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Political Paper of the Revolutionary Communist League of Britain

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ARMAGH ~ BRIXTON

# STRIP-SEARCHING IS TORTURE



"There have been times when I've been very ill and hardly able to walk, but nevertheless they have taken me from my bed to strip me and search the cell." This extract is from a letter in which Martina Anderson describes the horrific treatment meted out to Irish women prisoners in British jails.

Martina Anderson and Ella O'Dwyer have been held in Brixton on remand since July 1st, 1985, on charges of 'conspiracy to cause explosions'.

Martina's letter says: "From December 2nd to December 27th, Ella had 21 strip searches, 4 cell searches and 2 cell changes. I had 23 strip searches, 6 cell searches and 2 cell changes."

In addition to the degrading searches, the two women in Brixton are checked every 15 minutes at night. A flap is lifted outside the cell door, causing the light to come on and wake them up. They are being denied sleep.

They have been assigned a new and segregated exercise ward - 36 paces one way and 12 paces the other. Three warders with dogs are always present. Ella and Martina have refused to use it.

Martina's letter explains: "We would usually on a good day spend 18 hours alone in our cells and 19 at the weekend. Recently we have been spending up to 21 hours locked up."

It is expected to be several months at least before Ella and Martina come to trial. Their treatment at the hands of the authorities is part of a systematic policy, amounting to torture, as practiced since November 1972, against Republican women prisoners in Armagh jail, in the north of Ireland.

The authorities have, in fact, admitted that after thousands of strip searches at Armagh

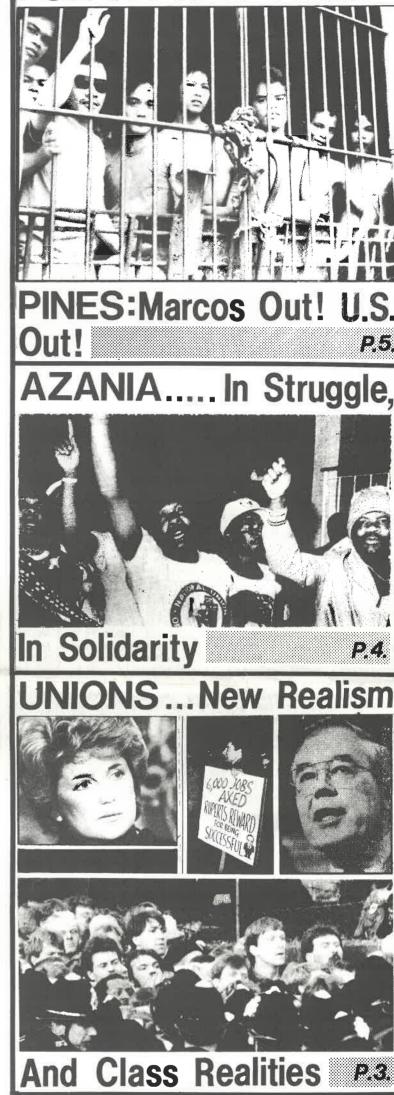
"nothing of consequence has ever been found."

From March 7-10 of this year a delegation will go from this country to support the annual picket of Armagh to mark International Women's Day and express their solidarity with the prisoners.

In this country, the Irish Prisoners Appeal is organising support for the women in Brixton.

'Class Struggle' calls on all progressive people to give what support they can to the campaign to stop the strip searches.

As Jim McAllister said, at last year's picket of Armagh: "What we have here is nothing but degradation, brutality and torture of young women - an attempt to break their spirits, an attempt to break their will, but an attempt which will not succeed."





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ARMAGH....., GREENHAM

## CLASS STRUGGLE 💢

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## EDITORIAL

One year ago, at the beginning of March 1985, the miners went back to work after their year-long struggle to stop pit closures and in defence of their communities. Their strike marked a new trend of working class struggle: the miners fought a determined battle for the right to work and were prepared to take on the full power of the state in defence of their class interests,

Now it is the printworkers of SOGAT and the NGA who are in the frontline of the fight for jobs. The first battle in this war was fought and lost by the unions in November 1983, at Eddy Shah's warrington 'Messenger' plant.

Although the mines are a nationalised industry and Murdoch's News International is a private empire, the issues are the same: the employer is trying to cut back on the workforce in order to raise profits at the expense of the working class. And in both cases it is the new technology that is the weapon being used to achieve this.

SOGAT and the NGA generally have taken a good stand, expressed by Brenda Dean, the SOGAT General Secretary, as "people before profits". They have defied the law in order to try to block the distribution and printing of Murdoch's papers. However both print unions are trying to keep their struggle "respectable" and have distanced themselves from the miners' struggle.

As the crisis of imperialism deepens, more and more working people will come to the point where they will fight back if they can see a way. The unions now have to face the new Tory laws which effectively outlaw solidarity action and the weak bargaining position at a time of high unemployment. Also they have to discard their traditions of class collaboration. Because Britain is an imperialist country whose industry and economy has been built on the exploitation of the Third World, reforms have been won and reformism has a deep influence. Now that the economy is in crisis, there is little room for reform for the majority of the working class.

If we look at movements in the Third World, we can see the other side of this picture. There, the degree of exploitation and oppression of the workers and peasants by imperialism means that there is little room for reformism to grow among the majority. In the Philippines, the May 1st Movement (KMU) is a powerful, growing trade union movement which consciously sets out to link the struggles of the workers with those of the whole people for liberation.

In Azania (South Africa), the last years have seen the growth of three trade union federations and the workers' movement is a powerful force in the struggle for an end to apartheid and imperialism in Azania.

We have much to learn from these movements. We cannot copy their strategy or tactics, which are specific to their own countries, but we must learn to link the immediate struggle on every day "bread-and-butter" questions to the revolutionary struggle for political power of the working class and the oppressed.

## **LETTERS**

Dear Editor.

Although last month's front page 'Time To Hit Back' was correct in targetting class collaboration as a reactionary feature of trade union struggles, there is a need for communists to give a clearer lead to the working class.

The history of trade union struggles has to be analysed extremely critically. The starting point for this analysis must be how to break through the racist and opportunist nature of the English working class and how to build a revolutionary mass movement to smash British imperialism.

#### UNIONS INTEGRATED INTO IMPERIALISM

It seems to me that since the defeat of the Chartist movement in the 1840's, there has not been a significant revolutionary trend within the whole working class. The domination of social democratic politics and narrow sectional economic struggles by trade unions can be traced to the rise of imperialism and the resulting relatively high living standards of the working class in Britain. The type of trade unions in Britain today hold back the development of revolutionary politics. Indeed they are largely integrated into the imperialist system. Economically they have millions of pounds of funds invested (exploiting other workers). Politically they want a say in how the (imperialist) economy is run. Underlying all their policies is the assumption that the system can be made a bit fairer to their members, defending narrow sectional employment the assumption that it is possible to win a reasonable standard of living within the system.

It is becoming increasingly obvious, that in the midst of the current imperialist crisis, that trade unionism is failing to even defend members' interests within the system. Never mind begin to do anything for their potential and exmembers thrown on the scrap-

heap by mass unemployment.

It is quite probable that the next few years will see a big decline in trade unionism as we now know it. Obviously there is a need for trade union organisation. But it is unlikely that the existing movement is up to the job.

#### TRUE CLASS INTERESTS

Only organisations that put the true interests of the whole working class first in the framework of real international solidarity are any good to the working class.

The short term destruction of the existing trade union movement may be inevitable if real progress is to be made. The majority of existing members nothing more than paper pership. Better to have membership. fewer members with the beginnings of real class consciousness than large flabby organisations with no real fight in them. This would be a real step forward even if it means a smaller fragmented movement in the short term. Better to start from reality than pointlessly perpetuating the existing compromise and defeatism.

Although we should have no illusions that there are 'good' and 'bad' trade unions at the moment we can make a new beginning now. We must continue to support groups of workers in struggle such as the miners and print workers. But we should not be afraid to point out the limitations of those struggles. We can demand that the TUC stops compromising and expels the EETPU and isolates the so-called Union of Democratic Mineworkers.

The struggle is long and complicated but there is no substitute for building the English working class into a truly class conscious class as a stage to building a revolutionary mass movement.

A Birmingham shop steward.

Editor's note: The RCL believes that the way forward is to fight for change within the trade unions, whilst building a class-conscious vanguard organistion.

We do not think that the crushing of the existing unions could be of benefit to the class, or that it would be correct to attempt to set up new 'left' unions.

This is not to deny that the unions, at present, particularly at the top are dominated by opportunism and collaborate with imperialism.

Some of these issues are taken up on p.3, and there will be further articles in coming issues. We welcome more debate and invite our readers to contribute letters to us.

#### POLITICAL CENSORSHIP

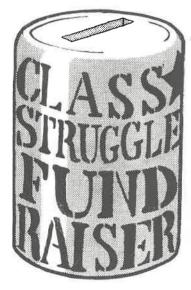
Dear Editor,

In an act of blatant political censorship, the Labour Council of the Northamptonshire town of Corby has banned 'An Phoblacht/Republican News' from a community bookshop.

Bookplace has been selling Sinn Fein's weekly" for nearly two years, and as a shopworker pointed out, AP/RN is not an illegal publication and there was a demand for it. This has upset the local Orange Order lodge who demanded, and got, an inquiry by Corby's Labour council.

The banning of AP/RN is the second act of political censorship over the war in Ireland. In 1984, the use of a postal address was taken away from a local Irish solidarity group after they had held a meeting where a leading member of Sinn Fein (Britain) was invited to speak in the town.

A Midlands reader.



## AGITATE, EDUCATE, ORGANISE

The struggle to build a genuine party of the working class is a struggle on many fronts. Each front needs financing. The Revolutionary Communist League is therefore launching a drive to raise £1,000. In particular, this month we are stressing the need for international solidarity work.

Last month, we called for £200 to fund the re-publication of the theoretical journal. By the time of going to press, £185 had been raised. This month we need a further £150, which is to be earmarked to finance the PAC-BCM tour of England. The development of a genuinely class-conscious movement in this country must be based on a thorough going anti-imperialism. The tour promotes the national liberation struggle of Azania as a whole, not just one organisation, and relates it to the world-wide struggle against imperialism.

The struggle to build a revolutionary party of the working class is both a theoretical and a practical struggle. Both elements need financing. We thank you, the readers, for your support so far in this fund-raising campaign and ask again for continued donations.

Please send donations to: Class Struggle Fighting Fund, c/o New Era Books, 203 Seven Sisters Road, London N4 3NG.

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## **OCTOBER**

THE POLITICAL AND THEORETICAL JOURNAL OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST LEAGUE Issue No.3 contains:

RCL Policy Statement adopted at pre-Congress Conference Critique of RCG's 'Racism, Imperialism and the Working Class'

Interview with Maqbool Butt pub. in English for the first time.

'October' No.3 costs 70p (plus 25p P&P) from New Era Books. It will appear more regularly from now on.

## THE UNIONS:WHICH SIDE ARE YOU ON?

"It now seems that under British law, working people don't have the right to strike, a trade union does not have the right to defend its members and a trade union has no right to call for solidarity."

for solidarity."
This was how Brenda Dean, SOGAT's General Secretary, described the brutal reality facing the 5,000 sacked Fleet Street print workers. She was speaking after the court had fined SOGAT £25,000 and ordered the seizing of the union's assets on Monday

ent workforce at TNL and NGN, the cheapest way of doing so would be to dismiss employees while participating in a strike or other industrial action."

while participating in a strike or other industrial action."
The timing of Murdoch's move was determined by competition within the newspaper world, particularly the announcement of publication of Shah's new daily 'Today' to be launched at the beginning of March. Shah is producing this paper with the new computer print technology and a small workforce. The race

less and determined Murdoch, who has the power of the "law of the land" on his side. They have an "enemy within", particularly what Tony Dubbins, NGA General Secretary, has called "the utter, total and complete collusion" between the EETPU and News International. (See separate article)

Meanwhile SOGAT has faced the full weight of the law. Murdoch has not hesitated to use the new laws against the unions. The sequestration of the union's funds was ordered for its contempt of court in not obeying an injunction stopping it from instructing its distribution branches not to handle the four NI titles.

Brenda Dean responded: "All the assets a trade union really has are its members... The only friends they have got is their trade union."

The unions' main tactic against Murdoch has been to attempt to halt the distribution of his papers. Fortress Wapping is difficult to picket effectively and the unions are trying to avoid confrontations with the police.

Murdoch has also exploited the new laws to the full by setting up paper companies in a different name to make industrial action into secondary action, forbidden under the new laws. This blatant use of "fronts" has been upheld by the courts but condemned widely outside.

#### NO RIGHT TO STRIKE

But the dismissal of the 5,000 workers on strike is nothing to do with the new Tory laws. British law has never guaranteed the right to strike. The working class has only won this right through struggle and defended it through its strength. The fact that Murdoch has used this tactic against the unions reflects the harsh realities of the balance of power in Britain today. The new technology, in this case, computerised printing, is the weapon used by Murdoch to attack the gains made by the unions.

The Wapping dispute raises many questions: the nature of the unions, particularly the NGA which is based on craft unionism and has in the past used many restrictive practices to keep the price of its labour high; the image of "respectability" the unions are consciously trying to put across; the role of the Labour Party and the TUC; and, last but not least, the content and power of the News International papers, in particular the notorious 'Sun'.

But fundamentally the issue is the struggle for jobs, for the right of the working class to work and one that all progressive people should support.

## THE ENEMY WITHIN

YOU'VE GOT YOUR WIRES

"The Enemy Within" is the name given by striking printworkers to Eric Hammond, General Secretary of the Electrical, Electronics, Telecommunications and Plumbing Union (EETPU).

Members of the EETPU are working at the Wapping plant and doing the jobs of the sacked printworkers, albeit on the new machines. The EETPU, it is now known, secretly helped Murdoch recruit workers for his new plant at Wapping and at Kinning Park in Glasgow.

Jimmy Hay has described how EETPU officials recruited him in Glasgow, sat in on the second interview and how membership of the EETPU was a condition of getting the job. Similar stories have been told about recruitment in Southampton, from where electricians are bussed to Wapping in great secrecy.

The leading body of the EETPU denies knowledge of these actions by its branches. They are, however, quite in line with the aggressive recruiting (some would say poaching) policy of the union, which goes back many years and is aimed at making the union "a power in the land", particularly in the area of new technology. One report says that the union is even planning to become an employer itself and sub-contract out labour.

The "new realism" of the EETPU was expressed by Hammond in December when he said: "If unions are to meet the challenge of the future, they must abandon the rigidities of the past, be ready to change and to opt for genuine partnership."

By "genuine partnership" Hammond means class collaboration. The EETPU has spelled out that "the class war is obsolete", in its theory and practice, more clearly than many others who have followed similar policies.

The EETPU has signed deals with BUPA, the private health insurance scheme; it has taken government money ballots; and it has tried to join the bosses' organisation, the Conferederation of British Industry (CBI). It is estimated to have signed about 16 nostrike deals in return for single union agreements at factories like the Hitachi plant at Hirwaun in South Wales and Sanyo in Lowestoft. Norman Tebbit was invited to open the union's new high tech training

school (where it seems likely that News International people have been training electricians in the use of the new printing plant.)

#### PATCHING UP DIFFERENCES

Last September, it seemed that the TUC might have expelled the EETPU, who, together with the Engineering Union, the AUEW, had gone against TUC policy in accepting government money to run ballots. However, differences were patched up.

For a time then, it seemed as though the EETPU would be quite happy to be expelled over the Wapping affair and set up an alternative TUC. However, the so-called Union of Democratic Mineworkers is turning out to be a less powerful ally than originally thought. And the AUEW is not lining up with the EETPU on the Wapping issue, either. So once again, differences have been patched up. Hammond probably expressed it best when he said: "We would be foolish to jump ship now, when the tide is finally flowing in our direction."

The difficulty for the TUC and the other unions is that the EETPU only expresses openly what many others are doing less effectively and less openly. One example of this was Hammond's open refusal to support the miners' strike at the 1984 TUC conference. He has said: "Other union leaders knew they couldn't deliver for the miners but they told me to say nothing to avoid trouble." And it was the TUC's failure to stand up to the law that undermined the NGA's struggle against Shah in November 1983.

