

# CLASS STRUGGLE

POLITICAL PAPER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF BRITAIN

15P

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## Behind the statistics

# 4 MILLION OUT OF WORK

Margaret Thatcher was very proud of the official unemployment figures this month. They went down! Not something we see too often these days. But things are not always what they seem and government statistics certainly aren't.

Officially unemployment went down by 10,145 to 2,988,644. But there are always seasonal variations, and taking these into account, as unemployment always falls in October, the underlying trend was an increase in unemployment of 56,200.

But real unemployment is even higher than the 12.4% (1 in 8 of the population) admitted to by the government. 270,000 young people are on the miss-named Youth Opportunities Programme - a brain child of the last Labour government.

Through this programme young people are given work for 6 months on lousy pay. At the end of 6 months they are chucked out of work. In nearly all cases they receive no training, and are merely used for cheap labour in unskilled labouring work, often as an alternative to properly employing someone

on the regular rate. The 270,000 youths presently being exploited in this way are not counted on the unemployment register.

Add to these uncounted unemployed the hundreds of thousands of women who have not registered as unemployed because they are not entitled to the dole.

When the real figures are counted it totals up to over 4 million unemployed. In October the T.U.C. produced a report saying just that.

While the working class as a whole must fight for the right to work for all, it must also be grasped that the level of oppression varies throughout Britain. The unity of the working class can only be built by fighting the double oppression faced by the Scottish and Welsh workers and by national minorities in Britain.

Average unemployment in England is 11.8%, in Wales 15.6%, and in Scotland it is 14.4%. In the north of Ireland imperialism has created unemployment of 19.8% - 1 in 5 of the population.

At the same time a recent Runnymede Trust study showed that while the total has increased by 66% in the past year, the number of black workers out of a job has gone up by 83%

A united struggle demands opposition to this double oppression and the fight to make the bosses pay for the crisis of their system can only progress through unity.

## Inside...

### RCL Second Congress

4-page pull out supplement on the work of the RCLB's Second Congress. Looks at opportunism, party building, the struggle in Ireland, national minorities and the struggle against racism, summing up the League's work and the way forward.

### Salute the Hunger Strikers p2

RCL statement salutes the brave Irish martyrs, examines the effects of the hunger strike, looks at the campaign in Britain and re-affirms our solidarity.

### Fighting a deportation p6

Shirley Graham has lived in Britain for many years. Now she is faced with deportation. In the London borough of Newham a campaign is being organised to mobilise support. In this issue we print an article on the struggle by a member of the campaign.

### Commonwealth Summit p7

The Commonwealth could play a useful role in opposition to the superpowers but British imperialism must mend its ways.

### Egypt's Shah Assassinated p10

"Class Struggle" Middle East Correspondent looks at the assassination of Sadat. What led up to it? Is the opposition Soviet inspired? What are the superpowers up to?

### I.R.A bring war to Britain p12

The IRA have struck at two military targets in London. Thatcher says the Irish people are "sub human". The "Morning Star" says they're "brutal and vicious". Where do genuine communists stand?



## HAS EDWARDES RUN OUT OF THREATS?

After 3 years of using threats to blackmail Leyland workers Michael Edwardes appears to have run out of bluster. Edwardes has managed to force through wage cuts and redundancies on a massive scale at BL and even succeed in sacking the Longbridge convenor Derek Robinson.

The offensive started in 1978 during the last Labour government. Edwardes pushed through a pay rise of 5% at a time when inflation was running at about 10%. In 1979 a further 5% rise was accepted, while inflation ran at 16%. In 1980 the Leyland workers got more - 6.8% But inflation was up to 16.4%! In real terms Leyland workers took a wage cut in three successive years of 5%, 11% and 9.8%! Now BL are offering 3.8% when inflation stands at 12%, a cut of 8%

### Redundancies too

But did this protect jobs? Not a chance. In 1978 BL's workforce as a whole stood at around 200,000. On July 1 1981, the figure was down to 129,000. 14,000 jobs have gone during 1981. In BL's car division there are 66,900 employees. One year ago the figure stood at 88,500 - a loss of 22,400 or over 1 in 3 of the workforce. And it doesn't stop there. BL aim to reduce its overall workforce to 100,000 over the next year.

Already this year BL have closed its Rover plant at Solihull. It was opened only 5 years ago at a cost of £27 million and was hailed as one of the most modern car plants in Europe. The body assembly plant at Speke, Liverpool and the Coventry Engine plant have been given notice of closure.

Cont'd on P.5

The following is the full text of a statement adopted unanimously by the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist League of Britain at its meeting on the weekend of 17/18 October.

After nearly eight months the second hunger strike of Republican prisoners in the H-Blocks has ended. Ten more freedom fighters have selflessly given their lives in the cause of Irish freedom. The names of BOBBY SANDS, FRANCIS HUGHES, RAYMOND MCCREESH, PATSY O'HARA, JOE McDONNELL, MARTIN HURSON, KEVIN LYNCH, KIERAN DOHERTY, TOM MCELWEE AND MICHAEL DEVINE will live forever in the hearts of oppressed people everywhere.

Their heroic struggle has propelled the liberation movement a big step forward. The criminalisation policy of the British state has been exposed internationally; public opinion throughout the world opposes the occupation of Ireland; the mass struggle in Ireland, vividly highlighted by the election victories of Bobby Sands, Kieran Doherty, Paddy Agnew and Owen Carron have put national liberation at the centre of Irish politics in both partitioned states, enormously strengthened the Republican forces in political and military terms and thrown their pro-imperialist opponents into confusion and disarray. The SDLP are now openly fearful for their electoral future, and during the hunger strike, the glare of publicity had forced the British to pull in the reins on the loyalist assassins. In Britain, the bourgeois parties have at last been forced to take the question of Ireland seriously. For all these reasons the hunger strike has been a major victory.

This victory has been won by the struggle of naked prisoners prepared to face an imperialist power in a just cause.

There is still much to do. The Republican movement has pointed out that the three main pro-imperialist pillars of the Irish establishment, the SDLP, the Church hierarchy and the Free State, have not been decisively moved. Progress has been made in building a broad united front against British imperialist oppression, and in developing an agreed strategy for national liberation, but these remain long and arduous tasks. At the present time, it would appear that the prisoners have only won three and a half of their five demands. They now have the right to their own clothes, regular visits and parcels, nearly free association and half remission. However, half remission means little to a prisoner with a 100 years sentence and the question of prison work has yet to be resolved. Yet there has been a decisive improvement in their conditions and it will be harder for the British to use the prisons for their main purpose - grinding down opposition.

In Britain the national solidarity campaign was frankly a failure overall. With a few exceptions it never moved outside the narrow left. The one area where significant successes were scored was amongst those such as the national minorities, who themselves know something at first hand about the real nature of British imperialism. It was plagued by right and "left" opportunists, seeking either to water down the struggle to make it acceptable to the Labour Party or else trying to go "in advance" of the prisoners themselves. Genuine solidarity with the prison struggle became a line of demarcation between internationalism and opportunism. This has been a disgrace at a time when the prisoners' struggle has decisively re-opened the Irish question in British politics. On the other hand, independent elements in the solidarity movement have demonstrated their commitment to Irish freedom beyond any doubt, and the solidarity movement has increased its actual forces two or three-fold.

The prison struggle continues. The Revolutionary Communist League will stand firmly behind this struggle and do all that is in its power to help bring it to a just conclusion. We will continue to assist in the building of a principled solidarity movement which can give leadership and direction to the various forces within British society opposed to British imperialism in Ireland. We re-affirm our commitment to helping build the Troops Out Movement and to educating the British working class on the nature of British imperialist oppression of Ireland.

We re-affirm our unconditional solidarity with the Irish liberation struggle and its Republican leadership and fully support their right to use any tactics they choose in pursuit of their struggle. As Mao Zedong pointed out in 1966: "A small and weak country can certainly defeat a large one provided its cause is just and its people mobilised." The Irish people will win national liberation.

TROOPS OUT NOW!

SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE IRISH PEOPLE AS A WHOLE!

VICTORY TO THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT!



■ BOBBY SANDS



■ FRANCIS HUGHES



■ RAYMOND MCCREESH



■ PATSY O'HARA



■ MARTIN HURSON



■ JOE McDONNELL



■ KEVIN LYNCH



■ KIERAN DOHERTY



■ THOMAS MCELWEE



■ MICKY DEVINE

TO A VOLUNTEER OF THE I.N.L.A.  
(for Mick Devine)

This poem was submitted to "Class Struggle" by a veteran of the Irish freedom struggle. It was spontaneously written on hearing the news of the death of Michael Devine, the last of the 10 H-Block Martyrs.

