteen out of a whole community that rose up to defeat the police on the streets. These brothers and sisters must have every support. All charges against them must be dropped. The British state will not be allowed to get away with its repression through the courts, the spirit of resistance lives in St Paul's.

Donations, further details and messages of support to:  
United Defence Committee,  
c/o Albert Villas, Grosvenor Road,  
St Paul's, Bristol.



# GLASGOW PTA ARRESTS

The following are extracts from a statement written by Mike Duffield and Kirstin Crosbie.

MD

Kirstin and I were charged under the PTA, We were taken to the CID office upstairs. Kirstin was questioned, I was told to stand in the corner. When I tried to sit down I was assaulted by a plainclothes policeman who pushed me very hard into the corner banging me against the cabinet...

They tried to fingerprint me. I refused to co-operate. Four police tried to force me. They pushed and pulled and twisted my arms... They eventually got my prints but they had to do it twice to get a clear set. I will not co-operate or help them in any way with the PTA. The PTA is a racist and anti-working class law and must be opposed. The way it has been used to stop us selling, the way it has always been used to harass the Irish community and communists in Britain shows quite clearly the racist anti-working class nature of this law.

In Barlinnie Prison I was immediately classified as a 'strict escapee'. This meant that I was to be semi-isolated from the other prisoners and would only be allowed to fully associate with the other 'strict escapees' (all of whom were either political prisoners or blacks).

As a remand - untried - prisoner and moreover, as a political prisoner, I

demanded the right to wear my own clothes. This incensed the screws who immediately placed me with no clothes at all in a stinking, filthy, fly-infested punishment cell.

KC

I refused to do any prison work and encouraged other prisoners to follow suit. I informed other prisoners of their rights and within 24 hours four fellow inmates had been to the Governor to demand their own clothes!

Throughout my time on remand it was encouraging to hear news of what was happening outside. We would like to take this opportunity to thank all those who worked in or supported the campaign...



Glasgow Special Branch observing Celtic sale

granting of bail the following incidents have occurred.

- On 23 August Mike and Kirstin's flat was left empty for the first time since their arrest. Just coincidentally it was burgled and they lost every useful piece of property they owned. Who knew the flat was empty? Incidentally, the Glasgow police appear to possess clairvoyant powers. Kirstin having submitted a list of stolen property later noticed that an additional item - an angle-poise lamp - was missing. She informed the police only to discover that they already knew the lamp too was missing. How? You might well ask.
- On 30 August Mike was handing out leaflets about the arrest at a small outdoor rally. Suddenly 6 policemen surrounded him and tried to drag him away. His shouts for support and for witnesses unnerved the police who then speedily disappeared.
- A witness to the original arrest was suddenly arrested. He was charged, along with some friends, with breach of the peace. They had in fact simply been walking home. On finding a copy of FRFI on him, the police said 'We'll do you for this as well'.

We have no doubt that the police are determined to conduct a campaign of harassment against Glasgow FRFI supporters and in particular against Mike and Kirstin. We warn the police - we are far more determined to conduct a campaign to put an end to this harassment. Since the arrests Mike and Kirstin and other FRFI supporters have twice returned to Celtic and conducted their sales of FRFI, organised collections of witnesses' signatures and conducted their normal political work. On the first occasion both the CID (pictured on this page) and uniformed police were present. The latter harassed the seller and tried to question them for 5 minutes. On the second occasion when an MP and the SCCL agreed to act as observers - the police kept their distance.

We will not lie down in the face of police intimidation. We will fight through every channel available to get the charges dropped and to defend our supporters. We fight, not only to defend ourselves but also to prevent the police from doing away with the hard won right to produce and to sell communist literature to workers on the streets of Britain - a right which would have been seriously undermined had the police succeeded in pressing the PTA charges. In defending that right we are protecting not just supporters of FRFI but the young and growing revolutionary working class movement in Britain.

## GLASGOW 2 DEFENCE CAMPAIGN

Glasgow 2 Defence Campaign urgently needs funds in order to fight for the dropping of all charges and an end to police harassment. Please make cheques or Postal Orders payable to

Glasgow 2 Defence Fund, and send to:  
49 Raiton Road,  
London SE24 0LN

Mike Duffield and other supporters defiantly return to sell at Celtic



## Condemnation of Glasgow arrests

We strongly condemn the arrest of the two **Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!** supporters, Mike Duffield and Kirstin Crosbie, who were arrested under the Prevention of Terrorism Act whilst selling **Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!**, newspaper of the Revolutionary Communist Group.'

We further condemn their being denied bail and the fact that their first court hearing was held 'in camera' with both press and public excluded.

The fact that the charge against them under the Prevention of Terrorism Act has now been dropped and a new charge of 'breach of the peace' substituted only serves to confirm that their arrest under the PTA was an attack on the democratic right to sell literature opposing British rule in Ireland.

We demand the dropping of all charges against Mike Duffield and Kirstin Crosbie.

Joan Maynard MP  
Arthur Latham MP  
James Maxton MP  
Ted Knight, Leader of Lambeth Council  
David Hallsworth, Chairman of Tameside Trades Council  
Ken Livingstone, GLC Councillor

## PTA arrests

continued from page 1

Just as we fought and beat off the PTA charges we will continue the fight until all charges are dropped.

In attempting to charge our supporters under the PTA, the state has given us a foretaste of what they have in store for the developing revolutionary movement. The British state has said in tones loud and clear 'we are warning you, if you dare to sell a newspaper which tells the truth about the terror and torture inflicted by the British state in Ireland and here in Britain against black people - we will regard you as "terrorists" and will try to crush you'.

It is a warning which comes as no surprise to FRFI. We know and have always said that the veneer of democracy in Britain is a thin one. Oh yes, you can have democratic rights - if you do not use them to challenge the oppression which lies at the heart of British imperialism. But if you side with the oppressed, if you take up the struggle to build an anti-imperialist movement as the Revolutionary Communist Group has done, you find that 'democratic rights' exist only on paper.

What did Mike and Kirstin do? They stood selling an anti-imperialist communist paper to Scottish workers. For this and for this alone they suffered the following:

- Forcible arrest under the PTA - both were dragged away to the police station. En route 10 copies of FRFI were ripped up by the Glasgow police whose rage knew no bounds when Celtic fans witnessing this disgraceful arrest pelted them with abuse and other more solid missiles.
- Mike Duffield was twice assaulted in police custody and forcibly fingerprinted.
- One week in prison during which they were given Category A (top security) status. Both were forced to wear prison uniform. Mike was treated as a 'strict escapee' and was forced to hand his clothes to the warder each night. Having initially refused to wear prison uniform Mike was put on 'punishment' and held one day in a fly-infested cell without clothes. Both had their visits obstructed and Kirstin was forced to take 'closed' visits (ie with a warder listening in).
- As a result of the weeks imprisonment Kirstin Crosbie has lost her job and Mike Duffield, presently unemployed missed the chance of a job by being unable to attend an arranged interview.

The harassment has not ended there. Glasgow police are determined to 'get' these two supporters. Since the changing of the charge and the

## THOSE WHO HELPED AND THOSE WHO WOULDN'T

The use of the PTA against our supporters in Glasgow was and should have been seen by all socialists as a dangerous attack on the basic democratic right to produce and to sell literature. The Glasgow 2 Defence Campaign recognised this and asked for support on a wide basis - from trades unions, anti-imperialist organisations, the Labour Party, MPs, civil liberties bodies, petit-bourgeois socialist organisations and newspapers. The results were very revealing. Some helped. Some would not lift a finger, or just as bad, took hours of time and effort to convince them to offer even token support. Interestingly enough, the second category is filled largely by those who have shouted loudest about 'democracy' - the petit-bourgeois socialists.

To those who helped and are helping we extend our sincere thanks. These include:

Edinburgh Trades Council  
Lothian Region NALGO  
Merchiston LP, Central LP  
Labour MPs in Scotland - Ron Brown, Robin Cooke, Norman Buchan, David Marshall  
Regional Councillors Hanlon, Mulrey, Nolan  
Scottish Council for Civil Liberties  
Workers Action - Edinburgh  
Edinburgh Organisation of Iranian People's Fedayeen Guerrillas  
Sinn Fein POW Department (Britain)

The Scottish Committee of the CPGB put out a statement expressing concern at the arrests, as did Leeds CP. The Morning Star carried regular coverage of the case and usefully printed a letter appealing for funds. Their refusal to oppose British imperialism however was shown by their refusal to attend pickets called for the Glasgow 2 on the grounds that there were:

'possibilities of embarrassing actions happening which the CPGB would not agree with.'

However the CPGB did prove far more willing to act than the SWP, IMG or WRP. Socialist Challenge after some badgering agreed to put in a short item on the arrests. Since then they have failed to print any further news or letters we have sent them. Socialist Challenge and its editor who devotes much of its space to attacking the 'lack of democracy' in the USSR, remains virtually silent when it comes to the British state using the PTA against socialists! Whilst IMG members in Glasgow supported various pickets, they have done so only after their local leadership has been chased, phoned and hounded. Their attitude was best summed up when they came to 'help' steward an RCG meeting under threat from loyalist attack. Six IMG stewards arrived at 7pm and left at 7.40pm! One of them remarked on leaving:

'We came to defend your meeting and we don't think its going to be attacked. If you're stupid enough to carry on holding public meetings its your affair. You can put that in your Fight Racism paper and it will be one more reason why I don't read it.'

The SWP also deigned to print a short item, forgot to mention Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! and then forgot about the whole affair. When Glasgow full-time SWP organiser Ian Gidley was asked to mobilise support for a picket he first lied that he had tried to, but under pressure admitted he had contacted nobody, would contact nobody and hung up on the phone. The SWP members who supported further pickets in the most token manner demonstrated their real concern when on the picket of Monday 18 August, at the Court, they left 1/2 an hour before it was known that the Glasgow 2 were freed on bail.

The award for sheer cowardice however must go to the WRP. Whilst Newsline carried news of the case, the WRP bookshop in Glasgow refused to stock FRFI as they did not wish to get raided. Such solidarity. Since the PTA charges have been dropped they have begun to stock FRFI again.

The darling of the petit-bourgeois left - Tony Benn was on holiday when the arrests occurred. When told of the news he told his secretary to advise us to contact the NCCL. Now back off holiday we will wait and see whether this champion of democracy takes any action. Joan Maynard, a frequent guest of TOM and UTOM public meetings initially refused to even make a phone call - she was she informed us 'on holiday'. On her return she has now condemned the arrests.

This experience of the Glasgow 2 Defence Campaign has confirmed once again that the petit-bourgeois socialists are incapable of and unwilling to defend even so elementary a principle as the right to sell socialist literature.



# THE COMMUNIST TRADITION: FIGHTING IMPERIALISM

**Baku: Congress of the Peoples of the East**  
(New Park Publications £2.10)

**As the imperialist crisis threatens the whole world once again with a new and even more dangerous conflagration, as the imperialist countries 'hot up' the cold war against the Soviet Union and the communist movement, it is important for us to know the issues at stake. The working class of the imperialist countries led by their social democratic parties and trade unions have been brought up with the smug anti-communist ideology of the cold war – an ideology fostered by the relative prosperity of the working class of the imperialist nations in the post-war years. Now that that prosperity is being threatened by the world wide crisis of the capitalist system, the working class will be forced to reassess its position – it will be forced to take sides.**

The ruling class is well aware of this. That is why it has launched an anti-communist crusade. Here in Britain, in an imperialist nation which has brutalised and terrorised oppressed peoples throughout the world and which still, day in day out, brutalises and terrorises the Irish people, we have witnessed the obscenity of a Tory Prime Minister ably supported by the Labour Party hysterically denouncing the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. The imperialist 'democracies' we are told stand for freedom and democracy whereas communism is the denial of freedom, is totalitarianism.

As the crisis deepens events will show the working class this is just the opposite of the truth. The 'freedom' the ruling class is speaking of is the freedom to exploit and brutalise the working class to maintain their profits both in Britain and throughout the world. Whereas communism stands for the freedom of oppressed peoples from imperialist domination and brutality, it stands for the freedom of all workers from a system which is driving millions into unemployment, poverty and despair. History has demonstrated that this freedom, the freedom of the vast majority of the peoples of the world from oppression and exploitation, demands the *suppression* of the imperialists and their supporters. That is the reason for the anti-communist crusade.

The October 1917 Russian revolution was a great victory for the working class and oppressed peoples throughout the world. It was vigorously and brutally opposed by the imperialists and their social democratic supporters in the working class movement. A total of 14 countries led by the largest imperialist powers Britain, France, Japan and the USA intervened to crush the Soviet regime. They invaded the territory of the Soviet Union in the North, Far East and Soviet Central Asia. The intervening powers often with the aid of the Mensheviks (social democrats in Russia) established colonial terrorist regimes in the seized areas. Communists and trade unionists were subject to arrest and torture and placed in concentration camps; many were executed. A notorious example is that of the summary execution of the 26 Commissars who were the leaders of Soviet power in Baku, the capital of Azerbaïdzhan. The Baku Commissars were seized by the British, and without trial or investigation were taken away and shot in a remote desert. The imperialist powers, in the words of that arch-reactionary and brutal imperialist Winston Churchill, wanted to strangle the Soviet regime at birth. They were directly responsible for a lengthy civil war and for the decimation and destruction of whole areas of what became the Soviet Union. It was only the strikes and demonstrations in January and February 1919 by British troops opposed to any continuation of

the imperialist slaughter of the First World War that prevented the large scale intervention by British troops on Soviet territory planned by Winston Churchill and his imperialist friends. When the Sunday Times with characteristic smugness commenting on the Polish events states 'If Communism kept its promises – prosperity, happiness, self-fulfilment and shared responsibility for everyone – we might all be prepared to give it a try' (24 August 1980), we know it lies. It was precisely when communism offered a life free from the brutal oppression and exploitation of imperialism for the vast majority of mankind that the imperialists and their supporters wanted it to be destroyed at birth.

The Bolsheviks through their opposition to the First Imperialist War were the leading force in the creation of the Communist International in 1919 (Third International). The main parties of the Second International had betrayed the working class and through their support for the First World War were directly responsible for the slaughter of millions of workers and the decimation of vast areas of industry and land. The Labour Party in Britain supported the imperialist war. Three Labour Party MPs were in the war Government. In the spring of 1916, the Secretary of the Labour Party, Henderson, was party to, as a member of the Asquith Cabinet, the crushing of the Irish Uprising (Easter Rising) and the judicial murder of James Connolly, the Irish socialist. Both the Labour Party and the Independent Labour Party denounced the Irish Uprising of 1916.

More than anything else communism was represented by the victory of the Russian revolution and the programme of the Communist International. It alone stood resolutely opposed to imperialist war. It alone stood for the freedom of oppressed peoples from imperialism. It alone stood for the freedom of workers from the profit system that had confronted the vast majority of mankind with poverty, crisis and war. The Communist International at its Congresses after the First World War called upon all workers from the imperialist nations to break with their social democratic leaders (and other opportunists) and unite with the oppressed peoples to overthrow imperialism.

As part of this stand the Second Congress of the Communist International called together a Congress of the Peoples of the East at Baku in September 1920 soon after Baku had been liberated by the Red Army. It was the first attempt to appeal to the exploited and oppressed peoples in the colonial and semi-colonial countries to carry forward their revolutionary struggles to hasten the downfall of world capitalism with the support of

**... the British socialist who fails to support by all possible means the uprisings in Ireland, Egypt and India against the London plutocracy – such a socialist deserves, if not to be shot, then to be branded with infamy, but in no case merits either a mandate or the confidence of the proletariat.'**

the workers in Soviet Russia and the workers of Europe and America. Britain was the dominant imperialist power at that time and the fight to destroy British imperialism was a major theme of the Baku Congress.

The manifesto of the Baku Congress, major extracts of which are reprinted below, shows us what the 'freedom' of British imperialism meant for the oppressed peoples of the East. It also shows us the foundation of the evolutionary and reformist ideas – non-violence and parliamentary democracy – of 'socialist' advance peddled by the Labour Party and trade union leaders. 'Democracy' at home, oppression abroad. Opportunism in Western Europe was founded on the super-profits of imperialism – the ability to bribe, in many different ways, the Labour leaders and other small privileged strata of the working class out of the extra-profits of imperialism squeezed out by the brutal oppression and exploitation of oppressed peoples. In an appeal to the workers of Europe the Baku Congress explained:

'The war is over and now your masters and ours, who waged this war under the banner of justice and democracy, the banner of emancipation for the oppressed peoples, have thrown off the mask. In the cities of India the bayonet, the sabre and the machine-gun rule. In Amritsar your General Dyer was able to shoot down peaceful Indian citizens with machine-guns, and order them to crawl on their bellies. But in the British Parliament not one workers' MP got up to demand that this murderer be sent to the gallows.'

The working class of Europe had to rid itself of its opportunist leaders and unite with the oppressed peoples against imperialism. Under the banner of the Communist International they could find the way.

'World Imperialism must fall when the revolutionary impetus of the exploited and subjugated workers inside each country defeats the opposition of the petty-bourgeois elements and the influence of the numerically small aristocracy of labour, and unites with the revolutionary pressure of the hundreds of millions of people who previously stood outside history and were only regarded as its object.'  
(Second Congress of the Communist International – Lenin)

Today this is more true than ever. The liberation movements have become more and more proletarian in character. Today they are leading the struggle to overthrow imperialism – in Iran, Ireland, Southern Africa, Nicaragua, El Salvador. *They represent the vanguard of the struggle.* The workers who are in the vanguard of the struggle in Britain and America are from the most oppressed layers of the working class – black and immigrant workers who suffer the dual oppression of racism and class exploitation. The working class in the imperialist nations is on the whole today *politically* backward. It has much to learn from the struggle of oppressed peoples. Revolutionary Communist parties will have to be formed. But they can only come into existence on the basis of the lessons and gains of the Communist International. For the working class of Britain the proceedings of the Baku Congress are a sharp reminder of its international tasks. Zinoviev's opening contribution to the first session of the Baku Congress included a section taken from the Manifesto of the Second Congress of the Communist International. It must be our starting point.

'The socialist who aids directly or indirectly in perpetuating the privileged position of one nation at the expense of another, who accommodates himself to colonial slavery who draws a line of distinction between races and colours in the matter of human rights, who helps the bourgeoisie of the metropolis to maintain its rule over the colonies instead of aiding the armed uprising of the colonies – for example, the British socialist who fails to support by all possible means the uprisings in Ireland, Egypt and India against the London plutocracy – such a socialist deserves, if not to be shot, then to be branded with infamy, but in no case merits either a mandate or the confidence of the proletariat.'

That is what communism stands for. That must be the declaration of the British working class. Workers of all lands and oppressed peoples unite!

David Reed August 1980

**'World Imperialism when the revolution of the exploited and oppressed workers inside each country defeats the opposition of the petty-bourgeois elements and the influence of the numerically small aristocracy of labour, and unites with the revolutionary pressure of the hundreds of millions of people who previously stood outside history and were only regarded as its object.'**





# MANIFESTO

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On September 1, 1920, in the city of Baku, the capital of Azerbaidzhan, a congress of representatives of the peoples of the East was held. Our congress was attended by 1,891 delegates from the following countries: Turkey, Persia, Egypt, India, Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Kashgar, China, Japan, Korea, Arabia, Syria, Palestine, Bukhara, Khiva, Daghestan, Northern Caucasia, Azerbaidzhan, Armenia, Georgia, Turkestan, Ferghana, the Kalmuck Autonomous Region, the Tatar Republic, and the Far Eastern District.

The Congress of the Peoples of the East was convened by the Communist International. Every peasant, every toiler, needs to know what the Communist International is. It is a union of workers and peasants, of the Communists of the whole world, which has set itself the aim of smashing the power of the rich and bringing about the complete equality of all.

The Communist International wants to put an end not only to the power of the rich over the poor but also to the power of some peoples over others. For this purpose the workers of Europe and America must unite with the peasants and other working elements of the peoples of the East.

*Peoples of the East!* Six years ago there broke out in Europe a colossal, monstrous slaughter, a world war in which 35 million human beings were killed, in which hundreds of big towns and thousands of other centres of population were devastated, a war which ruined all the countries of Europe and subjected all its peoples to the torment of unheard-of want and unprecedented starvation... this war was fought not only for the countries of Europe, not only for the countries and peoples of the West, but also for the countries and peoples of the East. It was fought for the partition of the world, and chiefly for the partition

of Asia, of the East. It was fought to decide who was to rule over the countries of Asia and whose slaves the peoples of the East should be. It was fought to decide whether the British or the German capitalists should skin the peasants and workers of Turkey, Persia and Egypt.

The monstrous four-year carnage ended in victory for France and Britain. The German capitalists were crushed, and along with them the German people were crushed, destroyed and doomed to starvation. Victorious France, almost all of whose adult population had been wiped out by the war and all of whose industrial areas had been devastated, was bled white by the struggle and left quite powerless after its victory. As a result of the colossal, barbarous slaughter, imperialist Britain emerged as the sole and omnipotent master of Europe and Asia. Britain alone in all Europe was still able to muster sufficient strength, for it had waged the war with other peoples' hands, those of the enslaved peoples, the Indians and Negroes, it had waged the war at the expense of the colonies it oppressed.

Being left the victor and the omnipotent master of half the world, the British Government proceeded to carry out the objectives for which it had waged the war – to consolidate its hold on all the countries of Asia and to enslave, fully and finally, all the peoples of the East.

With no-one to hinder them, and fearing no-one, the handful of greedy banker-capitalists who are at the head of the British state, casting aside all shame, set about openly and brazenly reducing to slavery the peasants and workers of the Eastern countries.

*Peoples of the East!* You know what Britain has done in India, you know how it has turned the many-millioned masses of the Indian peasants and workers into

dumb beasts of burden without any rights.

The Indian peasant has to hand over to the British Government a proportion of his crop so large that what remains is not enough to sustain him for even a few months. The Indian worker has to work in the British capitalist's factory for such a miserable pittance that he cannot even buy the daily handful of rice he needs for subsistence. Every year millions of Indians die of hunger and millions perish in the jungles and swamps where they are engaged in heavy labour undertaken by the British capitalists for their own enrichment.

Millions of Indians, unable to find a crust of bread in their own very rich and fertile homeland, are obliged to join the British armed forces, to leave their homeland and spend their whole lives enduring the hard lot of the soldier, fighting endless wars in all corners of the world, upholding everywhere the ruthless dominion of Britain. While paying with their lives and their blood for the unceasing expansion of the wealth of the British capitalists, securing monstrous profits for them, the Indians themselves enjoy no human rights: the British officers who rule over them, insolent sons of the British bourgeoisie which has grown fat on Indian corpses, do not regard them as human.

An Indian dares not sit at the same table with a Britisher, use the same quarters, enter the same railway carriage, attend the same school. In the eyes of the British bourgeois every Indian is a pariah, a slave, a beast of burden, an animal which dare not have any human feelings or put forward any demands. Every demand, every expression of anger by the Indian peasants and workers when driven to extremities is met by ruthless mass shootings. Hundreds of corpses of those

*continued on page 10*

## COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL 1919 - 1922

**Theses, Resolutions and Manifestos of the First Four Congresses of the Third International, Ink Links, London 1980 £17.50 hardback. Trans. A Holt & B Holland**  
**The Second Congress of the Communist International, 2 Volumes, New Park Publications 1977 £3.50 each volume.**

Readers who wish to study the programme and principles of the Communist International have now readily available the *Theses, Resolutions and Manifestos of the First Four Congresses* published by Ink Links as well as the whole minutes of the proceedings of the Second Congress by New Park Publications. The importance of having the minutes of the proceedings as well as the resolutions etc can be seen on comparing the material on the National and Colonial Question at the Second Congress in both publications. The minutes have a total of 77 pages on the issue. *The Resolutions*... has only Lenin's preliminary draft theses of some 6 pages. This is of some interest and indicates the weakness of the editing of the Ink Links book.

The translators of the Ink Links book – indeed it appears all those involved in it – are not only hostile to the Communist International and Bolshevism but clearly have very little grasp of the principles at stake. With the snide arrogance and contempt of the privileged middle class, the translators tell us that they 'cannot pretend to have really enjoyed doing these translations' – we must assume then that they were well paid. The translators object to 'ritual references' to 'imperialist aggression' and 'smashing capitalism' – we are not surprised. They

say that the women's movement has taught them to consider the 'politics of language' – it has also obviously given them their class standpoint.

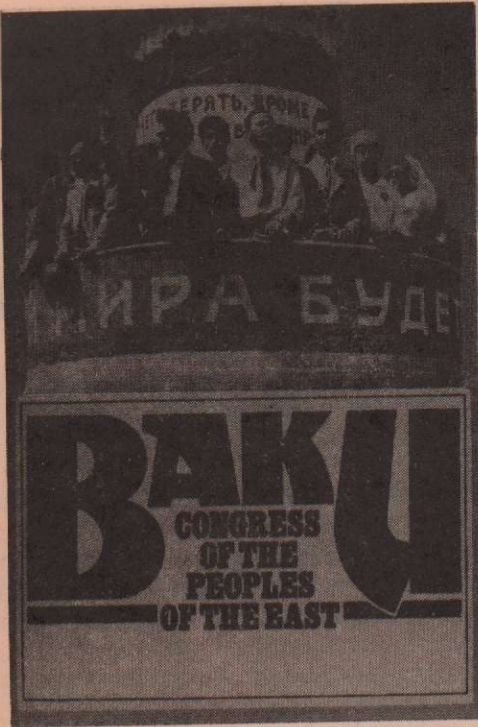
This brings us back to our starting point. It is not surprising that translators who object to language like 'imperialist aggression' will have very little understanding of the central importance of the struggle of oppressed peoples against imperialism. So we find the important supplementary theses of the Indian M N Roy on the National and Colonial Question accepted by the Second Congress simply left out. Lenin in commenting on Roy's theses said 'these were written predominantly from the point of view of India and the other great Asian peoples who are oppressed by Britain, and are thus particularly important for us'. They clearly have no importance for our translators. Lenin's theses are not even given in the amended form accepted by the Congress. Alan Adler's glossary speaks of Roy at the Second Congress 'advancing ideas for co-operating with "bourgeois nationalists" in the independence struggle', when, if anything, the opposite is the case. Perhaps nothing shows the contempt of all involved in the editing of the Ink Links book for oppressed peoples in struggle than the reference in the glossary to the Amritsar massacre. The large

crowd which had assembled to hear nationalist speakers in defiance of an order prohibiting the meeting, and which was machine-gunned down by the murderer General Dyer, is referred to as an 'unarmed mob'. How disgusting Ink Links. Fortunately the missing material and the correct information can be acquired from the Minutes of the Second Congress.

However, *The Theses, Resolutions and Manifestos* is well worth having if you totally ignore the introductions and glossary. The Communist International's positions on the role of the communist party, on trade unions, on the national and colonial question, on women's oppression, on parliament, and on war and imperialism are the foundation for rebuilding the movement today. *The Theses, Resolutions and Manifestos* are priced at £17.50 which means that readers will have to get it from a library. However subscribers to **Fight Racism Fight Imperialism** can obtain it from RCG Publications for £8.50. We must hope that New Park Publications will see fit to printing the minutes of the other three congresses. Ink Links, we suggest, should get out of the habit of using unsympathetic editors for important material – they are not only annoying but usually very ignorant as well.

David Reed





continued from page 9

shot cover the streets of revolted Indian villages, and British officers force the survivors to crawl on their bellies, to amuse them, and to lick the boots of their enslavers.

*Peoples of the East!* You know what Britain has done in Turkey. Britain offered Turkey a peace by which three-quarters of Asia Minor, inhabited exclusively by Ottoman Turks, with all the country's industrial cities, was to pass into the possession of Britain, France, Italy and Greece, while what remained of Turkish territory was to be burdened with such payments that the Ottomans would become permanent undischarged debtors of Britain.

When the Turkish people refused to accept such a peace, which would have destroyed them, the British occupied Constantinople, a holy place to Moslems, dispersed the Turkish Parliament, arrested all the popular leaders, shot the best of them, and exiled hundreds of others to the island of Malta, where they were imprisoned in the dark and damp dungeons of an ancient fortress. Now the British rule the roost in Constantinople: they have taken from the Turks everything that could be taken. They have taken banks, money, factories, railways, ships, they have closed all the approaches to Asia Minor, thereby depriving the Turks, who are without factories of their own, of the possibility of receiving any goods from Europe. There is now in the whole of Asia Minor not one piece of material, not one fragment of metal. The Turkish peasant is obliged to go about without a shirt and to plough the soil with a wooden plough.

*Peoples of the East!* What has Britain done to Persia? After crushing a peasants' revolt against the Shah and the landlords, shooting or hanging thousands of Persian peasants, the British capitalists have restored the overthrown rule of the Shah and the landlords, taken from the peasants the landlords' land they had seized and thrust the peasants back into serfdom, making them once again *rayats*, slaves without rights of the *mulkadars*.

*Peoples of the East!* What has Britain done to Mesopotamia and Arabia? It has, without any ado, proclaimed these independent Moslem countries to be its colonies, driven from the land the Arabs who have owned it for centuries, taken from them the best, most fertile valleys of the Tigris and the Euphrates, taken the best pasture-land, which the people need in order to survive, taken the very rich oilfields of Mosul and Basra, and, stripping the

Arabs of all means of livelihood, is trying to force them through hunger to become its slaves and its workers.

What has Britain done to Palestine? There, at first, acting for the benefit of Anglo-Jewish capitalists, it drove Arabs from the land in order to give the latter to Jewish settlers; then, trying to appease the discontent of the Arabs, it incited them against these same Jewish settlers, sowing discord, enmity and hatred between all the communities, weakening both in order that it may itself rule and command.

What has Britain done to Egypt? There the entire native population has for eight decades groaned beneath the heavy yoke of the British capitalists, a yoke even heavier and more ruinous for the people than was that of the Egyptian Pharaohs who built their huge pyramids with slave labour.

What has Britain done to China? That enormous country, Britain, together with its partner, imperialist Japan, turned into a colony and, exploiting and oppressing its 300 million people and poisoning them with opium, it is with its own and Japanese troops putting down with unheard-of cruelty the revolutionary ferment which has begun there. Restoring the old despots whom the people had overthrown, it strives with all its strength to prevent the many-millioned Chinese people from winning their freedom, and keeps them as before under its yoke of despotism, oppression and poverty, so as the better to be able to exploit them.

What has Britain done to Korea, to that flourishing land with a thousand-years-old culture? It has handed over Korea to the Japanese imperialists for them to tear to pieces, and they are now with fire and sword making the Korean people submit to the British and Japanese capitalists.

What is Britain doing to Afghanistan? By bribing the Emir's government it has kept the people in maximum subjection, in the greatest poverty and ignorance, trying to reduce this country to a desert, in order that this desert may guard India, which Britain oppresses, from any incursion from without.

What is Britain doing with Armenia and Georgia? There by means of its gold it keeps the peasant and worker masses under the yoke of the hated Dashnak and Menshevik governments it has bought, which terrorise and oppress their own peoples and drive them to fight against the peoples of Azerbaidzhan and Russia who have freed themselves from the bourgeois yoke.

Oppression and ruin, want and ignorance among the Eastern peoples serve as sources of enrichment for imperialist Britain.

British capital feels cramped in Europe, it has grown, and cannot find places for investment: besides, the European workers, enlightened by revolutionary consciousness, have become bad slaves: they are not willing to work for nothing, they want good wages. In order that capital may have elbow-room, in order that it may bring in a good profit, in order that the European workers may be thrown a sop so as to hold back the growth of their revolutionary mood, in order that it may be possible to bribe the leading strata of the worker masses, British capital needs fresh land, fresh workers – rightless and unfranchised slaves.

And the British capitalists think they have found these fresh lands in the Eastern countries, and these rightless and voiceless slave-workers in the peoples of the East.

Britain, which is a country of barely forty million people, only one-fortieth of whom constitute the group of oppressors and exploiters, while the remaining 39 million are oppressed and exploited workers and farmers, wants to rule over half the world and to hold in slavery the 800 millions of the peoples of the East. One British bourgeois capitalist, having already forced 39 British workers to work for him, wants to force to work for him, in addition, 2,000 workers and peasants in Persia, Turkey, Mesopotamia and Egypt. Thus, 2,040 hungry and tortured people, enjoying none of the good things of life, are to work all their lives long for one idle parasite, a British capitalist. One million such exploiters, British bankers and industrialists, want to reduce 800 millions of the peoples of the East to slavery. And it must be said that they know how to achieve their aim – they have neither shame, nor conscience, nor fear; they have nothing but savage greed and unlimited thirst for gain. The ruin, hunger, blood, suffering and groans of 800 million people mean nothing to them. All that matters is profit, all that counts is gain! And in pursuit of this profit and gain the British imperialists have taken a tenacious grip on the throat of the peoples of the East, and are preparing a dark future for them. A future of utter ruin, permanent slavery, rightlessness, oppression and unlimited exploitation – this is what is in store for the peoples of the East if the present government remains in power in Britain, if imperialist Britain keeps its strength and stabilises its rule over the Eastern countries. A miserable handful of British bankers devour hundreds of millions of peasants and workers in the East.

But this shall not be!

In the face of the British capitalists, the rulers of imperialist Britain, there is rising up the organised might of the peasants and workers of the East, united under the red banner of the Communist International, under the red banner of the union of revolutionary workers, who have made it their aim to liberate the whole world and all mankind from every form of exploitation and oppression.

The First Congress of representatives of the Peoples of the East loudly proclaims to the whole world, to the capitalist rulers of Britain: This shall not be! You dogs shall not devour the peoples of the East, you wretched handful of oppressors shall not reduce to everlasting serfdom hundreds of millions of Eastern workers and peasants. You have bitten off too big a piece, more than you can chew, and it will choke you!

The peoples of the East have long stagnated in the darkness of ignorance under the despotic yoke of their own tyrant rulers, and under that of foreign capitalist conquerors. But the roar of the world-wide conflict, and the thunder of the Russian workers' revolution, which has released the Eastern people of Russia from the century-old chains of capitalist slavery, has awakened them, and now aroused from their sleep of centuries, they are rising to their feet.

They are waking up and are hearing the call to a holy war, to a *ghazavat*: this is our call! It is the call of the First Congress of representatives of the Peoples of the East, united with the revolutionary proletariat of the West under the banner of the Communist International.

*Peoples of the East!* You have often heard the call to holy war, from your governments, you have marched under the green banner of the Prophet, but all those holy wars were fraudulent, serving only the interests of your self-seeking rulers, and you,

the peasants and workers, remained in slavery and want after these wars. You conquered the good things of life for others, but yourselves never enjoyed any of them.

Now we summon you to the first real holy war, under the red banner of the Communist International. We summon you to a holy war for your own well-being, for your own freedom, for your own life!

This is a holy war for the liberation of the Peoples of the East, for the ending of the division of mankind into oppressor peoples and oppressed peoples, for complete equality of all peoples and races, whatever language they may speak, whatever the colour of their skin and whatever the religion they profess.

Into the holy war to end the division of countries into advanced and backward, dependent and independent, metropolitan and colonial!

Into the holy war for the liberation of all mankind from the yoke of capitalist and imperialist slavery, for the ending of all forms of oppression of one people by another and of all forms of exploitation of man by man!

Into the holy war against the last citadel of capitalism and imperialism in Europe, against the nest of pirates and bandits by sea and land, against the age-old oppressor of all the peoples of the East, against imperialist Britain!

*Peoples of the East!* In this holy war all the revolutionary workers and all the oppressed peasants of the East will be with you. They will help you, they will fight and die along with you.

It is the First Congress of representatives of the peoples of the East that tells you this. Long live the unity of all the peasants and workers of the East and of the West, the unity of all toilers, all the oppressed and exploited. Long live the battle headquarters of this united movement – the Communist International! May the holy war of the peoples of the East and the toilers of the whole world against imperialist Britain burn with unquenchable fire!

We wish to thank New Park Publications for permission to reprint the extracts of the Manifesto of the Baku Congress.

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Scene during Miami uprising

# MIAMI

## the fight goes on

Following in the wake of the Miami revolt in May, and continuing to simmer there through June until breaking out again in two successive waves in the following month, the Black uprisings of 1980 are throwing a great shadow over the already crisis-ridden atmosphere of the US elections. The shadows of smoke and flames, and the sounds of breaking glass and gunfire, have threatened to reach out from a dozen or so centers of unrest to touch even those hallowed ceremonies of the US imperialists, the national party conventions, which are being held this year under an unprecedented umbrella of police and military protection.

The way in which the Black Uprisings have arrived at the center of the national 'spotlight' of media attention, alongside the electoral circus and intruding upon it, was highlighted on June 9th when nationwide TV broadcast scenes of hundreds of Black demonstrators throwing insults, and rocks and bottles as well, at imperialist spokesman Jimmy Carter when he tried to make a token appearance on the edge of Miami's Liberty City.

After a relative lull in the overall outbreaks, through the month of June, the middle of July saw the first new wave of struggles, in Miami again and in Flint, Michigan, just miles away from the Republican Party national convention in Detroit. In Miami, the resistance struggle broke out again on July 15, when a so-called 'Jobs Fair' sponsored by the Dade County Private Industry Council, attracting hundreds of unemployed Black youth, ended in violent disruptions after it was learned that only 200 jobs were to be made available. Later on in that afternoon, police came under gun-fire when they attempted to arrest alleged 'robbery suspects', one of the most common forms of racist harassment. This incident, which soon spread out into a more generalised outbreak, was concentrated around the James E. Scott housing projects in Liberty City, a complex that has been nicknamed 'Vietnam' because of the large numbers of weapons believed to be there. As happened before at the beginning of the May Uprising, the Black Liberation banner of black,

green, and red appeared soon at the center of a crowd of youth moving along Northwest 22 Avenue, the main street passing through the projects. This banner, carried by a young man who addressed the crowd in political terms, as well as the higher stage of resistance expressed in the sophisticated use of sniper-fire, ambushes, and selective fire-bombing, are all elements of the uprisings of the eighties which send chills down the spines of the US imperialists.

Although the area of the resistance was much smaller than the outbreak in May, it required large numbers of police and military forces to contain, including 400 police and at least 450 National Guardsmen, and a curfew that was imposed by this massive force from July 15th through the 20th. 130 were arrested and 35 civilians reported wounded, while at least five police were admitted by the authorities to have been wounded as well, repeatedly coming under gun-fire as they tried to impose the curfew, night after night, with teargas, indiscriminate arrests, and erection of police barricades, surrounding the projects.

On the evening of July 13th, and continuing for at least two days after that, hundreds of Blacks took to the streets and battled the police in Flint, Michigan, a center of the automobile industry whose massive layoffs are especially hitting hard at already-skyrocketing Black unemployment, and a few short miles from where the Republican Party national convention was just assembling, in Detroit. This revolt broke out in direct response to the killing of William Taylor, Jr, a 15-year old Black youth, by a racist policeman on 8 July.

Through June, and continuing through the first wave of revolts in July, the Greensboro trials (the trial of Nazis and Klansmen charged with killing 5 members of the Communist Workers Party on 3 November 1979) has brought new revelations about the direct ties between the FBI and KKK, between the racist gangs and the government bodies which are allegedly bound to maintain 'law and order'. Hundreds of Blacks marched in 100° heat in Dillon, South Carolina, and listened to speakers denounce the 'plantation system', as well as the increased terrorist activities of the KKK, which held its own rally at the same time some 30 miles away.

After the outbreaks in the middle of July, exactly two weeks later, another series of revolts broke out in Boston, Chattanooga, Tennessee, and Orlando, Florida. Incidents between Black youths and police, in the predominantly Black section of Roxbury, which have been reported in nationwide media as continuing from late July into early August, are directly linked, like the uprisings elsewhere, with the racist violence of the mainly-white police force. On July 12th, and a week later on July 19th, 500 Blacks marched in disciplined columns with raised fists, through the Roxbury district and to the District 4 Police Station, scene of numerous racist outrages against Black residents of the area. Both of these marches specifically protested the police killing of 14-year old Levi Hart in early July, a killing which has caused even greater anger as it has been revealed, as in the case of police-murdered McDaffie which set off the Miami uprising, that the Black youth's death was caused by a skull fracture resulting from a 'blunt instrument', and not directly from the bullet-wound Hart had received after being shot for 'car theft'.

The Boston marches are particularly important because they were organized and carried out by that city's Black United Front (BUF). The Boston BUF, together with identical and similar organizations from more than thirty states, and represented by more than 1000 delegates gathered in New York City from June 26-29th, formed a National Black United Front which will attempt to gather and develop the crucial political leadership needed to join together all the various local struggles and raise them to higher and higher levels in the period ahead.

In Chattanooga, Tennessee, following a racist court verdict which let two Klansmen go free, and one with a very light sentence after they admitted wounding four black women in a shot-gun attack on the Black community, the Black people of the Alton Park community revolted for three days and nights, causing more than a quarter-of-a-million dollars in damage. From July 24th through 27th, the outbreak continued, with the media focusing on one particular incident where a group of policemen was lured into a well-planned ambush, and seven of them wounded by shot-gun pellets like the Black woman victims of the KKK attack!

Starting on July 30th and continuing for three days after that, Black people revolted in Orlando, Florida, otherwise known for its 'Disneyland' vacation resort, and the third city in Florida - after Miami and Tampa - to be hit by Black uprisings. When police attempted to arrest a 'robbery suspect' in a neighbourhood bar, hundreds fought back, driving off the police, and beginning firebomb attacks against the most hated local merchants. After the first night, a 20-square block area was cordoned off and 'emergency meetings' called between the local mayor and Black community officials while police made 'sweeps' of the affected area, arresting more than 30.

As in Miami, Boston, and Chattanooga, the

**They won't defeat my revenge, never, never. I'm part of a righteous people who anger slowly, but rage undamned. We'll gather at his door in such a number that the rumbling of our feet will make the earth tremble.'**

*George Jackson*

situation in Orlando remains tense, with the police role as occupying army clearer than ever, and the various would-be and actual Black leaders forced to take a stand - either with the masses in the streets or with the racist imperialist US state. The national conventions of the traditional Black organizations, the NAACP, Urban League, and caucus of elected Black politicians, all taking place through these summer months against the background of the waves of revolts in the ghettos, have proven more bankrupt than ever before. The refusal of any of the presidential candidates to even address the gathering of the Black National Political Caucus, earlier this year, was not only an expression of the blatant racism and chauvinism that now permeates every aspect of US political life. It was also an expression of the collapse of the traditional coalitions of liberals, Black collaborators, pro-imperialist labour aristocrats, and academic and technocratic elites, the traditional combination of political forces which have characterized the overall bourgeois two-party system, and within which potential anti-racist and anti-imperialist impulses and trends have hitherto been largely contained. The Black 'establishment', like the reactionary Trade Union bosses of the AFL-CIO, can no longer 'deliver' the votes of its members, much less the confidence or trust of the larger masses which it claims to lead and represent.

The Black masses have had direct experience of the specific bankruptcy and even outright treason of their so-called 'leaders' as chosen by the ruling-class. In numerous incidents, through the course of the uprisings, these 'leaders' have denounced their own people and joined with the local police and authorities to try and quell the revolts. This experience opens the way for further revolts, as admitted by the official government agency, The US Civil Rights Commission, whose chairman in a 9 July news conference in Washington, DC, declared: 'We are sitting on a powder keg'.

When this powderkeg explodes, as it is already beginning to explode in the first waves of Black uprisings of 1980, it not only helps sweep away the old but also clears the way for the new. As in the revolts of the sixties, the Black uprisings can and will generate the renewed militancy of the most oppressed and exploited sectors which always take the lead in the mass struggles, as well as the higher organizational forms needed to sustain and develop these struggles. This is why such developments as the late-June formation of the National Black United Front, as well as the continuing highly-charged atmosphere surrounding the Greensboro trials, which have thrust to the fore the idea of Communists - white as well as Black - taking up arms against KKK and Nazi racist violence, are of such importance in the present situation.

**American Correspondent**



# FRONTLINE

INTERNATIONAL DEFENCE AND AID



Armed police confront striking workers

## APARTHEID STRIKE BREAKERS

The wave of black revolutionary struggles against the apartheid regime in South Africa continued throughout July and August. During these two months, the revolutionary stage has been dominated by further massive black workers strikes for the right to organise democratic trade unions and for a decent living wage.

British imperialism and its agents – the Labour Party and the TUC – who have been so ready with their declarations of ‘concern’ and ‘support’ for striking workers in Poland, have in the case of black workers in South Africa been singularly silent. British imperialists have £7 billion invested in South Africa sucking profits from millions of savagely exploited and starving black workers. These profits can be made only because black workers have no right to organise trade unions and no right to strike. It is not therefore surprising that in defence of these profits, the representatives of British imperialism have stood by and watched as the racist apartheid regime has tried to break black workers strikes with mass sackings, police terror, mass deportations and murder.

Amongst the hundreds of strikes the largest and most significant was that of black municipal workers. Beginning on 24 July black municipal workers in Johannesburg struck for recognition of their union the Black Municipal Workers Union, for an increase in wages from R33 to R58, for weekly as opposed to fortnightly payment of wages and a review of conditions of service. By 29 July 10,000 workers were on strike making it the biggest strike against a single employer in the history of South Africa. Bus drivers, sanitation workers, electricity workers, maintenance workers, technicians and clerks came out for their union and for an increase in wages.

The British-supported apartheid regime responded with all available weapons of oppression to break the strike. Within a day 1350 workers were sacked after a declaration from Johannesburg’s electrical engineer

‘We will not be held to ransom by striking workers and we will dismiss them right across the board.’

This was only a first step. The BMWU telephone was disconnected and massive harassment of workers commenced. Mass meetings held by workers in their concentration camp-like compounds were surrounded by police armed with shotguns, machine-guns and with dogs. Food was not permitted to reach those at the meetings and entry and exit was prevented. Having failed to thus intimidate and break the workers’ spirit, the regime brought into play its most pernicious weapon – mass deportations. Thousands of strikers being migrant workers, were herded at gun point and like cattle into deserted compounds and forced to remain overnight in conditions too crowded to lie down, with no food or toilet facilities. The next morning they were forced into buses guarded by armed police and returned to the ‘homelands’ – those reserves for cheap labour and

dumping ground for the unwanted. When Joseph Mavi the leader of the BMWU tried to get an injunction against these deportations he was arrested and charged under the Sabotage Act for which the minimum penalty is 5 years imprisonment, the maximum death! The strike was broken and the regime is making every effort to smash the union.

These are the methods of the apartheid state, these are the weapons by which they seek to maintain the downtrodden conditions of the black working class, so that it continues to fill the coffers of imperialist banks and monopolies.

Since January 1980 we have witnessed the most determined revolutionary struggle by the black masses against the apartheid regime. These have been met with mass murder as in the Capetown Uprising of June 17, with the massacre of unarmed schoolchildren, with mass sackings and mass deportations to poverty stricken and starving homelands. British imperialism, the British Government and all its lackeys will issue no statement of denunciation about this savagery and barbarism. Without the massive terror apparatus of the apartheid regime British imperialism would not be making millions of profits. So in the interests of these profits, British imperialism will remain silent as hungry children are shot down, as starving workers are deported and as every stand of resistance is washed in blood. It will remain silent until the mighty movement of the black masses crushes it to dust... then it will scream about human rights, about democracy and justice. But then it will be too late for these hypocrites who declare ‘concern’ and ‘support’ for the Polish workers only in the futile hope that they can reduce the conditions of Polish workers to those suffered by the black workers of South Africa.

Eddie Abrahams

## POEM FOR ANWAR DITTA AND HER FAMILY

There's no distance in the world  
Can alter the colour of blood,  
Life can take only one course.

The Pen cannot smite the ties,  
And even law can't change. It can  
hurt only

But it cannot take the family,  
That will always be yours.

Alone, I am without strength,  
United, there are chances and hope,  
Solidarity wins wars. We're in this  
together.

There's love, for humanity, a Prize  
We shall win.

Your children are yours,  
Your life is with them.

We won't let the Racist state decide,  
Who should live together  
Because of the colour of their skin.

Unity is stronger than Courts,  
A building will crumble.  
Through your life and your children  
You are eternal.  
Laws can never weaken that, ever.

In the face of brutality and Racism  
We shall hold fast together. There is  
faith.

Because you have us and we bleed  
with you.

We've beat them, they thought we  
would never,

You have won  
Because you're who you are,  
Because love always conquers hate.

This poem was sent to Anwar Ditta by a  
prisoner in a British gaol.

## PRISONS: the murderous regime

continued from page 3

and vocally showed that they were solidly behind the Irish prisoners. And the Irish POWs on the roof were at pains to point out that there was persistent screw brutality in C-wing. Within the prisons a fightback is developing in which the gaoled political opponents of British imperialism are forging bonds of solidarity with those gaoled for daring to sin against the sacred rights of property in this capitalist society.

As the crisis of imperialism deepens, so will the poverty, in which 15 million people in Britain already live, come to affect greater sections of the working class. More people will be poured into the ‘zombification centres’. At the same time the revolutionary fightback will itself produce greater numbers of prisoners. The British state believes it has prepared well for that day. In one way, with all its techniques of cruelty, control and security it has done so. In another it has not. It has simply prepared the ground in prisons for the growth in influence of revolutionary ideas. Nobody who has been through the British prison system has any illusions left in British democracy.

On the outside, in the larger prison of this imperialist country, the revolutionary movement is being born. We will know it has come of age when it starts to defend in an effective manner those who are most at the mercy of this savage British state – those who at this very moment are lying drugged and beaten in a lonely cell – its prisoners.

Maxine Williams

## REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST No9

### Racism, Imperialism and the Working Class

This article shows how racism is rooted in imperialism and that it is the British imperialist state which today is carrying out the most massive and systematic attack on black people. The article concludes that, with the deepening crisis, British imperialism can only intensify racial oppression and meet all resistance with increased repression. An anti-racist movement can only be built by uncompromising struggle against imperialism and its agents in the working class.

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## FIGHT RACISM! FIGHT IMPERIALISM! THE FIGHTBACK IN THE PRISONS PUBLIC MEETINGS

LIVERPOOL  
Thursday 23 October  
Rialto Community Centre  
Upper Parliament Street  
7.30pm

MANCHESTER  
Wednesday 29 October  
Moss Side People's Centre  
St Mary's Street  
7.30pm

EDINBURGH  
Monday 20 October  
Edinburgh Trades Council  
Picardy Place  
7.30pm

GLASGOW  
Thursday 30 October  
Room 8, City Halls  
Albion Street  
7.30pm

NORTH LONDON  
Thursday 30 October  
Caxton House  
St John's Way N19  
(nearest tube Archway)  
7pm

SOUTH LONDON  
Tuesday 14 October  
Lower Hall, Brixton Town Hall  
(Near Brixton tube)  
7.30pm

BRISTOL  
Monday 29 September  
The Ink-Works, 22 Hepburn Rd  
St Pauls, 7.30pm

LEEDS  
Thursday 16 October  
Trades Hall, Saville Mount  
Leeds 7  
7.30pm



## Police attack Liverpool family

An organised struggle against the racist police has started to develop in Liverpool following one of their more recent attacks on a black family.

The incident occurred at noon on 21 July, when plain-clothes CID men forced their way into the home of the Wilkie family on the pretext of arresting Patrick, the younger son, for robbery. Hearing the screams of his sisters, who were being crushed behind the front door, George, the elder brother, came running downstairs to find out what was happening. Seeing two strangers assaulting his family in his own home, he took the natural course of action, and fought back. Both he and Patrick were dragged into the street, where Patrick was spreadeagled with four policemen standing on his arms and legs. They were then taken to Admiral Street police station, where both were given a beating, Patrick being kicked between the legs, and George suffering cuts and bruises to his legs, arms and mouth. They were charged with three counts each of assaulting policemen. No charge of theft was brought against Patrick; this had just been the excuse for the raid, for which the police anyway had no warrant. Later the same afternoon, they tried to bluff their way into searching the house again without a warrant. But Mrs Wilkie stood her ground and prevented it. The police then hung around for an hour effing and blinding as they waited for a warrant to arrive. When they searched the house, they of course found nothing.

On 8 August, whilst waiting to go into a preliminary hearing in the magistrate's court, Patrick was arrested for an attempted robbery, in what is clearly a jumped-up charge to retrospectively justify the police raid. One of the policemen who had attacked him on 21 July had openly admitted that they were going to get Patrick when he was 17, so that they could send him to Borstal. In fact, they did not bother to wait that long.

Following the preliminary hearing, where George elected to go to trial at Crown Court, a campaign to defend the Wilkie family was established. In conjunction with **Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!** supporters, leaflets and petitions were prepared. At the Caribbean Carnival two days later, 1000 leaflets were distributed, and 600 signatures obtained for the petitions, which called for the dropping of the charges, and for opposition to police racism. The leaflets produced made clear that the campaign was a political one, that the fight was not one for the family alone, but for all black people in the area, suffering as they do from the most systematic persecution by the racist police. The response was overwhelming not merely sympathy for the family, but enthusiasm that at last an organised campaign was taking place. 'It's about time something was done' was the almost universal response. Coincidentally, a public meeting on police racism had been arranged by **Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!**, so building for it was the next step in the campaign. It was a great success. Over 50 people from the community packed the meeting room, and gave an enthusiastic response to the two speakers - George Wilkie and Eddie Abrahams

from **Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!**. Both stressed that now was the time to organise an anti-racist, anti-imperialist movement which would be able to fight back against police attacks, since black people, and increasingly the rest of the working class, would have no other future than one without rights, of more poverty and unemployment, and of more police brutality. Appeals were made for support for the Anwar Ditta Defence Campaign demonstration on 6 September, and for a picket of the Magistrates Courts in Dale Street on 18 September, when George Wilkie next appears in court. Support was given too for the formation of a **Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!** group in Liverpool 8, which would help to build a movement against the British racist imperialist state.

**\*Defend the Wilkie Family! Drop the charges! Fight Police Racism! Picket of Dale Street Magistrates Court. Assemble 1.15pm, 18th September.**

**Stop Press.** The need for a movement to fight police racism could not be better demonstrated than by the experience of the Jones family from Liverpool 8. They have suffered constant harassment, which has included a four-week period in which their house was raided *seven times!* During the most recent raid, a record player and pictures were deliberately smashed up, and Floyd Jones beaten up - not in the police station, *but in his own bedroom, and in front of his mother!* Naturally, he has been charged with assaulting police officers.

Liverpool Correspondent

## CP SIDES WITH POLICE

Readers of FRFI will be familiar with the Communist Party's (CPGB) line on the police. In the face of open and violent attacks on the working class, particularly on black people, by the police, the CPGB dreams of:

**'real democratic supervision, in which the people through their organisations and elected representatives, become the bodies to which the police are accountable.'**

Dreams aside, in reality this means that the CPGB will work hand in glove with the imperialist state. Under the guise of giving support to cosmetic reforms of police activity they consistently oppose those who take up the revolutionary struggle by fighting back against the police.

This was shown when on 3 July, the **Morning Star**, the CPGB's daily paper, carried an article called 'Bobbies on beat cut estate crime - community policing working well.' This refers to a new 'community policing' scheme on Stockwell Park estate - an area where police racist attacks are well known. It was introduced mainly as a result of moves by Stockwell Park Tenants' Association. The Chairwoman of this tenants association happens to be Jean Styles, a prominent member of the Communist Party. She stated in the **Morning Star**:

'We argued we should be going back to homebeat officers. Fifteen to sixteen year olds tend to be anti-police.'

In fact the CPGB and its members not only cover up for the police they actively aid them. What the Tenants Association on Stockwell Park estate is actually doing is touting for information to pass on to the police,

'tenants tend to channel information through tenants association officials Jean and Maurice Styles.'

Superintendent MacLennan, Lambeth's community liaison officer, only too pleased with the co-operation of his touts, says:

'the results so far are encouraging... We've got possibly more police walking the streets of Lambeth now than we've had for a long, long time.'

The reality of the CPGB's position was revealed in a recent incident on Stockwell Park estate. Maurice Styles, a leading member of the CPGB, advised someone to call the police. When the police arrived they kicked in the front door of a black family's house

After the incident, the family wrote to the local councillor, Ted Knight, explaining what had happened. Maurice Styles also wrote to him giving his version of the event. In his letter, he abuses the family calling them 'anti-social' and 'un-neighbourly'. He then proceeds to call them liars by saying that their version of the event 'does not accord with our certain knowledge' and it is 'biased and inaccurate'.

'I heard the Police Officer in charge request in a manner that I regarded as reasonable for the door of (the house) to be opened... The manner used by the person inside the flat in response to the repeated Police request for the door to be opened I did not regard as reasonable.'

In keeping with his racist arrogance which is typical of petit bourgeois socialists, he goes on to say:

'I would have thought that having regard to my well known and considerable experience in the field of Race Relations both in our Lambeth community as well as at National level, both Stewart Lansley and yourself would have welcomed the opportunity to have gained my version of these events before proceeding with what I am bound to describe as one-sided representation. I am sure on reflection you will both agree that frequently ill-founded representation without being properly identified and verified through known independent witnesses can also exacerbate the already poor relations between the Police and the local community on Stockwell Park estate.'

His well known and 'considerable experience' obviously consists of co-operating with the imperialist state by acting as a police agent, and abusing black people calling them 'anti-social' 'un-neighbourly' and liars.

These opportunists, along with the British ruling class, fear nothing more than the revolutionary resistance of the oppressed to British imperialism. The CPGB called the victorious St Pauls uprising 'primitive'. After the courageous fightback against the police at Southall, the CPGB had this to say:

'Of course racism will never be defeated by throwing stones at policemen. Squalid little street fights with the police on the part of tiny groups are no answer to the problem.'

It certainly is understandable that the CPGB is so repulsed by revolutionary struggle - whether it be the struggle for national liberation in Ireland, or the fightback by black people in Britain. Because the CPGB is the ally of British imperialism and it has taken this alliance to its practical conclusion on Stockwell Park estate. The CPGB is with the police against black people.

Marie Jay

## HORNSEY POLICE TERROR

In the last issue of FRFI the reign of police terror in Hornsey was reported on. The latest wave of police repression started in October 1979. Two brothers were picked up after a raid on their house. One of them was held for five days in Hornsey police station. He was subject to constant harassment and abuse, isolated and interrogated. The police then suggested that charges against him would not be pressed if he went to the Royalty Soul Club (Southgate) and named a few of his friends.

This was the beginning of what has now become known as the case of the Hornsey 70 Plus. This new wave of police repression is being mounted by Detective Inspector Crompton. He has taken charge of a special unit operating from Hornsey police station. It has launched a systematic attack on the black community and black youth in particular. Their aim has been clearly stated by PC Hutchinson,

'By the time we finish our operations there will be no black boys on the streets of Haringey.'

Their methods include long periods of isolation and intimidation, the stopping of trains, telegram arrests, threats and promises over bail conditions.

The numbers of youth involved has now risen from 70 to 135. The vast majority are black. Many are being held on remand. Thirty black youths from the borough are on remand at Ashford.

One youth was picked up after an early morning raid on the family's house. The next day the police came back and picked up his sister. She was held for thirty hours, refused food and drink, refused access to a telephone to make arrangements for her young son who was due to start at a new school the following day. Her brother's white girlfriend was pulled in and held for 'questioning', during which time a stream of racist abuse was hurled at her. PC Hutchinson:

'Why do you go around with these wogs and

coons', 'None of them are any good, that's why they are slaves and still should be.'

Another family the Willoughby's have been attacked constantly by Hornsey police. The mother has been assaulted in the street. The three brothers have been beaten up on numerous occasions. The older daughter, after an early morning raid, was dragged from her bed and charged with assaulting the police. The house has been broken into by the police on countless occasions. David the older brother is now doing 5 years in Wormwood Scrubs after being fitted up on 76 charges. The list is endless.

The racist Highgate Magistrates Court, the main one dealing with the Hornsey arrests has refused to grant bail to the majority of youth involved. This has forced some of the youth to seek bail through a Judge in Chambers. If bail has been set by the magistrate stringent conditions are imposed, strict curfews, high sureties, areas of London which are out of bounds. Some of the youth involved have now been on remand for six to eight months with trial dates still not fixed. This means that the youth can be interned for up to a year. The British state's slogan is you're guilty until proven so.

The only way forward for the working class in Hornsey is a militant anti-racist campaign waged by the people which will be able to fight back against the attacks by the police and the courts.

Mark Peters.



# FIGHT RACISM

## ANWAR DITTA- APPEAL REJECTED

Writing of Anwar Ditta's fight to bring her three children home from Pakistan, we said in *Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!* 4 that:

'The British state is guided neither by human consideration nor by concern for legal formalities. It has only one aim and that is to crush the resistance of the oppressed.'

The truth of this was proved on Wednesday 30 July, when the adjudicator at the Manchester Immigration Court cold-bloodedly rejected Anwar's appeal for her children.

For four years the Home Office has denied Anwar Ditta and her husband the right to be united with their children on the 'grounds' that 'the couple had not established that they were the parents of the children'. These 'grounds' are nothing more than a corrupt, hypocritical and racist legal cover-up for breaking up the family. There can be few better examples of barbaric imperialist legality and of the utterly vile and racist immigration courts, than that demonstrated on Wednesday 30 July. Anwar Ditta had all the evidence necessary to refute the Home Office's lies. Yet the adjudicator, that paid agent of British imperialism, contemptibly **case aside** this evidence. A vast amount of documentary evidence was simply dismissed for being 'related mostly to peripheral matters'. Indeed, for imperialism, relations of black parents and children are only 'peripheral matters' of no importance. What concerns imperialism is ensuring the continued oppression of black people and the continued exploitation of their labour. Everything else, family life, democratic rights are 'peripheral matters'. The adjudicator dismissed birth and marriage certificates with the racist slur that they were only 'the usual local' ones. Not being rubber-

stamped by British imperialism they were not accepted as evidence.

Having cast aside the evidence the adjudicator turned on the parents and witnesses with a barrage of vicious racist slander and character assassination. Two examples are sufficient to demonstrate this. He stated:

'... I could not accept that Anwar Ditta and Hamida Rafiq (Anwar's sister) were simple Asian village women... they... were far more westernised and sophisticated in their demeanour than the average member of the immigrant community.'

And referring to Anwar's sister:

'The impression given by her was adversely affected by her scarcely concealed hostility to not only the proceedings in general but also to the sponsor's representative. Her frequent statements that she was illiterate and had no education became parrot-like.'

Such is a clear example of imperialist British justice. Black people who stand up and fight for their rights have their evidence dismissed, are subjected to vicious racist personal trials, and their appeal is rejected.

### Political police

The outcome of the appeal has not altered Anwar Ditta's and the Anwar Ditta Defence Committee's determination to continue the struggle. But it has become clearer than ever that only a revolutionary campaign directed against the British state and its immigration controls, a campaign based on the black community and the working class movement, can win justice for Anwar Ditta's family. It is in response to the prospect of such a campaign that the Rochdale police, immediately after the appeal result, once again began their campaign of political intimidation. At a successful meeting to denounce the appeal result and intensify the campaign, two plain clothes police attended to spy on the meeting and gather information about the campaign. The meeting voted unanimously to expel them as agents of the British state and as instruments of oppression. Following this, the police visited Anwar's home to protest at the ADDC leaflet for its demonstration of 6 September. They 'objected' to the leaflet's exposure of the racist role of the police in oppressing black people, and sought permission to attend the ADDC meeting!

In fighting for her right to be united with her children Anwar Ditta is also facing attacks from unidentified racist thugs. She has received letters full of racist abuse and on 27 August racist thugs smashed her car window.

### False Friends

The adjudicator's rejection of Anwar Ditta's appeal, the role of the Home Office, the harassment by the Rochdale police and attacks by racist thugs are all part of a systematic attempt to try and destroy the revolutionary campaign to bring Anwar's children home. In this aim the state has been able to rely on the opportunists within the Anwar Ditta Defence Committee,

who since the appeal result was announced have shown their worst and most despicable features. The Manchester Law Centre whose cowardly role was exposed in the last issue of *FRFI*, on finding themselves dismissed by Anwar Ditta initially **refused** to return all her documents thus delaying the submission for leave to lodge a further appeal. Only the threat of occupying the Law Centre forced them to return the documents. When Anwar Ditta and her husband decided to expel the Law Centre and the CRE from the Defence Committee for being 'spies of the Home Office', the ANL, SWP and Rochdale Labour Party walked out of the Defence Committee... in solidarity with the agents of the British imperialist state!

It is against these opportunists, who at decisive moments have deserted to the side of the agents of the state, that the ADDC has had to wage consistent battles - battles to ensure the publication of principled anti-racist leaflets, to win the right for anti-imperialists such as the North of England Irish Prisoners Committee to speak at demonstrations. Yet Socialist Challenge, who have never been to a single Defence Committee meeting, in keeping with its own opportunist and compromising nature, blamed the adjudicator's decision on 'internal conflicts' within the ADDC. How characteristic of the petit bourgeois socialists - British imperialism's racist act is blamed on the revolutionaries who have consistently fought imperialism and its paid agents - the CRE and the Law Centre!

**The campaign continues. To carry on its work the ADDC urgently needs funds. Cheques and Postal Orders to:**

**Anwar Ditta Defence Committee,  
127 Crawford Street,  
Rochdale**

**Eddie Abrahams**

## NATIONALITY LAW

In 1948 the British Nationality Act was passed which gave in law equal citizenship rights to all citizens of the Commonwealth. Legally all Commonwealth Citizens were British Subjects and could enter and settle in the UK, vote and stand for Parliament.

In the July 1980 White Paper on British Nationality Law, the British state is seeking to implement legislation which will result in three types of Nationality.

### The proposed new citizenships

- British Citizenship** will be conferred on those 'Citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies who have a close personal connection with the United Kingdom'.
- Citizenship of the British Dependent Territories** will be foisted onto approximately 3 million people, currently Citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies 'who have that citizenship by reason of their own, or their parents, or their grandparents birth, naturalisation or registration in an existing dependency or Associated States. Of these about 2½ million live in Hong Kong, the remainder in Belize, Bermuda, Antigua, St Christopher-Nevis-Anguilla, Gibraltar and a number of smaller island colonies of Britain.
- The remainder of those who currently hold 'Citizenship of the United Kingdom and Colonies' will become **British Overseas Citizens**.

The right to enter and settle in the UK will be held exclusively by those with British Citizenship. What this amounts to is one grade of Nationality - British Citizens - who have rights and two grades of Nationality who have none.

### Why The Changes?

A clue to the reasoning behind the proposed changes is to be found in the White Paper's introduction. It states '... Ideas of citizenship which were suitable in 1948 are no longer so... Arrangements have now to be devised which will be suitable for the changed circumstances...'

What is it that has changed since 1948? What are the changed circumstances?

By 1948 Britain had entered the period of the post-war boom. Only 10 years previously British capitalism had been unable to resolve the depression and attendant high unemployment of the thirties, but in the years following the war its thirst for labour grew with economic expansion. Britain's stranglehold over the oppressed nations and their systematic underdevelopment resulting from imperialist robbery meant that there existed in the oppressed nations a vast international pool of unemployed labour. British imperialism drew on this international reserve of labour to fuel its economic boom. By the late 1940s the British state had begun to actively encourage immigration from the oppressed nations. Immigrant labour from Asia, Africa and the West Indies was brought to Britain to do the worst jobs, in the worst conditions and for the lowest pay - in sum to form a specifically oppressed layer within the working class.

Under these circumstances, nationality, citizenship, the right to enter the UK, could, for wholly racist reasons, be conferred as widely as possible.

As the crisis of profitability began to develop in the early sixties however so the restrictions on entry to the UK began to be introduced. As the need for cheap labour diminished, control of immigration became more and more harsh and reflected the changing needs of British imperialism. The 1968 Immigration Act introduced by the then Labour Government included the first 'patrial' clause thereby demonstrating the racist content of Britain's immigration control. The

use of immigration controls by British imperialism became more and more a means not only of preventing further black immigration, but also of attacking black workers already here. Further legislation means that it is now virtually impossible for black workers to enter and settle in the UK, that black workers settled here still have to live under the threat of deportation, and that induced repatriation has already begun with dependent relatives, unable to survive on their own in the oppressed nations, being refused entry so that those they depend on are forced to go to look after them.

These then are the 'changed circumstances'. The demands of the imperialist economy in 1948 were for the unrestricted entry of cheap labour. The demands of the imperialist economy in 1980 are for an intensified attack on black workers both in the oppressed nations and within the UK itself.

Of course the bulk of the legislation necessary to attack black workers is already on the statute books in the form of the Immigration Acts. What the proposed nationality bill seeks to do is to consolidate this. Home Secretary and current supervisor of the racist state attack, William Whitelaw has stated this clearly on a number of occasions. The White Paper spells it out on the old citizenship:

'The most serious drawback to the status of Citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies is that it does not provide a ready definition of who has the right of entry to the United Kingdom'.

on the scope of the new bill:

'The bill will deal only with the law of Nationality and any consequential amendments to the Immigration Act which will be needed because the right of abode will have to be defined in terms of citizenship.'

on the racist 'patrial' clause in the Immigration Laws:

'Much of the amendment (to the Immigration Act - *FRFI*) will consist of the replacement of the term 'patrial' which will no longer be required, by reference to "British Citizen".'

'Safeguards' are promised to ensure that no one will end up 'stateless', and that people lawfully settled here for the required time who have not yet registered as 'Citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies' or who, like many Jamaicans for example, lost their UK and Colonies Citizenship when their country became independent will have two years to register as British Citizens. If current British state practice is anything to go by then black people will find that, legal entitlement or not, the state will throw every conceivable obstacle in their path.

There is even a question mark over whether or not children born in the UK will automatically become British citizens. Children born in the UK to parents who are subject to any conditions of stay, will not acquire British Citizenship.

The glaring omission in the White Paper concerns the rights which will go with each type of nationality. At present there are rights and privileges open only to 'British Subjects' such as rights on voting, jury-service and employment in the public service. The White Paper states that '... the Bill, by establishing a British Citizenship, will make available a ready definition by which those duties or entitlements may be redefined in the future.'

In other words the way will be open for the easy introduction of legislation on any number of things, civil rights, welfare entitlements, which will blatantly discriminate against anyone not a 'British Citizen'.

Black people already suffer massive discrimination in every sphere of social existence. In employment, in education, in housing, at the hands of the racist police and under British racist justice. What this White paper intends is the further entrenchment in law of the attack launched against black people by the racist British state.

**SMASH BRITISH IMPERIALISM  
END ALL IMMIGRATION  
CONTROLS.**

**Alison Scott.**



# LETTERS

FRFI welcomes your letters. They should be sent to the Editor, 49 Railton Road London SE24 0LN. We may, on occasions, cut letters for reasons of space.

**The Committee to Support Irish Liberation in New York City issues the following statement to our comrades and friends in Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! /Hands Off Ireland! and the RCG.**

The Committee to Support Irish Liberation wishes to express its full support to the RCG and all Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! members in their efforts to resist and combat attempts by the state to silence and destroy the Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! /Hands Off Ireland! movement. We call upon the state to cease all harassment of FRFI/HOI and RCG supporters. We stand with you in your efforts to continue your activities. It is our hope that this attack will only serve as a means for the intensification of your activities. The state is clearly beginning to feel the effects of your efforts. As your organisation grows the state will attempt to destroy you. We urge you to resist and stand firm! We demand that police censorship on Ireland end and that all 'charges' against Mike Duffield and Kirstin Crosbie be dropped immediately. We call for the

repeal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act. The only terrorists in Ireland and England are the forces of the state; their repression must be resisted and destroyed.

On 27 August the CSIL will hold a public forum on Ireland in New York City. It is our intention to circulate a petition concerning this matter and take a collection for the Defense Campaign at this time.

We have no doubt that we too will one day face similar harassment tactics. Our struggles are one and directed against the same enemy. Your victory will be our victory.

**FIGHT BACK AGAINST STATE REPRESSION!**

**VICTORY TO IRISH PEOPLE! VICTORY TO THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT!**

**IRELAND: UNITED, SOCIALIST AND FREE!**

signed on behalf of the committee:

**Brian J Phillips**

### H-Blocks and Armagh

Sir,  
In God's name please do something quick for these men and women before someone is brought out of these hell-holes dead. As a mother and father of a young blanket man we are very concerned about his health. We have just heard that he and 46

prisoners in the H-Blocks have dysentery and have headaches-vomiting-diahorrea and my son is losing weight every day. Pauline McLoughlin, Armagh prisoner, has lost half her body weight which dropped from 9 stone and a half to five stone, and has had to be moved to hospital where she is seriously ill. Sir could you please print this in your paper and let the world know what the British Government is doing to these POWs.

Thank you and God bless you all.

Your paper FRFI is a great paper, keep up the good work.

If hypocrisy was an olympic event Britain would surely lead the field with gold medals. (Belfast)

### British Justice in Ireland

Dear Comrades,  
On the evening of Friday 8 August I attended and addressed an open air public meeting in the Markets area of Belfast on the issue of Political Status. The event was closely monitored by the army whose presence was never far in the background. Immediately after the meeting two members of the IRSP and I were arrested by the army. This was 9pm approximately. We were taken to an army barracks where we were kept for over an hour. During this time I was

forcibly photographed - which is illegal.