It is also true that Hammond's members are only a minority of those working at Wapping. Others were in the print unions and Transport and General drivers are driving their lorries through the picket lines.

We must continue to target the open collaborationist policies of the EETPU. Progressive forces within the union have to work out their own strategy for their struggle: whether to call for a split or continue to struggle within the union. But a similar struggle is needed within most of the other unions, relying on the power of workers at grassroots level to build up and consolidate a new force within the unions.

## **NO RIGHT TO STRIKE**



February 10th.

Printworkers at News International's 'The Times', 'The Sun' and 'The News of the World', together with other workers such as cleaners, librarians and clerical workers have been on strike since January 24th.

Rupert Murdoch, boss of News International, which made £55 million profit last year, proceeded to sack all the printworkers, transfer production from Fleet Street to his new Wapping plant and with carrot (£2,000 rise and BUPA membership) and stick (the sack) tactics, persuaded most of the journalists to move to Wapping.

#### ON THE SCRAP HEAP

Murdoch claims that the printworkers' skills are now no longer needed and that they refused to negotiate over working at the new Wapping site. The sacked workers have a different version. One sacked proof-reader said: "We all accepted that change would have to come - but not this way. Having made Murdoch's fortune, we are now being put on the scrap heap. No wonder we feel bitter..."

The unions believe that Murdoch broke off negotiations in March 1985 at the point where agreement was close precisely because he did not want agreement. He also kept up the pretence that the Wapping plant was intended for the production of a new daily.

They were provoked into a strike by Murdoch, who planned to get rid of his workers with one quick and cheap blow.

This is backed up by a threepage letter sent to Murdoch by his solicitor, Geoffrey Richards. Amongst other useful tips, the letter advised: "If a moment came when it was necessary to dispense with the presto cut costs, particularly labour costs, was on.

#### "BRILLIANT ACHIEVEMENT"

One Fleet Street manager explained: "Murdoch's achievement is brilliant. The environment has been fundamentally

MURDOCH'S PAPERS: "A FORCE FOR EVIL"

Murdoch's attitudes towards the workers he sacked, are mirrored in the editorial policies of the papers he produces. 'The Sun' is notorious for its reactionary views. Recent examples were its attacks on striking miners and racist coverage of the Handsworth and Tottenham uprisings last autumn.

Murdoch's papers have also been condemned in Australia and the United States. In the mid-70's his papers were "condemned the Australian Press Council". the 'Columbia Journalism Review examined 'The New York Post', one of Murdoch's publications and "concluded that the paper turned white against black, the comfortable against the poor, the First World against the Third.... The New York Post is no longer merely a journalistic problem. It is a social problem a force for evil."

In 1969 the Press Council censured 'The Sun' and it was later condemned for inventing an interview with a "Falklands War widow".

changed overnight ...He has also changed completely the rules for Fleet Street's aspirants. Shah is not going to have the clear huge cost benefits he expected..."

The outlook for the sacked workers is less brilliant. But they are determined to fight.

Not only do they face a ruth-

### **UDM-"IT'LL COLLAPSE"**

'Class Struggle' correspondent.

'Class Struggle' asked Ted Milward, Secretary of Maltby National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), whether the Union of Democratic Mineworkers (UDM) had been able to win any support at Maltby pit.

TM: "They've managed to get eight members here, all men who returned to work. Our policy is to ignore them: they'll just get weaker and weaker.

"At first, a lot of us thought it would take longer to get rid of the UDM than it did to get rid of the Spencer union. But the most active men now believe it'll collapse quicker...

"If the lad here who's UDM

Secretary is an example of the quality of their leadership, they've got nothing. Even before the strike, he was a butt for jokes.

"There's quite a range of opinions here about the UDM: some say they're a joke, some would like to hang them."

The great majority of miners at Maltby, in South Yorkshire, remained on strike to the very end. It might therefore be expected that few there would wish to join the UDM whatever happened. But what of the situation further south, in pits where many miners broke the strike?

Manton and Shireoaks are just outside the Nottingham area which was taken over by the UDM, and are geographically actually within the county of Nottingham. Strikebreakers are in a majority there, and when the UDM was formed, it dreamt of gaining strong support at those pits. But it was not to be. A Manton miner told 'Class Struggle':

"They claimed they'd get 200 members straight off at Manton. But they haven't got a single one."

The situation at Shireoaks is similar. At both pits, the NUM tried to convince members of the importance of keeping a single union and of the benefits of NUM membership. Without forgetting what the scabs did, the union took something of a conciliatory approach in order to counter any attempt by the UDM to split miners there. This approach seems to have been successful.



## **AZANIA**

At the end of February, 'Class Struggle' interviewed Ngila Muendane, a spokesperson for the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania. We print below the first half of this interview in which Ngila talked about the present situation in Azania:



The Azanian school of thought, while accepting that white South Africans who are converts to the struggle can play a role, this role can only be supportive, not a leadership role.

Therefore, you find these two schools of thought - the South African school of thought, as we've come to term it and the Azanian school of thought. Now all organisations therefore, be they trade unions or politic-

organisations, follow one

Africa

and

or the other line, or a mixture

of the two. So now you find that two organisations CUSA and AZACTU (CS: Congress of Unions

Azanian Confederation of Trade

Unions) belong to the Azanian school of thought, and COSATU

(CS: Confederation of South

African Trade Unions) belongs

to the South African school of

South

federation ever in Azania. And we welcome it only as a step towards greater unity among the workers. We hope that this move towards greater unity will go on and we believe that any unity that might be achieved in Azania must be based on the principle of black or African leadership. This is the only way in which total unity can be achieved, and that there is no such unity today is because this principle has not been

We do not condemn COSATU for this; we know that as things develop, people will come to the realisation that this is the only principle upon which unity can be achieved, because it is the African people who are oppressed: by "African", I mean the Asians, the so-called "Coloureds" as well as the indigenous Africans. It is these people who are oppressed and who are the only people who can understand what oppression is, and the only people who can understand where they should be going.

## THE BOYCOTT CONTINUES

All the liberation movements have called for a boycott of South African goods and economic sanctions against the Botha regime. While in February the imperialist banks came to an agreement with apartheid to ensure financial stability, people around the world are imposing their own boycotts:

\* The Oilfield Workers Trade Union of Trinidad, the biggest trade union in Trinidad, is spearheading a campaign to boycott the British cricket team playing there, because it includes members who have played in South Africa.

Pickets greeted the team on the first day of play on February 28th and only a handful of people went to watch the match. Even the Prime Minister, a great cricket fan, stated that he would not be going to watch these matches.

\* In January, the US Anti-Apartheid Movement launched a campaign against the Anglo-Dutch Shell group. Shell was chosen because it has breached the international embargo and supplied crude oil to South Africa.

The campaign, sponsored by the Free South Africa Movement, and with significant trade union support, pointed to the fact that Shell's pipelines, refineries, filling stations, chemical plants and coal mines make up "significant investments" in South Africa.

\* In this country, the Anti-Apartheid Movement campaign to boycott South African goods continues. 100 NUPE members in Portsmouth recently refused to handle South African tinned fruit. They have been travelling round the country to win more support. Union members at the school catering service in Birmingham have already joined the boycott. 100 library staff in the national library in Yorkshire have refused to handle queries from South

## NATIONAL TOUR ☆P.A.C.~B.C.M.☆

MONDAY 10 March BRADFORD

TUESDAY 11 MARCH MANCHESTER 7.30 p.m. West Indian Sports and Social Club. Westwood St, Moss Side. (Bar till 2 and Disco)

> WEDNESDAY 12 MARCH BIRMINGHAM 7.30 p.m. Digbeth Hall.

Date still to be finalised MARCH 13 or 14 YEOVIL

SATURDAY 15 MARCH LONDON 7.30 p.m. Brixton Town Hall, Acre Lane, Brixton, SW2. with AFRICAN DAWN

## HE PAN AFRICANIS

the struggle is having a spiralling effect, as more demonstrations and riots take place, not only in the same areas, but way beyond the traditional areas where activity has been rife. One sees now many townships which were regarded as sleeping, rising up. And it is surprising even to many activists that these activities should take place in towns like Craddock, and places like that. These are in outlying areas, where the poor farmers (CS: white farmers who are extremely reactionary) have had a very strong hold on the population. But now it seems that the youth are throwing off those traditional chains which were put on their parents and are rising in concert with their counterparts in the urban areas.

The brutalities which are perpetrated by the Botha regime on the activists generate anger among the people, because in solidarity they feel they have to give protection to the people who are being victimised in this way, and they become victimised in turn. This has a conscientising as well as a mobilising, effect. So we are not about to see the end of the

CS: What's the effect of the growth of the trade unions on the struggle?

activities in Azania by the

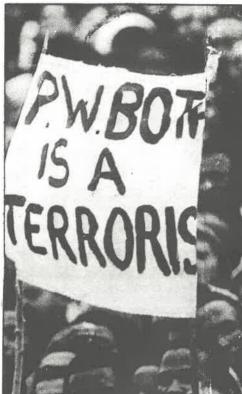
masses in an attempt to liberate

The growth of the trade unions has had a very significant effect on the growth of the struggle itself, because we've had both the PAC and the ANC banned and there was what appeared to be a hiatus for many years - although of course the PAC was working underground, and hence the birth of the BCM (Black Consciousness Movement), which was born with the ideas of the PAC. Subsequently the BCM itself was banned, and there was what appeared to be another hiatus for a few years and political activists' organispolitical activists' organis-ations were generally victimised even after the birth of AZAPO. But with the birth of the trade unions, which cannot really be described as being political, the African people found an opportunity to be in-volved in organised activity And because you cannot divorce worker activity or trade union activity from the political atmosphere within which it operates, willy-nilly, people are bound to be political. They transfer whatever is political in a trade union into political activity, and you find people joining political organisations. Now they are triggered by their membership of the trade union and you find them joining movement to give full blast to their political inclinations. So the trade union movement really has provided a platform, even as a trade union movement it provides a platform for people to articulate their political aspirations.

It has never happened in South Africa that a trade union organisation has been banned. Yes, the leaders can be arrested, and they can be harassed generally. But the trade union organisations have continued articulating their political aspirations, using the trade union movement.

CS: Can you tell us something about the state of relations between the three main existing trade union federations?

Well, the current state







three organisations is determined by the political views.
which are held by the people there. In Azania, you've always had this parallel between the South African school of thought and the Azanian school of thought. Now, the South African school of thought has impression that white workers can be involved in a meaningful way in the trade unions or any political organisation and they can play a leadership role there.

of relations between

these

The Azanian school of thought does not believe that white people in South Africa can play leadership roles or be involved in a meaningful way in the liberation movement, in the same way as an oppressed African can. This comes from the experiences that the people have had and the fact that the experiences of the whites in South Africa are diametrically different from those had by Africans, Asians and the so-called "Coloureds". So because their concrete conditions differ, their political consciousness necessarily differs, and it is impossible to conceive that someone who has not experienced oppression themselves can lead oppressed people in a meaningful way.

thought, but in a very unusual way, as I'll tell you.

Therefore you find that CUSA and AZACTU are in alliance now, although they still keep their separate identities and they represent half the number of workers that are involved in trade union organisations. Then there's COSATU. Now COSATU follows the South African school of thought. But you find organisations within COSATU which do not follow the South African school of thought themselves within their own organisations, and the best example here is the National Union of Mineworkers.

They don't believe that white mineworkers can become meaningfully involved in the struggles of black mineworkers and hence they don't have any white mineworkers among themselves. And still less do they have white mineworkers playing leadership roles within the NUM. So you find that there is that kind of mixture within COSATU.

The position of the PAC and our trade union wing, ATUCC (Azanian Trade Union Co-ordinating Centre) is that we welcome the formation of COSATU, which is the largest trade union con-

represents half the COSATU number of workers while CUSA and AZACTU together represent the other half. We still have a long way to achieve worker unity in Azania, not only because we have three federations, but because the number of workers actually organised into trade unions is slightly under a million, and we still have seven and a half million workers to organise into one trade union or another. That is a very, very big task for us.

Trade unionism shook off its shackles a few years ago. Five years have gone by, and we still only have one million people organised, so we still have a long way to go. But this does not mean that we have done little work. We come from a situation where it was difficult to organise people, a situation where people feared to come to trade unions. But the fact that there are people in the trade unions now is going to generate interest and also degenerate fear among the workers, and so make it possible for more workers to join. As time goes on, the issues that divide the workers will be resolved.

(To be continued)

## THE PHILIPPINES

## DICTATOR MARCOS FLEES

'Class Struggle' correspondent.

The streets of Manila were full of joyful crowds as news spread that Ferdinand Marcos had fled from Malacanang Palace, from which he had ruled the Philippines for twenty years. Tens of thousands of people thronged the area around the palace, which was stormed and occupied. Pictures of the dictator and his family were taken from the walls and destroyed, and state papers thrown from the windows. Meanwhile, Marcos spent the night at Clarke Field US Air Force base, en route for exile in the United States.

The crisis which led to the collapse of Marcos' rule on February 25th began two and a half years ago, in August 1983, when associates of Marcos assassinated opposition leader Benigno Aquino on his return from the USA. This murder was followed by massive demonstrations. The fear which the regime had tried to instil in the people during years of martial law melted away. movement against Marcos grew in strength. Murder and intimidation of activities, such as the massacre of 27 peaceful protesters in Escalante last September, could not quell the opposition.

opposition traditional largely identified itself with the mass movement, and took up some of its demands. But more radical forces played the strongest role. These include the independent union federation - KMU, the League of Filipino Students, and the women's organisation - GABRIELA, as well as Bayan (New Patriotic Federation), a coalition of centre and radical organisations.

#### NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FRONT

Much to the concern of the imperialist powers, the illegal opposition grew too. Today, the National Democratic Front (NDF), an alliance which includes the independent Communist Party of the Philippines, New Pecple's Army, Christians for National Liberation, and youth, workers', peasants', women's, teachers' and health workers' organisations, claims the support of ten million people. The New People's Army (NPA) has 20,000 full-time fighters, and probably double number in a short time if it had the arms: it does not rely on any foreign power, only on the people and the guns they can capture from the Philippines army.

As the opposition to Marcos grew, the United States stepped up military and economic support for him and prepared for increased intervention to protect US investments and the two huge and strategically important bases at Clarke Field and Subic Bay. But the dictator was becoming more and more isolated and discredited. When he met with Reagan and US officials last autumn, they insisted that he should hold an election to give his regime "democratic" respectability and bring in some reforms. Reagan hoped that, with a new mandate for Marcos, it would be easier for the US government to deal with opposition to increased intervention in the Philippines. But there were already plans being made for alternative solutions. Durenburger, Chair of the Senate Intelligence Committee, said that Marcos should resign as he was incapable of reform, and hinted that US intelligence agencies might have to take other action" if the political crisis continued.

#### **ELECTIONS**

Marcos called a snap presidential election for February 7th, hoping that the opposition would be able to organise effectively in the 57-day campaigning period. But those who decided to participate were effective, and when eventually, a Marcos victory was announced, everyone knew that it was the result of flagrant ballot result of flagrant ballot rigging. Internationally, only the Soviet Union, perhaps unable to recognise an electoral farce when it saw one, sent a warm message of congratulations to the dictator.

does to tackle the country's economic problems, to restore civil rights, and what attitude it takes towards the revolutionary movement. The signs are not encouraging.

Corazon Aquino first announced her plans to run for President, she favoured the dismantling of US bases in the Philippines and said that she was ready to have ministers from the Communist Party in her government. She backtracked on both these positions under criticism from both the government and her allies. Since being elected, she has stated that she will accept the pres-

and the administration. is a danger for the revolutionary movement that the new regime will have just the sort of clean, democratic image that the US wanted to justify its intervention, and now it may well face a serious onslaught by the state forces to crush

For that reason, though the NDF shares in the people's joy at the overthrow of Marcos, it is not about to give up its struggle. The Filipino people cannot achieve social and economic progress or true democracy while their country is exploited by imperialist firms and has US bases on its



Challenger Aquino casts her ballot in my day. I hope to see you all at my inaugural." her home province of Tarlac. "Today is



Marcos had intention relinquishing While power. was unclear whether Reagan would withdraw supportforhim, the Filipino people already After that, Marcos' days were numbered.

