

CLASS STRUGGLE



Political Paper of the Revolutionary Communist League of Britain

VOL.10 NO.10 OCTOBER 1986

25P

BLACK PEOPLE DEMAND FREEDOM

BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY!



On the night of Thursday, September 11th, over 600 police were used in a massive attack on the black community in the St Pauls area of Bristol, under the pretext of searching for drugs. Over 80 people were arrested in the course of fierce fighting, many were strip-searched and two people finally charged.

In the days following the attack, the Home Secretary Douglas Hurd gave full backing to the police. 'The Sun' and other papers launched a racist campaign against Ras Balogun, a Rasta from St Pauls, accusing him of having said that he wished Assistant Police Chief Popplewell would die of the heart attack he suffered.

FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM

In an interview with 'The Voice', