

FIGHT RACISMS

FIGHT IMPERIALISMS

Anti-imperialist paper of the Revolutionary Communist Group

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(unwaged 20p) 3

Close down the South African Embassy

SANCTIONS NOW

On 12 June, State President Botha introduced a new State of Emergency in South Africa covering the entire country, in a last desperate attempt to crush black resistance and defiance before the 10th anniversary commemoration of the Soweto Uprising on 16 June. The apartheid regime has now come out into the open and declared that there can be no peaceful or democratic way forward. The phoney reforms promised to the people for the last two years are exposed as whitewash to cover up barbarity. The last month's events have proved that there is no middle way in South Africa – the choice is progress or barbarism.

The second State of Emergency was introduced three months after the lifting of the first, which covered major areas of South Africa for 7 months. More than 8,000 people were detained and 1,200 people murdered in the first reign of terror. On the first day of the current Emergency more than one thousand have been detained and 7 people were killed. Stringent censorship of the press and free speech was introduced as Botha warned the world not to interfere:

'We are not a nation of weaklings, we do not desire it and we do not seek it, but if we are forced to go it alone, then so be it...'

'I wish therefore to say to the outside world: we have seen clearly what happened in Angola, as well as in Vietnam, Nicaragua, Kampuchea, Afghanistan and Iran. We will consequently not allow our heritage of more than 300 years to be placed needlessly on the altar of chaos and decay.'

Botha and his government, threatened by a growing right-wing backlash, have reverted to the norm – fascism. They are now convinced that black people will not compromise until they have smashed apartheid and taken power. The apartheid regime is now determined that 300 years of bloody, racist, white rule will end with carnage.

Black people in South Africa have never had any illusions about what that 300 year heritage represents, or that they would have to fight for their freedom. At every turn peaceful protest has been met with terror: in 1960 at Sharpeville; in 1976 at Soweto; in 1985 at Langa. Only Botha and his imperialist allies have tried to fool the world that reform of apartheid was their intention. With the backing of Thatcher and Reagan, Botha has played cat and mouse with world opinion for 2 years whilst black children have been dying on the streets of South Africa. Their blood is on the hands of the prevaricators.

continued on page 6

Durban bomb blast

On the night of Saturday 14 June a huge car bomb exploded in Durban's Golden Mile. 3 people were killed and 69 were injured. No one has yet claimed responsibility for the bombing which devastated shops and hotels in a rich white area of Durban.

Millions strike against apartheid

'Let every mine, factory, farm and white home be without labour. Let every university and school be emptied of its youth. Let every shop close its doors. Let every community strike a blow for freedom.' African National Congress.

The streets of rich white areas in South Africa were nearly deserted on Monday 16 June as millions of black people across South Africa joined the general strike, called by COSATU, UDF and the National Education Crisis Committee, to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the Soweto massacre of 1976.

Nearly the entire 2 million population of Soweto joined the stayaway. In other areas massive levels of support were reported. 100% in the Eastern Cape; 90% in the Witwatersrand region; 90% in Pietermaritzburg; 60-80% in Durban. Towards evening, fighting, petrol bomb attacks and barricades were reported in Soweto and other townships.

White people also protested. A white man flew a private plane over Soweto and dropped 1,000 flowers with messages of sympathy attached.

In the run-up to 16 June the regime tried, and failed, to sabotage the protest by arrests and killings.

● 31 black people have been killed. 11 on 16 June and 8 in the 24 hours before.

● 3,000 people have been detained. Among those known to have been arrested are: Titus Mofolo, executive member UDF; Johannes Phate, regional co-ordinator NUM; Father Smangalis Mkhathwa, South African Bishops Conference.

● On 15 June 1,000 police raided Glynn Thomas students' residence near Soweto and arrested 60 students.

● On 15 June Moslem demonstrators at a mosque were fired on with rubber bullets and teargas in the Athlone suburb of Cape Town.

● Winnie Mandela was placed under house arrest and curfew from 6pm to 8am. All interviews with the press were banned. Restriction is believed to cover 16-20 June.

The reporting ban effectively prevented any detailed account of events emerging. Telephone lines to the townships were cut.

A group of British companies issued a declaration against sanctions on 16 June. The list of shame includes ICI, Unilever, British Oxygen, BP, Shell, Rio Tinto Zinc and Barclays Bank. They fear the loss of their super-profits gained from apartheid exploitation of the black masses in South Africa.

Terry O'Halloran



Remember Soweto

Blood-red paint splattered on the South African Embassy as 1,000 people joined the Non-Stop Picket Soweto Day rally on the evening of 16 June. School students, black people, teachers, trade unions, RCG/FRFI, SWP, other political organisations and many young people began gathering at the embassy for the 6pm start.

Carol Brickley, Convenor of City AA and leading RCG comrade, opened up the rally:

'The silence from South Africa is deafening – just as the silence from Nazi Germany was deafening. Hitler said to the press in Germany, don't report what we are doing to the communists, the trade-unions, the Jews. Botha says to journalists in South Africa, don't report what we are doing to black people... We're here to give black people a voice on their day to commemorate Soweto.'

While Botha's state of emergency openly bans journalists and photographers and imposes a ban on reporting, the Metropolitan police attempted to impose restrictions on coverage of protest here by clearing the press away. Whilst journalists from the capitalist press obliged the police and skulked round the corner, Terry O'Halloran, a freelance, socialist journalist, refused and was arrested.

The highlight of the rally was the mass laying of flowers at the embassy gates in tribute to all those massacred by

the apartheid regime.

The speeches and singing throughout the rally were a defiant celebration of our solidarity with that struggle. David Kitson, ex-political prisoner of apartheid for 20 years, said:

'Apartheid is in disarray. The people are defending themselves. That is why there is a state of emergency in South Africa the like of which has not been seen for 25 years...'

Lorna Morgan, speaking for the RCG reminded those present that:

'In their drive for profits Thatcher and her cronies don't care how many black people die... and in Britain, black people are the first to be attacked... Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! our paper, makes that crucial link between the struggle in South Africa and the oppressed in Britain... The Non-Stop Picket can break Thatcher's back!'

The rally continued with speeches from Viraj Mendis, the Winston Silcott Defence Campaign, the youth from the Non-Stop Picket and many other organ-

isations and individuals. MEP Richard Balfe and Vanessa Redgrave of the WRP both spoke to the rally. Music and singing were provided by City AA singers and Ken Hughes of FRFI, the Horns of Jericho and the London School of Samba. During the evening, seven people were arrested and one demonstrator required hospital treatment for his injuries.

David Reed, editor of FRFI, pointed to the realities of policing in Britain today when he poured scorn on Newman's glossy Metropolitan Police Report, *A police for the people*. He said that the miners, Broadwater Farm Estate and other black communities, pickets at Wapping, have all been brutalised and criminalised. The Met police are infamous for their attacks on the picket outside the embassy – that is the reality of Newman's racist police – against the picket and against the people.

Carol Brickley pointed to our duty here in Britain:

'Thatcher is calculating what tiny little bit she can concede to black people in South Africa. We have to end that... that's why we're here...'

Make every day on the Non-Stop Picket a 'state of emergency' for the embassy and its British backers!

Lorna Morgan/Maggie Mellon

No justice at Irish show trial

On Tuesday 10 June Patrick Magee was found guilty of five charges of murder arising out of the bombing of the Grand Hotel in Brighton in October 1984. The following day Patrick Magee, Martina Anderson, Ella O'Dwyer, Gerry McDonnell and Peter Sherry were found guilty of conspiring to cause explosions in seaside resorts. The Old Bailey 'IRA bombing' trial had finally ended with the verdicts pre-ordained by the government, the police and the media. All five now face life sentences in British prisons.

The trial ended as it began, with a demonstration of British 'justice' in action against Irish people. After the verdicts were announced, people in the public gallery shouted 'Tiofaidh ar la' (our day will come). Ella O'Dwyer and Martina Anderson saluted. Peter Sherry began to make a speech saying 'The British are responsible'. He was attacked by prison officers and pushed backwards down the stairs from the dock. Screams and shouts were heard from the cells under the court. Such brutal determination to silence an Irish POW goes along with the 70 arrests made outside the court during the trial and the tight control of public access to the trial.

Inside the courts the security paranoia, designed to convince the jury that the still unconvicted defendants were extremely dangerous people, reached ludicrous depths at times. One day, one of the relatives sitting in the public gallery accidentally dropped a paper handkerchief into the well of the court. Consternation in court. The next day the Judge ruled that the front row of the public gallery be kept empty in case any more dangerous handkerchiefs were

dropped. The jury were given an armed guard towards the end of the trial. Just before they returned their final verdicts they were also treated to a bomb scare. All this was designed to achieve a jury too frightened to examine the evidence critically and independently. The fact that the jury returned unanimous verdicts on all the defendants except Peter Sherry shows how successful the police tactics were.

Having secured the conviction of Patrick Magee as the 'Brighton bomber' the police have now announced that the 'mastermind' behind the Brighton bombing is still free. There is also, say the police, a woman as yet uncaptured. In other words the media are being primed for the next police exercise against the Irish people.

The gutter press have had their usual field day with this trial. They ran through the routine vocabulary of abuse: 'the angels of death' (Ella O'Dwyer and Martina Anderson, according to the *Daily Express*); 'the deadly jackal' (Gerry McDonnell, *Today*); 'the brute' (Peter Sherry, *Daily Mirror*); 'Mad Pat' (Patrick Magee, *Today*). This abuse is de-

signed to convince people that IRA volunteers are maddened animals with no reason for what they do. It goes along with the colourful tales of 'seaside carnage' that also filled the press.

In fact, according to an IRA statement issued on Thursday 12 June, there was never any intention to cause civilian casualties: 'there was no IRA plot to create carnage and massive devastation of British holiday resorts last summer'. It is, of course, the British 'security' forces and their unofficial loyalist allies who specialise in killing civilians at random: Bloody Sunday; the loyalist 'Romer Room' torture killings; RUC/British army 'shoot to kill' operations; the 16 killed by plastic bullets; and the present spate of loyalist sectarian killings. Precious little appears in the British media about this carnage.

The five have been found guilty of risking their lives and liberties in the struggle to free Ireland from continued British imperialist rule. Gerry McDonnell, having successfully escaped from Long Kesh, threw himself back into the struggle. Patrick Magee, former internee and high on the British 'security forces' wanted list, and Martina Anderson, already wanted for alleged offences in the Six Counties, did likewise. All five are yet further evidence that as long as British terror continues in Ireland there will be Irish men and women prepared to resist it.

Terry O'Halloran



The ruins of the Grand Hotel

MACGREGOR GETS KNIGHTHOOD!

Ian MacGregor, union basher and butcher of the British coalfields and steel industry, has been awarded a knighthood by the Queen for his services to the ruling class.

This is a deliberate slap in the face not only for the miners and their families who fought and suffered for a whole year to save their jobs and communities, but for the whole working class.

Having briefly regained control of their funds in the High Court on 11 June the NUM had them snatched away again, pending trust charges against the NUM leadership.

Struggle goes on inside NUM

The struggle within the NUM continues with the bitterness only just below the surface. The Durham Mechanics are emerging as the new left leadership of the union after decades of moderation. The most dynamic projects to bring attention to the victimised men's plight come from their area.

The area leadership of Yorkshire frown on such activity and spread the bile that Durham is putting into jeopardy the chances of getting sacked men set back on. This they justify by mortal fear of the Coal Board. They say strikes and demonstrations, public meetings etc put the NCB's backs up and make them dig their heels in. Only a softly softly approach will allow them to move and get men set on. Every time the leaders of the Durham section move over the border into Yorkshire or wherever to address meetings on the

Blots on Thatcher's landscape

Thatcher's latest scheme — to get youth forced into sweeping up mess off the streets in return for a pittance — shows complete contempt for those on the receiving end of her policies. Unlike sections of her party, including Cabinet ministers, who are getting alarmed by Labour's 8 point lead in the opinion polls, Thatcher simply doesn't care. The unemployed, the youth, the sick, the old, the unemployed, are all just blots on her landscape.

Having cut council spending to the bone, so councils can't keep the streets clean, making thousands redundant in the process, Thatcher happens to notice out of her chauffeur-driven car window that London streets are filthy. Her answer is a 'clean up Britain' campaign based on the labour of up to 500,000 young people, forced into it just like they are into the YTS by having their dole money threatened. Chosen by Thatcher as highly suitable for the job of leading the campaign is Virgin millionaire Richard Branson. Branson is at present threatening to pull out of opening a new mega record store in Dublin if the shopworkers' union, IDATU, 'don't stop playing silly buggers' (Branson) by insisting on the right to negotiate with him over workers' pay and conditions. Branson's English shops are all non-union.

Thatcher's new theme of cleanliness and order took on a further dimension with her attack on the peace convoy. They came in for the sort of venom handed out formerly to Argentinians and miners. Thatcher, thrown into a frenzy by the fact that some of them claim social security benefits and do not work (hasn't she heard of unemployment?) vowed to make life 'as difficult as possible' for these people whose only crime is choosing to live outside her system. She even went to the unbelievable lengths of setting up a special Cabinet Committee to 'deal' with the convoy, with herself chairing the first meeting. Thatcher wants a new kind of twentieth century poor law where only the 'deserving' poor receive state benefits. People who disagree with her values have no right to live.

Part and parcel of this new fascist-style moral order is the Tories' new offensive on 'family values'. Having destroyed family life for millions through their policies — unemployment, housing and benefit cuts, NHS cuts, social services cuts, the abolition of minimum wages, the Tories now want to make it legally enforceable via the new Education Bill that working class children are taught 'due regard to moral considerations and the value of family life' in school sex education lessons.

sacked men, the phones are red hot, with Taylor and Thompson crying 'foul' and 'breach of protocol'.

Yorkshire, or rather its leadership and many of its sycophantic delegates who are scared to stand up to them, have the remarkable distinction of almost singlehandedly obstructing the new rule to allow women into associate membership of the union. Briscoe, now retired, was one of the most male chauvinist and bigoted macho leaders Yorkshire has had for generations. His wild appeal to the Yorkshire Council to stop the vote going in favour was based entirely on anti-female prejudice. Those delegates who advocated the rule change were told 'You spend too much time with them Greenham women, you're supposed to be representing men'.

At the national conference the debate was bitter and highly charged. The Scottish delegates could not believe Yorkshire's ingratitude and lack of political insight into the value of the women's movement. The minutes of the special delegate conference last year have only just come out now. Usually each branch gets five copies. The controversial nature of this document, showing as it does the virulent struggle over the union's position on their own women comrades, has ensured that only one copy per branch has been released. You can rest

In fact Thatcher and Co want to portray all those who defy her system or who reject her values as perverting some kind of clean, white, middle class norm. Poor people are dirty and need to be told how to conduct their family lives. 'War on smellies' shrieked the *Daily Star* headline about the peace convoy. But in reality it is the ruling class that are immoral and perverted with their lies and hypocrisy, their business directorships and corrupt City dealings, their weapons of mass destruction, their support for the fascist South African regime, their persecution of Irish people, their torture of prisoners in English gaols.

They lie outright. Nuclear power is 'safe'. The NHS is 'safe in their hands'. 'The country has never had as good a time as it has today' says Lord Young, unelected peer, millionaire and Minister of Unemployment in a month when up to 25,000 job losses were announced in major industries. The Tory answer to unemployment is to fiddle the figures. They aim to do this for the seventh time before the next election in an attempt to bring the figure down to below 3 million, by taking out some of the long-term unemployed!

The Tories have got away with all this because of the spineless cringing of the Kinnock-led Labour Party. So eager is Kinnock to be more respectable than the Tories, so keen is he not to offend on his self-seeking path to Downing Street, that he has stabbed in the back each and every struggle. It is Kinnock and his crew that bear the responsibility for clearing the way for the Tories' assault on the working class, whether it is black people in struggle, miners, printers, people fighting against the cuts or against nuclear weapons. Kinnock is more disgusting than Thatcher because he pretends to represent the interests of the working class. In fact, Kinnock's part of the bargain for Labour's rise in popularity and better media coverage has been to make it absolutely clear that the poor and oppressed will be at the bottom of any future Labour government's list of priorities.

Olivia Adamson

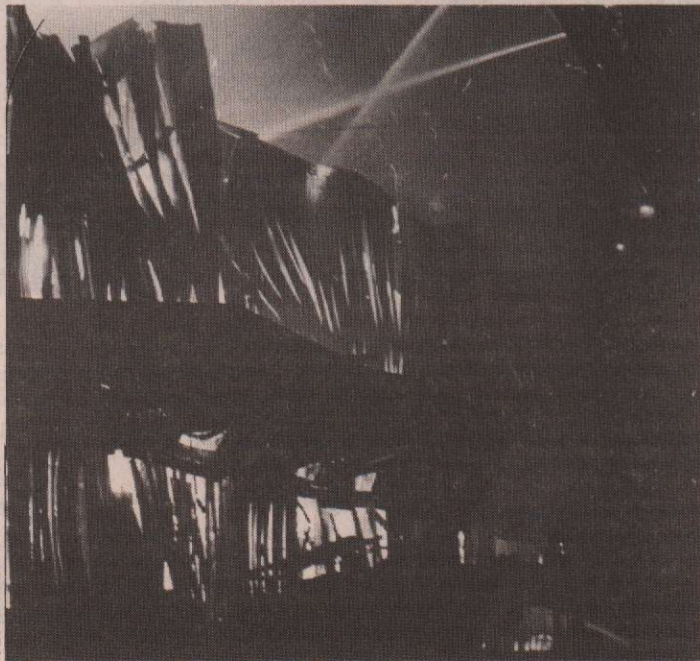
Printers reject 'offer'

On Friday 6 June sacked printworkers decisively rejected Rupert Murdoch's 'final' offer in the News International dispute. The offer — an increase in total redundancy payments from £15 million to £50 million and an extra building with more printing capacity in Grays Inn Road for the 'labour movement daily' — was refused by 2,841 (63%) votes to 1,638 (37%).

Four days before the vote was announced, on Monday 2 June, a News International warehouse in Deptford was set ablaze. At least 9,000 tons of paper and trucks worth £7 million were destroyed. Predictably the police and News International management immediately blamed striking printworkers for the blaze. Brenda Dean, Tony Dubbins and co, equally predictably, condemned the attack on the warehouse. The warehouse fire and the rejection of the offer made it clear to the print union leaders that they are not yet able to bury the News International dispute.

Murdoch's 'final' offer was the result of two days of talks involving Norman Willis, SOGAT, NGA, AUEW, EETPU and News International. The deal did not include any re-employment for sacked workers or any guarantee that fundamental rights of trade union organisation at the Wapping plant would be allowed. Brenda Dean had the hypocrisy to say she was 'not overjoyed' — Tony Dubbins was 'disappointed' — with the offer. SOGAT made no official recommendation on the offer whilst the NGA leadership officially recommended rejection. However, everyone knew that Dean, Dubbins and Willis all hoped that sacked printworkers would prove willing to sell jobs and trade union rights. For good measure Dean made it clear that there would be no escalation in SOGAT's conduct of the dispute.

On Monday 9 June it looked, for a moment, as though the *Sun* journalists at Wapping were going to stop scabbing. They voted by 94 votes to 80 not to continue working at Wapping. Had the scabs finally become trade unionists? No. Murdoch offered them a 10% pay increase (£2,000) and, on 11 June, the 10% trade unionists voted by 143 votes to 3 to accept it. They also decided — 136 votes to 6 — not to act on their pre-



Murdoch's warehouse goes up in flames

vious vote to stop working there. *Sunday Times* journalists voted 41 to 16 to suspend their threatened ballot on industrial action in support of journalists dismissed for taking part in the dispute. No doubt they want to give Murdoch time to come up with a suitable bribe. *Times* journalists have already had between £1,000 and £7,000 pay increases to keep their, not over-active, consciences quiet.

The NUJ leadership is continuing to block disciplinary proceedings against the scab journalists in open defiance of the ADM vote for discipline. Equally the TUC still refuses to take any action against the scab EETPU members working at Wapping with the support of their union.

The nearly five month long News International dispute has exposed even more clearly the role of the Labour and trade union leadership today. Neil Kinnock 'threatens' to

make ownership of 'British' newspapers by 'foreigners' illegal. If only the News International workers had been sacked by a British employer. Kinnock and Willis have done nothing to defend the sacked work-

ers. Willis has pushed for one dirty deal after another. The print union leaders simply want the dispute to end as soon as possible. They have refused to allow the dispute to become a political challenge to the Thatcher government. Nearly 900 people have been arrested since the dispute began.

The arson attack on the Deptford warehouse and other acts of sabotage and the continuing demonstrations at Wapping prove that there are people who will not quietly allow jobs and trade union rights to be sacrificed on the altar of capitalist profitability or the re-election of the Labour Party. However, the continued absence of any organised resistance among the sacked workers themselves means that Dean, Dubbins, Willis and Kinnock can continue to sit back and wait until the sacked workers are forced to accept whatever offer is made.

Terry O'Halloran

Newman's police against the people

'A police for the people' is the title of Kenneth Newman's fourth annual report on the Metropolitan Police. The official blue cover has been discarded in favour of a glossy one bearing a posed colour photograph of a smiling black police officer and a white woman police officer amiably chatting to two white women and their blonde children on a bright summer's day in a park setting.

Such an image is a world away from the reality of police officers leaping from their police van to assault five youths on the street as happened in the Holloway van incident. Such an image is a world away from mounted police charging into and assaulting miners' picket lines. Such an image is a world away from riot clad police brutally batoning demonstrators, photographers and anyone else in their way at Wapping on 3 May this year. Such an image is a world away from police thugs wading into the non-stop picket outside South Africa House on 13 June, shouting racist abuse, attacking and beating up picketers, particularly targeting black people on the picket. Finally, such an image is a world away from the police thugs smashing down the doors of black people's homes, taking away whole families and their possessions on Broadwater Farm Estate. Still, in line with the Thatcher government's newfound concern with presentation, Newman has obviously decided that if he has to lie, he may as well lie outrageously.

Public order events requiring more than 1,000 officers included:

- 1,419 at the London Marathon.
- 7,259 at the Notting Hill Carnival (2 days).
- 14,306 as aid to the Central London reserve (to deal with the uprisings) 7 - 14 October.
- 24,588 as aid to Y District (covering Broadwater Farm Estate) 15 October - 16 December. Clear evidence of a siege.

Also, just like the Thatcher government, while the presentation may change, the strategy remains the same. After nearly 4 years under Kenneth Newman, the Metropolitan Police have now been fully reorganised into an effective intelligence gathering organisation with extensive 'community' links, fully equipped and trained to deploy instant force when required. The Metropolitan Police are an elite privileged force, isolated from society and organised to defend the interests of a small wealthy minority: the ruling class. It is no coincidence that the more this reality is recognised the more Newman must talk about the police being part of the 'community', consulting

the 'community', and even living in the 'community' (p6). As the cover photo on his report confirms, Newman's community is white, comfortably off and hence, in Newman's terms, law abiding.

Throughout the report Newman talks about the importance of the legitimacy of the police in the eyes of the public. He recognises that an elite force defending a wealthy minority can only do so if the people allow it to. As class society polarises and political and social conflicts multiply this 'legitimacy' is necessarily undermined. Newman recognises this problem. On the one hand he is attempting to create firm links between the police and his 'community' - the so-called moderate community leaders, the middle class and more secure sections of the working class. On the other hand, he seeks to legitimise in advance the use of police violence against those who are excluded from his 'community' - black youth, the poor, the unemployed and anyone else perceived as a threat to the system Newman defends.

Of 5,462 complaints to the police only 150 or 3 per cent were substantiated. Of those substantiated disciplinary proceedings took place in 28 cases and criminal proceedings in only 3. The rest were 'dealt with by other means'.

On the one hand he praises 'consultative groups' established under Section 106 of the Police and Criminal Evidence Act.

'Consultative groups are at the heart of our strategy to emphasise the mutual responsibility of the police and the community for the improvement of life in London' (p23)

These 'groups' are in effect meetings between the police and whatever local community organisations see fit to attend. They are police-dominated bodies having no powers at all. Their main practical effect is to draw so-called community leaders into identification with the police and provide low grade intelligence. Lambeth consultative group recently accepted the police's right to use plastic bullets in 'the last resort'. Lambeth council, quite rightly, has forbidden the consultative group use of the Town Hall. There are consultative groups in 33 of London's 40 boroughs and outer districts. Both

Haringey and Lambeth councils have refused so far to participate in the consultative groups in their areas.

On the other hand, Newman subjects police monitoring groups to ignorant abuse:

'They are... manpower-intensive and vastly expensive to the ratepayer... (and)... purposively hostile to the police. Where consultative groups are proving their worth in discussion of operational issues, "monitoring" groups have expressed hostility even towards those consultative groups' (p16)

Unlike consultative groups, police monitoring groups are not under the control of the police and have provided valuable information about the real activities of the police in London.

Newman makes it perfectly clear who he regards as outside his 'community' and legitimate targets of police surveillance and police violence.

'There are some parts of communities in London who are at odds with the rest of our society. This shows itself both in high levels of crime, and, on occasions, eruptions of organised violence. Violent crime of any sort demands a vigorous response. No community can be allowed to imagine it can operate outside the law.' (p3, our emphasis)

Newman deliberately identifies those outside his 'community' with crime and violence. When people respond to police racism and violence Newman criminalises such responses as 'eruptions of organised violence'. Later in his report it becomes clear that the primary target of Newman's policing strategy is black people and black youth in particular. With a scarcely disguised racism Newman pictures black people as 'threatening', 'criminal' and 'alien'.

'... If the Afro-Caribbean community enjoys a "street culture" in the sense of lingering group conversations on street corners, the members of that community must be clearly free to do so, provided that they do not break the law. The difficulty occurs only when cross-cultural tensions arise. If the perceptions predominate in a locality that black youths are disproportionately involved in street crime - and there is a factual base for these perceptions in some

areas - then a harmless street culture may take on a sinister image for those who fear crime.' (p9)

What cross-cultural tensions were responsible for the police shooting of Mrs Groce and killing of Mrs Jarrett? The truth is that the 'eruptions' of people's violence against the police are a response to the systematic, daily, organised police violence against the people excluded from Newman's 'community'. This truth Newman is determined to suppress. Hence his extraordinary political outburst against 'radical elements' and

'factions' engaged in 'divisive activity'.

The greatest danger to Newman's strategy is the development of organised political defence of the people under attack by the police. In this context any serious criticism of his police and their methods, however liberal, must be isolated and silenced. So he speaks in his report about unnamed and unidentified 'groups', 'factions' etc who are 'working hard at driving wedges' between the police and the community. There are not many of them but they are 'busy,



The Myth: Newman's good-looking police force on the cover of his report



The Reality: Much uglier policemen practice their normal racism



More reality: Kayode after an evening in 'welcoming' Cannon Row police station.

racist filth.

No doubt the police action was triggered by the large proportion of black people on the picket. Not surprisingly, young black people were impelled to come down to the embassy on a day when their brothers and sisters in South Africa were facing a reign of terror.

In particular, a vanload of young black people had come down from Broadwater Farm Estate to join the picket. This must have sounded alarm bells at Cannon Row - that youth under siege at Broadwater Farm had dared to come into central London - the domain of the rich and the white.

All of those arrested were charged - some, predictably, with assault of

the police, others with threatening behaviour, obstruction of the highway and obstruction of the police. The police will not get away with their racist thuggery. The picket has swelled since the attack. That night it was 80-strong at 11pm. The following day Jeremy Corbyn MP, Barrister James Wood, and Mayor of Islington Bob Crossman, all came down and took details of the attack. A doctor who went into Cannon Row to see the injured, has photographic evidence of the injuries. Protesting against apartheid is not a crime - or, if it is, soon more than half the population will be proud to be criminals in the eyes of the racist Metropolitan police.

Maggie Mellon

skilled and vociferous'. They have 'strongly vested ideological interests in creating dissatisfaction with the status quo.' They achieve their end by 'drip-feeding simplified arguments underpinned by judicious balance of fact and comment, to unsuspecting audiences'. Their aim is 'destabilisation'. The only identified hate object in Newman's catalogue of dangerous elements is the GLC police committee and its 'appallingly biased video "Policing London"'. The video, according to Newman, proclaims that 'no group will be overlooked in potential to be cast in an anti-police role.' Newman is referring to his earlier and very revealing attack on the unnamed radicals' 'practice of gathering separate minority interests into a potentially majority opposition' (pp10-11, our emphasis).

Newman is a political policeman. He recognises that eventually a majority could be opposed to the ruling class and its state. And the minority which rules us can only maintain its rule by preventing the majority from organising against it. This is why Newman's police engage in systematic violence against those who have risen up against them - e.g. Broadwater Farm Estate - whilst at the same time anyone who identifies with, for example, the people of Broadwater Farm Estate and exposes the police operations themselves becomes the target of a police and media campaign of vilification designed to silence them.

Newman's political sophistication is demonstrated by the distinction he draws between the Labour Party leadership and the Labour left. In an interview with Jonathan Dimbleby on TV-am, 1 June, he expressed satisfaction with the new official Labour Party policies on law and order saying:

'It doesn't sound all that much different, to me, from what the Conservative Home Secretary is doing.'

4,000 officers including 16 women were authorised to use firearms. 133 officers were trained in baton rounds an increase of 45 or 51 per cent.

There were 17,685 day attendances on basic shield training courses and 7,957 day attendances by district support units.

He expressed confidence that a future Labour government could be relied upon. He said:

'I think experience shows that the assumption of power concentrates the mind wonderfully about the practicality of various things, and after all we had the Grunwick strike during a Labour administration and the police... had no particular government instructions or interference then.'

The target of his criticism in the interview was those in the Labour Party who continue to reject the Kinnoch/Kaufman law and order crusade. Newman referred to people 'on the very extreme left-wing of the Labour Party whose views still fill me with alarm.' And he condemned 'irresponsible statements by radical politicians'. It is unprecedented for a senior police officer, supposedly non-political, to intervene in such a direct way in the policy making of a political party.

The overtly political character of Newman's policing strategy is not a matter of choice, it is a necessity for a ruling class under increasing and inevitable pressure. The violent police onslaught on the poor and oppressed and indeed any section of British class society which resists any aspect of government policy is necessarily accompanied by a conscious ideological campaign by the police with the cooperation of the media. Newman's police are being given ever greater powers and more and more weaponry - guns, plastic bullets, CS gas, and possibly water cannon. The category of 'subversive' and 'alien' forces is being defined more and more widely every day. The police, media and government assault on the peace convoy is only the latest example.

Defending ourselves requires an equally conscious, determined, and organised campaign against Newman, his police and the system they defend.

Racist police beat up picketers

One day after the State of Emergency was declared in South Africa, on the evening of Friday 13 June, Cannon Row police launched a vicious assault on the Non Stop Picket in an effort to clear it completely. The attack was unprovoked and violent. 16 people were arrested - six of them were black comrades who were particularly targeted. Most of them were leading City AA and RCG comrades. Passers-by were arrested too - presumably to criminalise the nearest potential witnesses to the police attack.

Before the attack, those on the picket had been moved by a speech by a black South African woman who had come to the embassy to express her anger and fear over the reign of terror unleashed in her country. The police weren't moved at all - they threatened to arrest her when she sat at the gates of the embassy. Ruby Noorani, leading City AA activist and RCG comrade since the 1982 86-day picket, addressed the watching public about the woman's protest and the police threat. Without warning, she was seized by the Inspector present and violently arrested.

This was the signal for the attack on the picket. The stewards, black comrades, and other known activists were singled out - others were pushed aside and told to stand clear. One man, in T-shirt and jeans, who had joined the picket 5 minutes earlier, turned out to be a plain clothes offi-

cer who was able to attack from within. Within minutes, the roadway was filled with police cars and vans.

Kayode, a black RCG comrade, was thrown to the ground, pushed, crushed under police officers. His glasses were thrown to the ground

'More recent thinking has created buildings such as the newly opened Cannon Row Police Station... which is lighter, brighter and more welcoming than many earlier creations.' (Metropolitan Police Report 1985)

and broken. His T-shirt was drawn up over his head and the material tightened round his neck.

Others were treated nearly as violently. All were roughly thrown into the vans. There, a police officer was heard radioing in that they had 'got the black woman they wanted'. Kayode's sister Tinuke was throttled while being pulled backwards

against the edge of the van bench. This suffocation brought on a severe bronchial spasm. Her friends were prevented from helping her - one person was punched in the face, another was knelt on. Tinuke had to be taken from Cannon Row to Westminster Hospital for emergency treatment.

In the station, all those arrested, but particularly the black comrades, were subject to more physical and verbal abuse. Shoves, blows, kicks and insults accompanied them at every stage of the process. Some were forcibly fingerprinted and, illegally, forcibly photographed.

A black South African man who was arrested expressed his outrage and horror at the police behaviour. In South Africa, he said, the youth know that if the police get them they will be killed or badly beaten and therefore they fight for their lives. Here, the police are crooked. One minute they smile, the next they are assaulting you and spewing out vile

The price of nuclear power

The aftermath of Chernobyl has seen a predictable continuation of lies and misinformation on the part of the British government. Its total unpreparedness for the effects of Chernobyl — thousands of miles away — shows what chaos and cover-ups would happen if there were to be an accident in Britain. It becomes clearer and clearer that under present conditions there must be a complete phasing out of nuclear power.

It took five days after the appearance of the radioactive cloud over Britain for a Ministry to be appointed to give out information. And even then it became clear that the British government's standards were far lower than elsewhere. Radiation safety limits in Britain are five times higher than those recommended by the International Commission for Radiological Protection or even by the National Radiological Protection Board (NRPB). The legal limit for artificial radiation in the US is 0.25 millisieverts, 0.3 in West Germany and in Britain it is 5! The maximum levels of radioactivity allowed in milk are also significantly higher in Britain than in countries like West Germany.

Even when information did emerge, nothing was done about it. In some areas, like Scotland and Cumbria, unexpectedly high levels of caesium were found in grass, near to the limits set by the NRPB. However, the areas were not specified, farmers were not warned and no precautions were issued for livestock. A ring of very high contamination near Sellafield was even attributed to Chernobyl fallout! Lambs in the Cumbrian fells were found to contain caesium 137 at 1,617 becquerels per kilo, well above the Ministry of Agriculture 'action level' of 1,000 and the 600 per kilo level set by the EEC for imported meat. The EEC used the excuse of the Chernobyl accident to ban food and meat imports from seven socialist countries in Eastern Europe. The purely political nature of this attack is shown by the fact that in most of these countries, radiation levels were well below those in parts of Western Europe.

As concern increased over the safety of Britain's nuclear reactors, government ministers were inspired to tell bigger and bigger lies in their desperation to defend nuclear power. Cabinet minister Malcolm Rifkind stated 'In the past 30 years there has not been a single significant incident in Britain involving danger to health or life of a member of the

public'. This is totally untrue. The Windscale fire of 1957 led to at least 30 deaths and probably many more in the light of information released 28 years later about the type of radiation emitted. Pockets of high incidence of childhood leukaemia recognised by all except the government exist around Sellafield, Dounreay and other nuclear installations.

At the same time as ministers were making speeches about a 'new' 'open' policy on nuclear power a TV camera crew was thrown out of a public meeting in Dunbar, organised by the South of Scotland Electricity Board to 'discuss' the commissioning of a nuclear power station at Torness. Speakers from 5 Lothian authorities were due to give evidence against the siting and are threatening court action.

It has become even clearer as a result of Chernobyl that the British government could not cope with a nuclear accident. Preparations exist to evacuate people from a mere 1½ mile radius whereas the Soviet authorities had to evacuate people for 20 miles around Chernobyl. In the US, evacuation plans are for a 10 mile radius and in Sweden for a 25-50 mile radius. In Britain, 15 out of 17 nuclear power plants are sited in areas of significantly higher population than at Chernobyl. Near Berkeley, Hartlepool and Oldbury, surrounding populations approach 1 million. Clearly rapid evacuation would be impossible here, even if it were planned.

The GLC, one of the few bodies in Britain to prepare emergency plans to deal with an accident in England (the proposed Sizewell B site is only 84 miles away from London) or Northern France, has, of course, been dissolved by the government. Letcombe laboratory, near Cambridge, set up to monitor radioactive fallout in rural areas, has been closed.

Accidents continue

Despite ministers' lies, accidents have continued to come to light. At Dounreay power plant in Scotland,

it was revealed that a wrongly labelled consignment of plutonium, estimated variously at between 8 and 25 kgs, 'went missing' inside the system. Plutonium is normally accounted for in grammes, but the loss of this enormous quantity was put down to an accounting error by Sellafield. When a fresh load of plutonium was put into the system the build-up approached a near-critical stage, setting off alarms and threatening to trigger a nuclear explosion. This happened several months ago and was revealed only as a result of a *World in Action* investigation on the basis of signed statements from Dounreay workers. Workers at Dounreay are bound by the Official Secrets Act. Of this the UK Atomic Energy Authority said 'They are not forced to subscribe (to the Act) they do it voluntarily, but if they do not do so then obviously they would not be employed'.

Statements from power station workers show that pressure to keep stations running at all costs, and lack of safety maintenance in the face of the high number of repairs, all run the risk of accidents as large numbers of reactors approach their age-limits in terms of safety. Accident drills bear little relation to the conditions of a real emergency. Managers of the ageing Magnox reactor at Hinkley in Somerset have been given a year by safety inspectors to sort out its problems. Some of the standpipes which remove fuel from the reactor are rusty and cannot be reached for repair. The reactor's 20-year safety review is now running five years late.

However, dangers are not confined to old reactors. At the end of May, the CEBG was forced to announce major construction faults in the Advanced Gas Cooled Reactors at Heysham in Lancashire and Hartlepool in Cleveland where over 1 million live within a 30-mile radius. The latter was rushed into operation (10 years late) during the miners' strike in 1984. There are faults in the concrete shields. At Sizewell A, a fire broke out in packing cases used to bring in new fuel rods and was fought by 60 firemen. Another fire at Dounreay occurred 'a few weeks ago'. A group of scientists from Bremen university estimated that the caesium level in the silted up Ravensglass river mouth near Sellafield is 10 times that of sand in the Bikini Atoll in the Pacific, site of US nuclear bomb tests.

EEC says Yes to nuclear power

Of the 382 nuclear plants in operation in the world, 210 are in Europe, 143 of these in Western Europe, making it the highest density in the world. The British government is therefore not alone in its commitment to nuclear power. The EEC aims to produce 40% of its electricity by nuclear means by 1995, at present the figure is 14%. Yet opinion polls in most major European countries show that 60 to 70 per cent oppose nuclear power.

In West Germany, where there is massive and militant opposition to nuclear power, tens of thousands fought battles with police armed with teargas and water cannon during the last month in protest against a new power station at Kalkar near Hamburg. The Green Party, based largely on opposition to nuclear power, now commands 9% of electoral votes. The Greens have mounted a civil disobedience campaign against nuclear power. Chancellor Kohl has rejected the halting of the nuclear programme but the opposition Social Democratic Party has, in an attempt to win support from the Greens, called for a halt on construction at both Wackersdorf and Kalkar.

In France, where the government produces 70% of electricity by nuclear means, the government ordered a fuelling up of 2 reactors at Tricastin and Gravelines. This was despite cracks that have appeared in metal components. Workers struck, but managers did their work, protected by armed guards. France has 44 nuclear power stations with 17 more under construction. In both France and Italy, the large Eurocommunist Communist Parties are strongly pro-nuclear.

Labour says yes and no to nuclear power

In Britain, the Labour Party is coming under increasing pressure to take a clear stand against nuclear power. The Scottish Labour Party Conference (before Chernobyl) and the Welsh Conference (after Chernobyl) both voted by two thirds majorities for a phasing out of nuclear power. Kinnock, embarrassed by the fervently pro-nuclear stance of his close ally and Shadow Minister for the Environment John Cunningham, MP for a Sellafield constituency, appealed at the Welsh conference for a 'rational response to the realities of nuclear power'. But he was ignored. Kinnock hastily formulated a policy which, in class-



Anti-nuclear demonstrator being arrested in West Germany

● The Chernobyl disaster leaves 23 dead out of 299 hospitalised. By the end of May, 55 people remained in hospital in a serious condition, mainly emergency workers and medical staff who had been involved in the incident itself. 230 medical teams are working in the area around Chernobyl, monitoring the health of the population. Evacuees from the immediate area are also being carefully monitored.

● Since the original evacuation of 92,000 people, 60,000 more, mainly children, have been evacuated from the Gomel region, North of Chernobyl, where surprisingly high pockets of radiation were found. The task of resettling evacuees and livestock is obviously an enormous one. Mikhail Gorbachev has recently directly intervened to hasten matters and improve conditions for evacuees.

● After all the talk in the Western media of 'sub-standard' safety features on the Chernobyl reactor, it is now admitted that the safety standards are similar to those on many Western reactors and have many features in common with Western designs. In fact components for monitoring equipment at Chernobyl were purchased in the West from France and West Germany.

● Having put out the fire with a mixture of sand, clay, dolomite and lead, the reactor is now completely surrounded by a concrete shield.

ical fashion, attempts to face both ways at once.

Labour will look for a bigger role for coal and will not build any more nuclear power stations. The old nuclear power stations will be phased out. Significantly, Kinnock has refused to abandon fuel reprocessing at Sellafield, saying that it would be needed to store spent fuel. No reprocessing plant will be built at Dounreay without a full public inquiry.

Where is CND?

Significantly CND in Britain has not called any mass demonstrations against nuclear power, precisely at the point when it would be possible to build an enormous campaign against it. The reason for this can only be that CND does not wish to embarrass Kinnock on his route to number 10 by anything so unseemly as mass opposition on the streets to nuclear power.

However, the issue will not go away for Kinnock and he looks set for a crushing defeat at the Labour Party conference given that most CLPs and many unions are anti-nuclear power. Given Kinnock's prevarications while in opposition, it would be naive to expect that a Kinnock-led Labour government would take resolute steps to abolish nuclear power when in office. Massive financial and military interests would be brought to bear and Kinnock, who has shown no sign of taking a stand against them while out of office, would certainly not do so in government.

Olivia Adamson

Reagan scraps SALT 2

In May Reagan announced that unless the Soviet Union bowed to US dictates, the US would breach the SALT-2 treaty in November. This brought an outcry from other NATO countries. Even the British Foreign Secretary, Geoffrey Howe, who usually has no difficulty swallowing American eagle droppings, voiced opposition.

But the US imperialists are always violating international law and breaching treaties. What's so special about SALT-2 that even other imperialists are getting upset?

SALT-2 is the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty signed in Geneva between the USA and Soviet Union in June 1979. It took four and a half years to negotiate and lays down extensive qualitative and quantitative limits on strategic offensive arms. Since it actually allows for increases in certain kinds of weapons, SALT-2 is not a disarmament measure. However, it does attempt to ensure a rough strategic parity and places a ceiling on the number of weapons deployed, introducing certain stability and control into the strategic relations between the Soviet Union and US imperialism. Without such restraints there will be an uncontrolled arms race with unpredictable consequences for all nations. This is what has frightened the imperialist critics of Reagan's decision.

The first attack on SALT-2 came under the Carter administration which attempted to punish the Soviet Union for its aid to the Afghan revolution by refusing to ratify the treaty. While campaigning for the presidency, Reagan described it 'fatally flawed', but he chose to observe the treaty's provisions — despite strong pressure from right-wing hawks — until now.

The rejection of SALT-2 comes after the rejection by the US of a ban on atomic testing, and following mounting provocations and propaganda by the imperialists against the Soviet Union. The US government alleges Soviet violations of the SALT-2 treaty and also of the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) treaty. In fact the Soviet Union has provided specific refutation of all allegations. The reality that US imperialism is hell bent on gaining military superiority over the Soviet Union. This became clear a few days after Reagan announced the decision to scrap SALT-2 when US Defence Secretary Casper Weinberger rejected a Soviet offer to cut strategic weapons if the US agreed to abide by the ABM treaty for an extended period. He explained that extension of the ABM treaty would prevent the US from developing Star Wars programme.

Although the NATO imperialists have bleated their opposition to Reagan's decision, their opposition will not go beyond words. Like predecessors who encouraged the 50 years ago, they are more frightened by the spectre of Communism than of the destruction of the world. The opportunist British Labour Party has made a few limp criticisms, while the mainstream of the press has contented itself with press releases.

Yet the reality is that mobilising the people in opposition to Reagan's decision is the chance of restraining US imperialism. It is important to remember that SALT-2 was negotiated in the wake of defeats for imperialism in Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, Angola and Mozambique. Fine words, as they say, but parsnips — what will count will be mobilisations on the streets of imperialist countries against intensifying US aggression against other imperialists' relations.

Steve F

Tories persecute peace convoy

Early on the morning of 9 June, the police and sheriff officers moved in to break up the peace convoy which had been hounded onto a temporary site in the New Forest after more than a week of police and media persecution. Every human right has been taken away from the travellers in the course of this unwarranted and brutal persecution. FRFI has unconfirmed reports that some of the travellers have been hospitalised as a result of police violence.

Last year, a similar convoy of about 100 vehicles was corralled and ambushed nine miles from Stonehenge. 550 people were arrested and their vehicles and property smashed up by police in riot gear. The illegal character of the police assault was demonstrated by the fact that all charges against the 550 were later dropped.

This year the convoy has been hunted and harassed all over the south west of England. Police in riot gear have blocked main roads, rammed cars and arrested occupants. On 1 June police blocked slip roads off the A31 in Hampshire and smashed up vehicles trying to leave.

As per usual with Thatcher's 'enemies within' the dehumanisation process has been set in motion by the gutter press. 'Hippies' and 'scroungers' 'covered in dirt' were lambasted for their attempts to defend themselves from the barbarian attack on them. The press gave the signal to de-personalise the convoy people and

and human rights. Eddie Shah and his ghastly (bankrupt) *Today* have gone further and put up the money for legal costs for the harassment of travellers.

Thatcher declared her glee over a chance to legalise harassment. She is 'only too delighted to do anything we can to make life difficult for such things as hippy convoys. If fresh legislation to deter hippies' criminal trespass is needed, it will be introduced'. Thatcher's words and the police/media onslaught, are reminiscent of Nazi persecution of gypsies.

Full coordination of government ministries has been set in motion in a determined effort to smash the convoy. The Department of Education harassed parents over the children's schooling. The DHSS harassed benefit claimants, the Department of the Environment and the Ministry of Transport harassed drivers and road-users, and the Ministry of Agriculture harassed those who

special Cabinet committee has been established to review possible changes in the Public Order Bill and in social security rules.

The final break-up of the convoy was a calculated attempt at humiliation by the police. Most vehicles were confiscated and the majority of people, including many women with very young children, were forced to march miles in the pouring rain as they refused to board coaches provided by the police.

Labour's silence on the persecution speaks volumes — they have no interest in representing the dispossessed travellers who have rejected, or been rejected by, homeowners, employed and privileged England. The Assistant Chief Constable of Dorset, Mr Tony Pointer, joined in the fray saying that 'the sheer size of the convoy amounted to intimidation. It is seen as being highly provocative by the local community, rightly or wrongly'.

When Cruise missile convoys travel through the South of England they get police and army protection and the views of local communities are expressly ignored. Thus does the Thatcher government demonstrate its priorities. Nuclear missiles and waste have the run of the land, people are hounded off it.

Gerald Cameron

Victory for Mohammed Iqbal

On 9 June the charge of actual bodily harm against Mohammed Iqbal was dropped in Sheffield Crown Court. The charge was the result of a racist attack on Mohammed (see *FRFI* 59). The Iqbal Defence Campaign refused to accept a bind over. To save the face of the prosecution and police, the judge has kept the file open.

The Iqbal Defence Campaign was organised by Sheffield Asian Youth Movement who say, 'We shall fight and win the day - self defence is the only way!' Gordon T

Quote of the month

'Racism in the force is not the main reason for black people preferring not to apply. Being a police officer entails working long and difficult hours.' - Chief Inspector Buchan, Community Liaison Officer for Lambeth, at the launch of Lambeth police's 'ethnic recruitment drive', explaining that black people do not join the police force because we are lazy...

We want justice for Kelly

In *FRFI* 57 we published an article on Kalbinder 'Kelly' Hayre who was killed in Kent last November by a van driven by five white men.

In June, Martin Avery was acquitted of manslaughter, despite the fact that the evidence of the other occupants of the van pointed to his guilt. Several key witnesses were not called to give evidence.

The all-white jury chose to believe Avery when he said 'We were mucking about and joking...' He also stated that he was 'very drunk but not pissed.' He denied suggesting that the van be swerved to frighten Kelly and the friends she was with, and, like his friends, could not explain why they ran away after hitting Kelly.

Over the past year there has been a 72% increase in racist attacks against Asians in Kent and the south-east. These attacks are likely to continue, with racist thugs receiving the protection of the courts and the police. The 'Justice for Kelly' campaign, which organised pickets of the court and a series of marches will not let the matter rest, and Kelly's family are considering a private prosecution of Kelly's killers.

FRFI sends solidarity to the 'Justice for Kelly' campaign and urges our readers to support it. Kayode Olafimihan

Massive scale of racist attacks

'As a boy sleeps, a pig's head, its eyes, ears, nostrils and mouth stuffed with lighted cigarettes, is hurled through the window of his bedroom. A family do not leave their home after 7 in the evening; they stay in one large room, having barricaded their ground floor. A family are held prisoner in their own flat by a security cage bolted to their front door by white neighbours. A youth is slashed with a knife by an older white boy as he walks along a school corridor between classes. A family home is burned out and a pregnant woman and her three children killed. A ticket collector is stabbed in the eye with a metal stake and killed simply because he refused to take racial abuse from some white passengers.'

On 4 June, the Runnymede Trust published a report entitled *Racial Violence and Harassment*. The above examples, taken from the introduction, are but a few examples of the horrifying catalogue of racist attacks and murders black and Asian people have faced in the last few years.

In 1981 a long-awaited Home Office report estimated that a minimum of 7,000 racist attacks take place each year. The real figure is estimated at being 10 times that and rising.

Racial violence in Britain is, however, not a new phenomenon. In 1919, black people were attacked in riots in London, Bristol, Cardiff, Glasgow and Liverpool - where one black man was killed. What is new, states the Runnymede Trust report, is the 'casual way in which many people seem to think that it is quite acceptable to shout racial abuse... spit... assault... throw petrol bombs at their homes or even kill (black people) for no reason other than the colour of their skin.'

The report lists 65 people who were killed in racist attacks between 1960 and 1975. There have been many since, like the sister-in-law of black footballer Laurie Cunningham and her daughters, whose bodies were found in a flat which had been daubed with the initials of the National Front. A piece of wall-paper saying 'This is what we are going to do with all niggers' was removed by the police, who told Laurie not to talk about it. After his pregnant wife and three children were burnt to death in July last year, Mirza Kassam was arrested several times. He says on one occasion he was held for 36 hours without access to a solicitor. Police gave wrong

queried his whereabouts. As he was leaving the station, his cigarette lighter was returned to him by an officer who said 'Don't go setting anything else alight.' When Mr Kassam told him that was not a nice thing to say, the officer 'simply walked away laughing.' (p21)

The role of the police in collaborating with and protecting fascists is no secret. More sinister, perhaps, is the way in which government officials, local authorities, the press and the media have played an active part in this. Like the police, they often outrightly deny the existence of any racial motive for these attacks, or blame the victims themselves. Any anti-racist activity is seen as a threat, the implication being that black people have privilege and whites do not: 'As the *Sun* put it in a full page editorial, "We have tyranny and racism now... black racism."' (p39). The 1981 Home Office report coldly stated that although black and Asian people are 50 to 60 times more likely to be attacked, black people 'ignored the fact that attacks might have occurred on the property of white people too.' It went on to criticise black people for not joining the police force. As far back as 1958, when black people were attacked at Notting Hill, Labour MP George Rogers stated 'The Government must introduce legislation quickly to end this tremendous influx of coloured people...'



Shamira Kassam and her children who were murdered in racist attack in 1985

Racist attacks occur wherever there are black people: in middle class suburbs, inner cities, schools - and the victim's age in no way deters the attackers: babies have been shot, children slashed in school corridors, hostile 'reception committees' set up to prevent black and Asian people from moving into housing estates etc. Yet only one council has ever evicted tenants for racially harassing neighbours. In January 1985, Newham evicted the McDonnell family for persistent harassment. The National Front demonstrated in the McDonnells' support. Where black, Asian and anti-racist

people have organised against racist attacks, it is they who are attacked. The cases of the Newham 8, Newham 7, Bradford 12, Campaign Against Racism in Schools, all of which were supported by FRFI, are cases in point. Yet the fact remains that self-defence is our only defence. For in racist Britain, that can literally be a matter of life or death.

Charine James
Racial Violence and Harassment
Price: £1.50 (plus 20p p&p)
Available from the Runnymede Trust,
178 North Gower Street, London NW1 2NB

Labour Party and immigration

Phoney promises

As FRFI comrade Viraj Mendis faces another appeal against deportation to Sri Lanka, Neil Kinnock uses the fate of black people like him, victims of the immigration controls the Labour party introduced, in a cynical vote-catching exercise.

In a speech in India in May, Kinnock claimed that the Labour party would repeal the 1971 Immigration Act and 1981 Nationality Act if it came to power. These would then be replaced by 'non-discriminatory' immigration controls. This is hog-wash. Kinnock knows that there can be no such thing as 'non-discriminatory' immigration controls in Britain. Britain is an imperialist country. It's immigration controls are racist by their very character: as the *Daily Mail* put it in an editorial, 'One of the main aims of the laws now on the statute book is to all but put a stop to further coloured immigration to Britain.'

The lack of sincerity in Kinnock's phoney promise is revealed by the fact that the Labour party has not even debated the issue, as a Labour party spokesman confirmed, since the 1982 Labour Party conference. Nor does Kinnock intend that debate take place, for this would threaten the white racist vote

which Kinnock needs if he is to be elected.

If Kinnock and Co were serious about repealing any immigration acts, they would, at the very least, now be taking action in support of the victims of those acts. We have yet to hear him denounce even the increasingly frequent raids by immigration officials hunting 'illegal aliens'. In the same month that Kinnock made his phoney speech came the news that 89 people had been arrested in recent raids in London alone. The immigration officials broke their own rules in these raids, which they carried out under the guise of searching for drugs and/or in connection with thefts.

Kinnock's Labour Party has remained silent about these raids, as they do about the families split and hundreds of people deported each year.

Charine James

British courts racist courts!

The trials of the 160 charged since the 6 October Risings in Tottenham opened at the Old Bailey on 5 June. 69 people are charged with the serious offence of affray, which currently carries a maximum 8 year sentence.

The trial of Leicester Sween, 18, Paul Keyes, 21, was a clear warning of the state's intentions. The Recorder of London, Sir James Miskin, made it clear that those who plead guilty will be dealt with immediately, whereas those who plead not guilty will be detained for a further 3 months to September, in many cases making a total of 11 months on remand.

Both Leicester Sween and Paul Keyes pleaded 'guilty' and were not asked to give evidence. Pressure had clearly been brought to bear on the defendants: the prosecution's 'evidence' consisted solely of 'confessions'. The threat of being charged with the death of PC Blakelock is used against all those charged. It is even introduced into the case when no charge is made - as shown by Sir James Miskin's remarks:

'Neither of the two have anything to do with the murder of PC Blakelock - they have been helpful to the police in their enquiries - they have provided intelligence information and the names of other wanted suspects.'

Passing sentence, the Judge said that he would

'...take into consideration that the

two have admitted to their charges... they have not wasted tax-payers money in lengthy court procedures and have helped the police.'

So they received the 'light sentence' of 5 years each. The judge promised that those pleading 'not guilty' would get sentences one third longer. He added that 'It must not be forgotten that a policeman was hacked to death by an unruly mob - the maximum for affray is 8 years. If I had my way I would give them life.'

One barrister at the Old Bailey objected to the summing-up on the grounds that revenge for the death of PC Blakelock was introduced into the case. But such political support by the barristers has not been much in evidence in the string of trials on the lesser charges of burglary, receiving stolen goods etc that have been stage-managed by the police.

The Broadwater Farm Defence Campaign (BWFDC) has consistently argued for a unified and political legal defence of the people of Tottenham and will continue to do so. The campaign is organising a picket of Tottenham Police Station on Tuesday 8 July, the day when the results of the Public Inquiry into the risings will be published. At least six

Labour councillors, including Bernie Grant, have promised to attend the picket when they met with the BWFDC on 9 June. A conference of the BWFDC and local councillors is planned for 13 July to discuss the findings of the Gifford report (the Public Inquiry publication). The BWFDC has stated that it will demand action against the police after the report's publication. The BWFDC is also planning a march on 20 July which will leave the estate at noon to join the Salsa Anti-Racist Festival being organised by Haringey Council in Finsbury Park.

13 serious charges: 7 of murder and the rest 'riotous assembly' have now been deferred to January 1987. The long drawn-out agony of the Tottenham community is a deliberate tactic by the state to terrorise and criminalise those who rose in protest against police racism in October 1985. We must not forget -

One black woman dead - nobody charged
One policeman dead - 350 arrested, 160 charged

Susan Davidson and Ken Hughes

Apology

FRFI 59: Richard Gibson will not be on trial until 22 September not 22 May as stated. Also it is Richard Lewis, not Richard Gibson, who is alleged to have named 130 people in his 'confession'.

Like father, like son

On 31 May, the son of a Scotland Yard police chief appeared in Bromley magistrate's court charged with actual bodily harm following a 'frenzied' attack on a black man in South London.

James Philip Speed, son of Commander Anthony Speed, Head of Scotland Yard's Training and Tactics Division, and his friend David Manners had previously been to Gypsy Hill police station to complain that they had seen a group of black youths near a fair at Crystal Palace. They claimed that the youths 'seemed to be intimidating passers-by' and demanded that the police take action against them. Gypsy Hill police told them that nothing could be done because of a shortage of manpower. Obviously upset that his father's colleagues did not take the bait on this occasion, Speed and Manners left to drive home when they spotted two black youth walking down a hill.

They stopped the car, and, shouting racist abuse, chased the youths, catching one of them. Speed and Manners savagely attacked the youth with metal-tipped flag poles and a wooden post, shouting 'You rape white girls' over and

over again. Fortunately for their victim, they ran off when someone came to his aid.

Later, presumably cock-sure that Commander Speed's influence would prevail, Manners and Speed walked into a police station and admitted the attack.

Sell-out barrister, Mukul Chowla, defending the racist thugs, told the court that the incident was 'not a pre-meditated racial attack', continuing 'they only hit him around the body - they were anxious not to cause substantial injury.' We would ask M. Chowla Esq what exactly they *did* intend to cause, with metal-tipped poles? Chowla then went on to confirm our worst fears: that, although guilty, these thugs 'took their duty to society very seriously.' Manners has two previous convictions under the Public Order and Race Relations Acts. Speed is obviously hoping to follow in his father's footsteps.

Charine James

Comrades versus Fathers

In the last week of May, 50,000 people were driven out of their homes and more than 44 people were killed at Crossroads squatter camp, in what was portrayed in the press as black-on-black violence. The violence at Crossroads continued in the first week of June with more deaths and thousands more made homeless. *The Guardian* reported these events under the heading 'How the mobs are left to a frenzy of killing'. That is how the apartheid regime would like us to see the violence. But what we are witnessing is a political battle between the young comrades and progressive organisations on the one hand and, on the other, conservative forces who think they have a stake in apartheid, backed by the police and security forces. Hidden behind the story of Crossroads lies the strategy of the regime to encourage right-wing vigilante attacks on militants and leading anti-apartheid figures.

Vigilante groups first began to emerge in South Africa during 1985, have consistently attacked anti-apartheid leaders and have operated openly with the tacit support and, more often than not, open encouragement of the police and security forces. It is no accident that these groups emerged at precisely the time that black township communities organised Area and Street Committees, and nationwide organisations such as the UDF were strengthening their leadership of the people.

Basing themselves on the more conservative sections of black communities, the vigilante groups operate with the full support of township councillors, black traders and black police, all of whom have been subject to attack by the comrades and civic organisations for collaborating with the regime.

Lennox Sebe, Chief Puppet of the Ciskei, used vigilantes ruthlessly to crush the Mdantsane bus boycott in 1983. Since then vigilantes have become routine accoutrements for Bantustan chiefs. Inkatha, Chief Buthelezi's Zulu organisation, has been closely associated with 'Amabutho' vigilante groups in Kwa-Zulu and Natal, even though Buthelezi poses as an opponent of apartheid. In reality Buthelezi and his 'warriors' are jockeying for a privileged position in any future South African society.

The vigilantes operate in gangs attacking militants and leaders in their homes and backyards, and smashing up political protests. Homes are petrol bombed, youth are whipped and whole communities are driven out of their homes. Two examples of their actions will suffice.

In 1985, after the murder of Victoria Mxenge in Umlazi near Durban, vigilante groups were instrumental in fostering clashes between black people and Indians, thereby preventing political protests at Mrs Mxenge's murder. In the name of 'law and order', 'Amabutho' warriors raided homes and executed 'trouble makers' - in particular COSAS and UDF members were attacked. Eighty people died in the conflict which was presented as internecine fighting by the media.

In Leandra in eastern Transvaal, through the action of vigilantes, the regime was able in 1985 to break up a community which had successfully resisted removal to the bantustans for five years. After years of manoeuvres to move the people, a group of 'concerned citizens' backed by the police attacked and killed members of the Leandra Action Committee and the youth who supported them. Fierce fighting gave police the excuse to swoop on residents and arrest LAC members. Within 2 months the community was destroyed.

The violence at Crossroads in 1986 followed the pattern of vigilante violence. The regime first of all fostered divisions in the squatter community about the right to settle in the area near to Cape Town. In the oldest part of Crossroads a corrupt leader, Johnson

Ngxobongwana, thrived on the growth of the squatter community by imposing a levy on residents. To enforce his control he hired a squad of vigilantes, called Witdoeke. In May, with the promise of



The Comrades of Crossroads

FACTS ABOUT SOUTH AFRICA

- ANC guerrilla attacks have increased by 322% in the last year. According to statistics from the University of Pretoria the incidence of 'armed revolutionary violence' increased by 800% in the last 2 years.
- 678,274 work days were lost through strikes in 1985 compared with 379,712 in 1984. 239,816 workers were involved in 389 strikes.
- Police arrested 18,966 people for 'unrest-related' offences in 1985. 13,566 of those arrested were under the age of 20.
- Since September 1984, 33 security force members have been killed, 584 injured and 807 police homes have been attacked.
- Tourism: hotel occupation in South Africa has reached its lowest point for 11 years with a total of 18 million unsold beds.
- On 12 June the rand plunged to 34.75 cents against the US dollar when President Botha announced the new state of emergency. If 16 June brings more deaths and repression the rand is expected to fall again to 30 cents.

rehousing for Ngxobongwana's supporters, hundreds of Witdoeke armed with guns, spears and clubs attacked rural communities at Crossroads affiliated to the UDF. The 'Fathers' of Crossroads were acting on behalf of the police to destroy the comrades and their organisations which had rigorously enforced a boycott of white businesses in the area.

Reports state that the police joined in on the side of the Fathers. Before the attack they raided the target areas to confiscate weapons and fired tear gas to prevent defence. When the Fathers had done their work, police moved in with bulldozers and barbed wire to flatten the area. In June the Witdoeke struck again against other squatter camps which had given refuge to those made homeless in May. In the space of two weeks the Crossroads community which had resisted removal for ten years was destroyed.

Black people in the townships know full well the carnage which can result from police informers, collaborators, township councillors and black police. That is why they ruthlessly eliminate these elements from their communities. Unlike the vigilantes, the comrades are not feasting on the oppression of their own communities and they cannot be bought off with crumbs from apartheid's table. Throughout South Africa young people are organising and will take revenge on apartheid's 'fathers'.

Carol Brickley

CIIR have published a detailed account of vigilantes: *Apartheid's Private Army* £2.50 Available from CIIR, 22 Coleman Fields, London N1 7AF

continued from page 1

SANCTIONS NOW!

The Eminent Persons Group

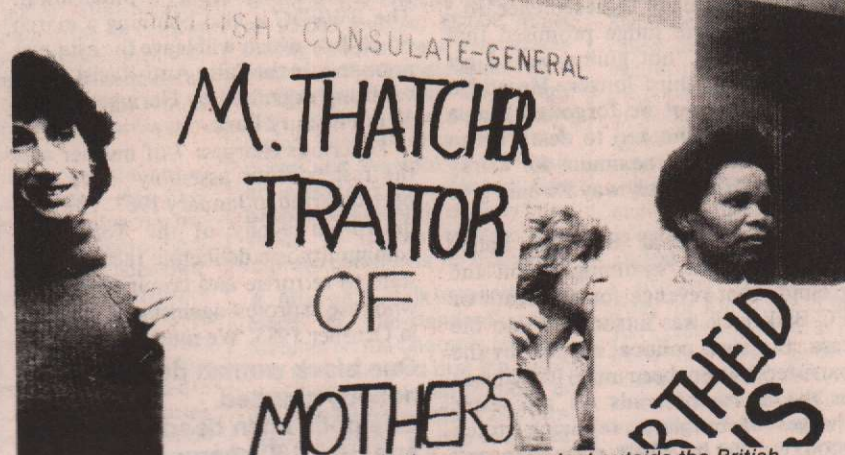
The Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG) was set up at the Heads of State Summit in Nassau in October 1985 as a time-wasting exercise to avoid any decision on sanctions against South Africa. The Commonwealth Heads of State were united in their call for action, with the exception of Mrs Thatcher. To avoid splitting the Commonwealth, Thatcher forced an agreement to investigate and 'promote dialogue between black and white in South Africa', in the context of a 'suspension of violence'. Right from the start Thatcher and Botha showed their contempt. In the middle of the summit Botha murdered Benjamin Moloise and Thatcher emerged proclaiming that she had conceded only a 'tiny little bit'. The price of that 'tiny little bit' was paid by the South African black masses in months of murder, torture and terror whilst the EPG 'promoted dialogue'.

Botha celebrated the EPG's visit to South Africa by bombing the Frontline State capitals of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Botswana on 19 May. He justified this terrorism by quoting Thatcher and linking the raids to the US/British attack on Libya:

'Terrorism thrives on appeasement and has to be defeated.'

Seven months after it was set up, the EPG came to a conclusion that the black masses of South Africa came to in 1959, and their allies have been calling for ever since. Apartheid must be destroyed and sanctions must be applied against the regime.

Thatcher and her government have always argued against sanctions on the grounds that they would harm black people most. What they mean by this is that sanctions would harm British in-



Amanda Kwadi, Albertina Sisulu and other women protest outside the British consulate in Johannesburg against Thatcher's indifference to the raids on the frontline states.

vestments most. In October 1985 Winnie Mandela exposed Thatcher as a racist for pretending to be a spokesperson for black South Africans. Now the EPG is arguing that sanctions are needed to avoid a bloodbath. This is shutting the stable door after the horse has bolted.

David Kitson fights political victimisation

David Kitson is a proven fighter against apartheid. In the summer of 1984 he was released after spending more than twenty years in apartheid's prisons for his part in the National High Command of Umkhonto we Sizwe. Whilst he was in prison, David Kitson was promised a 'job for life' after his release. The promise came from his union, TASS. Now TASS, led by *Morning Star* and Communist Campaign Group supporter Ken Gill, says that TASS will not continue to fund David Kitson's Ruskin College lectureship unless he 'resolves' his 'problems with the ANC.'

For nearly 30 years the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Britain has been dominated by the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) and Labour Party. These elements have always sought to prevent the Anti-Apartheid Movement from becoming an effective mass people's movement against apartheid and British collaboration with apartheid. Their aim has been to confine anti-apartheid work in Britain to what is acceptable to the opportunist leadership of the British Labour and trade union movement. This leadership wants to dismantle apartheid but without threatening British profits from which their own social and material privileges are derived.

Since 1982, with the formation of City of London Anti-Apartheid Group (City AA) these opportunists have come under the most sustained challenge in the history of the AAM. The trend represented by City AA, in which the RCG is proud to play a central role, stands for the unconditional destruction of the apartheid regime and refuses to allow solidarity work in Britain to be constrained by the narrow interests of those who benefit from British collaboration with apartheid.

The attack on David Kitson is only the latest, and lowest, assault in a long line of attacks on the City AA trend. David Kitson's sole offence has been that he refuses to take part in this sectarian warfare against City AA and the RCG even though he is a member of neither organisation. For taking this principled stand, David Kitson has been vilified and finds his very livelihood threatened by Ken Gill and his opportunist allies in TASS.

Just as the attacks on City AA and the RCG have failed, so the attack on David Kitson is failing. No 16 Division of TASS is supporting him, as are other areas in TASS. Ruskin College students and staff, including the Kitson/Mandela Committee, are demanding that fund-

ing for his job be secured. Ruskin College students picketed the TASS conference and Ruskin College has issued a statement expressing its concern that a political condition is being placed on David Kitson's job 'contrary to the principle of academic freedom'. David Steel, leader of the Liberal Party, has given his support to David.

As opposition to the attack on David Kitson grows, Gill and his supporters have resorted to their usual methods. An article in the Oxford student newspaper *Cherwell* (6 June 1986) repeats old and new slanders against City AA and the RCG: City AA is 'a vehicle for the Revolutionary Communist Group'; City AA have taken over the Sharpeville Six Campaign for 'its own factional ends by very dubious means'; and, most perversely of all, the campaign to defend David Kitson's job is 'an attempt by the Revolutionary Communist Group to present David Kitson as a victim...'

City AA's 400 plus members are not a 'vehicle' for the RCG. The Sharpeville Six campaign - which the official AAM has done nothing about - has not been taken over by City AA. The RCG is not 'attempting' to make David Kitson a 'victim'. David Steel, No 16 Division of TASS, etc are not under the control of the RCG. We are fighting to prevent David Kitson becoming a 'victim' of the CPGB/Labour Party's vindictive campaign to destroy any opposition to their stranglehold over the AAM.

Ken Gill, ever the coward, pressed to explain at a TASS Executive Committee what David Kitson, City AA and the RCG have done wrong, immediately hid behind the mantle of the ANC. He said that he had asked the ANC and the ANC had said 'Piss off'.

FRFI calls on all its readers to support the fight for David Kitson's job.

Terry O'Halloran
More information from: 38 Lothair Rd North, London, N4 1EW

from South Africa. The RCG calls for sanctions, not to avoid revolution in South Africa, but to tip the balance in favour of the black masses because revolution is the only way forward which will guarantee peace, democracy and freedom for all South Africans.

Britain is the only country which stands out against sanctions, and no movement for action against apartheid has been built. The Anti-Apartheid Movement in Britain has hitched its wagon to Neil Kinnock's Labour Party, in the hope that a Labour government will honour its promises to introduce sanctions. So, whereas in Ireland the Dunnes strikers took action which led to the Irish government banning the import of South African fruit and vegetables, and other European countries are banning South African goods, Britain must wait, and the South African people must wait, until Neil Kinnock takes power.

While we wait for Neil Kinnock to break every promise he has made, the Anti-Apartheid Movement invites you to a festival in Clapham Common on 28 June. We invite you to take action against apartheid now - your support for sanctions is needed. We need to close down the South African Embassy, Trafalgar Square, which serves as a nest of spies and disseminator of racist lies for the apartheid regime. Action will kick these racists out of Britain. Organise! Mobilise! Protest! Join the Non Stop Picket for the release of Nelson Mandela!

Carol Brickley

first action would be to nationalise all Western interests, and Britain would lose all.'

This is the real reason that the Labour Party in Britain has adopted the call for sanctions - to protect future profits



Carole Richardson, detained at 'Her Majesty's Pleasure'

When I became involved in the case I was a solicitor practising in Guildford in Surrey. I had never had any connection with trials of this magnitude. I think in a sense that I have grown up with this case.

I started, believing essentially in the fairness of the British legal system. Partially because I was working within it as a solicitor, and partially because I felt that there were checks and balances within the system which would ensure that miscarriages of justice did not occur. I supposed fondly, if they did occur, that they could be righted. That is not the case.

This case will teach you above all others that if it is necessary to do something, the machinery is there to achieve it, and the difficulty in this particular case is trying to right what is one of the most monumental wrongs that has ever been inflicted by the British legal system.

It started when a telephone call came through to my office in December 1974 saying would I act for the 'Guildford bombers?' So you can see already they had been labelled at a time when they had not yet even appeared before a court. I said no because I thought that

officer in Northern Ireland had seen a photograph published by the police in the aftermath of the Guildford bombing and had said that that was Paul Hill wearing a wig. In fact, although the police are not anxious to tell you about it, that Identikit picture was one of the victims who was killed in the explosion. So you have the Surrey constabulary publishing two photo-fit pictures of girls they wish to interview in connection with this offence, one of whom is killed in it and the other of whom is in intensive care.

Afterwards the police said that an enterprising journalist stole those photographs and published them, hoping that nobody would read the police journal and see that they had been published by the police in their own journal. Now, here we get into mendacity, total mendacity, when in doubt, lie, when you want to achieve something, lie.

And the first lies that they started to tell were lies based on the evidence. Annie Maguire was charged with five counts of murder.

They told the court that they had evidence against her. They had nothing. She was charged on 11 December 1974 and she appeared before the court con-

the Birmingham bombings within twenty four hours of the bombs going off, and the Surrey constabulary had been floundering around from the fifth of October and here they were in November and they hadn't even got a clue.

And the pressure upon them was enormous. What in fact these people were tried for was statements which they are alleged to have made to the police.

There was not a shred of forensic evidence, there was no identification evidence, there was no visual evidence to connect them with it, there was nothing except the statements that they themselves had made.

Those statements were taken in police stations the atmosphere in which I have already described to you, with people who were very young, in the case of Carole Richardson under 18.

And when you look at the statements what do you see? You see statements given by frightened people. People who were afterwards to testify in court that they had been brutalised, that they had been deprived of sleep, that they had been abused, that they had been terrified, that they had been threatened to have themselves either physically injured or killed, that they had had their fam-

Michael Havers, endowed no doubt with divine inspiration, was able to point out. 'If you take that sentence from that statement, and that sentence from that statement, and that sentence from that statement, and you put it all together and you disregard the remainder of the stuff they had done it'.

Now I mean that was about as asinine an intellectual exercise as you could possibly want to see but it had one reason: that the police knew a certain amount about how that bombing had been carried out. They knew what the bomb contained, roughly. They knew where it had been placed, nearly exactly. And they knew what the consequences were.

So all they had to do was to get the little bits that fitted into their picture and then they were able to say to the jury these people are guilty. And of course the jury was going to say to themselves why on earth would somebody admit to doing something if they hadn't actually done it?

The explanation lay in the explanations given by the defendants. 'We were so frightened we would have confessed to anything.'

But you see one of the problems about confessing when you're frightened is that you don't follow the nice neat pattern, therefore you ramble. That's how things become twisted and that makes it complicated for the prosecution. It would have been much easier of course if you had just written the statements for them and just simply said 'sign here'. They have been doing that in Belfast for years.

So these young people were put up before a judge and jury, at the Old Bailey, in some of the most astonishing publicity, with police officers perhaps for the first time walking openly carrying arms, and everybody being searched. Members of the jury were told that if they did not obey the strict rules and regulations they were liable to get shot by the IRA.

So you can see that it's very difficult to come to an unbiased conclusion if you're in that sort of position. You had to have cards issued by the Metropolitan Police to be allowed anywhere near the court. You had to have an authority from somebody other than the mere authority of actually being in court because you were entitled to be there.

You were searched, of course not the prosecution barristers, they weren't searched. It did not extend to police officers, they weren't searched, and certain well known journalists weren't searched. But defence lawyers and defence solicitors and members of the family were searched. And if a member of the family, as Paul Hill's family did, went into the public gallery, they had to wait, they were quizzed, 'Who are you?' - 'Produce evidence!' Rough searching comments, this was the sort of thing they had to face.

And then we get to the trial. What happens in the trial is a vast publicity exercise. Sir Michael Havers made absolutely certain that the journalists knew what went on in the Guildford case, he gave them the depositions before the trial commenced.

Now those were statements made by people who had not yet given evidence in court and they were handed out to journalists. And they made absolutely certain that the journalists stayed for Sir Michael Havers's 'I will tell you what happened at Guildford' stuff and then simply disappeared, they weren't there

FREE 4 THE GUILDFORD

The Guildford 4, Paul Hill, Patrick Armstrong, Carole Richardson and Gerard Conlon, are at present serving the longest sentences ever handed out by a British court. They were framed and imprisoned in 1975 for the Guildford and Woolwich pub bombings, bombings which were later claimed by an IRA Active Service Unit.

Like other Irish people tried in British Courts they faced a show trial. A campaign to secure their release has now begun. We reprint here an important speech by Alastair Logan, one of the defence lawyers in the Guildford 4 trial.

The speech, given at a public meeting on 15 May, organised by the Free the Guildford 4 Campaign, shows just how the British state ensured their conviction without any evidence. It contains important lessons for all those who today are coming up against British justice.



Gerard Conlon, sentenced to 30 years imprisonment

the bigger firms of the town would be able to cope with a case of this magnitude.

They rang me back two hours later and they told me that no solicitor would take a case relating to the Guildford bombers and I therefore said I would take the case. I got Patrick Armstrong, capital 'A', top of the list, the first one who needed a legal aid certificate.

I went down to Guildford police station to see him. This was about eleven o'clock in the morning. The hostility in the place was like a wall. They took me into a room. They showed me a young man who was 23 years of age, who was so frightened that he could not sit still, who had bruises on his face and who could hardly speak.

They said this was Patrick Armstrong. He had a broad Belfast accent and I frankly confess I could not understand two words out of every three that he spoke. He told me who he was and he told me where his mother lived and that was about it. I said that I would see him in court. As I was walking down the corridor of the police station the detective sergeant who was escorting me said 'Do you want to use the facilities Mr Logan?'

I said no why would I want to use the facilities. 'Oh,' he said 'I think that you will want to use the facilities'. I said why. He said 'The man's got scabies and you've shaken hands with him twice'. Then I noticed that he was wearing clear plastic gloves.

You see if you ever want to prejudice somebody that's a bloody good way of going about it isn't it? You start off by telling him that he's infected. He also happens to be Irish which of course is another way of prejudicing and then finally you add to that the offences with which he is charged, five counts of murder, two counts of conspiracy.

Now these people were not randomly picked up, they were picked up for a reason. The reason was that an intelligence

sistently until February 1975, when the Director of Public Prosecutions had to drop the charges against her, because there was no evidence.

With her were two other Belfast boys, a man called John McGuinness, a man called Brian Anderson and both of them had been held on no evidence, and the charges had to be dropped against them. We don't start out with the Guildford Four we start out with Annie Maguire plus Brian Anderson plus John McGuinness, we start off with seven and for good measure there was a man called Sean Mullin who was charged with conspiracy to cause explosions. No evidence against him either and ultimately the charges are dropped.

So when you have that basis you begin to realise what this was all about. It was not the question of whether these people did it, it was more a question of whether or not we can prove that someone did it.

You have got to look at the background in 1974. There had been a large number of explosions, a large number of unsolved 'crimes' so far as the police were concerned. People are arrested for

ilias threatened, families in the case of three of them, exposed in Belfast.

These statements were mutually inconsistent. A did not say what he did with B, and B did not agree with A. A said something, B said something, C said something and D said something and none of them agreed with each other. How did the prosecution come to explain this away?

Of course we have for the prosecution Sir Michael Havers: 'Members of the jury you will find that this is a cunning and skillful plot by members of the IRA. These people have been trained in counter interrogation techniques. They tell a lot of lies and one or two grains of truth'.

If they have been trained why the hell should they bother to tell the truth? If they have been trained they should be able to lie consistently the whole way through, but no, according to Sir Michael Havers, what they could do was to tell grains of truth, and I suppose that was because they had not been trained as well as may be they ought to have been.

Anyway these grains of truth Sir



Joe O'Connell: member of the Balcombe Street IRA unit which carried out the Guildford and Woolwich bombings

'To break this case there is support. To break this case there is public knowledge.'

for the defence they weren't there to hear the cross examination. Why bother, they knew what the case was all about, Sir Michael Havers had given them the depositions. They don't report the defence, that's not important. What's important is to report what the prosecution say happened, the gory details.

The fact that Sir Michael Havers' opening speech contained a certain quantity of information which he said he could prove and he never got near proving a third of it, is neither here nor



FREE THE GUILDFORD FOUR

The campaign to free the Guildford Four will receive a major boost on 1 July when Yorkshire TV screens a detailed exposé of the frame-up in their First Tuesday series.

On 15 May the Free the Guildford Four Campaign was launched with a successful public meeting in Kilburn. The Hill family took the initiative to organise the campaign with the involvement of FRFI and ISM supporters. All interested groups and individuals are being invited to take part.

The campaign is planning a major rally in central London to tie in with the TV documentary. Already pressure has forced the Irish embassy, after 12 years, to contact the Hill family and visit Paul Hill in prison. Questions are to be raised in the Dail (Irish parliament). The campaign will be using the TV documentary to get wider public support to free the four framed comrades: Paul Hill, Patrick Armstrong, Gerard Conlon and Carole Richardson.

For years Irish people have known that the four are innocent. Indeed, it is an open secret in police and government circles that the four are innocent. Despite this, they have already served the equivalent of a 17 year sentence.

FRFI and ISM supporters will be giving all the support they can to the Free the Guildford Four Campaign. Paul McKinlay

important.' You had Lidstone, his side kick, another forensic scientist: What are the links between Guildford and the other offences committed by Balcombe Street? 'Oh, there were forensic links all right but they were distanced in time.' The time gap was nine days. But that was his reason for not including these forensic links.

The police officer said that he had reported it to the DPP. These people when arrested had admitted doing the Guildford bombing. They actually made detailed statements. So detailed, let me tell you that in relation to the Woolwich bombing, for which Armstrong and Hill were convicted, they told that they went down the day before to bomb that public house and there were not enough soldiers in the pub, so they went back the next day, and did the bombing.

And they were able to describe both vehicles that they stole to do that, and both vehicles were on the Metropolitan Police log of stolen vehicles. Down to a tee!! Lord Justice Lawton in the Guildford appeal, was to say that he could not possibly imagine anyone carrying a bomb back, having gone down to do a bombing. Well, honestly if they'd had the guts to carry it down there, could they not carry it back? After all it hadn't got a timing device on it and the fuse had not been lit. 'Ah, well' then he said that 'Dowd was confused.' Because Brendan Dowd has been in solitary confinement for two and a quarter years.

Paul Hill has done more time in solitary confinement than Brendan Dowd has done over the period of his imprisonment, but Brendan Dowd had done two and a quarter solid years in solitary confinement! Now, I defy any of Her Majesty's judges, however elevated, to perform like a spartan in the witness box, when they'd done two and a quarter years in solitary confinement. Your mental processes slow down, even the simplest psychiatrist could tell you that. But according to the court of appeal when they came to hear the evidence of the Balcombe Street people, 'Dowd was confused.'

But that gave them an explanation. At the end of the day what did the court of appeal say in the Guildford case? They said, One, 'O'Connell and Dowd were at Guildford,' Two, that 'O'Connell, Butler and Duggan were at Woolwich'. And all this was mutually exclusive with everything that had been said before.

Because you see that if Dowd went to Guildford, Dowd was the man who planted the bomb in the Horse and Groom at Guildford. That meant Armstrong could not have planted the bomb, which is what the prosecution said he confessed to. And Dowd said that he did not know Armstrong and he did not know Richardson and he did not know Hill and he did not know Conlon. And O'Connell said the same, and when it came to Woolwich all four of them O'Connell, Dowd, Butler and Duggan said 'we did it'. And they described how they did it.

You see they were bloody good, and they had a modus operandi. They made their bombs up in the same way, they planted their bombs in the same way. The forensic evidence that linked them to the offences with which they were charged, and there were a hundred of them, was identical to the forensic evidence which the police had got from Guildford and Woolwich.

So the first question to ask was: Well hold on a minute! If you knew all this, why wasn't this in the papers which we got for the Guildford bombing trial? So we asked Mr Higgs, senior forensic officer at the Woolwich Arsenal responsible for investigating explosives, who has been an explosives expert in excess of thirty three years. 'I was told to take it out of my statement' he said. Who by? 'Well it was a police officer'. Which police officer? 'Well actually it was that

'But they need support, so please examine the facts, look at them, and if you make the same judgement I made, stand up and be counted.'

one sitting down there.' That poor bloke couldn't get out of the court fast enough.

He was a detective sergeant in the Anti-Terrorist Squad. He had gone down to Higgs and said 'Take out of your statement all the forensic links that show that Guildford is linked with all these other offences and just limit it to Guildford' and of course when he came to deal with the Balcombe Street case no doubt the same officer went back to him and said 'Take out all the forensic links with Guildford because they are not charged with Guildford, we do not want any confusion here, let's just have the offences they are charged with.' And of course when he was cross-examined the whole of the Balcombe Street case turned on its head. It turned into a trial of the prosecution and prosecution witnesses.

And you had Higgs saying 'Yes there are links, I have written statements saying that there are links.' Why didn't you say so? 'I did not think that it was

FREE THE GUILDFORD FOUR CENTRAL LONDON RALLY

Wednesday 9 July at 7.30pm
Holborn Library 32-38 Theobalds Rd,
London WC1

Speakers include the family of Paul Hill, one of the Guildford Four
Organised by Free the Guildford Four campaign

PUBLIC MEETINGS

Smash the frame-ups!
Free the Guildford Four

South London
Monday 28 July at 7.30pm
Lambeth Town Hall, Brixton (Brixton tube)

North London

Thursday 31 July at 7.30pm
Red Rose Club, Seven Sisters Road
(Finsbury Park tube)

Speakers: Irish Solidarity Movement, Liz Hill, sister of framed Guildford Four prisoner. Others invited.
Organised by the Irish Solidarity Movement

STREET MEETINGS

Smash the frame-ups!
Free the Guildford Four

Saturday 5 July 11am-1pm
South London Irish Solidarity Committee meet outside main entrance Arding and Hobbs, Clapham Junction

North London Irish Solidarity Committee meet outside Wood Green Library
Speakers from ISM and Guildford 4. Campaign

FREE THE GUILDFORD FOUR CAMPAIGN

Committee meets alternate Wednesdays (2.16.30 July) at 7.30pm at Camden Irish Centre, Murray Street, off Camden Road

INFORMATION PACK

Detailed information about the case and campaign material. Available from the campaign for 50p (25p unwaged) plus 15p p&p. Money for packs and donations to be made payable to Free the Guildford Four Campaign, at BM Box 6944, London WC1N 3XX

DON'T MISS THE PROGRAMME!

Yorkshire TV's First Tuesday documentary on the Guildford Four frame-up now scheduled for 1 July at 10.30pm

son. A decision, not taken I may say, because of any 'assessment' of her in prison, but because of the political decision taken by Leon Brittain MP, QC, former Home Secretary, that anyone convicted of an offence of that nature will serve a minimum of twenty years. So Carole Richardson is not in jail for any other reason than that is what Leon Brittain wants. She's not going to get out, because politically she can't get out.

To break this case there has to be public support. To break this case there has to be public knowledge.

People have to understand what went on, they have to get rid of the phobias that everybody surrounds them in when they talk about 'terrorism', and 'Irish People' and 'Belfast', and 'Bombs' and all those other things. They have to understand the facts. These people are innocent. They should not be in prison. They have already served the equivalent of a 17 year fixed prison sentence.

Some of these are lucky, they have families like the Hill family. Some of them are not so lucky, Patrick Armstrong's mother is in a state of mental confusion. She can't stand up and talk about her son. Carole Richardson's mother is an English lady, she can't stand up and talk about her daughter. And poor old Mrs Conlon whose husband died in prison, convicted as one of the Maguire Seven, she has a hard job keeping body and soul together but she will stand up and be counted.

But they need support, so please examine the facts, look at them, and if you make the same judgment I made, stand up and be counted.

Alastair Logan: 'To break this case there has to be public support'

there. A bomb had gone off in one public house in Guildford and an hour later another bomb had gone off in another public house in Guildford and we thought we were talking about an offence, two bombings an offence, and then Woolwich came into it so we had another offence, what we did not know was that there was a consistent pattern to this and so consequently they went down.

Paul Hill, never to be released except on the grounds of old age and infirmity and if the judge had his way not even then. Armstrong thirty five minimum, Conlon thirty minimum and Richardson because she was under the age of eighteen at the time when she committed the offence to be detained at Her Majesty's pleasure. Those were the sentences that were handed out. The longest sentences ever handed out by an English court.

Now we come to the truth. It's the Guildford Four's truth.

I got a message, would I go and see Joseph O'Connell, known as one of the Balcombe Street Four. So I went to Wandsworth prison thinking that he wanted me to represent him. But no he wanted to tell me that he had done the Guildford bombing, he had done it with two other men and two girls.

has to be public se there has to be

So I then set about trying to find somebody independent of the police who would interview these people and obtain statements from them. What happened? Nobody wanted to know, 'terrorists' brrr! Eventually I got an ex-chief inspector of the Fraud Squad who agreed to deal with it. We took down simultaneous recordings.

Do you know what those people told us? Unlike the Guildford Four, they knew where they had hired their car from to go to Guildford. Unlike the Guildford Four, they knew which car

they had driven in. Unlike the Guildford Four, they could actually drive, but that's only a minor point.

Unlike the Guildford Four, they knew how they had got to Guildford. Unlike the Guildford Four, they knew which car park they had parked in. Unlike the Guildford Four, they knew how they could get to the public house. Unlike the Guildford Four, they had done the casing of the joint beforehand, so they knew which targets they were after. Unlike the Guildford Four, they knew where they sat.

Unlike the Guildford Four, they knew what the bomb contained, what the timing device was, what the detonator was contained in. They knew what the bags were, they knew the fabric of the bags. They knew where the bombs were placed. They actually heard conversations taking place in the pub, conversations which were actually reported by witnesses interviewed by the police within ten days of the bombs going off.

They told the police on their arrest that they had done it. And the police officer said 'Are you telling us that we have got the wrong people?' And they said 'Yes' and the police said 'Oh well this is serious, we must look into this, are you prepared to make a statement about it.' And that was the last they ever did.

When examined in the witness box, Commander Neville of the Anti-Terrorist Squad said, 'I reported it to the DPP.' When asked 'You're a police officer you'd been told by somebody that they had done this, what did you do about it?' 'Oh! I reported it to the DPP.' 'But you're a police officer Commander Neville, it's your job to investigate offences. That's what you're there for that's your public duty. What did you do?' 'I reported it to the DPP'.

But it did not stop there, the Guildford bombing was part of a consistent campaign carried out by the Active Service Unit which became known as the Balcombe Active Service Unit. They were the most successful ASU ever to operate on this side of the water: three kidnappings, nine shootings, thirty-two bombings and twelve and a quarter million pounds worth of damage, minimum.

Sri Lanka - Voice of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam

In July 1983 the world was alerted to the bloody, repressive character of President Jayewardene's Sri Lankan regime when Sinhalese gangs murdered over 2,000 Tamils in a racist pogrom. Successive atrocities quickly followed. More recently, the British media have been blaming Tamil separatists for the continuing violence on the island. **Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!** were recently given the opportunity and honour of interviewing the spokesman for the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam in Britain. Comrade Sathi described for us the history of his people, and their defiant stand today against US and British imperialism which back the Jayewardene government. Below we print extracts from that interview.

Velupillai Prabhakaran. When he was 16 years old he was already engaged as a student in the resistance. The youth understood that they must organise and

their air power and bombarding the population. They have declared the coastal area as "no man's land" and depopulated the land around the camps.

It is similar to what is happening in the West Bank, El Salvador and Guatemala or in South Africa. Sri Lanka brought in the Israeli Shin Beth and Mossad to advise them on counter-insurgency tactics. We can construe that the tactic they will employ is creating "strategic hamlets": the guerrillas are the fish and the people are the sea and the imperialists attempt to remove the sea, take the people out of the villages and deprive the guerrillas of the sea, their food, the support of the people.

'Britain, as the colonial power, has a close relationship to the Sri Lankan gov-



Why the Liberation Tigers were formed

'The aim of our movement, Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), is to establish a socialist state of Tamil Eelam based on the cardinal principle of a nation's right to national self-determination, and we believe that only through a concrete, armed struggle can we achieve this objective.

'As you know our island, then called Ceylon, was invaded by the colonialist forces. First the Portuguese came to our land and then the Dutch, and in the end the British ruled the island for over 100 years until "independence" in 1948. The Portuguese and the Dutch were unable to conquer the whole island, they only occupied the coastal areas. During the British rule the whole island was conquered. There were two nations existing in the island - the Tamil nation and the bigger Sinhala nation. The Portuguese and the Dutch ruled these two nations separately, but the British, for their own administrative purposes, joined these two nations together and called the island Ceylon. That is the genesis of the present struggle of the Tamil people.



Guerillas of the Liberation Tigers in training

that Sinhala would be the only national and state language, so that Tamils had to speak and write Sinhala to find employment or study.

'So, the Tamil middle classes, many of whom worked in state administrative jobs, resisted these attacks. They entered into several pacts with the Sinhala bourgeoisie which were not implemented. In 1961 there was a mass civil disobedience movement based on the Gandhian principle of non-violent resistance. The whole Tamil masses participated in this peaceful protest, and it was crushed by the guns of the Sri Lankan military... Its objective was some sort of autonomy for the Tamil people, a federal system within a unitary state, but this was totally rejected by successive Sri Lankan governments.

'There is another dimension: in 1956 when they introduced Sinhala language-only policy there were riots; and in 1958 and 1961; and thousands of Tamil people were killed. In 1972 during Bandaranaike reign when the Trotskyites and the Communist Party were part of the government, they introduced a constitution which effectively installed Sri Lanka as a Sinhala Buddhist nation; even the minority rights embodied in the 1948 constitution were removed, and the Tamil people recognised that this was a systematic, genocidal oppression against their nation.

'In 1979 the Tamil United Front contested the election on a platform of a separate Tamil state and won an overwhelming mandate from the Tamil people. The Tamil bourgeoisie of the TUF could not provide a practical grounding for the national liberation struggle. In the meantime the atrocities against the Tamil people increased, especially the torturing of youth in the camps.

'In 1970 the Tamil Student Federation was founded by Tamil militants, and engaged in sporadic resistance. In 1972 our movement was formed by

base themselves upon revolutionary theory and practice. That is when our group came into being and it was called Tamil New Tigers. In May 1976 the name was changed into LTTE. As an ideology we charted the Marxist-Leninist principles to give us a grounding in our national liberation struggle. Our volunteers come from all strata of society, but the hardened core come from the most oppressed sections; they are the people who come to the forefront and have the will to struggle.

Imperialism and the atrocities

'The government's intention is to discredit our movement in the eyes of the world, and we disclaim any responsibility for attacks on Sinhala civilians, and we condemn these actions against innocent people.

'Today, the strategy of the Sri Lankan government is to bring the east and the north completely under their control. They have chased people off their lands: there are 150,000 refugees in Tamil Nadu, and 100,000 in the north (of Tamil Eelam). Then the government intends to bring Sinhala people onto the lands. They are using a paramilitary force of criminals and thugs who they arm. These paramilitaries act as "home-guards", killing Tamil people, burning their houses, killing their cattle etc: auxiliaries aimed at the unarmed Tamil people.

'At the moment we have the military initiative. In the north, (the peninsula), and the north west, we have pinned the army down into their camps. Whenever they come out we attack them and they withdraw. We have totally destroyed the civil administration, and in the north we have our own administrative structure involving the people. In the past we have been successful in that we have not allowed the government strategy to succeed... we have successfully resisted them and pushed them back. But they are adopting different tactics now: using

ernment. They even have a defence agreement which dates back to 1948, which Jayewardene tried to invoke when the 1983 riots took place, but Britain did not want to do it openly. So the Thatcher government in a very clandestine way is helping the Sri Lankan government; giving massive amounts of aid to finance the Sinhala colonisation of Tamil lands. Britain is also giving military aid, a British company has supplied gun-boats, and a most important aspect is that ex-SAS are training Sri Lankan military personnel. The British government denies that it has anything to do with this, that it is a private company KMS Ltd, based in the Channel Islands [formerly headquartered in Sloane Street almost adjacent to SAS regimental headquarters - FRFI]. KMS was used to crush the revolutionary process in Oman.



'There is now concrete evidence that these ex-SAS mercenaries are even involved in operations against the Tamil people: recently a British journalist, Simon Winchester, reported that he had personally seen 3 foreign nationals, 2 British and 1 South African, manning the helicopter gunships that are strafing and bombing the Tamil areas. Before that, last November, a team of journalists for Channel 4 TV visiting the Trincomalee area saw that the helicopters were manned by foreign nationals. We feel that the British people should know this, that British nationals are involved in the

ON VIRAJ MENDIS AND THE TAMIL REFUGEES

'In recent times European countries, including Britain, are adopting, as far as immigration policies are concerned, a racist attitude. If you take Britain, they ask no question if a Polish person seeks asylum, and if you take Vietnam, it is a government sponsored programme to rehabilitate people who are against a progressive socialist state. The racist immigration policy affects not only Tamil people but many people from Africa, Asia and elsewhere.

'The Sri Lankan government says: there is no problem, send the refugees back to us, we'll settle them in camps in the south and then we'll send them back to the north when the situation is normal. The Sri Lankan government wants to hold refugees there, to use them as ransom. In 1983, in a maximum security prison, 53 Tamil political prisoners were mercilessly, brutally murdered. The regime wants to hold the refugees to threaten their lives if its troops in the military camps are attacked. The fate of Tamil refugees hangs by a thread, we live in fear that the British government will send us back.

'In Viraj's case, there are lots of reports that anyone who gives unconditional support to the national liberation struggle is liable to be rounded up and put in prison under the PTA and other repressive legislation. As an articulate progressive who extends his active support to the Tamil struggle he will also be threatened if he goes back to Sri Lanka.'

attacks on Tamil people.

'LTTE recently published a book for the people telling them how to take precautions against aerial attack. It was circulated in Tamil newspapers, and even recent reports in *The Guardian* suggest that human casualties have been reduced as a result. However, in recent attacks the Jaffna hospital and houses, cattle and poultry have been damaged. These aerial and naval bombings are directed against the unarmed population.

Sri Lankan Left

'The Trotskyites and the Communist Party have not taken a clear stand on the Tamil national question. Having adopted the parliamentary strategy they have had to succumb to Sinhala chauvinistic ideological hegemony. In that way they have betrayed the Sinhala working class and its ability to mobilise itself.

'Now the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA), which was predominantly aimed at the Tamil people, is directed at the progressive Sinhala forces. The military war against the Tamil people is worsening the economic crisis in the south (Sri Lanka), and militancy among the Sinhala progressives is emerging. But the left says that they support the Tamil people's right to self-determination but that they can't succeed. In that way they are adopting an opportunistic policy, and it makes it difficult for us to forge some form of common strategy with them. But as far as LTTE is concerned we believe that the revolutionary process in the north is creating a revolutionary condition in the south, and those who claim to be Marxist-Leninist in the south should work to break the Sinhala chauvinism and hegemony, then there can be a true liberation for the Sinhala working class as well.

International struggle and solidarity

'Today the national liberation struggles are fought in different arenas in the world. Although each struggle has its own concrete realities and conditions, in essence they are all the same, fighting against the oppressor: imperialism, neo-colonialism, Zionism and racism. In that context we consider the El Salvadorian struggle, the Azanian struggle, the Palestinian struggle, the Irish struggle as one and the same. And we consider the working class in the west, particularly the British working class, as part of this revolutionary process.

'We want the help of the British working class, FRFI and the RCG to help us to bring more understanding of the Tamil national question. We consider our national liberation struggle is an integral part of the struggle of the British working class as well.'



'There was another dimension introduced by the British imperialists when they destroyed the self-sufficient agrarian economy and introduced the plantation economy in the hill country: first rubber, then tea. They expropriated the lands of the Sinhala peasants and began to look around for cheap labour. In the mid-nineteenth century they brought Tamil labourers from the south of India (now Tamil Nadu), marching them hundreds of miles through the forests, where many were killed by the animals and diseases, to the plantations. There they were secluded and not allowed to integrate with the indigenous people, kept as virtual slaves.

'British imperialism brought in missionary schools and used its divide and rule policy to create a Tamil middle class of administrators for the colonial government.

'From 1948 power transferred from the British imperialists to the Sinhala ruling elite. Successive Sri Lankan governments attacked the basic foundation of a nation: that is, the cultural, social, economic and political foundation of the Tamil nation. The first thing the Sri Lankan government did was to disenfranchise the plantation workers to reduce the representation of Tamil people in parliament. Then they systematically colonised the traditional Tamil homeland by bringing in Sinhala people to force the Tamils into being a minority in their homeland. In 1956 they declared

Euskadi - the struggle for self-determination

The following text is based on a rare press interview given in March this year by the leadership of ETA, the armed wing of the revolutionary Basque people's struggle for independence. It explains the basic political position of ETA, showing that despite every hypocritical attempt by the Spanish state to destroy ETA in the name of 'peace' and 'democracy', it is in fact only ETA that is genuinely concerned to hold discussions on the real democratic right of the Basque people to self-determination, the essential basis for peace in Euskadi.

The Spanish state cannot afford to accept public discussion of this right, or to agree that those actually running Spain today, as seen so clearly in the militarisation of Euskadi - monopoly business, religious and military interests - should negotiate with ETA, since their new 'constitutional monarchy' has been engineered precisely to disguise these interests real control.

Thus the state's destructive and shameless campaign extends from torture and liquidation to free pardons for collaborators, using a police force extensively exposed as racketeering gangsters, drug dealers and murderers, and an army boosted by a NATO membership manoeuvred against the interests of the Basque and Spanish peoples.

The interview was translated and edited by Helen D and Paul Banks.

ETA is a political/military organisation, formed in 1959, engaged in armed struggle for very clear objectives: independence, socialism, the re-unification of Euskadi and restoring a Basque character to our country. ETA is the historical outcome of a series of struggles that developed during the last twenty years. It arose from under the heel of the Franco regime but the object was not only to fight Franco but also to create a united, Basque-speaking and sovereign Euskadi without oppressors and oppressed and in which the fundamental right to self-determination for our people was recognised.

The armed struggle arose in Euskadi as the only way of gaining a minimum of real justice for our people in the face of state terrorism. The role of the armed struggle is to remind the real ruling powers - the Spanish army and the Spanish financial oligarchy - that the Basque people will not surrender, and are sick of those who have divided our territory and deny us the right to self-determination.

Our attacks on the different representatives of the so-called security forces and the military apparatus aim to harass the military - repressive structure as directly as possible. This structure still

maintains power today but obviously the business leaders are also responsible. So we will also attack big business interests and have done so. We attack the heart of the power structure both in Euskadi and any other part of the Spanish state.

The real ruling powers are the military, the financial oligarchy and the ultraconservative church. Those people who are interested in our movement should ask themselves who are these people who have powerful positions in the economy, the law, the army and the police. They are the same people who occupied the same highly responsible posts during Franco's rule. They make the real decisions not the PSOE government. The 'democratic rupture' (break with the past) that the PSOE and the so-called Spanish Communist Party refer to has not really occurred.

The PSOE government has sold itself to the interests of the oligarchy and the Spanish army. They have imposed NATO membership, three million unemployed in an active population of only 13 million, and a repressive regime around the Plan ZEN (Zona Especial del Norte - a strategy of counterintelligence, dirty tricks etc aimed against the Basque movement). ZEN gives the go-ahead to any method: torture, lies, extortion, the dirty war. This is state terrorism. Faced with state terrorism we have the right and the duty, as part of an oppressed people, to respond with all the means available to us.

In 1978 68% of the Basque population of South Euskadi rejected the Spanish constitution. Yet now the government tries to impose a Statute of Autonomy on Euskadi, the decision-making and legislative capacity of which is tied to the judicial structure of the Spanish constitution.



Over 50,000 march demanding their right to self-determination

The government wants to achieve the destruction of any type of resistance. Their campaign for public 'repentance' has failed. Today the ploy is called 'social re-integration'. Tomorrow it may be given an even more perverted name. We consider it to be treacherous collaboration with the Spanish police.

The government also wants to destroy the resistance of the political prisoners. There are more than 400 in Spanish prisons at the moment. They are also introducing the 'repentance' ploy for the Basque refugees.

We will fight until our comrades are released - not on their knees or by the back door - but with their fists clenched

and heads held high saying: 'This time we have won. We have managed to negotiate fundamental rights for Euskadi and self-determination for her people.'

Our demands are: amnesty for all political prisoners; legalisation of all political parties, including all those in favour of independence; withdrawal of repressive forces; significant improvements in the living standards of the Basque working class; an authentic Statute of Autonomy, based on the fundamental right of self-determination including making Basque the official language in our territories and the re-unification of the Basque territories.

Lebanon - war of the camps

Since 28 March three Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon - Sabra, Chatilla and Bourj al-Barajneh - have been under siege by the Syrian sponsored Amal militia headed by the wealthy bourgeois lawyer Nabih Berri. From mid-May, intermittent skirmishes flared into large scale battles as Syrian supplied T-54 tanks, artillery and heavy machine guns battered the camps exactly one year after the 1985 'camp wars'. Over 100 people have died and more than 400 wounded are left to suffer as Amal denies medical teams access to the camps.

The 1985 'camp wars' were launched by the Syrian regime and its Lebanese Muslim bourgeois allies in Amal to halt the successful resurgence of the democratic-secular Lebanese/Palestinian alliance which followed the expulsion of the Zionist occupiers from most of southern Lebanon. Having severely weakened this alliance and marginalised Lebanese democratic forces such as the Lebanese Communist Party, Amal is now determined to end any organised Palestinian presence in the country.

To achieve its aims Amal also launched a brutal military attack against the February 6th Movement based in Beirut's Sunni community and sympathetic to the Palestinian resistance. On Tuesday 3 June Amal militias stormed the movement's headquarters and killed 30 people during the day's fighting.

As the war of the camps grew more fierce, Margaret Thatcher was in Israel from 25-27 May displaying her solidarity with the Zionist criminals. The first ever British Prime Minister to visit the country, she revealed her overweening

contempt, arrogance and racism for the Palestinian people. Like an emperor she declared that if the PLO refused to renounce the armed struggle, then it would have to be bypassed and 'we would have to find other Palestinians who truly represent the Palestinian people.'

Adding to this racist insult, she dismissed the Palestinian peoples' desire for self-determination stating: '... there is not much point in working for anything that will raise other difficulties and problems.'

Thatcher's remarks dovetail with and express precisely current imperialist attempts to totally bypass the PLO and foster a new collaborationist leadership within the Palestinian community prepared to abandon self-determination. In this work, imperialist forces are being assisted by the likes of the Syrian regime which in sanctioning the current 'camp war' further weakens the Palestinian movement.

Eddie Abrahams

MEXICO 86

Pre-Championship Warm-Up

● All demonstrations banned from the centre of Mexico City.

The Kick-Off

During the first week of the tournament:

- fans booed and jeered Mexican President de la Madrid's opening speech;
- the peso fell 29 per cent against the dollar;
- 10,000 workers marched in Monterrey against the closure of their steel plant;
- the youth of Mexico City attacked the symbols of the 57 year old PRI regime.

The Winners

- the real promoters of the competition were Televisa, 'la pulpa' (the octopus) as they are known locally;
- 'la pulpa' controls two newspapers, cable TV, large sections of tourism and industry, and the stadium staging the opening ceremony and final;
- Televisa arranged the purchase of Record TV Network in Brazil for Joao Havelange, President of FIFA, official World Cup organiser;
- Coca Cola, Seiko, Philips, Canon and the rest are reputed to each have paid \$10 million for the advertisements around the grounds.

The Losers

- In Mexico City tickets were being sold in batches at \$109 each while the minimum wage is \$3.15 a day.
- real wages are less than three-quarters of what they were 5 years ago;
- half Mexico's working population are without full-time jobs;
- Mexico's \$97 billion foreign debt has taken \$32 billion in repayments over the past 3 years;
- a further \$44 billion is due in the next 3 years.

Imperialist trial in Grenada

The trial of former leaders of the People's Revolutionary Government and army personnel accused of the murder of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and others on 19 October 1983 finally got underway in April. It is proceeding without the defendants who withdrew disputing the constitutionality of the court and the possibility of a fair trial. They face possible death sentences.

However much the Grenadian people may wish for justice for the killing of Maurice and his comrades this trial will not yield it. It is a show trial intended to discredit the character of the Grenadian revolution, intimidate all Caribbean revolutionaries, and legitimise the US invasion and occupation of Grenada.

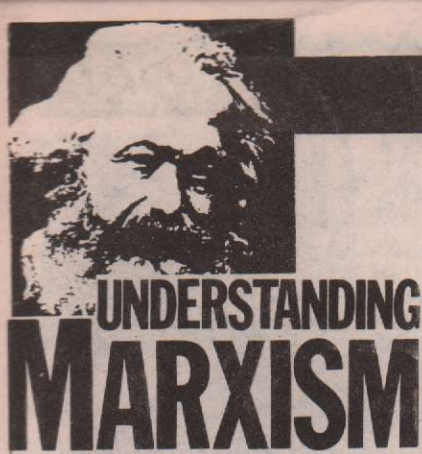
The judge has been especially hired with US money on a three month contract to try the case. During his flying visit to Grenada earlier this year, President Reagan pledged \$5.5 million to the Grenadian judiciary to cover the costs. The 18 defendants have been systematically brutalised and had confessions wrung out of them by their British trained Barbadian gaolers. Amnesty International has reported the use of beatings, solitary confinement and adulterated food against the prisoners. Other evidence has been concocted by two senior Scotland Yard officers flown into Grenada after the invasion, and by a former defendant, Fabius Gabriel, who agreed to turn state's evidence in exchange for a conditional pardon.

As with the British show trials of Irish captives, the 18 have been subjected to an orchestrated campaign of vilification designed to preclude the possibility of a fair trial. Significantly, just weeks after Reagan's 20 February visit the Acting Registrar of the Grenada Supreme Court

was dismissed for failing to produce sufficient potential jurors. The editor of the Grenadian weekly *Informer* was then gaoled for two weeks, later to be released on bail pending an appeal, for criticising the Acting Registrar's dismissal. The new Registrar was then chosen from the prosecution team. His select band of 140 potential jurors burst into shouts of 'kill them - let them hang' within earshot of the defendants. After that the 18 ordered their defence counsel to withdraw from the case. The judge then ordered that the 12 defending lawyers be locked in Richmond Hill Prison, where the trial is being held, and threatened them with charges of contempt if they did not present themselves before his court. They were eventually allowed off the island.

This grotesque circus is being held at Reagan's bidding and is a mockery of the Grenadian people's desire for justice. Imperialism is well satisfied: the opposition to the stooge government and its US and British backers is bitterly divided over whether to participate in the trial or not. Meanwhile, unemployment is breaking all-time records as it soars towards 50%, and violent crime and drug offences have shown marked increases as demoralisation sets in.

Trevor Rayne



4 CAPITAL

The circulation of commodities is the starting point of capital. The simple circulation of commodities begins with a sale C-M (a commodity is converted into money) and ends with a purchase M-C (money is used to buy another commodity). The social division of labour forces the commodity owner to convert commodities into money in order to convert them into commodities again. The whole process is represented by C-M-C. This is selling in order to buy. Use-values not wanted are exchanged for ones wanted. Money here serves as a medium of circulation. In this process money runs from hand to hand moving ever further away from its starting point but still always moving a commodity from one commodity owner to another.

The difference between money and money as capital is a difference in their form of circulation. Instead of C-M-C in which we begin and end with commodities we have a totally different form of circulation, M-C-M, or buying in order to sell. In this case the money always returns to the same hand in which it began. This money which circulates as M-C-M is potentially capital.

M-C-M, or buying in order to sell, would be absurd if the purpose was to exchange by these means an equal sum of money. The aim of this process is to withdraw more money from circulation than was put into it at the beginning.

'The character and tendency of the process M-C-M, is therefore, not due to any qualitative difference between its extremes, both being money, but solely to their quantitative difference. More money is withdrawn from circulation at the finish than was thrown in at the start... The exact form of this process is therefore M-C-M', where M' = M + ΔM = original sum advanced, plus an increment. This increment or excess over the original value I call "surplus value". The value originally advanced, therefore, not only remains intact while in circulation, but adds to itself a surplus value or expands itself. It is this movement that converts it into capital.'

The simple circulation of commodities, selling in order to buy, is limited by the consumption that satisfies definite wants. Its goal is use-values. The circulation of money as capital, buying in order to sell, however, has no limits. Its goal is the expansion of value which can only take place by constantly renewing the process. As capital it can never stop for if it stops it is just a hoard (of money) not capital at all. The capitalist is the conscious representative of this process. The subjective aim is the expansion of value, the appropriation of ever more and more wealth in the abstract.

The creation of surplus-value and therefore the conversion of money into capital cannot be explained on the assumption that commodities are sold above or below their value. The sum of values in circulation cannot be increased by any change in their distribution. If £50 worth of corn is exchanged for £40 worth of wine we still have £90 circulating although one commodity owner loses and another gains. The conversion of money into capital has to be explained on the basis of laws that regulate the exchange of commodities in such a way that the starting point is the exchange of equivalents.

Just as surplus-value cannot arise in circulation, nor can it arise apart from circulation. So how do capitalists buy commodities at their value, sell them at their value, and at the end take out more from this process than they put in at the beginning? The answer lies in the first part of the circulation process M-C-M', that is, in M-C. It is necessary to find within the sphere of circulation, on the market, a commodity whose use-value possesses the peculiar property of being a source of value, and whose actual consumption is therefore itself an embodiment of labour and hence a creation of value. Such a commodity does exist in the capacity to labour or labour power. Labour power is the aggregate of those mental and physical capabilities which every human being exercises in order to produce a use-value of any kind. It is through the buying and selling of labour power that money is transformed into capital.

David Reed

Women in British gaols

In March this year the GLC Women's Committee produced a report 'Women's Imprisonment - Breaking the Silence'. It details the inhuman and degrading conditions under which women are held in British jails.

The struggle to feed their children, poor health care and bad housing, combine to drive many more women to petty crime. Most women who come before the courts are charged with minor offences of theft, prostitution and fraud. The total number of women sentenced to prison rose from 800 in 1974 to 2,400 in 1984. In the same period, two-fifths of all women imprisoned were sentenced to one month or less.

Conditions in British jails are appalling. Overcrowding, poor sanitation, bad food and brutality are the rule for men and women. For women separation from their children who are placed in care, leads to added misery. Unconvict-

Reception

On reception to prison women are routinely strip-searched even if they are menstruating or pregnant. Frequently, they are examined internally. This humiliation is intensified by jibes from the prison officers.

Drugging

Drugs are used more frequently in women's prisons than men's as a form of mind-deadening control.

Many women become dependent on these drugs and take them routinely. Others are forcibly drugged. In the re-

1984/5 Top twelve prisons for use of drugs

Prison	Average population	Doses*	Doses per prisoner
+ Risley	121	53,198	440
+ Cookham Wood/			
+ Styal	330	98,284	298
Parkhurst	260	60,222	232
+ Holloway	335	75,474	225
Wakefield	708	151,088	213
Brixton	806	149,239	185
Wormwood Scrubs	1201	193,002	161
Norwich	357	56,800	159
+ Askham Grange/			
+ Drake Hall	259	40,560	157
Winchester	134	70,051	134

*number of doses of psychotropic, hypnotic and other drugs acting on the central nervous system administered to prisoners between 1 January 1984 and 31 March 1985 + Women's prisons (Askham Grange and Drake Hall are open prisons. The average dose per prisoner for men's open prisons is 32)

(Table compiled by FRFI using Home Office figures.)

ed women on remand suffer this too. In March 1982, 719 women out of a female prison population of 1,288, were mothers with a total of 1,649 children, 209 of whom were 3 years or under. Despite this there are only 34 places for mothers and babies and 40 for pregnant women in prison.

Treatment of pregnant women is barbaric. 'Before you have a baby... until you are 8 months pregnant you scrub, no matter how big you are... after 8 months you can use the mop...' (Ex prisoner, Styal, 1984).

port an ex prisoner describes a brutal incident that took place in Holloway in 1985:

'... They grabbed hold of her... tore her clothes off there and then. She had like a dressing gown thing on that they give you when you come in, they took everything even her knickers off... about seven of them got hold of her... and beat the shit out of her... The next day she was so quiet, so lost she looked awful, just in a few days I couldn't believe it was the same per-

INSIDE NEWS

Fightback in Dutch jails

Thursday 8 May 1986 - Schrevingingen - prisoners demand less lock up and more time out of their cells. The governors are taken by surprise and they concede - but only provisionally.

Monday 13 May - there will be a final decision. The governors say no.

Tuesday 14 May - a prisoners' meeting to discuss a strike, prisoners attend. Alan Reeve joins the meeting after spending the night in hospital for concussion. Suddenly ME (riot police) burst in. Everyone is beaten. Alan has two toes broken in the door. He and 8 others are transported to Veenhuizen for 14 days punishment - isolation which can be extended. The reasons given for such punishment were that prisoners refused to go to work, they were having a meeting, they refused to go to their cells. Out of 35 men, 9 are singled out, ie 9 are the 'troublemakers', punished to subdue and intimidate the rest.

Please show your support to the prisoners. Write letters to Alan Reeve

and the 8 others in Veenhuizen Prison. (Isolatie Vleugel, Gevangenis Veenhuizen, Essenheim, Meidoornlaan, 38 Veenhuizen, Holland.)

Henk Kerating
Advokaten Collectif Noord

Zombies run prison

'Dare to care' is the motto of the Scottish Prison Officers Association. In the *Glasgow Herald* of 7 May an anonymous warder blew the gaffe on his caring colleagues at Peterhead:

'After a long spell working in here you come out like a zombie... But the overtime helps make up your pay packet.'

Dare to care?

Zombies censor pamphlet

In our last issue we reported that the overpaid zombies were suppressing our pamphlet *Scottish Prisons - Lift the lid!* calling it a 'genuine and serious threat to the security or good order of the establishment'.

son, I knew they drugged her up...'

C1 Wing Holloway

Prue Stevenson, one of the compilers of this GLC report, resigned from Holloway staff in May 1985 in protest at the horrific conditions in the C1 psychiatric wing (See *FRFI* 50 and 51)

Despite calls for the closure of this wing, following public outcry and a new governor sent in to 'tackle the problem' in February 1985, C1 is still open and another woman, Ann Franklyn hanged herself in the wing in December 1985. A report by Holloway Project Committee

Known deaths of women in custody

Date	Name	Cause	Prison
1974	Patricia Cummings	Burned to death	Holloway
1978	? Young	Undisclosed illness	Styal
1978	? Haqikramul	Undisclosed illness	Styal
1978	Marie Zsigmond	Suicide	Durham
1980	? Poole	Unknown	Low Newton
1981	Yvonne Lapas	Heart failure/asthma	Holloway
1981	Julie Potter	Burned to death	Holloway
1982	Christine Scott	Suicide	Holloway C1
1983	Joyce Marsh	Asphyxia/neglect	Styal
1984	Wilma Lucas	Assaulted. Died of brain haemorrhage	Holloway
1985	Sarah Hewer	Asphyxia/neglect	Pucklechurch
1985	Ann Franklyn	Suicide	Holloway C1
1986	Ruth Dyson	Medical neglect/cancer	Risley

shows that 6.8% of women on the wing had been recorded for self-mutilation. The women in C1 need proper medical care. Instead they are locked in poorly lit, tiny cells, 23 hours a day, isolated and disturbed.

'... You heard women screaming out... most of the day until the time when they are given their medication and then they are suddenly all totally quiet...'

'... When I went to Holloway I was 95% alright... in C Wing I went completely raving mad... it took months to make a recovery...'

Racism

The institutionalised racism of the police and courts means that there are a disproportionately high number of black women in prison. On 7 January 1986 31% of women in Holloway were black and 5 women were awaiting deportation. It is estimated that black women make up 40% of prisoners in Cookham Wood.

Many women imprisoned under the Immigration Act speak little or no English, adding to their distress, and all

PRISONERS FIGHTBACK

black prisoners suffer racial abuse and harassment.

An ex prisoner from Holloway told of an incident of an African woman, imprisoned for not paying a taxi fare. Her child was taken away from her and she arrived at the prison in a state of shock. She spoke little English and was treated as mentally ill. All she could say was 'where is my child, where is my child?'

In H-Wing Durham black women are forced to unplat their hair. One African woman who asked to use the toilet was told, 'In your country you don't even use pots to shit in...'

Fight Back

Because women are sentenced to short terms of imprisonment the opportunity to organise politically in prison is limited. Political literature is heavily censored. A City AA demonstrator imprisoned in Holloway in 1984 was even refused *The Guardian*.

Despite this, women have organised protests. In H-Wing Durham 1984, 23 of the 35 women on the wing went on hunger-strike to protest against the repression there. In Holloway, July 1985, 43 women smuggled a petition out detailing the increasing violence and oppression against prisoners and the use of male prison officers to beat up an 18 year old. 26 women smashed up the furniture of their wing and barricaded themselves into a dormitory.

As black political prisoner, Shujaa Moshesh wrote in *FRFI* 47 '... the Tories hard line policies towards prisoners are not just to keep them under strict control, they also reflect Tory attitudes towards the working class in general...'. Nowhere is this clearer than in women's prisons.

Alexa Byrne and Beth Summers

IRISH POWS NEWS AND GREETINGS

Vince Donnelly has now been located in Albany from Leeds. Billy Armstrong was moved from Albany to Frankland in May but moved out again within five days. Noel Gibson has been transferred to Parkhurst from Wormwood Scrubs and Roy Walsh has been moved from Wormwood Scrubs to Hull.

While Vince Donnelly was in Leeds he only had one letter passed on to him and the prison regime tried to stop him having even a daily paper. It was only when he threatened action under the European Convention of Human Rights that they conceded. But they continued to stop all political papers, including *FRFI*, and correspondence. Special greetings to Eddie Byrne who was released in March of this year after serving over eleven years of a fourteen year sentence.

Greetings also to several POWs with birthdays in June and early July. We ask our readers to send cards to these comrades, preferably recorded delivery to ensure their arrival.

Con McFadden 130662, HM Prison Love Lane, Wakefield, Yorkshire, WF2 9AG. 19 June
Paul Holmes 119034, HM Prison Frankland, Brasside, Durham. 22 June
Sean Hayes 341418, HM Prison Frankland (as above). 8 July
Robert Cunningham 131877, HM Prison, Long Lartin, South Littleton, Evesham, Worcestershire, WR11 5TZ. 12 July
Brian Keenan B26380, HM Prison, Welford Rd, Leicester, LE2 7AJ. 17 July
Tony Sheridan

Since then Peterhead prisoner Tom Moffat has written to us saying that he is adding this latest act of censorship to his application to the European Court of Human Rights.

As he says:

'the fact that it was suppressed by the governor (who threatened to suppress any letter sent to *FRFI* which identified him as the suppressor) speaks volumes... and in itself represents a minor victory.'

We urge readers to write protesting to: The Governor, HM Prison Peterhead, Aberdeenshire, AB4 6YY.

Paul McKinlay

Prisoner bribed to keep silent

The inquest into the death of Mark Hogg began early in June. Mark (aged 33) escaped during a transfer in September 1985 with fellow prisoner Philip Rutherford (see *FRFI* 54). They were captured and, as Philip has testified, Mark was beaten in his cell by police officers in Yeovil police station. 8 days later, after suffering acute renal pain that was left untreated, Mark was taken to hospital where he died of kidney failure.

Philip Rutherford has revealed that he was offered a deal - remission for keeping quiet about the attack on Mark. When accused of lying about this in the dock, Philip said, 'Why should I make it up when I am getting the treatment in prison and I am going to get more of it all the way through my sentence...'

The inquest continues with 100 witnesses to be heard. We will report in full in the next issue.

Alexa Byrne

Shoot-to-kill inquiry

Smears and dirty tricks

The widely publicised allegations of misconduct against Manchester's Deputy Chief Constable John Stalker, came at a suspiciously convenient time for the RUC and the British government. Stalker had spent eighteen months producing a hefty report on RUC shoot-to-kill operations which took place in Armagh in late 1982 and claimed six lives. This report had been in the hands of the DPP for several months and had caused severe concern. Apparently Stalker had recommended that several RUC, including senior officers, should face charges ranging from attempting to pervert the course of justice to conspiracy to murder.

Now, as a result of Stalker's removal from duty, he has been replaced on the shoot-to-kill inquiry by Colin Sampson, Chief Constable of West Yorkshire. Incredibly, Sampson is also the police officer appointed to investigate the allegations against Stalker. Sampson's dual role has fuelled the suspicion that a major cover-up by the government and the RUC is in progress.

Indeed there is progress to cover up. Stalker investigated three shoot-to-kill operations by the RUC in a four week period in 1982.

- 11 November 1982 - Gervais McKerr, Eugene Toman and Sean Burns were riddled with 109 bullets by the RUC. All were unarmed.
- 24 November 1982 - Michael Tighe was ambushed and shot dead when he entered a farm building under RUC surveillance.
- 12 December 1982 - Roddy Carroll and Seamus Grew shot dead in an RUC ambush.

Three RUC officers were charged with the murder of Eugene Toman but acquitted by a judge who commended them for

REPUBLICAN NEWS



Three unarmed republicans, Gervais McKerr, Eugene Toman and Sean Burns were murdered in this car by the RUC.

70 arrests at Old Bailey Show Trial

Whilst the show trial at the Old Bailey ground towards its pre-ordained guilty verdict, the police, the Home Office and the media were conspiring to harass the defendants and suppress their supporters. The real conspiracy in this case involved the continuing strip searches of the two women defendants and the decision by the police to arrest all those who dared to picket the Old Bailey during the six weeks of the trial. 70 arrests were made in total including Lambeth Council leader Linda Bellos and Labour MP Jeremy Corbyn.

For six weeks running the police cleared the whole picket in an attempt to obliterate any sign of support for those on trial. Their aim was for the police security circus - the helicopters, armed police, the 'ring of steel' round the court - to be the dominant impression for the public and the jury. For a picket to penetrate this 'ring of steel' and shout its opposition to show trials and strip searching undermined the state conspiracy and its presentation of the defendants as 'dangerous people'.

The pickets threatened to break the silence about the treatment of the prisoners on remand. Treatment which included the strip searching of Ella O'Dwyer and Martina Anderson up to seventeen times a week through the trial. The press did not report that. Nor did they report the experience of Martina Anderson:

'The way we are taken to court and back each day is disgraceful... on Friday (9th) I was violently sick on our way to the Old Bailey and I vomited on a few occasions in the van. However, when I reached the court Judge Boreham refused to allow me to sit down below in one of the cells... my barrister again asked the judge - after all, the trial that I was made to sit through has nothing to do with me - but again the judge refused.'

It was to prevent protest about this treatment that the police banned the pickets. As soon as the picket assembled the police would move in claiming: that it was causing an obstruction; that it was likely to cause a breach of the peace; that it was disrupting the trial; that pickets of the Old Bailey are illegal. In fact any pretext was used.

It soon became clear, in this struggle as in many others, that in order to protest about strip searches and show trials the campaign had to fight on the issue of democratic rights. Without the right to picket the campaign would have lost a crucial weapon. This was recognised by FRFI, the ISM and others in the IPA who argued that the campaign should continue to make a stand against

police attacks on the right to demonstrate. We pointed out that new forces were being attracted precisely because the campaign was seen to be determined to continue even in the face of arrest. There was considerable debate in the IPA about this issue with one trend arguing that the task of the IPA was to give solidarity to the prisoners and that to keep picketing and getting arrested was to get sidetracked onto a struggle for our rights. This trend was defeated by those who saw that it was impossible to separate the issue of offering solidarity from the fight for democratic rights. How could we offer solidarity to anybody if we allowed the police to limit our activity?

FRFI and the ISM worked to build the widest possible support for the pickets including: the mobilisation of well-known individuals such as Linda Bellos; the production of a special ISM Newsletter and distribution of this and IPA material advertising the pickets in North and South London; getting MP Kevin McNamara to table a question about the arrests in the House of Commons; mobilising our supporters - 9 of the 70 arrests were FRFI/ISM.

In standing up against the police/state conspiracy, the IPA has played a positive role. The pickets have been the first to be held of any major Irish trial at the Old Bailey. FRFI and the ISM played a significant role in the picketing campaign. But the rest of the British left and Irish solidarity organisations, with few exceptions, boycotted the campaign. They were simply not there when Irish women were being strip searched and a major show trial was being held here in London.

The task now is to continue the fight against strip searching and to effectively defend those arrested during the pickets. The police are using one of the 70 cases, Jo Tully, as a test case. Jo appears at Guildhall Magistrates Court, London EC2, on Thursday 24 July. A powerful campaign is needed to defend her and to ensure that the right to picket is not criminalised.

Lucy Francis and Maxine Williams

bringing the three to 'the final court of justice'. One RUC officer was charged with Seamus Grew's murder but acquitted by a judge who praised him for his 'sharp shooting' - this despite the fact that it was proved that the RUC had lied about the killings. The Coroner for Armagh subsequently resigned from his post due to 'grave irregularities' in the RUC files on the murders. Evidently Stalker had uncovered new witnesses and evidence and as well as recommending prosecutions had also expressed serious criticisms of the RUC's undercover squad, E4A. The E4A unit was

SAS trained and is effectively a covert police murder squad. It was involved in all three shoot-to-kill operations in Armagh and in the Roddy Carroll/Seamus Grew case. The E4A unit had been operating on both sides of the border in a surveillance operation which ended in the murder of Carroll and Grew.

The prospect of such a report being made public and of prosecutions of RUC officers must have sent shock waves through the RUC hierarchy and the British government. Whilst they are well aware of the murderous character of the RUC, it is not something they

want publicly confirmed by such an establishment figure as Manchester's Deputy Chief Constable - especially not at a time when the RUC is being portrayed as a 'non-sectarian' police force as part of the Anglo-Irish Agreement propaganda. Nor when, as a result of the Agreement, RUC morale is low.

All this has made Stalker a prime candidate for the dirty tricks brigade. If so he will not be its first 'establishment' victim. In 1979, after widespread allegations that torture was being systematically conducted by the RUC, a police surgeon, Dr Irwin, said on TV that he had personally seen between 150 and 160 cases in which he was not satisfied that injuries sustained in custody were self-inflicted. Dr Irwin's revelations were acutely embarrassing for the RUC and the British government. They responded by spreading a particularly vicious story to the press - that Dr Irwin's wife had been raped, possibly by a soldier and that Dr Irwin possibly harboured a grudge against the RUC for failing to catch the attacker.

The allegations against Stalker bear the hallmarks of such a smear campaign. Whilst he was not told for several days what the allegations against him were, the press were printing stories about possible abuses of hospitality and his longstanding friendship with a Manchester businessman.

If, as a result of the smear campaign, the Stalker report is buried, it will be a severe blow to those, like the SDLP and Twenty Six Counties government, who have argued that the RUC can be cleaned up. If it is not buried it will be a severe blow to the RUC and the British government. The fate of Stalker and his report is now inextricably bound up with the Anglo-Irish Agreement.

Maxine Williams

Kinnock promises no change in Labour anti-Irish policies

Brendan McFarlane and Gerry Kelly, Irish prisoners of war on the run from the H-Blocks, are continuing their fight against British attempts to extradite them from Holland. At a conference in solidarity with the Irish people held in Amsterdam on 5 May, Ken Livingstone gave his support to their campaign. He pointed out that 'if they are returned to Britain they will be subject to trial without jury, brutality and possibly torture - and complete violation of their human rights.' Livingstone condemned British Army and RUC murders and the torture of prisoners, he argued that 'the situation in Ireland is a political conflict. The British recognise that, and yet they hope to avoid defeat by continuing to lie... maintaining that the offences were "criminal".'

Of course the British ruling class fears the truth about the liberation struggle in Ireland. Politicians and press all condemned Livingstone's defence of the pris-

oners. Douglas Hurd moaned that the chances of extradition had been harmed. Neil Kinnock, ever eager to prove his loyalty to the British state, disowned Livingstone's speech, said that the IRA members were 'terrorists' and 'not political refugees' and claimed that the Republican movement were 'fighters against freedom,' waging war on innocent people. Kinnock is a liar, but the Irish people know that Labour governments have ruthlessly suppressed their just demands, they know that he stands on the side of British imperialism. Kinnock has pledged that a Labour government would seek the extradition of McFarlane and Kelly to the racist British courts. The history of the last Labour government shows that if Labour comes to power many young Irish men and women will go to prison for their beliefs, many more will die in the streets, mown down by live and plastic bullets. James O'Rourke

Assembly dissolved

Repression continues

On 12 June Northern Ireland Secretary Tom King finally announced the dissolution of the Assembly. Four years old the Assembly was always an irrelevance in the Six Counties lacking even the democratic fig leaf of participation by the collaborationist SDLP. In the past six months the Assembly became even less worthwhile for the British government as Unionists used it to draw large salaries and denounce the Anglo-Irish Agreement. Rather than hold the elections which would have been due in October, the government scrapped the Assembly.

Unionist politicians have said that this will drive their supporters on to the streets. In reality, loyalist violence has been unceasing in the past six months. On 24 May a mob of 30 loyalists attacked a nationalist family's home in Derry. The RUC threatened to arrest the family. Such incidents are now commonplace and sectarian attacks are likely to increase as the marching season goes on. Portadown loyalists have announced that they will march on 6 and 12 July, 'ban or no ban'.

State repression also continues. Once again reports of torture by the RUC are emerging from Gough Barracks. Mich-

ael McNulty was arrested on 19 May and subjected to repeated interrogation and assaults including being lifted by the throat and repeatedly beaten on the testicles. On 27 May Patrick McCabe was arrested and subjected to torture techniques reminiscent of those used on internees. He was forced to run a gauntlet, kicked and punched, made to stand for long periods, punched in the abdomen whilst being held by his testicles, this lasted for three days.

Meanwhile Republican prisoners serving life sentences have issued a statement warning that:

'To further the aims of the London-

Dublin accord, we believe the British are willing to respond to overtures from the SDLP which would allow certain selective - though well-publicised releases.'

They make clear that if offered release without strings they would 'seize it' but:

'As republican POWs we make no apology for our past actions to rid Ireland of the British presence, nor are we prepared to bargain away our republicanism for a vague promise of release.'

The prisoners embody the spirit of resistance of the Irish people:

'If all the prisoners were to be released tomorrow and imperialism was to remain untouched we would merely be swapping prisons. The jails would surely fill up again. The real solution is a socialist Ireland free from British interference.'

Christine Russell



POLICE FILE

● Newly written graffiti in Childwell Valley, Liverpool, extolling the virtues of the PLO/IRA, aroused deep apprehension in a passing police officer. He wished to know the author and what the letters could stand for. Local youths sent him happily on his way in the knowledge that Ploira was a new brand of training shoe.

● A policeman on armed 'anti-terrorism' duties in Birmingham airport has been suspended after shooting a policewoman in the leg with a firearms training pellet. The incident has caused much hilarity in Middle Eastern circles, previously cowed by the high calibre defence plans of the British police. Training pellets cause mild bruising and are not believed to deter hardened Palestinian freedom fighters.

● A judge pronounced himself 'mystified' that a police officer found to have beaten up an innocent black man was still on the force, and giving evidence in his court against yet another black, charged with drugs offences. However the judge was told that officers did not automatically lose their jobs after civil judgements against the police. On the contrary, this is surely grounds for promotion?

● Police officers are not known for clarity of political thought, but a prize of one week in the cells at Cannon Row police station for the first reader to decipher what Sergeant Geoff Smith was getting at when he delivered the following at the Police Federation conference: 'Is it proper for us to be seen as the rightwing bully boys preventing the peaceful expression of trade union activists while employers stand idly by and decline to invoke the civil law, or should we continue to negate the damage of picket line subversives intent on redefining democracy?' All answers on a postcard please.

Now this is how to have your cake and eat it: 'Our Anti-Terrorist Branch officers, for example, were responsible for disrupting in June of this year a major IRA bombing campaign directed against several of our main seaside resorts'. So said Kenneth Newman in Metropolitan Police Report 1985 written several months before the Old Bailey trial took place and assuming the guilt of those on trial. But: '... The matter is really sub judice, so I don't think we should discuss that case in particular'. So said Kenneth Newman, when asked by Jonathan Dimbleby in an interview on 1 June 1986, why it took so long to find the culprits in the case of the five Holloway youths severely beaten-up by four policemen.

SOUTH LONDON FRFI PUBLIC MEETING
FREE NELSON MANDELA!
 Join the Non-Stop Picket! Sanctions Now!
 Tuesday 8 July 7.30pm
 Lambeth Town Hall, Acre Lane SW2
 Speakers invited include: PAC, ANC, SWAPO, VMDC, City of London Anti-Apartheid Group

REVIEWS

Deported from their birthplace

'Zeynep - that really happened to me...'
 by Zeynep Hasbudak and Brian Simons,
 ALTARF, 1986, 100pp, £2.50.

'People who hide their humanity behind office of some kind must pay the price. I'm glad I'm not Mr Waddington. But I wish we had all the magic power he seems to have to decide the destiny of others. The children in my class would use it more wisely if they had it.'



Zeynep

Thus Brian Simons, a teacher at William Patten Infants School in London's East End, introduces this book. His co-author is Zeynep Hasbudak a 9 year old ex-pupil now living in Turkey with her family. Zeynep and her brother Fatih were born in Hackney, their parents having come to Britain in 1975. Despite being housed by Hackney Council, and working and paying taxes, the Hasbudaks were told that they were 'overstaying' and the Home Office set a date for deportation in November 1983.

The book traces the campaign mounted by Zeynep and Fatih's schoolmates to prevent the deportation. 400 letters were written by children to the Home Office; support came from school governors, local teachers' associations, local trade union councils, MPs, community centres and other anti-racist and anti-deportation campaigns. Despite favourable publicity with extensive coverage in the local press, radio and TV, the family eventually had to go into hiding. Meanwhile parents from the school voted unanimously to continue the campaign, with candle lit vigils, a 'No to Deportations' disco and pickets of the Home Office. Eventually however Zeynep's father is arrested by the police lying in wait when he goes to pick up a parcel from the post office. Within days he is transferred to Ashford Remand Centre and then finally deported to Turkey. Less than a month later the two children (both still British citizens?) are deported with their mother to a country they

have never known, leaving their friends behind. In the same week, 20 other Turkish people were deported from Hackney.

Published by the All London Teachers Against Racism and Fascism (ALTARF) Zeynep is a moving portrayal of the experience of black and immigrant people and their children confronted with Britain's racist immigration controls.

'My mum and dad worked here for ten years and they never did anything wrong. So why do they have to go? And that's not fair.' A child's comment, but more profoundly true than all the hypocritical utterances by the Home Office and Waddington defending the breaking up of families.

Virman Man



Fatih

Britain's war on Bolshevism

The Day We Almost Bombed Moscow. The Allied War in Russia 1918-1920, Christopher Dobson and John Miller, Hodder and Stoughton 1986.

Although this book is written in a 'Boy's Own' style - British officers are invariably tall and dashing, their Russian counterparts brave but stupid - it does include some previously unpublished material on British soldiers' attitudes to the war of intervention against the newly established Soviet Republic.

The British intervention lasted effectively from the conclusion of the Armistice with Germany (11 November 1918) till the crushing of the major White armies (end of November 1919). The British sent relatively few troops, at most 25,000 (the fighting strength of the Red Army was 1.5 million). They could not send more because they feared mutiny among the soldiers and revolution in Britain.

The book reports several instances of mutiny. The most striking case reported here was that of Platoon Sergeant Parrish who, just after being awarded a decoration for gallantry, wrote in his diary of his: '... loathing for a clique of blood-sucking, power-loving, capitalistic, lying, thieving, murdering Tsarist army officials who keep their people in this ignorance and poverty... after being up here fighting these people I will be ashamed to look a union man in the face... The majority of the people here are in sympathy with the Bolo [Bolsheviks]... in fact I am 9/10 Bolo myself and they all call me the Bolo Leader and my platoon the Bolo platoon...' (p190; other mutinies are reported on pp230, 259).

In Britain itself the Prime Minister, Lloyd George, feared that intervention would be the surest road to revolution in Britain, as a Special Branch report of late April 1919 had warned him that: 'Every section of the workers appears to be against Conscription and Intervention in Russia.' (Richard H Ullman, *Britain and the Russian Civil War* Princeton 1968 Vol 2 p132 - the best general book on this subject). The British working class proved politically strong enough to prevent a large-scale invasion of the Soviet Union, even if not strong enough to overthrow its own ruling class.

However British imperialism did make a vital contribution to the supply of military equipment to the Whites (counter-revolutionaries),

spending more money than France, the US and Japan put together. According to official figures during 1919 it spent £95m (£2bn today). Their supply of material was most decisive on the southern front, whose commander Denikin, received 74 tanks, 200,000 rifles, a tank battalion and two squadrons of the RAF. The tanks and aeroplanes were potentially very important weapons, as the Bolsheviks had no means of defence against them.

They also supplied a choice selection of 'instructors' and experienced officers: the Northern front was commanded by Major-General Edmund Ironside who had helped the Germans in German South-West Africa (now Namibia) to drive the Herrero people into the desert; on the Eastern front Kolchak was brought to power by Labour MP and trade union leader, Col John Ward, who had personally raised the 5 labour battalions for the First Imperialist War; and on the western front Yudenich was guided by Sir Hubert Gough, who had been the prime mover in the 1914 'Curragh Mutiny', an officers' mutiny against Home Rule for Ireland (see David Reed, *Ireland: the key to the British revolution* p40).

As the example of every imperialist-backed counter-revolutionary force from the Whites of 1919 to the Contras of Nicaragua shows, the local counter-revolutionaries would not have lasted more than a few months without imperialist support. By the beginning of 1920 the Whites were defeated on all fronts, because of the popular support for the Bolshevik revolution and the realisation that a White victory would mean the triumph of reaction. The Whites wanted to restore the Tsar; they wrote 'Great Undivided Russia' on their banners, refusing to recognise even the existence of the national minorities and dissolving their political organisations; wherever possible they gave back the landlords their estates; and carried out violent pogroms against the Jews, killing up to 1/2 million in the Ukraine alone in 1919. The victory of the Red Army ensured the security of the Soviet Union and the forward march of the world revolution.

Patrick Newman

AN APPEAL TO READERS AND SUPPORTERS

£3,000 for a series of FRFI pamphlets in 1986/1987

Our grand total now stands at £2,567. Only £433 left to meet our target! Given the momentous developments in South Africa, we are republishing our pamphlet - South Africa: Britain out of Apartheid, Apartheid out of Britain, the first edition of which sold out - with a new update to June 1986. Despite the increased size we have kept the price at 95p. We are also planning to reproduce in pamphlet form the most important articles from past issues of FRFI. We want to ensure that our analyses and views on the most important questions of the day are available to those newly entering political struggle.

We appeal to all our readers and supporters to make one last effort to raise the £433 in the next month. FRFI supporters who have organised so well to raise the £2,567 will undoubtedly also be making a last effort to ensure that we meet our target by the end of June.

Have you made your donation yet? If not send it now!

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 (cheques and POs payable to Larkin Publications)

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SECOND EDITION! with an update to June 1986

South Africa: Britain out of Apartheid Apartheid out of Britain

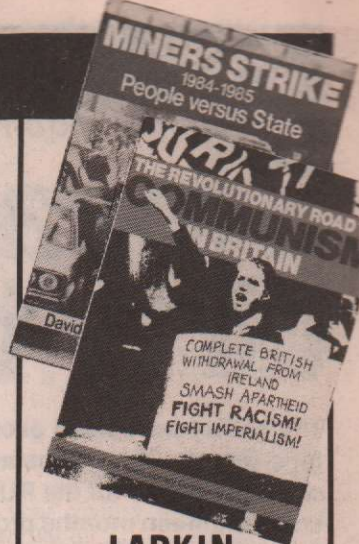
Carol Brickley, Terry O'Halloran, David Reed

The revolutionary struggle in South Africa is reaching a critical stage. The apartheid regime has declared a new state of emergency in preparation for an unprecedented increase in terror and repression to crush the liberation struggle.

With its new update, 'South Africa: Britain out of Apartheid. Apartheid out of Britain' examines the momentous developments in South Africa in their regional and international context. Apartheid's war against the Frontline States, the occupation of Namibia, the economic crisis in South Africa, Botha's phoney pretence of 'reforms', the barbaric repression and the mounting mass revolutionary resistance are all covered in this pamphlet and brought up to date.

The pamphlet details the enormous British stake in apartheid and explains the economic foundation for Thatcher's support for the butcher Botha regime. In the context of the critical situation in South Africa, the pamphlet also analyses the British Anti-Apartheid Movement's response to the new challenge before it. Particularly it deals with the dispute between the AAM leadership and the City of London Anti-Apartheid Group which was witch-hunted out of the AAM. As the City AA Non Stop Picket continues, these political issues are vital to understand in order to build a mass movement in Britain in solidarity with the struggle for freedom in South Africa and against British collaboration.

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MINERS STRIKE

1984-5
 People versus State

David Reed and
 Olivia Adamson
 144pp, paperback
 £2.50 + 40p postage

This book contains a detailed political analysis of the heroic miners' strike as it took place. There is a diary of events, many photographs, eye-witness accounts of miners' pickets, police actions and other dramatic events. An appendix contains reviews of books and pamphlets published on the strike as it progressed, as well as speeches, articles and statements by striking miners, political activists, political prisoners and other supporting the strike. Together they give a political history of the strike which has transformed political life for hundreds of thousands of people in Britain.

The revolutionary road to communism in Britain

Manifesto of the
 Revolutionary
 Communist Group

175pp, £1.50 + 50p p&p

The Manifesto, though published before the 1984-1985 miners' strike, explains many of its central features: the deep split within the working class movement, the role of opportunism in isolating and undermining the struggles of the militant working class and the necessity and possibility of a revolutionary alliance of the oppressed here and abroad against imperialism and opportunism.

Ireland: the key to the British revolution

David Reed

The end of the Old Bailey political trial of 5 Irish political prisoners and the renewed campaign to expose the Guildford 4 frame-up (see News pages and Centre page feature) makes this book essential reading. As well as a detailed history and analysis of the Irish liberation struggle, it has chapters exposing the show-trials, frame-ups and brutal treatment of Irish prisoners in English jails, including the case of the Guildford 4.

... a magnificent work of scholarship, some exhaustive research and documentation... enormous merits... a great deal of valuable commentary about the past 15 years...

Sunday Independent (Ireland)

... very substantial, extremely thorough... full of accurate detail... every student will need to have it: the more expert the student, the greater the need.'

The Age (Melbourne, Australia)

... a masterful and meticulous description of British subversion in the Six Counties...

New Statesman (Britain)

450pp £3.95 plus 65p p&p

LETTERS

Dear FRFI
I write to express disappointment at your article on Chernobyl (by Olivia Adamson, No 59 May/June 1986) which seems to contradict your position on the Soviet Union in 'Communists give unconditional support to the socialist countries in their struggle against imperialism and counter revolution' (*The revolutionary road to communism in Britain* p153).

Adamson states in her article that 'it must be said that the response of the Soviet government was inadequate'. Why must it be said? The article continues 'There were quite incomprehensible delays in warning both their own people and Europe'. 'Incomprehensible' to whom? - the imperialists?

I am aware of the argument: anti imperialism does not entail blindness when it comes to conditions in socialist countries. Whatever the merits (or otherwise) of this argument, references to what 'must' be said and to 'incomprehensible' delays are not merely the retention of sight, they go beyond this. Where they leave your position that 'All the middle class left organisations have joined in the imperialist cold war offensive against the Soviet Union' (ibid p137) is not clear.

This should be an opportunity to discuss exactly where you stand on the socialist countries.

Yours in solidarity
David
Glasgow

Dear FRFI
It seems to me that FRFI has deserted the principled position set out in the RCG manifesto 'to defend the socialist countries' with the article carried on the front page of FRFI 59 'Nuclear Nightmare becomes a reality'.

The question has to be asked - what purpose does such an article serve? - who stands to gain from points made in it, which forces does it strengthen? As I understand it, FRFI develops its positions on the basis of direct and unequivocal opposition to imperialism. Yet, it would appear, the dust kicked up by everyone from Rupert Murdoch to Radio Liberty has been enough to detach FRFI from this line.

Facts are facts, of course, and only an idiot will fly in the face of facts - but in the case of the accident at Chernobyl what exactly are the facts?

In any event the front page of FRFI was hardly the place for vicarious critical posturing about 'incomprehensible delays' or the 'inadequate response of the Soviet government'. Such reasoning is a major concession to the efforts of the imperialist lying machine, at odds with FRFI policy of exposing imperialism, revealing its inner workings - which extends to its propaganda apparatus.

It was not difficult to see what construction was being put on the events at Chernobyl - the media demonstrated a powerful facility for generating mass hysteria. So why join in? If not written from the superficial standpoint of bourgeois commentaries the article was inspired by an incomplete analysis of the events from 26 April onwards, and was hardly in accordance with RCG positions with respect to the Soviet Union and the socialist countries.

The editorial board made a serious mistake in passing for publication an article so much at odds with the agreed position - what now distin-

ponse' to the Chernobyl nuclear accident. Who does this criticism help and how? Does it help the scientists and technicians grappling with the aftermath of the accident? Does it help the people who have to live with the consequences? Does this criticism help in anyway the struggle against imperialism? The answer to all these questions is obviously 'no'.

Some extraordinarily fascistic anti-Sovietisms were aired in the bourgeois press. In a short paragraph on an inside page, you refer to one of these. Yet you say nothing about the more subtle and dangerous attempts to create doubt and distrust

quite impossible to pass the sort of judgement that FRFI does without extensive knowledge of the facts, and the technical knowledge to appraise them. There is no evidence from the article to suggest that FRFI has access to either. There was no need to make a hasty judgement. FRFI then shelters behind an alleged self-criticism by the Soviet government. In fact the general drift of Soviet statements is that they acted as promptly and as appropriately as they could on the basis of the information available to them.

Finally, the article adopts an extremely pompous and sensational tone when it is lecturing the Soviet government - quite unnecessary and inappropriate.

It is very worrying that FRFI bends so easily before these comparatively gentle bourgeois breezes of anti-sovietism. How will you cope with the gales and hurricanes yet to come?

Yours fraternally
Steve Palmer
London

Reply to Chernobyl letters

The RCG has not 'deserted' its firm position of unconditional solidarity with the socialist countries against imperialism.

In our report on Chernobyl we pointed out serious problems which arose in the Soviet Union as a result of the accident. These problems have been acknowledged by the Soviet leadership who have taken steps to deal with them. Officials who attempted to conceal the scale of the accident have been disciplined. Some have been dismissed.

If FRFI had attempted to conceal these problems it would have seriously undermined our attack on the imperialist nations and their reckless development of nuclear power. It would also have undermined our attack on the anti-Soviet campaign which followed the Chernobyl disaster.

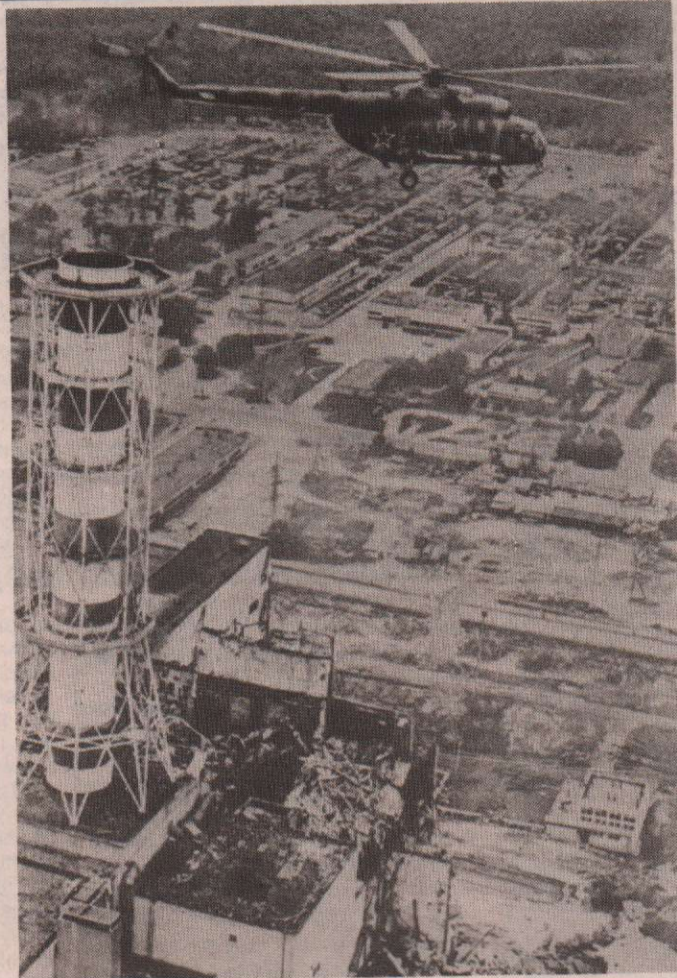
We pointed out in our report that the Soviet Union has been forced to accelerate the pace of its nuclear power programme directly as a result of the imperialist-led arms race. To have concealed the problems in dealing with the Chernobyl tragedy would have contradicted the political conclusion of our report:

'The lesson of Windscale, Three Mile Island and Chernobyl must be to oppose nuclear power for as long as the search for a means to understand and control it remains secondary to the needs of the imperialist-led arms race.'

towards the Soviet Union, to question its reliability, honesty and technical competence. This is just what the imperialists need at a time when the Soviet Union is advancing a whole series of peace initiatives. Yet FRFI not only failed to combat these anti-Sovietisms, but actually reinforced them.

So much for the politics of the criticism. Is the criticism justified? It is

Chernobyl fallout



guishes FRFI from all the other crusaders against the Soviet Union, and by implication the Soviet system itself? ...

NM
Manchester

Dear Comrades,
Your front page article in the last issue of FRFI criticises the Soviet Government for its 'inadequate res-

Mad Hate Factory

Dear FRFI,
Many thanks for the latest FRFI and the card... I remain held in solitary, though I am turning the situation to my own advantage by using the opportunity to read and further my political education as much as I possibly can... John B is here with me in the block, though only for a few weeks as he is on a CI 10/74 circuit...

Because of my isolated situation, I am unable to see anyone involved in the recent disturbances throughout the system during the POA/Home Office dispute. Though I think we both realise that the usual brand of prison system 'justice' will be meted out freely to those involved who are not prison officers regardless of who actually provoked and encouraged the disturbances for their own financial and organisational ends. It often seems that our imprisonment is used by all and every official parasite, to enrich and gluttonise themselves. Still we have history on our side and a brave tradition of struggle behind us...

Life at Albany is, as you would expect it in a part max security, part mad hate factory. We are now talking about one big control unit...

The worse the economic and social crisis becomes in society the more concentration camp-like the prisons become, and here at Albany, a situation exists in the very best tradition of political prisons. Anyway no doubt you are well aware of this... Yours in solidarity

Thomas Curllis
HM Prison Albany

More on Militant

Dear Comrades
In response to a letter in last month's FRFI 'The Struggle or the Labour Party' which touched upon the issue of Militant. A few years ago Ken Livingstone stated that it would be 'easier' to mount a campaign against the government from within the ranks of the local councils. The failure of this campaign to date must be understood if we are to glean a clear insight into the political bankruptcy of the Labour Party and its Militant faction.

Firstly, real power has never been in the charge of institutions such as local councils. They exist simply to implement central government policies. Statements to the contrary, such as that made by Mr Livingstone, simply serve to foster the illusions of 'democracy' and of change in society only being possible via elected officials and not the people themselves as is the real case.

Leaving the Labour Party aside - though most of what follows applies equally to them - Militant's own justification for remaining in office without any real power, is that it gives them the chance to build a 'mass movement', yet they spend most of their time not working on how to begin building such a movement, but on how to retain their seats on the councils.

Examine Militant closer and we find that they are comprised in the main of ex-student activists and 'revolutionaries', along with quite a few professionals from the public sector, a layer of people who in the era of Bennis saw themselves as the true left of the Labour Party. What made

the activists of this group seem so important for a while - besides Tory gutter press propaganda - was the overall weakness of the class as a whole.

The extensive 'grants programme' of Militant was in reality no more than a 'Reformers Dream', which, every time some 'controversial' grant was made or a local council funded factory co-op was forced to close, left them wide open for attack. So much so that the media eventually came up with the name of the 'Loony Left' for them. However this 'Looniness' is just a symptom of the very real problem faced by all labour movements holding office without any real means of political power. The 'tokenism' they resort to with its enormous pretensions and pathetic results undermines the whole class movement and can only assist those we oppose.

In 1922/23 the London Council of Poplar defied central government over rate cuts and were imprisoned for this stand in defence of their class. These councillors had come from amongst the people, had led them in their struggles and, such was the mass popular support that was shown for them the government was forced to release the councillors and compromise over the rates issue.

More recently Liverpool's councillors showed the potential mass popular support that exists for leaders who will not back down. However, Liverpool's Militant councillors were not of the people and didn't fight when the attacks began on 'their' communities, (ie rate capping etc). Nor did they take the chance to open a second front with the miners. Let's not forget that it was such bourgeois indecisiveness and, in cases outright collab-

oration with the class foe that led to the defeat of the 1926 general strike, which eventually allowed the bourgeoisie to revitalise their crisis-stricken capitalist economies with the blood and suffering of a conscripted working class, who they callously cast into the cauldron of the second imperialist war.

The real reason for any lack of concrete action on the part of Militant - and all such municipal socialists - is that their political starting point requires them to win seats and not struggles. (Maybe this prevents them from building a 'mass' movement on the most oppressed sectors of our society and their revolutionaries.) Declaring themselves the 'democratically elected representatives of the people they accuse the above mentioned groups of narrow and sectional interests! Militant should ask itself why years of 'sectional' wage demands brought about the massive political strikes of '72-74 which achieved exactly what they've failed to do, ie bring down the Tory government.

To conclude, two Marxist principles 1) the consciousness of the oppressed is highly uneven, 2) such consciousness changes with struggle (ie can be raised and harmonised with the class), Militant seem to accept the first premise and yet by their very actions deny the possibility of the second.

For revolutionaries the sum of these two premises is simple, we must organise the minority prepared to fight so that impetus can be given to the overall movement. The winning of seats in assemblies that have no power we leave to the Militant and Kinnoek's PR men.

Jimmy Anderson

Great big thank you

Dear FRFI,
Just to let you know that Bakula and Hasmukh have at long last won our case.

We wish to express our greatest appreciation and admiration to Viraj, because without his involvement in our campaign, and encouragement we would have never made it. There are so many people we must thank, especially those who wrote letters of support, and signed our petitions, and everyone who got involved in the campaign we wish to say a great big thank you.

I personally would like to add that dear friends such as Viraj and Karen, are those I will treasure for all their immense support and encouragement. Please thank all those who helped us on our behalf and yourselves for writing up to date news to all your readers,

Thank you
Bakula and Hasmukh

FRFI gives all the truth

Dear Comrades
Being a great reader of FRFI which certainly gives all the truth about world affairs from South Africa, that evil racist, apartheid state, to Libya the victim of the aggressive US war aims against that small Arab state. With the help of Thatcher, it carried out the most reckless and despicable raid on the cities of Tripoli and Benghazi, dropping 200 tons of explosives on those helpless cities, killing men, women and children. The article on Hands Off Ireland I found interesting too.

Being out of work I cannot afford much money but should like to donate £2 to your great fighting fund. Carry on your just struggle fighting racism, in this country and South Africa...

I remain, yours fraternally
Mr A H H Knott

Campaign against police repression

Dear FRFI,
Early on the morning of Friday 13 June a member of the Campaign Against Police Repression climbed up scaffolding outside New Scotland Yard and hung a banner proclaiming 'CAPR says no to new police laws'. The object of this action is to show our opposition to the new Public Order Bill which is today starting its second reading in the House of Lords. When passed the Bill will give the police total control over demonstrations. They will be able to deny people the right to demonstrate by restricting the number of people on marches and pickets. They will be able to decide the location of a picket and also how long the picket should last.

We put up the banner to assert our right to demonstrate. In this country, millions of people want the right to demonstrate. That right is being taken from them. Under the new law Britain will, no doubt, be a tyranny and a police state.

Anyone breaking these new restrictions is liable to face a three month prison sentence and a £1,000 fine. This new law is undemocratic, and denies us our basic freedom, that is the right to demonstrate and the right to free speech.

The Saturday after this Bill becomes law, the Campaign Against Police Repression, along with other organisations and thousands of individuals, will break it. Everybody who wants to stand up for their democratic rights will have to break this law.

James
Campaign Against Police
Repression

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FRFI Supporters Groups— Join them!

FRFI Supporters groups exist in North and South London, Manchester, Liverpool, Bradford, Leeds, Edinburgh, Glasgow and Dundee. We hope to set others up—in Bristol, the North East of England and the Midlands.

For more information write to:
FRFI BCM Box 5909 London WC1N 3XX

FRFI FUND DRIVE

Yes, for those of you who have forgotten—the FRFI Fund Drive is still going. Last month, it seems, many of you did forget so we only raised £330. That left us £170 short of the £500 we need every month to subsidise the unwaged rate of FRFI.

The collective effort of our FRFI Supporter Groups again raised the bulk of the money: in South and North London £108 and £102 respectively, Manchester £38, Edinburgh £27, Glasgow £24, Liverpool £15, Leeds £5, Dundee £2. Individual readers sent us £9 including £2 from Mr Knott. Our thanks to everyone who contributed either by helping our Supporter Groups in raising funds or by making a donation themselves.

Please help us reach £500 this coming month.

Send donations to FRFI BCM Box 5909 London WC1N 3XX (cheques/postal orders payable to Larkin Publications).

Name/Organisation _____

Address _____

I do/do not want you to mention my name/organisation

FIGHT RACISM! FIGHT IMPERIALISM! VIRAJ MENDIS MUST STAY



March against deportations, Manchester March 1985

Viraj Mendis must stay March against immigration controls

On Saturday 5 July a bold and vital initiative will be launched from Manchester as Viraj Mendis leads off his long march which is demanding his right to stay in Britain. Viraj and his supporters will be marching for twenty one days over a distance of over 200 miles. They will pass through many of the cities of England to their destination in London of the Home Office and a major rally in central London on Saturday 26 July. Everywhere they go Viraj's fight against deportation will be made a public issue. As they pass through black and working class areas many are expected to join the march in his support.

Viraj, a 30 year old Sri Lankan, has lived in Manchester for nearly 13 years. He is an active supporter of Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! and as a communist has played a major role in many other anti-deportation campaigns in Manchester. Viraj is well-known for his public support of the oppressed Tamil people's struggle for self-determination.

The Home Office has denied Viraj the right to political asylum in Britain. Viraj's defence against deportation is that, as a communist who openly supports the rights of the Tamil people, he would face certain persecution by the Sri Lankan government if deported to Sri Lanka. The Home Office disagrees - Chief Adjudicator M Patey claimed when refusing Viraj's appeal in February 1986 that:

'Sri Lanka is inherently a democracy where the rule of law applies.'

The facts tell us otherwise. From May 1985 to March 1986, 2,078 civilians from the Tamil areas in the north and east of Sri Lanka were confirmed killed by the security forces (reported by human rights workers).

In the same period, 12,105 people were arrested, 547 people were reported as having 'disappeared'. The majority were Tamil people, but Sinhalese progressives face the same persecution - in

one week alone 100 Sinhalese were arrested for speaking out against the attacks on the Tamil people.

Thousands are arrested and imprisoned under the Sri Lankan Prevention of Terrorism Act which allows for up to 18 months detention without charge and removes the obligation to report deaths in custody.

That Viraj can expect this treatment if deported to Sri Lanka was clear when the London spokesman for the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam commented on Viraj's case when recently interviewed by FRFI,

'... we know that there are a lot of reports that any people who give unconditional support to the national liberation struggle, those who extend their active support to the Tamil struggle, are rounded up and put in prison under the PTA. He [Viraj] will also be threatened if he goes back to Sri Lanka.'

The Home Office has to know before Viraj's final appeal on 3 July that there are thousands of people who are saying that they will not allow him to be deported and who are mobilising to build his long march for justice.

Forty people in Manchester have already pledged themselves to the twenty one days of marching. Over fifty organisations, campaigns and prominent individuals have already declared their support. Organisations and individuals are uniting to build major events in many towns and cities along the route. All these events, rallies and meetings will offer a platform to all organisations represented on the march and to all those who themselves are threatened with deportation. ACTSS 6/389 branch have sponsored a union member to go on the march.

The *Asian Times* editorial of 30 May 1986 said that Viraj's march:

'... has the potential to light a flame of united and militant resistance to all aspects of British racism as well as greatly stepping up the pressure on the Home Office not to deport Viraj to certain persecution in Sri Lanka.'

This unity and resistance is essential to win Viraj's fight to stay.

**Viraj Mendis Must Stay!
Deportation No Way!**

Viraj Mendis and Chris Fraser

Supporters

Supporters of the VMDC march from Manchester to London

Trade Unions

ACTSS 6/389 Branch
ASTMS Manchester (Health)
Birmingham NALGO Black Workers Group
Manchester NALGO
NUPE Prestwich Hospital Branch
SOGAT 82 ATAES Branch

Student Bodies

Crewe and Alsager College Steve Biko Society
Liverpool Polytechnic Students Union
Manchester Area NUS
Manchester Polytechnic Students Union
UMIST Students Union

Anti-Deportation Campaigns

Arfana Amin
Anwar Ditta
Baba Bakhtura Defence Campaign
Rosmina and Mohammed Azhar
Garnett Korler Defence Campaign
Manda Kunda Defence Campaign
Manchester Immigration Wives and Fiances Campaign
Naya Javan
Anna Naghizadeh Defence Campaign
Joyce Roucou Defence Campaign
Shahid Sayed Defence Campaign
Southwark Anti-Deportation Campaign
Som Raj Ray Defence Campaign
Saba Rizui Defence Campaign
West Midlands Anti-Deportation Campaign
Muhammed Idrish

MPs and MEPs

Dennis Canavan MP
Bob Clay MP
Glyn Ford MEP
Eric Heffer MP
Bob Litherland MP
Eddie Loyden MP
Michael Meadowcroft MP
Alf Morris MP
Bob Parry MP

Labour Party

Sharon Atkin (Labour Party Black Sections)

John Hamilton (Leader Liverpool City Council)
Derek Hatton
Tony Mulhearn
Moss Side Labour Party
Ladywood Labour Party (Birmingham)
Manchester City Council

Individuals

Fiona McTaggart
Terry O'Halloran (NUJ Ethics Council)
Maire O'Shea
Keith Vaz
Rev Paul Weller

Organisations

Communist Party Great Britain Anti-Racism Sub-Committee
Anti-Fascist Action
Birmingham Campaign Against Racism and Fascism
Campaign Against Police Repression
City of London Anti-Apartheid Group
Immigration and Nationality Sub-Committee of the Law Centre Federation
Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants
Liverpool Black Caucus
Liverpool CRC
Manchester Anarchist Group
Manchester Direct Action Movement
Manchester Irish Solidarity Movement
Merseyside Community Relations Council
Merseyside Anti-Apartheid Group
Namibian Support Committee
North Hulme Centre (Manchester)
Red Star (Leicester)
Red Youth
Revolutionary Communist Group
St Albans Anti-Apartheid Group
St Helens Anti-Apartheid Group
Through the Wire Cooperative
Workers Revolutionary Party - Workers Press

Newspapers/shops

Asian Times
Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!
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JOIN THE RCG

Take the side of all those struggling against imperialism—Join the RCG!

A movement must be built in Britain in solidarity with the struggling peoples of Ireland, South Africa, Palestine, Central America. Help us do this—Join the RCG!

A movement must be built here in Britain which stands with the oppressed fighting racism, repression and poverty. Help us build this movement—Join the RCG!!

A movement must be built which challenges and defeats the treachery of the opportunist leaders of Britain's Labour and trade union movement—Join the RCG!!

I wish to join/receive more information about the RCG

Name _____

Address _____

Tel. _____

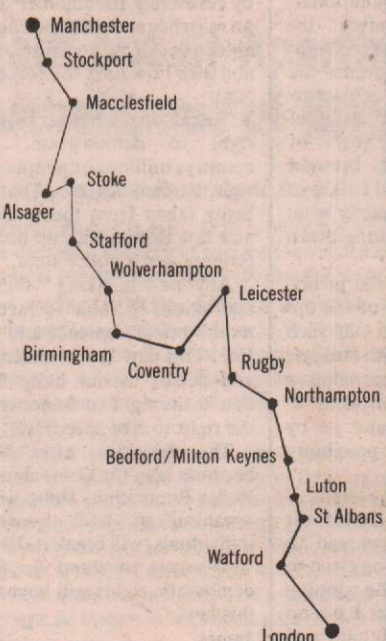
Return to: FRFI, BCM Box 5909, London WC1N 3XX

ROUTE OF THE MARCH

The following list shows where the march will stop each evening
From Manchester's Town Hall, Albert Square, 12 noon, to:

Stockport	5 July
Macclesfield	6 July
Crewe	7 July
Stoke	8 July
Stafford	9 July
Wolverhampton	10 July
Handsworth	11 July
Sparkhill	12 July
Coventry	13 July
Leicester	14 July
Rugby	15 July
Northampton	16 July
Milton Keynes	17 July
Luton	18/19 July
St Albans	20 July
Watford	21 July
Southall	22 July
Brent	23 July
Islington	24/25 July
Rally Conway Hall	26 July 3pm

Route of march



Organise

Public events, rallies and meetings are being organised in Crewe, Wolverhampton, Handsworth, Birmingham, Coventry, Leicester, St Albans, Southall, Brent, Leytonstone and Islington to mobilise support for the march and to greet the marchers. On 17, 18 and 19 June an FRFI speaking tour for Viraj was organised in Scotland with meetings in Glasgow, Edinburgh and Dundee. Viraj will speak at meetings, trade union branches, colleges, and any other events - contact the VMDC office with requests.

Publicity is essential - already *Asian Times* and the *Daily Watan* (an Urdu daily paper) are covering the campaign and march; the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants and the British Refugee Council have publicised the march in their mailings. Many organisations are mailing their supporters with information. Further afield, at the European Committee for the Defence of Refugees and Immigrants, a conference of over 400 delegates from 40 different nationalities passed a motion in support of Viraj, proposed by Glyn Ford MEP for Greater Manchester East. Glyn Ford has also, together with Eddy Newman MEP, submitted a written declaration to the European Parliament calling for opposition to Viraj's deportation.

The VMDC has a full-time office in Manchester - phone 061 795 3870 for information, publicity material, requests for speakers, offers of help.

Campaign leaflets, posters, stickers, T-shirts and badges are available. Leaflets in six different languages in addition to English (Urdu, Punjabi, Gujarati, Hindi, German and French) are available. The VMDC has also produced a dossier on the campaign's fight - order your copies now.

MOBILISE

- Join the march - for all the way, or part of the way. Encourage others to join in when the march reaches your town or city.
- Tell your local paper, TV or radio station that the march will be passing through your town or city, why it is taking place and when.

- Make the march an item at any meetings you attend - trade union, political organisation or campaign. Ask for sponsorship, for practical support, for help with the march, for a donation. Bring your banner to the march when you join it.

- If you are a student get your student union's backing and sponsorship, distribute leaflets, stickers and posters at college, tell every student about it.

- If you are unemployed - sign on with the march! Use your time to help mobilise support. There is work for you all over the country. The Manchester VMDC office holds regular work sessions - join in and help Viraj win.

- The marchers will need food, accommodation. Ask your friends, colleagues, organisation to help.

- We need money for the march - send donations, get donations, organise fundraising events for the march.

- Set up a local VMDC support group/ join the support group in your area: VMDC in Manchester meets every Sunday, Manchester Town Hall (Lloyd Street entrance) 7.30pm; the London support group meets on Thursdays 19 June and 3 July, 7.30pm Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1 - there are support groups in Leicester, Crewe and Birmingham; phone 061 795 3870 for details. Liverpool Viraj Mendis Support Group, c/o Merseyside Trade Union, Unemployed Centre, 24 Hardman St, Liverpool: phone 709 3995 or 734 5480. St Helens Viraj Mendis Support Group, c/o Anti-apartheid, anti-racist committee, St Helens Trade Union Centre, Colledge St, St Helens Merseyside: phone St Helens 26439.

PICKET

Viraj Mendis Must Stay!
Final Appeal Thursday 3 July
9.30am Thanet House, The Strand,
London WC1
Transport from Manchester available

DELEGATION TO THE HOME OFFICE

Join the delegation - 12-2pm Friday 25 July, Home Office, Queen Anne's Gate, London SW1 (nearest tube St James Park)

Demonstrate! Saturday 26 July, London - details to be announced later.

Contact: VMDC, c/o North Hulme Centre, Manchester, M15 5AL, telephone 061 234 3170/061 234 3168

VMDC London Support Group, c/o BCM Box 5909, London WC1N 3XX

Make all cheques/postal orders payable to VMDC