"Bullets not Ballots": New People's Army guerrillas preparing for

With no sign of the Marcos "win" having any credibility in the Philippines, Reagan despatched Philip Habib on a special mission to the country. Habib has been on crisis missions before, including to the Middle East. This time he met Marcos, Mrs Aquino and leading figures in the Church and armed forces. The Church, meanwhile, had condemned the electoral fraud, and thrown its weight behind Mrs It was obvious which way things were going and the US pulled strings accordingly. The Habib mission ended one day early. Hardly had Reagan's special envoy left the country than General Ramos and Defence Minister Enrile announced their support for Mrs Aquino and declared that she had won the elections. The US firstly indicated that it would reconsider aid to the Philippines if Marcos took office, and then, on the eve of the presidential inauguration, gave its open support to Corazon Aquino. One by one, military units went over to the "rebels" and the radio and TV stations were seized from Marcos supporters. The regime collapsed finally on February

last month's elections.

#### THE FUTURE

The new regime comes to office with a lot of public goodwill, but how long that will last is another question. That depends on what the Aquino government ence of the US bases until their status is due for renegotiation in 1991.

Many of those around Aquino in the new government are either long-standing members of the Marcos administration or traditional pro-US politicians. The US grip on the Philippines economy is strong, while its influence runs through all the upper layers of the military, ment does not seem to offer any change in that situation. Everyone hopes things will improve under the new government, but the Communist Party and the NDF have noted that the US and its allies in the Philippines. did everything they could before the elections to ensure that even if Corazon Aquino won, there could be no fundamental change for the people.

weakening both superpowers.

Although Marcos was an Americanbacked dictator, the Soviet Union supported him too, right to the very end. They saw the main alternative to Marcos as being the NDF, in which the Communist Party of the Philippines plays a leading role. The CPP is an independ-Marxist-Leninist party, ent which relies on no outside power and does not believe the . Soviet Union to be the leading force for world progress. Both the Reagan administration and the Soviet Union are totally revolutionary opposed to movements which refuse to align themselves with a superpower. as they show that it is possible for a people to make revolution in a self-reliant way, and escape from the imperialist system of exploitation, thus

that he stood for the independence of the Philippines and for social reform. They also strongly oppose the genuine Communist Party and the NDF, claiming they have no support and are "ultra-left" and and are "sectarian". Their latest invention is that the genuine CP has been taken over by the Catholic Church - a story faith-

## WHO'S WHO AT

CORAZON AQUINO, new President of the Philippines, is the widow of assassinated apposition leader, Benigno Aquino. She is also a member of the Cojuangco family, whose most prominent member, Eduardo, was a close ally of Marcos, and had a monopoly control of the coconut industry of the Philippines. However, in spite of her back-"Cory" is popular ground, because of her courage in taking on Marcos, her honesty and a belief in the sincerity of her commitment to democracy and political liberties in the Philippines.

However, she is surrounded by many people who will put many obstacles in her way if she attempts to take the Philippines in a new direction. SALVADOR LAUREL, Aquino's Vice-President. is from another traditionally powerful family. His father was President during the Japanese occupation. Laurel supported Marcos until 1980, and has since been regarded as the opposition leader most acceptable to the US, as an alternative to Marcos. His party, UNIDO (United Nationalist Democratic Organisation), is not opposed to the presence of US bases in the Philippines and Laurel himself has close links with Stephen Solarz, Chair of the US House of Representatives Sub-Committee on Asia and the Pacific. He has now been appointed Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of the new government. Many believe he still has presidential presidential ambitions.

FIDEL RAMOS, Chief of Staff of the new regime, is a cousin of Marcos, and worked closely with the former dictator on preparations for the imposition of martial law in 1972. In recent years, however, disagreements between Ramos and Marcos arose over how to defeat the growing revolutionary movement. Ramos wanted to clean up some of the corruption in the armed forces and impose greater professionalism in them to turn them into a more effective fighting machine against the NPA. trained in the US at West Point, and the Reagan administration wanted Marcos to dismiss his notoriously corrupt cousin, General Ver (implicated in the Aquino assassination) and replace him with Ramos. Within the armed forces, Ramos is supported by a grouping known

known as RAM (Reform Armed Forces of the Philippines Movement), which consists of younger officers who declare themselves to be in favour of weeding out corruption and professionalising the army.

JUAN PONCE ENRILE became Marcos' Defence Minister in 1971, just before the imposition of martial law. He was closely linked with Ramos, and he is now Defence Minister in the new government.

Early last year, Imelda Marcos accused Enrile of spreading demoralisation in the army by talking of the growing strength of the NPA. Shortly afterwards, Foreign Minister Tolentino was sacked by Marcos for criticising his dictatorial behaviour. Just after his sacking, Tolentino walked up to Enrile and told him: "You're



The leadership of the pro-Soviet "Communist Party" in the Philippines agreed to collaborate with Marcos in 1974 in return for their release from prison. They have since operated legally, and have put a great deal of effort into acting as apologists for Marcos, claiming fully reproduced in the British 'Morning Star'.

'Class Struggle' correspondent.

On October 12th of last year, eleven people were arrested during a lobby organised by the Campaign Against Racism (see December 1985 Schools issue of 'Class Struggle'.) The lobby was held cutside Educational Division Office in Tower Hamlets to demand that action be taken to prevent racist attacks in schools on Bengali students, and to demand that adequate mother-tongue teaching facilities were restored in local schools.

The court case lasted for twelve days and was presided over by a stipendiary magistrate called Mr Moss, a man who apparently had a good deal of experience trying miners' cases last year. . The effect of this on his standards of justice was soon to become clear.

Eleven people were tried on charges of obstructing the highway or of obstructing a police officer in the course of his The police case was that had explained carefully



order to discredit the defence, the prosecution relied on a number of tactics, the principal one of which was to introduce entirely extraneous The prosecuting solicitor, Mr Short, raised the question of the National Union Teachers' (NUT) policy of 'Police Out of Schools', wondered out aloud whether Bengali children would not be better off learning English with no mother-tongue support and, on one occasion, commented on the close relationship between two of the women defendents. At the end of the twelve days, the defence felt they had established their case in a hardfought contest.

#### Injustice in Court

All this made absolutely no difference to the sentences. Four individuals were acquitted. Three were acquitted because the police evidence was so contradictory and irregular that

1976, parents protesting against police harassment and dumping of black children in ESN schools

for another offence, to be sentenced for the first offence as well. In short, it means that these people should treat demonstrations with caution in the future! On top of the individual orders to pay police costs, the campaign also owes £4,500 of solicitors' costs plus some legal aid costs. All in all, the cost of protesting against racism that morning was £5,888. Nice one, Inspector Allingham.

#### FACE TO FACE WITH THE STATE

A number of lessons can be learnt from all this. The first is that a stipendiary magistrate is bound to believe the police in all except the most transembarrassing parently circumstances. The legalities of the defence were treated with There was some contempt. cunning in this too; the actual sentences handed out could appear too trivial to a higher court to be worthy of appeal.

Another lesson is that the case was handled as though the new Public Order legislation was already on the books. sentences implied that the only grounds for judging the lawfulness of any public assembly is the opinion of the senior police

demonstrators that the assembly was not lawful and that they had made arrests on that basis. In the course of making those arrests they had been obstructed by various individuals who they had also had to arrest.

What actually happened was that police inspector, one Mr Allingham, had asked the demonstrators if they would be prepared to move to a park across The demonstrators the road. refused that request on the grounds that the purpose of the assembly was to make direct representations to the Divisonal Office about the situation in local schools. The Inspector had been annoyed by this and tried to issue a further warning to the crowd. Unfortunately his loudhailer broke down and he was enraged when some people found this amusing!

Mr Allingham dealt with this turn of events by sending officers into the crowd to make arrests without any warning at all. In the course of these arrests, which were carried out as though World War Three was about to start, the police left of Hackney Secretary Teachers' Association, a crippled man, unconscious on the pavement. They wanted to cover this up when they gct to court and so they gave a more or less entirely fictitious account of the events of the day, putting all the officers concerned as far away from the unconscious man as possible. In order to do this, every single police officer had to re-write his

in different coloured ink), and they all told mutually contradictory stories about each arrest.