You are gone Comrade into the distant land.  
Fallen on that lonely field that only the vanguard command  
The long days and endless hours, now are over.  
The pain and suffering gone  
That proud spirit finally free.

No more to answer the clarion call to arms.  
To defend liberty against the cruel oppressor.  
A soldier unbowed, unbroken to the bitter end.  
You go to join that gallant band Connolly, Ryan, Costello  
And I have lost a comrade and a friend.

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# A WORKER'S NOTEBOOK

Teachers in many towns are refusing to cover for absent colleagues as part of the struggle against the reduction of teachers employed by the local authorities. Birmingham's Labour Council, however, is not at all happy about the teachers' opposition to education cuts. The Chief Education Officer has sent a threatening letter to each teacher individually. "The City Council does not agree with government policy", he says, "but ultimately there is nothing the authority can do to change Government policy".

So what will the Labour Council do? Why, attack those who are fighting back of course. The letter goes on: "If you do take the actions which have been proposed they will amount to 'breaches' of contract and action will be taken against you ... the breach of any provision of the contract entitles the employer to recover damages from the teacher and/or to take disciplinary action against him as it considers appropriate, and this will be done ..."

What a stirring example of Labour's new image.

New government regulations mean that even less meat than before goes into sausages. Sausages not labelled 'pork' or 'beef' will contain substitute meat. Burgers will contain as little as 10% meat unless they are labelled beefburgers. These regulations will legalise practices which were previously illegal or fraudulent.

It's not surprising that Social Security benefits totalling £400 million went unclaimed last year. The DHSS doesn't exactly encourage people to claim benefits, or go out of its way to tell people what they're entitled to. One claimant said: 'It cost me £2 in bus fares, several phone calls and five hours of form-filling aggravation to claim £15.25 in benefit last week. If Social Security procedures were easier and interview rooms were less like prison cubicles, perhaps more people would claim their entitlements. As for me, never again!' But why should the DHSS bother? After all, it's a nice easy way to make £400 million.

Peter Holmes, 17 years old, of Northampton had both his feet severed by a soap mixing machine which he was inside and cleaning when it was switched on. The firm involved, Nimbus Laboratories, which is owned by Northampton Council, has just been fined a paltry £1000 by the Magistrates Court for failing to instal safety guards and systems. Terrible accidents such as these, due entirely to firms lack of interest in safety, are commonplace - as the small fine imposed suggests. Even fatal accidents at work are not rareties - in the three years 1970-1972 there were 3,245 deaths from accidents at work and these were nearly ten times as common among skilled and unskilled workers as among employers and the professions. Surprised?

Since the 6 July, 350 Liverpool Council typists and secretaries have been on an all out strike and have seriously disrupted the day to day running of the Council. The women, all members of NALGO, are fighting for better pay and conditions to give them equal status with the predominantly male clerical workers. Since the beginning of October they have received strike pay almost equivalent to their meagre take home pay. The women are determined to win. As one 60 year old, member of the strike committee put it: "We take an awful lot of raising but once raised we are more determined than men. Most men look on strikes as a common phenomenon. This is the first time we've had an uprising".

Since it was formed in the 1960s out of a series of mergers the General Electric Company has grown to be the twelfth largest company in Britain.

It is the largest private employer with a workforce of 157,000 in the UK and a further 36,000 employees overseas. Since 1972 the average pay of G.E.C. employees has risen only 4 fold, whereas profits per employee have risen 7 fold. In March 1981 G.E.C. made an average profit per employee of £2465 per annum. Shareholders were paid a total of £80.5 million in 1981. The top Director's weekly pay is £1,846. During the last ten years the total workforce has decreased by 14,000. This decrease hides the fact that the number of overseas employees has actually increased by 6,000 over the same period.

Thus while increasing the exploitation of workers in Britain the company has also expanded abroad, where profits are even higher.

## WINSTON ROSE

# "UNLAWFULLY KILLED"

Class Struggle correspondent.

"They killed Winston and now the world knows they did." Those were the words of Winston's mother after the jury brought in their findings at his inquest on October 21st. His half brother Felix added that now they were going to "make sure that the people who killed Winston are brought to justice."

Winston Rose died in the back of a police van as he was being taken to hospital. A social worker had asked him to attend a psychiatric ward on a voluntary basis. After he refused, a magistrates order was gained and police went round to pick him up. The police did not bother to ensure that a social worker or doctor was present, and they went in force.

Winston tried to hide from the police, but he was grabbed. Neighbour, Sophia Mabley takes up the story: "They took him in the back of the van. It wasn't gently... He might have been dead. I think his head was hanging loosely back. They threw him in head first - like a piece of meat." Winston was held face down with his arms handcuffed behind his back. He died after choking on his own vomit. The

questions are - what treatment did he receive that caused him to vomit, and why was he kept restrained in such a way that he couldn't save himself, or why was he not helped? If the police had no indication that he was choking to death, he must have been unconscious - Why?

### Remember Barry Prosser.

The case of the murder of Barry Prosser throws some light on the question. Barry Prosser died in prison at Winson Green, Birmingham. Barry had been mentally ill and was being held in the hospital wing. Three prison officers entered his cell, and another prisoner testified to the sound of him being beaten up. A pathologist concluded that the injuries were the result of a severe assault carried out by more than one person. The post mortem report said that he died of shock brought about by severe injuries including a ruptured oesophagus (throat) and stomach, and bruising all over his body.

At the inquest, a jury brought in a verdict of "unlawful killing".

Earlier, after a police enquiry, one man had been charged at a magistrates court, but the then

Birmingham stipendiary magistrate, Mr. Milward, ruled there was no case to answer!

### Keep Campaigning.

The inquest verdict came in last April. After campaigning by the family and friends, three officers were charged again and brought for a preliminary hearing to the magistrates court. The magistrate announced that they had no case to answer and flatly refused to allow the case to be heard in a court with a jury!

The Director of Public Prosecutions immediately announced that no further action would be taken, but the campaign stepped up its work. After putting on the pressure, the D.P.P. has now agreed to ask a judge to commit the officers for trial. A trial before a jury was finally ordered on Friday 23 October.

### Support the Winston Rose Action Committee.

So we know what to expect and it is clear that the system will not willingly act against its own agents. The only answer is to build a mass movement to put on the pressure.

The Winston Rose Action Committee can be contacted at:

Winston Rose Action Committee Fund,  
c/o Waltham Forest C.R.C.,  
25 Church Hill, Walthamstow, E17 3AB.

They need your support.

# UNEMPLOYMENT - child of Imperialism

If you read the newspapers regularly you will find a lot of reasons given for the growth of unemployment. Some are partially true, some completely false. Bourgeois politicians are adept at talking round the issues, blowing up minor factors and even completely covering up the real problems. In this article we don't pretend to do an 'in-depth' analysis but only to look at some of the more common statements and point to the real causes.



Workers march through Derbyshire during October in one of a series of Right to Work Marches organised by the Trade Unions.

## "A WORLD CRISIS"

Governments are fond of telling us that it's 'not their fault' - it's all because of "a world crisis". This excuse has been trotted out by both Labour and Tory governments. It is indeed largely the truth. But what is missed out is that it is an international crisis of imperialism. That is the economic system that dominates the world and Britain is an imperialist country. So to complain that is "all because of the world crisis" is not an excuse, it is an utter condemnation of the economic system in which we live and of the political parties which manage and protect it.

Such a crisis of imperialism is not a new development. Marx and Engels analysed the causes of the regular crises that racked capitalism. Imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism and the basic causes of periodic crises remain the same. We have seen these crises before and we will see them again until the system itself is destroyed by the mass of the people whom it exploits and oppresses.

## "INCREASE PRODUCTIVITY"

"We must increase productivity" is a cry we hear from all over. Why? "Because we must compete". This is true, if we accept the imperialist system. The British imperialists must compete if they are to survive in a crisis which screws up the competition between the imperialists as the weaker go to the wall. British imperialism has lost most of its old protected markets and sources of raw materials and its influence has steadily declined. It is still a major imperialist power but the crisis has hit it more deeply. For the imperialists to compete they must pass the effect of the crisis on to the backs of the working class. When a company rationalises its operation it closes factories. When it boosts productivity it does so not to produce more but to produce the same (or even less) but with a lot less workers. Productivity and wage cuts are the means to competition. The imperialists will thus survive. But it is the workers who lose jobs, it is workers who work harder and it is workers who receive less for that harder work.

The working class, so long as imperialism exists, is put between the frying pan and the fire. If the imperialists succeed in competing we lose jobs and have wages cut. If they fail factories close.

In the past year alone (up to June 1981) the output of manufacturing industry in Britain fell by 9.8% (almost one tenth); output per worker increased by 1.3%. It doesn't take

INDUSTRY	CHANGE IN OUTPUT SINCE 1975	CHANGE IN OUTPUT PER EMPLOYEE SINCE 1975	FOR EVERY 1000 WORKERS EMPLOYED IN 1975, THE NUMBER EMPLOYED IN MARCH '76 / JUNE '81	
METAL MANUFACTURE	DOWN 21 %	UP 19.9%	898	639
MINING AND QUARRYING	DOWN 9.6%	DOWN 1.5%	952	918
CHEMICAL PRODUCTS	UP 5.4%	UP 14 %	1002	925
FOOD, DRINK AND TOBACCO	UP 4.1%	UP 19.1%	947	874
ENGINEERING	DOWN 18.2%	LITTLE CHANGE	997	816
TEXTILES, LEATHER AND CLOTHING	DOWN 24.6%	UP 1.6%	923	742
CONSTRUCTION	DOWN 15.3%	DOWN 5.6%	998	897
TOTAL (EXCLUDING OIL)	DOWN 10.6%	UP 6.8%	963	837
TOTAL PRODUCTION (INCLUDING OIL)	DOWN 1.5%	UP 17.6%	963	838

The table above shows that the overall output of British industry is falling. Even Chemical products which show a rise in production since 1975 has had a fall in output of 13% since its high point 2 years ago. It is quite clear that even industries such as Food, Tobacco etc., where output has risen have lost many jobs as a result of productivity increases, whilst industries where productivity has changed little have lost jobs due to a fall in output. Falling production and productivity increase cause unemployment. It should be noted that "output per employee" figures are not an exact measure of productivity as output per employee goes up with overtime and down with short-time working and industrial disputes. Overall production figures are given both with and without oil production because the inclusion of oil distorts the true picture as high value is produced with hardly any labour.

a genius to figure out the result. The number of workers in productive industry fell by more than 1 in 10.

The solution to unemployment does not and cannot lie within the imperialist system. It's a case of heads they win, tails we lose. The imperialists benefit from the system. The working class does not.

You might expect then to hear self-proclaimed 'socialists' - those champions of the working class both within the Labour Party and in the multiplicity of 'revolutionary' sects which trail behind it - to be standing on their soap boxes (or rather sitting in their committee chairs) denouncing the crisis of imperialism and beginning to organise for its destruction.

But no. Hardly a word is to be heard. The fake 'left' do not attack the cause - imperialism itself. They attack the Common Market and imports. They make a lot of noise about cheap imports destroying British jobs and blame both the super-exploited workers in the Third World and the workers

in Europe and Japan for taking 'our' work. They all sound so concerned about the plight of the working class in Britain. But they are not. The image created of imports "flooding Britain" is a lie. It is a lie designed to make the demands of the fake 'left' appear 'fair' and 'just'. It is a lie designed to get British workers to support their 'own' imperialist ruling class against other imperialists. It is a lie intended to prevent the struggle developing against imperialism as a system.

In 1975 the value of imports into Britain was £3,333 million greater than exports. From being £3,333 million in the red, British imperialist trade had turned into a £1,178 million surplus in 1980. Britain exports far more than it imports.

The lies and the fake 'left' politics which back British imperialism and chauvinism must be rejected. The enemy is imperialism and socialists must organise to fight it.

# FORD TO OFFER 5%

By a "Cass Struggle" correspondent.

Hard on the heels of the wages struggle developing at British Leyland is the annual negotiations at Ford.

The unions have put in a claim for:

- \* £20 increase for all grades
- \* Consolidation of the supplement into the basic rate
- \* A 35 hour week without loss of pay
- \* Improved pensions

Ford is the most successful car firm in Britain. They have consistently had 3 out of the 4 top-selling cars in the British market and at present 3 out of 10 new cars sold in Britain are produced by Ford.

Ford have made £600 million profit out of their workforce in Britain over the last two years despite the crisis. But in their constant search for maximum profit have knocked 3000 off the payroll. And that's not all. The company is aiming to push through a further 2000 production and 700 staff redundancies. Already this means that most plants in Britain face some

short-time working, lay-offs or redundancies - or a combination of all three.

The Company will reply to the claim on October 30th - two days before the British Leyland strike is due to start. But they are expected to offer only £4.80 for most workers - a paltry £3 after deductions. Furthermore Ford will say that their 'offer' is conditional on the workforce accepting their "After Japan" plan, which Halewood workers have already fought through strike action.

## THE THREAT OF REDUNDANCIES

Ford are hoping that the real threat of redundancies will divide the workforce and gain acceptance of what is in fact a cut in real wages. This type of thinking is being pushed to all workers by the media and has in fact had some success in blocking the wages struggle. But over a period of time the truth is becoming more and more apparent. That is that even where workers have accepted a cut in wages, the bosses have still pushed for redundancies. The search for maximum profit means the search for the lowest cost of production. The bosses want wage cuts and redundancies. And where they see

signs of weakness on the part of the workers on one front, they will push through on the other. The fact that Leyland's Speke plant has one of the 'quietest' records of industrial struggles has not stopped Leyland deciding to axe it. To fight back and make the bosses pay for their crisis, means the working class must fight both wage cuts and redundancies.

In any case, even if Ford succeed in their aim to some extent, there is still likely to be strong resistance from the Body plants and the 'PTA's (Paint, Trim and Assembly) at both Halewood and Dagenham, which produce Cortinas, Fiestas and Escorts - all of which are in high demand. The threats do not so much effect them and those are the plants where the strength of Ford workers will most lie this year.

## BREAK THROUGH THE GOVERNMENT CEILING

The annual agreement at Ford runs out on November 28th and any action will not start till then. But if Ford and British Leyland workers together are prepared to fight back, it will be a major development in the struggle to break through the Tory government's projected 'ceiling' on wage rises - 3.8% in the public sector. That ceiling would lead to an effective wage cut of nearly £1 in 10.

Leyland (cont. from p.1).

In terms of cars the MG, Triumph Spitfire, TR7, Dolomite and the Maxi have all been chopped.

But the effect on unemployment does not stop within BL. The "knock-on" effect means that car components firms, etc are also hit. Take one example. BL used to buy wheels from both Dunlop and Rubery Owen. As it rationalised its operation it decided to have just one supplier. Overnight Rubery Owen's plant at Darlaston lost half of its business. The plant closed throwing another 950 workers on the dole.

So the effect on unemployment of BL closures is far more than the 71,000 jobs (60,000 in the car division) that have been lost so far.

Each year Edwardes has refused to negotiate. He has stated what the pay rise will be, and threatened redundancies if it is not accepted. Up to now, with Union connivance, particularly that of the AUEW leadership, he has got away with it. The wage cut has been pushed through, and redundancies have still followed. This year, at the time of writing, the picture looks very different. A massive 88 out of every 100 workers have voted for strike action over their £20 a week claim. The strength of shop floor resistance has led to the national union leadership declaring their support for the workers decision. Duffy, the AUEW president, has said that the union will pay £12 a week strike benefit. But Edwardes still has the experience of and ability to split workers, and there must be readiness on the shop floor to stand against it. It is likely that British Leyland will offer further 'productivity payments' as the main part of its answer. In which case it must be remembered that British Leyland plans are reducing the number of cars



A group of pickets outside BL's Cowley plant at the end of October, in dispute over lay-off pay.

being made. So such an offer will amount to producing less cars, with even less workers - or put simply the British Leyland workers will be asked to sell more jobs.

Edwardes has something to work on as well. For example one Lancashire plant did vote to accept the original offer of 3.8%, after their plant convenor, Alex Calder, argued Edwardes' case for him. With leaders like that ...

On the positive side Edwardes' threat to close the whole of British Leyland, or certain parts of it is causing a broad response. It is unlikely, despite Edwardes threats (ably supported by Norman Tebbit the new Tory backwood man in the job of 'Employment' Secretary) that the Government would dare to close British Leyland. The effect on the economy overall would

be immense, and that fact has forced governments in the past to push money into British Leyland. As for closing parts of British Leyland that is already part of British Leyland's aim.

But in the West Midlands, the Regional T.U.C. has already unanimously adopted a resolution calling for "the mobilisation of the whole Trade Union and Labour movement" to resist a shut down. If those words are translated into practice, then there is the prospect of a real fightback against the effects of the crisis.

More importantly British Leyland, together with Fords, are right at the start of the winter pay round. With the government adopting a rigid pay limit in the public sector, an effective struggle in the car industry could begin the economic fightback on a wider basis.

# SUPPORT SHIRLEY GRAHAM

## Stop the Deportations

Contributed by a member of the Shirley Graham Defence Campaign.

A campaign has been set up in East London to defend Shirley Graham from being deported.

Shirley, a Jamaican by birth, has lived in Britain since 1974. During that time she has left the country on several occasions and been given 'indefinite leave to enter' - stamped in her passport.

In August this year, after a short trip abroad, Shirley was, without warning, detained at the airport. She arrived at Gatwick with her cousin and was stopped. Her baggage was thoroughly searched - the immigration officials said they were looking for documents. Of course they found nothing. Shirley was interrogated for a few hours. The officials told her cousin to go away and eat for an hour or so and they would take Shirley to eat. However, although Shirley did eat, it was not at any airport cafe! She was taken to a detention centre. "I did not know what was happening to me", she said, "they tricked me, they would not let my cousin see me again that day. I didn't have any money on me, I was put in a cell with two other black women, I was treated like a prisoner, I just sat and cried a lot, I was very upset."

### NOT IN GOOD HEALTH.

Shirley is not in good health. While in detention her diabetes and blood pressure suffered. She was refused a special diet and there was a delay in giving her medical attention. For 2 days she complained of feeling faint and sick and finally a doctor came to see her. He told her to stop making a fuss. He took her blood pressure and said it was o.k., although Shirley, who is a nurse, could see it was high. After further complaints she was moved to Harmsworth detention centre where she was held for a further 3 days. On several occasions the immigration officials told Shirley's family they could come and collect her. However, when they arrived they were told that they were still making enquiries and to come back the next day. Shirley was finally released on the sixth day, and then only after the intervention of a law centre that her family had contacted. Shirley could still, in fact, be in detention, or already have

been removed. She said there was an Indian there who had been there for 2 months, and he didn't know what was going to happen to him. "Nearly all the people there were black", she said.

Shirley was given temporary leave to enter while legal representations were made to allow her to stay, but these have been turned down without any reason being given. It appears that the Home Office cannot decide whether Shirley is here 'legally' or not, but held her on suspicion alone!

Shirley has done nothing wrong but is being treated like a criminal. She is having to defend her right to remain in Britain. But she has made



Photo: David Mc Calla, East End News.

her home here and worked as a nurse here for many years. All of her family are here and have been settled for more than 20 years.

In the 7 years that Shirley has lived here she has maintained contact with the home office, informed them of any changes in her circumstances, and now for no apparent reason, her whole life has been disrupted.

Could it be that she is no longer married? In June this year Shirley divorced Mr. Graham, but surely black people are allowed to get divorced?

Could it be because her first marriage happened before she ever came to England? Shirley's first husband turned out to be a bigamist, i.e. he was already married and he hadn't told her. When Shirley came to England she employed solicitors to legally annul her marriage so that she would be free to remarry. Surely it is not her fault if her first was a liar, she has already suffered enough after the shock of discovering he was already married.

It would seem that Shirley's only crime is that she is black. She is just one of a growing number of black and Asian women who are being threatened with deportation over the smallest technicalities.

So far the legal battle has been lost. Shirley's case now rests with the Home Secretary who alone has the power to over-rule the earlier decision by the Immigration Officers. It is entirely at his discretion. Shirley's only right of appeal would be after she left the country.

The recent success of other campaigns against deportation has shown that legal arguments alone are not enough. What is needed is massive publicity exposing the racism of the British state and the suffering that is caused by the immigration laws. That is why a Defence Campaign was set up. The Home Secretary could make a decision at any time, so the situation is urgent! Shirley should be at home now recovering from a major operation that she had at the beginning of October, but instead she is busy publicising her case and calling for

support. "I can't just stay at home lying in bed. I don't sleep well anyway because I am scared that at any time the immigration officials will come and take me away."

On the 15th of October, Shirley and about 20 supporters made a deputation to the Home Office and handed in a protest letter. 2 days later, Shirley and other campaign members travelled up to Rochdale to participate in a demonstration about Nasreen Akhtar, another black woman faced with deportation. The demonstration took up Shirley's case as well as 2 other Asians. "It was great", said Shirley, "All the people up there supporting me." It is clear from the growing number of these cases that greater co-ordination between campaigns is needed. Shirley really appreciated meeting Nasreen and talking to Cynthia Gordon, another Jamaican woman who has won her fight to remain in Britain.

Support is now growing, with articles in the press, interviews on the radio and public meetings being held. But the greatest support so far has come from 64 prisoners, mainly black, who have written a letter to the Home Secretary, demanding that Shirley be allowed to remain here. "Shirley must not be separated from her family who are settled here... the threat of deportation is a threat to all black and Asian people." The letter calls for: "a public, independent enquiry into the treatment of people held in custody under the Immigration Act". These brothers know only too well the hell that Shirley went through. They suffer the humiliation and cruelty of Her Majesty's prisons daily. Despite the fact that they could face reprisals for the letter, they all signed their names to it in defence of their black sister. It is acts of solidarity like Anwar Ditta speaking on platforms in defence of the Bradford 12 that the state can't legislate against. The more black people are made the scapegoat for successive government crises, the more they will organise and fight back. The government must not be allowed to get away with forcibly 'repatriating' black people, labelling them 'illegal immigrants', we have the right to choose where we live. Shirley has chosen to make her home here, "My family are here, I have nowhere to live in Jamaica, I haven't lived there since the sixties, I am very bitter about the way I have been treated, I want to stay."

### WHAT YOU CAN DO.

1. Write to the Home Secretary: The Rt. Hon. William Whitelaw MP, Home Office, 50 Queen Anne's Gate, London SW 1, asking that the decision to deport Shirley Graham be reversed and that she be given indefinite leave to remain in the UK.
2. Write to your local MP urging him/her to do the same.
3. Send donations to: Shirley Graham Defence Campaign, c/o 285 Romford Road, Forest Gate, London E7 9HJ.
4. Invite speakers from the Campaign to your trade union branch or organisation.

# SUN SETTING FOR BRITISH IMPERIALISM

The 45 Commonwealth countries met for their bi-annual summit in Melbourne, Australia from September 30 to October 7 this year.

The communique issued at the end of the summit calls for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan but fails to name the aggressor. It calls for withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea and supports Polish independence. It does not refer favourably to the work of the 'Contact Group' of five western imperialist powers on Namibia (see last issue of "Class Struggle") because African countries, like Zimbabwe and Nigeria, suspect it of manoeuvring to preserve imperialist domination. It calls for the immediate withdrawal of South African troops from Angola and for recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to form their own state, but opinions differed widely as to the exact meaning of this. The communique also called for special support for the small Pacific Island states.

The Communique correctly refers to a "slide from detente to confrontation, mounting tension between the superpowers and the build up of nuclear arms". What about the fundamental causes of this situation? If we look at the 'Melbourne Declaration' also issued by the summit, again there are some good points made: "the gross inequality of wealth and opportunity currently existing in the world, and the unbroken circle of poverty in which the lives of millions in the developing countries are confined, are fundamental sources of tension and instability in the world." All well and good. But what is missing, the vital ingredient, is any concrete commitment by Britain to do anything to change this situation.

## EMERGENCE OF THE COMMONWEALTH

The 'Commonwealth' emerged stealthily out of the British Empire. The 'imperial commonwealth' was first spoken of around the time of World War I to refer to those parts of the empire ('dominions' like Australia, Canada, South Africa) where the local whites were in control and Britain could draw profits while not having to do too much administrative dirty work. There was resentment in the dominions about being forced to provide cannon fodder during World War I, and Canada led a struggle to establish that the dominions were really independent states. This demand - reluctantly conceded in the Statute of Westminster (1931) - had a progressive aspect, but the new situation only emphasised the contrast between the settler-dominated parts of the empire and the others where the black populations came directly under British imperialism's rule.

After World War II, there was a Labour government fully dedicated to preserving Britain's imperialist markets and sources of raw materials. To do this effectively under new conditions, some window-dressing seemed

to be called for, and the mounting tide of national democratic revolutions meant that imperialism could not continue to rule in the 'old way', so at the time of India's neo-colonial independence (1947), 'British Commonwealth' became 'Commonwealth' and the Imperial Conference (a periodical meeting of dominion leaders) became 'Commonwealth Conference'.

The Commonwealth Summit provided leaders of some third world countries with a platform to explain their people's struggles.

President Kiprianou of CYPRUS asked for support to end Turkish occupation and said that he would never agree to the creation of two separate states. Kiprianou said that the Cyprus problem had been created by coup and invasion. "Britain as a guarantor power did not stop the invasion, nor did it restore the constitutional order even though it was in a position to do so... We do not accept partition. The creation of a federation, yes, but a divisional solution, no." He also stressed that he did not agree with Thatcher's view that the problems of both Namibia and Cyprus were problems of disputed territories. Maurice Bishop, Prime Minister of GRENADA, accused the CIA of staging exercises in Puerto Rico that were rehearsals for a possible invasion of his country. Since the New Jewel Movement came to power in Grenada, the United States and Britain have branded it as pro-soviet, discriminated against it in aid policies and sought to destabilise it. This has only had the effect of driving Grenada closer to the Cubans and Soviets.

The intention was neo-colonialism, but things didn't work out that simply. Over the past three decades the Third World has risen up, while Britain has declined to a second-rate imperialist power. Zimbabwe highlighted this changed balance of forces. Left to themselves, Britain and the United States would have joyfully backed Smith to the hilt, but the Third World countries brought tremendous pressure to bear and US-British diplomacy had to accommodate itself to ZANU's great victory.

Today the Commonwealth groups nearly one-third of the world's states; most of them from the Third World, but including four 'second-world' countries (that is, second-ranking industrialised

capitalist states): one of these, Britain, a declining imperialist power, and the others Canada, Australia, New Zealand, countries which are simultaneously beneficiaries and victims of imperialist exploitation. The Commonwealth could play some positive role in bringing together third and second world countries to work out a common approach to building a new international economic order, and thus creating a sound basis for combatting superpower domination.

## BRITISH OBSTINACY

But what is preventing this is above all Britain's unconstructive policy. True, there exists a Commonwealth Development Corporation, which this year had total investments of £516 million, some of these in useful projects; but the Corporation operates 'commercially' (guaranteeing a so-called 'reasonable' return on investment, according to the terms of reference drawn up by the post-war Labour Government), and so falls within the pattern of neo-colonialism. True, there exists a Commonwealth Fund for Technical co-operation, but this has recently been obliged to reduce the scope of its activity, purely because of the low contribution from Britain.

The fundamental reason for these failures is Britain's refusal to make any concrete commitment to realising steps towards the new international economic order and its clinging to as much imperial power as it can. The Third World experiences things concretely enough! As President Nyerere of Tanzania put it graphically at the conference, in 1972 Tanzania had to sell 38 tons of sisal or seven tons of cotton to buy a 7-ton truck. In 1980, to buy the same truck, they had to sell 134 tons of sisal or 28 tons of cotton. So the Third World wants action and not a load of bullshit. But in response, Thatcher seems hell-bent on following Reagan's ultra-reactionary policy of grinding down the Third World still further.

In a recent speech, Richard Luce, Parliamentary Under-Secretary at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, stated that "we (Britain) want to be judged not by what we were but by what we are today". Very well, Mr. Luce, let's take you at your word. A Britain where national minorities, most of them originating in Commonwealth countries are subjected to the foulest state-racist oppression of police harassment, immigration and nationality laws and a Britain which to this day is perpetrating an atrocious colonial war against Ireland. Does this put Britain in a good position to build a new relationship with the Third World countries and peoples in their struggle against poverty and superpower domination?

No is the answer. So we need hardly be surprised that a government-owned newspaper in Nigeria should write, even while the summit was in progress, that Nigeria has much better forums for its international activity in the Organisation of African Unity, the Non-Aligned movement, and the United Nations; "the Commonwealth may seem innocuous", the paper says, "but that is not sufficient reason to remain in a club which we think is for us one talking shop too many". The Third World's patience will not last for ever. The Commonwealth could play some positive role, but time is rapidly running out for it.

# INTERNATIONAL NOTES

**GREECE:** Andreas Papandreou is the new Prime Minister of Greece after his Party, the Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) won 174 seats out of 300 in the Greek general election. This enabled PASOK to form a government without having to ally with the strongly pro-Soviet revisionist party. PASOK was founded in 1974 and is promising to nationalise some big business and carry out other reforms. It is strongly nationalist and in principle is opposed to membership of NATO and the Common Market. Inflation in Greece runs at 25%, the Common Market's highest, but wages can't keep pace. They are the lowest of any Common Market country, only 55% of those in the Republic of Ireland. Close to 40% of the population lives from agriculture and they will be seriously hurt by production cutbacks and foreign competition resulting from Greece's Common Market membership. So, the big swing to PASOK is essentially a vote for change.

In the wake of the PASOK victory, both superpowers have blatantly interfered in Greece's internal affairs, reflecting the strategic importance of the country. Referring to Papandreou's opposition to US nuclear warheads being based on Greek soil, US Defence Secretary, Weinberger, said it was a "serious matter" and called on the Greek people to pressurise their government into changing its mind. The Soviet Union hailed PASOK's victory, noting its opposition to the USA. It called on Greece to leave NATO and conclude a bilateral defence treaty with the Soviet Union whereby Greece would not allow nuclear weapons to be stored on its territory, in return for a Soviet promise never to use nuclear weapons against Greece in any conflict.

It is not clear exactly what course the new Greek government will follow. There are believed to be many tendencies in PASOK, some looking to the social democratic parties of Western Europe, others more to the Soviet bloc. A powerful positive current identifies itself with non-alignment, the Third World, Greece's Mediterranean neighbours and nationalist forces in the Middle East like the PLO and the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party in Iraq.

**ALGERIA:** The British Gas Corporation has stopped buying liquefied natural gas (LNG) from Algeria, rather than agree to a reasonable price in new contract negotiations. France and Italy, two of Algeria's main customers, are also participating in this anti Third World campaign. A 15 year contract between British gas and Sonatrach, the Algerian oil and gas company, expired late last year and the two sides then concluded a nine-month interim agreement so that negotiations on a new long term agreement could take place. Algeria wants the price of its LNG to be at parity with the price of crude oil. The price that the Third World must pay for its imports from the developed countries is constantly increasing, so the raw material producing Third World countries are entirely justified in seeking fairer prices for their exports, in order to be able to develop their national economies.



Afghan Guerrillas show a captured Soviet tank.

**AFGHANISTAN:** Reporters from the Swedish communist paper "Gnistan", have uncovered conclusive evidence of the use of nerve gas by the Soviet Union in Afghanistan, in contravention of international agreements signed by them. 60 year old Abdul Ghaffar has lost all feelings in his arms, legs, head and chest. He suffers from diarrhoea, lack of appetite, shivering and fainting spells. His hair falls out in bunches. He claims to have been exposed to Soviet nerve gas three times. Examinations by experts have ruled out any other possible cause, such as cancer. Before he had always been healthy, never ill. Now he is a bag of bones and cannot even control his bladder. There is no cure for him. He is dying slowly and painfully. A report on Abdul Ghaffar and other victims is being sent by medical experts to the United Nations.

**BANGLADESH:** "Class Struggle" has received the sad news that Comrade Nagen Sarkar, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Bangladesh (Marxist-Leninist), and one of the greatest Bangladeshi communist leaders passed away on October 13. Although aged 83 and having been ill for some time, he was active in the struggle to the end. Becoming involved in politics in his school days, he was a peasant organiser for many years and a prominent leader of the anti-British liberation struggle. 35 years of his life were spent in prison: 16 under British rule and 18 years during Pakistani rule. He fought revisionism and helped to re-organise a Marxist-Leninist Party in 1967. Thereafter he always fought for the Marxist-Leninists to keep to the road of revolution. A true patriot, he vigorously opposed Soviet social imperialism. Many different political forces in Bangladesh paid tribute to Comrade Nagen Sarkar. A number of them noted his work to unite all genuine left forces. "This work must continue, they said. The leading patriotic newspaper, "Holiday", said in an editorial, "His deep rooted affection for the peasant masses often earned him the wrath of the feudal oppressors, British imperialists and subsequently the Pakistani oligarchs."

The Revolutionary Communist League of Britain salutes the memory of Comrade Nagen Sarkar!

**AUSTRALIA:** The arrival of Queen Elizabeth in Melbourne to attend the Commonwealth Summit (see article in this issue of "Class Struggle") provided supporters of the Irish people with a focus for protest activity. 700 demonstrators stood for three hours in pouring rain to make her arrival a memorable one. "Elizabrit" was visibly shaken by the size and intensity of the demonstration. In what was regarded as a calculated snub to the Queen and Thatcher the pro-IRA film "The Patriot Game" was screened by the Australia Film Institute in Melbourne as part of a special season of films for the Commonwealth meeting.

Also, Australia's aborigines used the occasion to draw attention to their plight and to their struggle. One Aboriginal leader said, "If you are going to support the oppressed people in South Africa as we do ... you should also support the oppressed black people in this country." Some interest was shown by Pacific Island nations. When Australia became a British penal colony in 1788, the Aboriginal population was 300,000. Today it is 160,000. Infant mortality among Aborigines is three times greater than among other Australians.

**EAST TIMOR:** In 1975 the Indonesian fascist regime illegally invaded and occupied the Portuguese colony of East Timor and suppressed the people's just aspirations for national independence. Thus began a bitter and bloody struggle in which FRETILIN is still heroically keeping alight the flame of resistance. On October 7 this year Portuguese TV exposed details of a report which has been kept secret over the past five years. The report reveals that it was none other than the then Portuguese government which actually encouraged the Indonesian fascists' criminal aims. That government was strongly influenced by the ultra-Brezhnevite 'Communist' Party of Portugal.

**CHINA/PALESTINE:** Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) recently paid an official visit to China. Socialist China has consistently supported the struggles of the Palestinian people. Chinese Communist Party Chairman, Hu Yaobang told Arafat, "We will support you as long as you fight." He said that the Palestinian people's just struggle has greatly inspired the oppressed nations and peoples around the world. Deng Xiaoping said, "You are at the forefront of the struggle for national liberation. You are our comrades-in-arms. We have all along supported the Palestinian people in their fight for liberation ... you are bound to win victory." Arafat replied, "We shall never forget the Chinese people's support to us in our struggle." According to the radio station, "Voice of Palestine", Arafat, in talks with Chinese Foreign Minister, Huang Hua praised the long standing relations between the PLO and China and thanked China for its diplomatic, political, military and material aid.

# "The Creation of World Poverty"

Book Review

"THE CREATION OF WORLD POVERTY"

Contributed

The pet animals of North America eat more meat than all the people of the South Asian subcontinent. Another absurd statistic? Is it something you half remember from a nightmare?

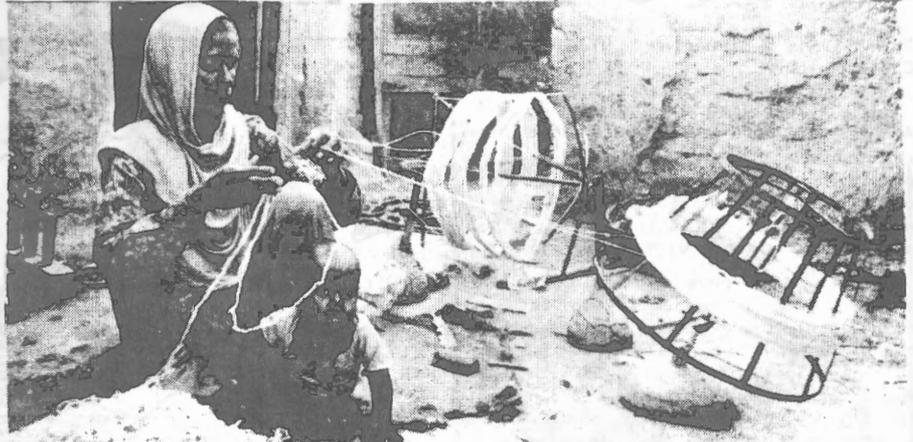
Yes, it is something you heard in a nightmare - the nightmare of a world dominated by imperialism. Every year, every week, every day the total quantity of meat eaten by the pets of North America is greater than all the meat eaten by more than 800 million people in the South Asian continent. It is part of a nightmare, and it is true.

The basic facts of the world economy are just as stark. 500 million people on this planet are severely malnourished today, although the Third World was self sufficient in food before the era of colonialism.

As for unemployment we in Britain think 3 million is a terrible figure, but 300 million are out of work in the world, mostly in countries in which a welfare state is an undreamt luxury.

This vast pool of unemployed drags wage rates far below the level of subsistence. In many countries industrial workers get one tenth or less of the comparable rate in Britain. This difference is largely pocketed by the transnational companies based in imperialist countries like the United States, Britain, or West Germany, companies which control one third of all international trade.

In the last ten or twenty years a new twist in the workings of imperialism has made all this much more immediately important for the workers in countries like Britain. No longer do the imperialist companies use the Third World merely as a source of fat dividends, of extra markets and of cheap raw materials. Now in addition these transnational companies are making use of the cheap labour of certain convenient Third World countries to produce



manufactured goods. Capitalists will always seek to invest in areas where the highest profit margins are to be found.

Countries like Brazil are especially favoured by imperialist companies for this sort of development because of their rock bottom wages, their lack of social welfare taxes, and their violent suppression of trade union activity. If these conditions persist, workers in British manufacturing will be forced either to accept drastic wage cuts or be sacked. It is therefore in the direct interest of British workers to support the demands for social and economic justice of the Third World. It is

10 years ago Tanzania had to pick 2 tons of tea to buy one land rover. Now they have to pick 6 tons of tea to buy the same landrover. How can Tanzania industrialise when the dice are loaded against her like that?

If you buy a 26p packet of Tanzanian tea, only 6p of that goes to Tanzania, to cover all the costs of growing the teas, picking, drying, transporting and packing it. How can they afford to put anything aside for economic growth as well?

not the British working class who really benefits from the imperialist subjugation of the Third World but a tiny handful of immensely wealthy capitalists.

This October the big international

summit between the heads of state of rich and poor countries in Mexico is being held as "Class Struggle" goes to print. Just the fact that the Mexico summit took place at all is a victory for the Third World, but the proposals in front of it were reformist ones muffled in the language of international diplomacy. They were based on the Brandt report and essentially represent an attempt at creating "imperialism with a human face".

## THE ALTERNATIVE VIEW TO THE BRANDT REPORT

It is therefore especially useful that a short booklet has just been produced which summarises in a lively factual way the main features of modern imperialist oppression of the Third World. Called "The Creation of World Poverty", it sets out to tell the story in a truer way than the Brandt Report could, supported as that was by imperialist politicians like Edward Heath.

In 123 readable pages the author, Teresa Hayter takes us through all the main points. The result is that it can be read in a couple of evenings and is also good to go back to in order to read a section more carefully or check the latest figures.

The only weakness is possibly that in quite correctly emphasising the severe repression of Third World workers, she does not also stress that some repressive regimes may still to some extent make demands for international economic justice that British people should support.

Often striking, but never sensational, Teresa Hayter's booklet provides probably the quickest way for serious anti-imperialists to get a clear-headed view of why the Third World is struggling against imperialist exploitation. At 2p a page it is worth every penny and its shortness means that you can either use it for a basic grounding or go on to further reading (fully listed at the back of the book) according to your circumstances. Buy it if you can.

"The Creation of World Poverty, an alternative view to the Brandt Report" by Teresa Hayter, published by Pluto Press. Available from New Era Books, 203, Seven Sisters Road, London N4 3NG. Price £2.50 plus 20p post & packing.

The next issue of "Class Struggle" will carry a report on the Mexico summit.

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FREE SAMPLES ON REQUEST

# EGYPT'S SHAH ASSASSINATED

By "Class Struggle" Middle East Correspondent

If he had died at the end of 1973, Anwar Sadat of Egypt would have been remembered in the Arab world as the president who loosened the Soviet hold on Egypt and led his country into a war with Israel in which the Egyptian army won some great victories.

As it was, news of his death was greeted with open jubilation in most Arab countries. Even Arab countries which have close relations with the US (as Sadat did) only wrote rather muted and formal statements of regret. In Egypt itself, there couldn't be a starker contrast than that between Sadat's funeral and that of his nationalist predecessor, Nasser. When the latter died, millions of ordinary Egyptians flocked to Cairo and virtually took over his funeral. Sadat's funeral was an affair for foreign dignitaries, top members of the government and armed forces, and thousands of soldiers brought in to keep ordinary citizens away, in case they became violent. One British bourgeois commentator said that there were more ex-American presidents present than ordinary Egyptians!

## Economic and Social Crisis

The reasons for this are not hard to find. Inside Egypt, the past ten years has seen a widening of the gap between rich and poor. Private capitalists have been given more freedom of operation; top officials in government and the state sector, as well as the upper ranks of the army, have steadily gained larger and larger incomes. For workers and peasants and other elements of the masses though things have gone from bad to worse. Subsidies which used to be given to keep down the price of staple foods have been withdrawn; rents have been allowed to climb. In Nasser's day, university graduates were guaranteed jobs; this is no longer the case. Inflation is running at 50%, but wage rises lag way behind price increases.

Naturally, this has fuelled popular discontent. Within a couple of years of the victorious crossing of the Suez canal in 1973, workers in Cairo took to the streets crying, "Sadat, Hero of the Crossing! Give us bread!" Waves of strikes have followed over the years since then. It is believed that Marxist-Leninists are very active in these struggles.

## Betrayal

But the thing which aroused the deepest hostility to Sadat all over the Arab world was the Camp David Accords with Israel and all that followed from them. Israel was established in Palestine by Jewish colonists from various parts of the world; with imperialist support. Since it was already inhabited by the Palestinian Arabs, the only way a Jewish state could be set up was by the expulsion of Palestinians from their land by terror. Israel was established on Palestinian soil, and as a result three fifths of the Palestinians were turned into refugees, excluded from their own country. This is the basic cause of the conflict between Israel and the Arab nation; the Palestinians are determined to return to their homeland and establish a democratic secular



state there, and the Arab masses support them; Israel, for its part, has pursued an expansionist policy, repressed those Palestinians under its rule, continued to dispossess them of their land and used them as cheap labour. Consequently, any Arab regime which has been seen as moving towards a deal with Israel, or just being too friendly with Israel's friends, has been regarded by nationalists, progressives and the masses as treasonous.

Sadat went further than any other Arab leader had. His betrayal of the Palestinian cause and the worsening internal situation combined to fuel an upsurge of opposition in many quarters. Sadat's reply was to brand all opposition as "Soviet-inspired", and clamp down on it. Striking workers, Muslim fundamentalists, Egypt's Christian minority, feminists (including Nawal El-Saadawi, writer of "The Hidden Face of Eve"), and members of the legal (but anti-Camp David) opposition were among those jailed and subjected to state repression in the weeks before Sadat's assassination. But opposition exists in the armed forces and, as the assassination proved, it extends high up in the army.

## CHINA - FOR REUNIFICATION.

Socialist China celebrated two important anniversaries in October. October 1 was the 32nd anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, and October 10 was the 70th anniversary of the democratic revolution, led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, that overthrew the Qing Dynasty and established a republic.

On the occasion of these anniversaries, China has made major appeals to the authorities in Taiwan, calling on them to enter into negotiations to peacefully reunify the country and thus carry forward the work begun by Dr. Sun, who is regarded by all Chinese as a great national hero. China has stated that Taiwan's autonomy and present system will be respected and she will not force any arbitrary changes onto the island. Chinese Communist Party Chairman, Hu Yaobang has invited the Taiwan leaders to the mainland either for talks, or simply for a visit. Comrade Ye Jianying, Chairman of China's National People's Congress said, "China's reunification and prosperity is in the vital interest of the Chinese people of all nationalities ... (and) in the interest of peace in the Far East and the world."



## Is the Opposition Soviet-inspired

Is the opposition Soviet-inspired? Some undoubtedly is, but the vast majority consists of forces who are opposed to Sadat's betrayal of Palestine, his repression and his ruinous economic policies and who are no ones stooges. The Soviet Union, however, did help to worsen Sadat's position; during the October 1973 war it withheld important spare parts from the Egyptian army and so weakened it in the face of the Israeli counter attack, so that the war ended less favourably than it might have. It has also refused to re-schedule Egypt's crushing debt repayments to it, thus inflicting greater hardships on the Egyptian people.

Sadat's subservience to the USA and friendship with Israel, and his labelling of all opposition forces as "pro-Soviet" actually served the Soviet Union's interests - after all, reason some, if someone like Sadat opposes the Soviet Union it can't be so bad!

There is a danger that the Soviet imperialists will try to take advantage of Sadat's death to boost their own influence in Egypt. But while being aware of that, revolutionaries and progressives in Britain must sympathise with the Arab masses for whom the killing of Sadat was the execution of a traitor and a tyrant.



At one stage, Sun Yat-sen, the leader of China's democratic revolution, carried out his work in London. Once the Chinese Legation kidnapped him with the intention of smuggling him back to China for execution. Sun Yat-sen regained his freedom by his own efforts and with the help of many progressive British people. A new play being performed in China "Sun Yat-sen's London encounter with danger" recalls this historical episode. The Chinese magazine "Beijing Review" said that the play, "depicts the fine quality of the British people and the friendship between Sun Yat-sen and his foreign friends. Photo shows Sun being greeted on his release, by British friends, on the stage in Beijing."

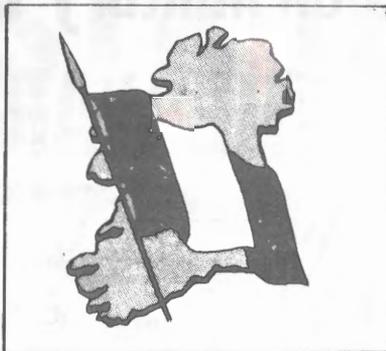
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the mobilisation of the masses." For the well-heeled actors and actresses who populate the upper echelons of the WRP to describe the Irish nationalists, who are based solidly amongst the poorest and most oppressed working people of Ireland, as "middle class" is simply laughable. Their claim that the IRA reject mobilising the masses misses a number of points: who is it who turns out by the thousand to march in support of the prisoners and the national struggle? Who elected Bobby Sands and Owen Carron to Westminster and Kieran Doherty and Paddy Agnew to the Free State Dail? Who has built hundreds of H-Block/Armagh Committees throughout the 32-counties of Ireland? How is the military struggle sustained in the face of British occupation and repression, if not with the support of the people?

"Newline" also stated,

"The WRP is opposed to the shooting or bombing of generals or Irish guards under conditions where the working class do not yet appreciate the reactionary role of the army in this country."

In other words, the oppressed people and nations must keep their heads down, must not rise in struggle until such time as the working class of the imperialist countries have reached an equally high political level. This monstrously racist logic would not only condemn the oppressed to years more of suffering, it would setback the struggle of the working class in the imperialist countries themselves, by depriving them of the positive examples of the higher level of resistance waged by the oppressed nations and peoples,



No wonder trotskyites have never led a single revolution to victory anywhere in the world.

It is also interesting to note that neither the CPGB or the WRP played any part in the campaign in Britain in solidarity with the hunger strikers. But if the anti-imperialist struggle is at a safe distance these organisations can be very vocal in their "support", for example the WRP on Palestine and the CPGB on South Africa. The tactics used by Irish patriots are not vastly different from those used by Palestinian or South African freedom fighters.

#### THE COMMUNIST STANDPOINT

Genuine communists in Britain extend unconditional support to the Irish liberation struggle, and to its Republican leadership. They regard the liberation of Ireland as a necessary pre-condition for revolutionary advance in Britain, and they support the right of the Irish people to determine whatever tactics may be necessary in their fight. Like the Republican movement, British communists regret the fact that innocent civilians may be killed or injured in the war. But they

place the blame where it belongs - on British imperialism, whose occupation of Ireland is the sole cause of the present war.

BRITISH IMPERIALISM, GET OUT OF IRELAND !



## TROOPS OUT CONFERENCE

By a member of the Troops Out Movement

About 60 people representing branches all over the country attended the recent conference of the Troops Out Movement (TOM). The conference decided to continue building support for its two demands of Troops Out Now, and Self Determination for the Irish people as a whole, on a clear cut anti-imperialist basis. Key target areas were considered to be the national minorities and liberation movements, rank and file working class activists and the Irish community. With these groups as the core, leadership can be given to an eventual broader campaign for British withdrawal.

The intensity of the struggle in Ireland is forcing various political forces in Britain to move towards a Troops Out position of one kind or another. But many are not consistent or seek solutions that would leave Loyalist domination in the six counties intact. This is why the stand taken by TOM is so welcome - it is very important to build TOM as the leadership of the Irish solidarity movement, a leadership that can give direction to the campaign and not be blown off course by fake 'solutions'.

An example of this perspective in action was given at the conference. Supporters of the Trotskyite IMG were arguing that TOM should put its main effort into a withdrawal campaign based

in the Labour Party. The majority of delegates rejected this idea. They welcomed the fact that the bi-partisan policy is under pressure and that Ireland had become an issue in some parts of the Labour Party. But they recognised how limited real progress had been. The best way to assist any genuine anti-imperialists who might be in the Labour Party is to build a strong, disciplined and independent campaign which in time can exert real pressure on the Labour Party, a party that participates and has always part-

icipated, in the imperialist oppression of Ireland.

Prospects for TOM are good. It is the leading Irish solidarity group in this country and the collective organiser for many of the hardest working individuals and groups. The main task now is to build an effective national campaign. In the past, TOM has been weak in functioning as a national movement. Now the activists are more united and a national campaign can be planned that will consolidate TOM as the core of the solidarity movement and give coherence and direction to local work.

## THE TROOPS OUT MOVEMENT



The Troops Out Movement is a movement in England, Scotland and Wales made up of people who believe that the cause of the 'troubles' in the north of Ireland is the continuing British presence there, both military and economic. We believe that British troops are in Ireland not as a peacekeeping force, but in order to maintain British rule, and that their presence is the most serious obstacle to any progress towards peace. For over ten years the troops have been occupying a part of Ireland, coarsing and oppressing the nationalist people, maintaining the division of Ireland and ensuring that its people cannot unite to determine their own future.

We have been working as an organisation for immediate British withdrawal since the early 1970s. We now have over 40 branches in England, Scotland and Wales. These branches, working locally in whatever ways circumstances allow, are the backbone of the TOM. Membership, or affiliation, is open to any individual or group supporting the demands:

TROOPS OUT NOW  
SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE IRISH PEOPLE AS A WHOLE

# Attacks on Military Targets

## I.R.A. BRING THE WAR TO BRITAIN

The IRA have claimed responsibility for two bomb attacks on military targets in recent weeks in London. The last IRA action in Britain was the bombing of the Uxbridge RAF barracks in West London in January. It had been widely speculated that, with the ending of the hunger strike in the H-Blocks after the murder of ten hunger strikers and with the IRA considerably strengthened, a new military campaign in Britain would take place.

The first attack, on Saturday, October 10th, was on a busload of Irish Guards returning from the Tower of London. It took place right outside Chelsea Barracks. The shrapnel bomb which was packed into a van was detonated by remote control by an IRA volunteer as the bus containing 23 British soldiers passed by. 22 of them were injured, nine seriously, including one critically. Very unfortunately, two innocent civilians were also killed and seventeen others suffered, mostly slight, injuries.

Commenting on the operation, "An Phoblacht/Republican News" said,

"Despite two regrettable civilian fatalities and seventeen other... civilian injuries, the attack was acclaimed by the republican people throughout the beleaguered nationalist ghettos and countryside in the occupied six counties, as part of the very necessary extension of the war outside of the North, particularly into the very heart of the imperialist monster: London."

In its statement claiming responsibility, the IRA said,

"The attack is attributable to the state of war which exists between the British government who occupy Ireland, and the Irish people who strike out though the IRA.

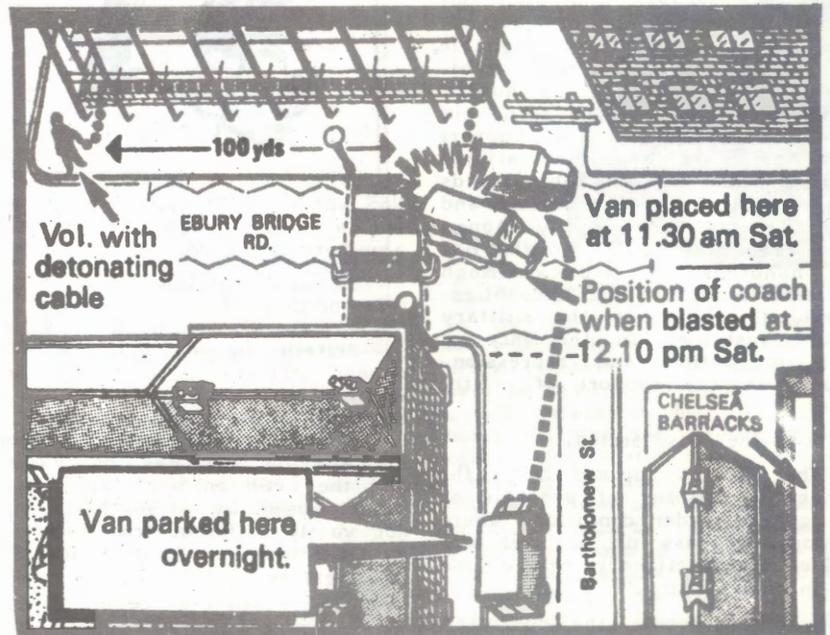
"We await the hypocrisy which will undoubtedly follow from British political leaders whose attitude to Irish victims of their violence in our country only strengthens our conviction in our cause and methods."

The IRA prediction was quite accurate. Margaret Thatcher led the anti-Irish abuse with typically racist remarks about "sub humans", whilst pretending to have human feelings when visiting the injured in hospital. London police chiefs called on anybody who had recently rented accommodation to anyone with an Irish accent to contact the police.

### IMPERIALIST CHIEF ATTACKED

Exactly one week later, the IRA struck again, this time in South London when a booby trap bomb exploded injuring Sir Stuart Pringle, Commandant-General of the Royal Marines. Pringle's right leg had to be amputated below the knee.

The highest ranking serving officer in the British Army to be attacked by Irish patriots since the present stage of the war began in 1969, Pringle was a prize catch.



Joining the marines in 1946, as an officer of 42 Commando, he played an active part in British imperialism's brutal war against the Malayan people. He took part in the invasion of Egypt in 1956, twice fought against the Cypriot patriots and in 1971 did two "tours of duty" in northern Ireland with the 45 Commando of the Royal Marines, who are at present in West Belfast. The "Sunday Express" commented, "Much of his service life has been bound up with the fight against terrorists."

Translated into more truthful language this means that Pringle is a man who has devoted his life to defending the brutal oppression and blood-sucking exploitation of British imperialism around the world, and to trampling on the oppressed when they dare to rise up.

Pringle's address was listed in "Who's Who" and the telephone directory, which prompted some newspapers to call for a review of security procedures. But the "Daily Mail" quoted an unnamed Deputy Chief of Staff as saying,

"One can't live in a hole in the ground. If the IRA want to get you, they will."

This unusually revealing statement shows that in reality the British Army recognises the IRA as a skilled and competent guerilla army whose abilities are not to be lightly dismissed and whom they have no strategy for defeating. Talk of the IRA being "on the verge of defeat" or "playing its last card" is strictly for public propaganda purposes.

### CHAUVINISTS EMERGE FROM WOODWORK

Predictably, the IRA campaign in Britain has forced the chauvinists of the British 'left' out of the woodwork where they hid themselves when young Republican freedom fighters were being starved to death in Long Kesh.

After the first bomb, the "Morning Star", paper of the revisionist CPGB, described it as "particularly brutal and vicious". It went on to repeat its treacherous call for the IRA to lay down its arms.

After the second bomb, "Newsline", paper of the trotskyite WRP, described the Irish national movement as "middle class" and said that they were "rejecting any programme for

### FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

- Friday October 30.  
International Liberation Day.  
Third World countries unite against imperialism, colonialism, racism. Exhibition of revolutionary art. Open all day. Contributions from: Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, El Salvador, Guatemala, Lebanon, Namibia, Nicaragua, Palestine, West Sahara, South Africa, the American Indian Movement and elsewhere.  
Solidarity evening at 7.30pm: Choir of the ANC South Africa. Dance and drum group of the American Indian Movement. Folk groups from Palestine, Bolivia, Lebanon, El Salvador, Chile and Malta. Speakers from El Salvador, Namibia, South Africa and Palestine liberation movements.
- Kensington Town Hall, Hornton St, London W 8.  
Tickets £1.50.  
Organised by the Committee for International Liberation Day.
- Sunday November 29.  
Manchester Martyrs Memorial March.  
Assemble 2pm, St Patrick's Church, Oldham Rd., Manchester. March to rally at Mostyn cemetery.  
Organised by Sinn Fein (Britain).
- Friday, Saturday, Sunday December 11, 12, 13.  
Memorial weekend for Charles Parker.  
Working class folk music and socialist theatre.  
Performers include Ewan MacColl and Peggy Seeger, and Banner Theatre Group.  
Digbeth Civic Hall, Birmingham.
- Concert tour of England by El Salvador folk group, Banda Tepeuari. Details from El Salvador Solidarity Campaign on 01-359-2270.  
Concerts in London, Brighton, Liverpool, Bradford, Sheffield, Leeds, York, Oxford, Norwich.