Following our release at 10.15pm we were immediately rearrested by the RUC. We were taken to Castlereagh interrogation centre, where we were held until Monday afternoon, 12.30pm under Section II of the Emergency Provisions Act. During this time I was held in solitary confinement in a windowless cell. No exercise or contact with other prisoners was allowed. In protest against my detention I remained on hunger strike throughout my stay.

I was interviewed five times during the two and a half days of my detention. During the course of these interrogations numerous threats of physical violence were made. I was told that evidence might be given that I had verbally admitted membership of the INLA which would result in my being held on remand in Long Kesh for six months. It was threatened that I would be dropped into a loyalist area where I would be torn apart limb from limb. I was also warned that details about me would be sent to squaddies in Colchester, which is a garrison town. Threats were also made that on my return to Britain I would be detained for seven days and subsequently deported to the South of Ireland. Also I was again finger-printed and

photographed.

My experience is a small indication of the treatment which the army and RUC meet out to the Irish people continuously. It points to the necessity of the immediate withdrawal of the army and the smashing of the sectarian Northern Ireland statelet.

**Francis Barry**  
16 August 1980

### Eye-opener

Dear Comrades,  
I have only recently become aware of the existence of your paper **Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!** having found a copy (issue No5) at a friend's house. Much of FRFI was for me an eye-opener, the courageous fight by Irish prisoners for POW status against the full murderous, torturing force of British imperialism; in the ANC, their fight for freedom in the South African racist state; the full extent of racist attacks against the Black and Asian communities in Britain. I have much to learn and eagerly await further publications.

Yours sincerely,  
**Robert Hume**

## FUND DRIVE

### SUPPORT OUR PAPER! NOW 16 PAGES AND 8000 CIRCULATION

The tremendous response to **Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!** has grown with every issue. For the last two issues of FRFI, our sellers have run out of papers in the last two weeks of each issue. We are happily forced to increase the print order once again - to 8000!

Recognition of the importance of FRFI as the voice of the growing anti-imperialist movement in Britain also comes from the forces of the state. They see FRFI as a growing threat. The most recent attempt to curtail the work of the paper was the use of the PTA in arresting our Glasgow sellers. Against this harassment, and in order to continue the work, we need your help. We need your commitment to enable **FRFI to come out monthly.**

**To make this possible we need £500 every month.**

To the end of August we have raised £450.00

**Money is urgently needed to make our target!**

**Rush all donations to RCG Publications Ltd  
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The **Jack Woddis Award for National Chauvinist Hypocrisy** has been awarded *jointly* to **Socialist Worker** and **Socialist Challenge** for their pro-imperialist coverage of the recent workers struggles in Poland. This means that having twice been runner up for this award **Mr Tariq Ali** (editor of Socialist Challenge) has at last (as we always knew he would) achieved first place in the national chauvinist stakes.

### STOP PRESS

#### Holloway Arrests: charges pressed

Four **Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism** supporters who were arrested on 21 June are now to be charged with: obstruction of a public highway, obstruction of a police officer, illegal collections. The charges arise from the breaking up of an FRFI street meeting by the police on Saturday 21 June. The campaign to end police harassment in Holloway continues as do the street meetings.

### SUPPORTER GROUPS

If you support the work which FRFI is doing, why not become an active supporter? Join an **FRFI Supporter Group**. These groups meet to discuss the paper and to organise anti-racist, anti-imperialist work

If you want details about groups in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Sheffield, Liverpool, Leeds, Rochdale, Manchester, Birmingham, Luton and London, phone 01-737 3922 or write to us at 49, Railton Road, London SE24 0LN

## BECOME A FIGHT RACISM! FIGHT IMPERIALISM! SUPPORTER

If you are willing to help the work which FRFI is doing, become an FRFI supporter.

We need more people to **sell FRFI** and to involve others in the fightback. We need more people **writing for FRFI** about their local struggles and campaigns.

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

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# HANDS OFF IRELAND!

## ANNIVERSARY OF INTERNMENT

The ninth anniversary of the introduction of internment was made the occasion once again for an intensive and sustained display of nationalist resistance to British rule in Ireland. In a vain attempt to quell the street protests which began in the early hours of Saturday, 9 August the British Army and the RUC launched a ferocious assault on the nationalist ghettos of Belfast. This assault left two dead, several seriously wounded (including a 79-year-old woman whose right leg was shattered by a plastic bullet) and many others with less serious injuries. As in August 1971, however, this onslaught by the state only served to heighten resistance by the nationalist community. Throughout the weekend young people in nationalist areas of Belfast, Derry and other towns in the North came onto the streets to defend their areas against the British Army and the RUC and to show their defiance of British rule.

On Sunday thousands of people took part in a demonstration organised by Sinn Fein in West Belfast. The march, headed by banners proclaiming **Victory to the Blanket Men** and **Victory to the Armagh Women**, proceeded from the Sinn Fein headquarters on the Falls Road to Andersonstown. Among the banners carried on the march was one from **Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!** At the rally which followed the march a number of messages of solidarity were read out to loud applause from the crowd, including one from the RCG which said:

The Revolutionary Communist Group sends its greetings and solidarity to the nationalist people of the occupied six counties. Our aim is the same as yours – the death of British imperialism. **Victory to the Blanket Men! Victory to the Republican Movement.**

The rally was then addressed by a number of speakers, including Cora Marshall (Dublin Sinn Fein), Tom Bannon (Sinn Fein Ulster Executive) and Raymond Crane, a recently-released blanket man who described the continuing brutality being inflicted on the prisoners in the H-Blocks and reiterated their determination to

continue their protest until political status had been won. The high-point of the rally, however, came when three IRA Volunteers appeared to a crescendo of cheers from the crowd. As two of the Volunteers held their guns aloft the third addressed the crowd. He emphasised that they had appeared at the rally to underline the fact that they were a revolutionary people's army and that 'the fish' in the friendly sea were thriving, and he concluded:

H-Blocks, to the torture and to the discrimination against the nationalist people. There is only one way to peace, justice and prosperity and that is in a thirty-two-county democratic socialist republic. This state must come down, and if it will not come down then it must be torn down, and we are the force to do it. **Victory to the IRA! Victory to the Irish people!**

"There is only one alternative to the **Irish Correspondent**



## ARMAGH GAOL

Thirty defiant Republican women prisoners protesting for political status with their comrades, the H-Block blanket men, have now completed six months on a 'no wash/no slop-out' protest in Armagh jail which they began after they were physically assaulted and after toilet and washing facilities were withdrawn as a form of punishment last February 7th.

The women, like their Long Kesh comrades when similar facilities were withdrawn from them, turned the punishment (which was meant to break the back of their protest) against the administration by developing it into their own protest. When the British administration realised that their intensification of harassment, and withdrawal of basic human facilities, had not worked, but had attracted even more unwelcome attention to their punitive measures, they withdrew some of the punishments in an attempt to get the women to go back to the – from the Brit's point of view – more manageable non-co-operation protest. But by then it was too late.

Since February the women have been locked up in their cells twenty three hours per day. Their cells rapidly became filthy, and, in fact, have been described as being worse than the H-Blocks by writer, and *Irish Press* editor, Tim Pat Coogan, who has had the dubious privilege of seeing inside both. Every two or three weeks the women are moved along A wing into spare cells while their filthy cells are steamed down by similar machines to those used in the H-Blocks.

Their cells are regularly searched for contraband – for example, writing paper, pens or cigarettes – and the women live in austere conditions and occupy cells in which there is just a bed and a poe. It is testimony to their ingenuity that despite all the security precau-

tions and all the searches the women managed, undetected, to smuggle in a camera, and smuggle out film, which only too shockingly depicts their spartan surroundings.

The British government – a hypocritical champion of dissidents' causes in other continents and of political prisoners anywhere but Ireland – is responsible for the deplorable conditions in which these women have been forced to live, and has begun to feel pinched by international protests and exposure, and motions of censure (which is perhaps one reason why they have continued their talks with Cardinal O'Fiaich). At present-former blanket man Kieran Nugent has 'illegally' re-entered the United States for a second speaking tour organised by Irish Northern Aid. Last weekend he appeared on two television shows and told American audiences about the British-imposed conditions in Armagh jail and in the H-Blocks.

In the face of long periods confined to their cells, and the denial of basic facilities, such as adequate medical facilities, the courageous prisoners have refused to bend the knee to foreign rule and are an example of Republican resistance even when in the clutches of the enemy.

### WE SALUTE THEM!

This article is reprinted from *An Phoblacht / Republican News* 23 August 1980.

### Statement by the Executive Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Group

On 13 July 1980, the Political Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Group took a decision to incorporate **Hands Off Ireland!** (quarterly bulletin of the RCG) into **Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!** the newspaper of the RCG. As from **Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!** No6, **Hands Off Ireland!** is incorporated into the newspaper.

The Revolutionary Communist Group began publication of **Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!** one year ago as part of its work towards building an anti-imperialist communist movement within the British working class. In the building of such a movement black workers, in their struggles against racist oppression, will play a leading and decisive role. The Revolutionary Communist Group and **Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!** have pointed to the rapidly developing black revolutionary struggle against the racist British state. We have recognised that the struggle against racist oppression faces the very same enemy that the Irish people face in their struggle for self-determination – the imperialist, racist British state. Black and Irish people in their struggles against oppression are met with the same police, the same courts and the same prisons.

Incorporating **Hands Off Ireland!** into **Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!** will show more clearly and more sharply the unity of these struggles against British imperialism and will thus ensure the most rapid development of principled

revolutionary support for the Irish liberation war. With the growth of the working class revolutionary movement in Britain it is black workers who will most clearly and most rapidly seek unity with the Irish national liberation movement. And in doing so black workers will aid in bringing the whole of the British working class into the revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle against the British state.

During its four years as a separate publication **Hands Off Ireland!** with its principled and determined opposition to British imperialism and its consistent support for the Provisional Republican Movement has won great respect and standing both in Britain and in Ireland. In Britain it became the consistent expression of the revolutionary communist standpoint on the Irish freedom struggle. This standpoint and the standards established in **Hands Off Ireland!** will now be upheld and fought for in **Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!**

Already **Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!** has given a prominent place to the struggle for Irish self-determination, for we have always recognised that no anti-imperialist movement can be built without making this struggle a central part of its work. With the incorporation of **Hands Off Ireland!** into the newspaper we will ensure that this struggle continues to have the prominent place which all communists must give it.

Within a year of its publication **Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!** has established itself as a principled and consistent anti-imperialist communist publication. Now at 16 pages and with a rapidly increasing circulation it will shortly become monthly and take forward the building of a communist movement to smash British imperialism.