#### TWO VERSIONS OF EVENTS

The accused, mainly teachers, were represented by four barristers who painstakingly took apart the police evidence, considerably assisted by a set of photographs taken on the day, all of which supported the defendents' version of events. There were thus two issues involved in the trial: whether or not there was a right of assembly in the first place, and whether or not those people who had gone to the assistance of the crippled man had been obstructing an arrest or assisting an innocent man against un-lawful assault. The task was considerably complicated by the police insistence that none of them had had anything to do with "the unconscious man". This made it a long and time-consuming business. It involved the following points of law.

With regard to obstructing the highway, the Magistrate at first insisted that the only material question was whether or not the footway was blocked and wanted to refuse to listen to evidence about the purpose of the demonstration. The defence pointed out that the present law requires that a judgement has to be based on the purpose of the demonstration, its location, its timing and on whether or anyone is actually



Racism in School Daneford 12

obstructed. The defence accordingly pointed to the gravity of the situation in the schools as the purpose; the necessity of protesting directly to the local Education Officer as the reason for the location; the fact that the street was relatively deserted and that members of the public passed easily through the lobby as indicating that there had been no actual obstruction; and to the fact that the demonstration was due to disband at about the time the arrests were made as showing that its duration was limited. The defendents felt that their case was well proven in law.

With regard to the question of obstructing police officers in the course of their duty, the defence established that no warnings of arrest were given, that the people so arrested had in fact been giving aid to the injured man, and pointed to a host of contradictions in the police evidence.

officer present. Magna Carta. Some student

demands were: 1. Racist boys thrown out. Racist teachers out. Bengali lessons all.

it would have been laughed out of a higher court. The fourth acquitted was defendent Bangladeshi teacher who had her sari ripped by the police, another point that might have looked bad in a higher court. The rest of the defendents were convicted. They were given conditional discharges and each ordered to pay £150 of police Conditional discharges costs. mean that during a certain period, nine months or a year,

people so charged are

liable, if they are arrested

Lastly, this result was achieved after a highly skilled defence team had been at work for nearly a fortnight over a relatively minor matter. It helps to illuminate the situation facing black people and poor people every day, faced with fake evidence, a hostile, racist and sexist court system and with

no effective representation.

The Campaign Against Racism in Schools will continue because state-inspired racism will continue to increase in schools. Inevitably, there will be more attacks and more arrests. All this bears out that it is impossible for any honest person to do their job properly or to stand up for elementary standards of justice without coming face to face with the

### Baba Must Stav



Class Struggle' correspondent.

Baba Bakhtaura Campaign calling for a national mobilisation for the demonstration in Handsworth on 15th March. For details and background to the campaign to stop Baba Bakhtaura's deportation see the February issue of 'Class Struggle'.Baba's appeal to the House of Lords comes up in May.

principles behind the decision in Baba Bakhtaura's case are of great importance. When Muhammad Idrish recently won the right to stay, the Appeals Tribunal took into account his great contribution as a social worker to the Bengali-speaking community of Birmingham. If the House of Lords decides against Baba Bakhtaura, the Home Office will demand that tribunals ignore such matters when considering appeals against deportation.

Immigration restrictions currently being stepped further to fuel racism and use it to divert the white working class from their own chronic exploitation. The present attack is on visitors from the South Asian sub-continent. The Court of Appeal has said that judicial review of their cases (the method used by Baba to question his deportation) should be limited to "exceptional" cases. The rest can be sent home and can appeal from there. allowed to apply courts here can be kept in detention. Imagine someone's elderly aunt from Australia or South Africa (unless she was black) being turned back at Heathrow after paying the fare for a visit to her relatives here, or being put in prison until the court decided if she was a genuine visitor!

Labour and Tory politicians have stepped up immigration controls from 1962 to the present day. That is the way to win racist votes. When Labour politicians need black votes to win marginal seats, they pretend to have changed their attitude to racist immigration laws, like Roy Hattersley in 1983.

We will not be taken in by their pretences. We will support the deportees, not the deporters.

## ATEST FROM BROADWAT

#### Police Still In Occupation The

'Class Struggle' correspondent.

Police harassment of people on Broadwater Farm Estate continues unabated. In the February issue of 'Class Struggle' we reported that arrests had risen to over 200: as this issue goes to press, the total stands at over 280.

Police vindictiveness since the uprising of October 6th has known few bounds. The breaking down of doors as part of searches continues. Recent actions by police include the arrest of a woman with a new baby. She asked if she could breastfeed the child before she was taken away, but the police would not let her. On the morning of February 17th, a member of the Broadwater Farm Youth Association who responded in kind when a cop made an insulting gesture at him, was immediately jumped on by a vanload of police.

local Labour-controlled that many of the latter have council. Haringey, continues to support the work of people in the area defending those arrested and demanding that the police occupation army leaves the estate. However, following the making of allegations of fraud against Dolly Kiffin, who the with Association, some bodies which have helped the Association with funding, including the Greater London Council (GLC), put a block on the money they had already agreed to give.

The Defence Campaign picketed Highbury Magistrates Court on 26th, 27th and 28th February solidarity with people charged with murder and riotious assembly, who were appearing in court on those days. A sponsored march was planned for March 1st to raise funds for the campaign.

It is notable that among those supporting the campaign's work have been miners, which shows not torgotten the were made a year or so ago with black communities. There will be a speaker from Broadwater Farm at the rally in London to mark the anniversary of the strike on March 2nd. During the strike, 'Class Struggle' highlighted those links and expressed the hope that they would be built on, with solidarity going both ways - between black people in struggle and workers fighting for their demands, instead of just one way (from black people to workers), as happened all too often in the past. It is good this hope is being justified.

The Defence Campaign will need support for a long time yet. Any donations, offers of help or requests for speakers can be sent to the campaign at: c/o 12-16, Tangmere, Broadwater Farm Estate, London N17.

DEMONSTRATE 15th March

## **GREENHAM WOMEN** What causes zapping?

in February, with the help of 13 vanloads of police! It played wargames on Salisbury Plain for 6 days, as usual closely followed and disrupted by Cruise Watch. It tried to sneak back home in several bits (it was a hug convoy with 4 launchers and about 30 vehicles in all) on 24th February. But every section was halted temporarily by the Greenham women.

#### STRIP SEARCHES AND LONGER SENTENCES WON'T STOP THE CAMPS

Most of the women camping at the base now have some experience of the courts, detention centres of Holloway. This experience is not treated lightly, especially with increasing use of strip search, and longer sentences attached to the new criminal bylaws. There continues to be a welcome to all women at Greenham. Night watches with loads of firewood are especially welcome! Even a letter of support and/or money brings an added warmth to the fireside.

#### WHAT CAUSES "ZAPPING"?

Besides the arctic conditions, the escalating eviction attempts and the virtual media blackout, the women at Greenham have, this winter, suffered very badly from what they have termed "zapping", On going near the fence, many women have been aware of a disturbing and debilitating feeling which is episodic, felt especially when the base is on high alert, and particularly by women who are well known inside the base. Evidence now points to the use of some electro-magnetic energy fields, as well as some other energy waves, similar to microwaves. These may be part of a new security system around the fence and/or some sort of surveillance focussed on the camps and even on known individuals. Several women have had to leave the camp altogether and on the big demonstration on February 14th, the effects were severe for many. The women find this both individually damaging and very sinister in its wider applications.

#### NUCLEAR ARMS AND IMPERIALISM

The February 14 demonstration, 'Widening the Web', was another step in the increasing world-wide perspective which is growing in the Peace Movement in places like Greenham. There is also another tour of women from the Pacific region next month, which will start at Greenham. Much of the campaign around Molesworth is to link nuclear weapons, the arms trade and imperialist exploitation with third world poverty as typified by the present famine in Eritrea.

#### WIDESPREAD PROTESTS

Reports from other peace camps show that resistance to nuclear weapons is not dampened by winter hardship. Faslane had a demonstration and weekend of activities on February 17, attended by about 200 people, with over 10 arrests. Molesworth, of course, saw the massive turnout on February 6, with 5,000 gathering and the base closed for the day. Since then the People's Peace Camp there has been evicted but has returned in tents. Upper Heywood and Menwith Hill are alive and vigilant.



Strip searching in Armagh was vigorously condemned in December by a special panel of judges in Dublin. The tribunal was opened by Sean MacBride (founder of Amnesty International) and the panel included Members of the European Parliament, trade union leaders

Submissions were heard from the ex-prisoners from Armagh, their prisoners' relatives and from psychiatrists. The horror of the ordeal of full body searches including vaginal and anal searches carried out by a gang of warders, was fully revealed. Many prisoners have been subject to such sexual harassment, described by doctors as having similar effects as rape, several times in a

The panel's conclusion, given by the chair of the judges, Sylvia Mexham (head of the Republic's Equal Opportunities Committee), condemned the "degrading" practice of strip searching and confirmed that evidence showed that it was not carried out for "security" reasons. The women themselves, and their supporters, have long campaigned against strip searches and demonstrated that their purpose is to attempt to demoralise and harass women into submission through degradation and brutality.

Another delegation to picket Armagh has been organised this month by Women and Ireland groups. Delegations have been going to Armagh since 1979 and this year 500 are expected to travel from Scotland, Wales and England.

A group to support the Irish prisoners in Brixton has been formed in London. They can be contacted at: Irish Prisoners Appeal, c/o Lambeth IBRG, 245a Coldharbour Lane, London SW9 8RR. Telephone: 01-274-7700.

## BOOK NEWS

The Colour Purple (£3.95 + 40p P&P) by Alice Walker is selling well, and will hit the headlines when Spielberg's film of the book is on general release in May after the Canner film festival. Singin' and Swingin' and Getting Merry like Christmas (£3.95 + 34p P&P) is the latest in Maya Angelou's autobiograph-ical trilogy, although peocle are reading them in any order.

Third Morld Calling (60p + 12; P&P) is a new monthly from India providing a review of struggles against colonialism and neo-colonialism. The first issue contains an exclusive interview with Saeed Soltanpour, the martyr-poet from Iran. Specific Programme of the Communist Party of Malaya (45p + 12p P&F) is an 18-page statement from the Central Committee issued last year or their present tasks. Daggers and Javelins (£8.80 + 98p P&P) is also from the international communist movement. By League of Revolutionary Struggle activist Amiri Baraka, this collection of essays dating from 1974-79 covers the struggle for a revolutionary Marxist party in the US and progressive Afro-American culture.

Adulis (60p + 12p P&P) is the latest edition of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front's journal, providing news on the struggle in the Horn of Africa. Eritrean Journey (£1.75 + 18p P&P) from War on Want, is the obvservations made on a journey in EPLF liberated areas made by four sympathetic women in January 1985. Their photos and articles pay tribute to the social transformation accompanying the national liberation struggle.

The Colonial Carve-Up (£1.20 + 18p P&P) is the latest edition of Third World First's quarterly magazine which is going from strength to strength. That colonialism is underdevelopment is concisely and informatively shown in the space of 38 pages.

Inside Azania (75p + 12p P&P), published by the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, explains their position on the current situation. Nelson Mandela (£2.50 + 22p P&P) by Mary Benson is a new biography published by Penguin, of the imprisoned ANC leader. Part of My Soul (£2.95 + 22p P&P) a collection of letters and interviews by Winnie Mandela remains a popular Penguin title.

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#### emphasis grassroots campaigning, and particularly

within the Irish national

minority.

Very importantly, tied to this strategy, there was an emphasis on opposing the PTA on general civil liberties grounds. This orientation misses the whole point of the struggle. The PTA is not a general civil liberties issue, it is a specifically Irish rights issue. It is an integral part of the oppression of the Irish nation. It is a national issue. It is only by tackling it on that basis that the context of the Irish national struggle can be understood. This is what the most 'liberal' members of the campaigns wanted to avoid. Yet Maire O'Shea herself, did in court defend herself as an Irish nationalist.

The situation was complicated further by opportunist manoeuvres by certain organisations who were out for Despite proclaiming recruits general support for the Republican Movement, and even promising to help set up campaigns in support of all the defendents, and despite never expressing any differences with the platform of the local groups, which were seen under the banner of the England, Scotland and Wales campaign against the PTA, in practice they only supported the Maire O'Shea campaign and in public referred consistently "Maire O'Shea's trial".

#### What lessons are there for the RCL in this?

There are the general obvious lessons that spring from my earlier comments. But specifically the most important problem we have to contend with, is to develop our understanding of how to act in a principled way in a situation where we are fairly weak. It is difficult

to unite in broad organisations where social-democratic forces are strong without tailing behind the opportunists. the same time we are not in a position nationally to act as a fo cus for establishing broad committees on a more principled

We have a good basis in our general line on the necessity of building a strategic alliance, that recognises the national contradiction within Britain as well as the class contradiction. But we need to develop this position - particularly on the Irish struggle and to develop our understanding of the way forward. We also need to improve our coordination national practical activity.

Since the RCL made its selfcriticism some years ago for chauvinism on the Írish struggle, it has maintained a consistent position in support of the national struggle and the Republican Movement. We have a strong basis for development, but there is still London N4 3NG. much to learn.

#### 3000 demonstrators supporting the right of the Irish people to independence marched through

A Republican flute band led the commemoration to Kilburn, an area with a high concentration

The march, in commemoration of the 14 unarmed Irish people, who were murdered by the British Army in Derry on Bloody Sunday 1972, was addressed afterwards by, amongst others, Sinn Fein councillor Francie Molloy.







### BRITISH WITHDRAWAL FROM IRELAND



## Campaigns Interview

Cont.from The RCL held to a number of principles. Back We wanted to support Page. all the defendants. We wanted to support those who had not been involved in any operation, but we also wanted to stand by the right of the Irish people to resist imperial-British military through armed and ism aggression All the defendents struggle. were victims of imperialism. Whether they were active or not, whatever their other views. They were Irish, and the national oppression of Ireland and its consequences, was the issue behind the trial.

We also wanted to unite as many people as possible, and to respect and follow the wishes the defendents, as far as we could ascertain them, and we wanted a recognition of the leading role for the IBRG, as a broad-based group from the Irish community - the people under attack.

We wanted the campaign to be an active grassroots style campaign, to win new people to the work, who would not necessarily be members of any of the existing organisations. This necessitated the development of local campaigns on specific platforms open to any who agreed with the platform.

Finally, we wanted the campaigns to target the PTA as a weapon of national oppression; but at the same time we did not want to make support for the Republican Movement a condition of membership of those campaigns as that would make them too

all these points we had difficulties; and there were some additional tactical

We were pleased to see national alliance against the PTA, which was prompted by the arrests. An agreement between the IBRG, TOM, LCI etc. to coordinate activities against the PTA was a step forward to be We have members in welcomed. of the organisations some involved. But this did not lead to those organisations nationally encouraging the setting up of local campaigns of the type that were necessary.

We made efforts to encourage the setting up of such local committees and in some areas there was a good development. But it was very patchy, and they were not strong enough to establish national coordination.

for the campaigns around specific individuals, and in particular the Maire O'Shea Campaign, we have recognised that they were necessary and could be an important part of a movement. They could unite families and friends and others on a broader basis. The fact that Maire O'Shea was on bail and actively campaigning for her freedom in a political way was very important.

The difficulties that arose were not a result of the existence of those campaigns themselves, but a result of the activities certain organisations and individuals within them.

There was a strong pro-Labour trend with whom there were bound to be major political differences. Some meetings had the emphasis on recruitment to the Labour Party as the way forward. Some people wanted the whole weight of campaigning to be on lobbying Labour party leaders and trade union officials. We were not opposed to this work but wanted the of Irish people.



## FREEDOM FOR IRELAND

## A Crime To Be Irish...

## IRISH PTA TRIAL

'Class Struggle' correspondent.

At the beginning of February, the trial of the five Irish people arrested 13 months ago finally concluded.

The prosecution had alleged that a plan to murder Brian Baty, an ex-SAS colonel, had been developed in Dublin by Danny Ryan. Peter Jordan was alleged to have provided the intelligence to carry out the operation, which William Grimes was to have confirmed. The prosecution claimed that Patrick Brazil had delivered the explosives and that Dr Maire O'Shea and Peter Lynch had been involved in the preparation.

Peter Jordan and, later, William Grimes pleaded guilty to the charge of conspiracy to cause explosions and were jailed for 14 and 10 years respectively. In a last minute move, the prosecution dropped the conspiracy charge against Peter Lynch, and offered a lesser charge of 'withholding information' - a crime under the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA), but not under general criminal law. When Peter Lynch pleaded guilty to this charge, onlockers were not surprised when he was imprisoned for a period of 400 days. With remission, this sentence matched the time he had already been held without trial. This meant that Peter Lynch did not run the risk of being tried on the 'conspiracy to cause explosion' charge - a charge on which it is notoriously difficult to be acquitted. It also meant, however, that he had no legal comeback against the time he had already been held on remand, much of which was on high security, Category A status.

POLITICAL TRIAL

The prosecution also levelled a 'withholding information' charge against Dr Maire O'Shea



Police armed with rifles take up position on the bell

tower at Manchester crown court.
aiming at the lesser conviction guard
if she was acquitted on the main of al
charge. snipe

Dr O'Shea faced a difficult and uphill struggle. Conspiracy charges usually rest or little concrete evidence. The aim of the prosecution is to present evidence of political views and activities and convince the jury that the defendent was knowingly involved in a 'conspiracy'. The defendent is forced into a position of trying to prove his or her innocence.

The atmosphere of such trials is conditioned by a great show of special security arrangements. These included in this case, a special court, bullet-proof screens, armed

guards near the judge, searches of all those entering the court, snipers on the roofs, road blocks, circling helicopters. Dr O'Shea was on bail, and the three who had pleaded guilty were not even in court while the evidence was heard. The press hysteria and military trappings around the court did little more, therefore, than create an impression on the jury that they were facing the most dangerous of 'conspirators'.

#### BRITISH RULE CONDEMNED

In the event, Dr O'Shea bravely fought the charges with a forthright condemnation of British involvement in Ireland. She attacked partition, British rule and undercover SAS operations against the Irish population. She declared her support for the struggle for independence and re-unification, including the right of Irish pecple to defend themselves militarily against British oppression.

She also categorically denied any personal involvement with the armed struggle, and in fact criticised military operations in Britain by the Republican Movement.

Dr O'Shea's political defence was successful. She was acquitted on all charges. Patrick Brazil was also acquitted. But that is not the end of the matter.

#### BEING IRISH IS A CRIME

Dr O'Shea and Patrick Brazil had faced long delays before the trial took place. They were held under the PTA bad conditions and faced furious interrogation without access to solicitors. Patrick Brazil has been held in prison for over a year. Dr O'Shea, who is in bad health, has had the axe hanging over her, even though she was released on bail. was eventually There has been severe financial hardship and family difficulties. Now Dr O'Shea's house has been attacked. The pressure on the individuals and its effects are immeasurable.

Despite the prosecution's failure to convict them, the state has given a clear message to the Irish people. Being Irish is a crime. Supporting the national liberation struggle in Ireland is a crime. The PTA hangs over the Irish people as part of the oppression of the Irish nation. Conspiracy laws lurk in the background. To the Irish people the state says: "We have weapons against you, and we will use them."



The two acquittals give another message: "To struggle is hard. It can involve real suffering. But we can win. The Irish people will not stop fighting for independence. Nor will they stop resisting oppressive acts against them."

And that sums up the history of the Irish struggle.

#### DIARY OF EVENTS

2nd March

DEMONSTRATION, RALLY AND CONCERT

NATIONAL JUSTICE FOR MINEWORKERS CAMPAIGN

for the anniversary of the 1984/85 Miners' Strike

1.30 p.m. Jubilee Gardens, County Hall, London SEl.

Thursday 6th March -Saturday 8th March.

IFTH INTERNATIONAL BOOK FAIR OF RADICAL BLACK AND THIRD WORLD BOOKS,

Camden Centre, Bidborough St, Kings Cross, London WC1.

March 9th - March 13th
PALESTINE SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN

Part of International Women's Week Film Festival

> March 9: Fertile Memory Women Under Seige

March 11: La Nouba des Femmes (The Feast of Women) March 13: Leila and the Wolves

at Scala Cinema, nr Kings Cross, London WC1.

March 15th DEMONSTRATION BABA BAKHTAURA MUST STAY!

Assemble 1 p.m. Handsworth Park, Holly Road, Handsworth BIRMINGHAM

STOP THE DEPORTATIONS!

April 25-27th

THIRD WORLD FIRST NATIONAL CONFERENCE 1986

PEOPLE, POWER & PROFIT

Transnational corporations and underdevelopment.

Birmingham Students Union. For more information, write to: 3Wl, 232 Cowley Rd, Oxford OX4.

> CONTINUED HARASSMENT UNDER THE PTA

Another recent example of the continued harassment of Irish people under the PTA was reported in 'The Irish Post' recently.

Two Irish men on route from New York to visit their dying mother, were held under the PTA for 25 hours after they landed at Gatwick Airport.

After being questioned and handcuffed at the airport, the two brothers, Anthony and Joseph McKenna were taken to the local police station. 'The Irish Post' reported: "There they were photographed, finger-printed and further questioned."

"They were asked about Noraid and other Irish republican activities in the United States. Both denied any involvement in political organisations."

..."The brothers were held incommunicado and were not allowed to inform anybody of their detention...."

## DEFENCE CAMPAIGNS

'Class Struggle' interviewed a representative of the RCL on the conclusion of the trial.

Q: The RCL has consistently supported all the defendents in the Manchester trial. What are your immediate reactions to the result this week?

A: Well, of course we are delighted that Maire O'Shea and Patrick Brazil were acquitted. It is a blow against the state's oppression of Irish people in this country. In particular, it exposes the use of the Prevention of Terrorism Act to attack the Irish people in general and activists in particular.

At the same time, we would condemn the sentences handed out to Peter Jordan and William Grimes. We will continue to campaign for Irish freedom and to struggle to get across the truth. That is, that the real crime is British imperialist oppression of Ireland. The domination over and partition of Ireland is a crime against an entire people. The scale of the military aggression; the SAS assassination squads;

RCL Interviewe
the activities of loyalist those held as a r

the activities of loyalist sectarians and bigots; the creation of an Orange fascist statelet based on loyalist privilege; the use of torture, internment, strip searches, paid supergrasses and show trials - these are the real crimes.

do not consider the Republican struggle against this as a crime. We shall therefore continue to support the just struggle of the Irish people for freedom. We will also continue our support for the campaign of Irish POW's in Britain on their immediate demands. They want the right to serve their sentences in Ireland; they want those prisoners who have been framed to be released; Patrick Hackett released on medical grounds; an end to solitary confinement and Special Control Units and the abolition of the PTA. All these are immediate demands that many people should unite around and support. At the same time we say that in the end Irish independence, which will inevitably be conceded eventually, must mean the release of all

those held as a result of that struggle.

The imperialists always call those who struggle against colonialism 'terrorists'. But after independence, they usually change their tune. It happened in Zimbabwe only a few years ago during this Tory government. Eventually it will happen in Ireland as well.

Q: After the arrests, several campaigns developed. There was a national alliance including the Irish in Britain Representation Group (IBRG), Troops Out Movement (TOM), Labour Committee on Ireland (LCI) etc., a campaign in support of Maire O'Shea, a campaign in support of Peter Lynch and a number of local groups who agreed aims supporting all the defendents. Do you have any comments yet on the campaigns themselves?

A: There will be a lot of specific lessons which we will have to take time to sum up properly. But there are a number of general comments



which can be made at this stage.

Campaigning in support of all the defendents was always going to be difficult. By the nature of the charges the state alleged a conspiracy involving six people which did not exist. All the defendents had in common was that they were Irish. Five of them had been supporters of the national struggle in Ireland. One of them was not charged. Of the other four who had been active, whilst they were united on the rights of the Irish nation, they were members of a variety of organisations. They had different political histories and had differences on the way forward for the Irish struggle.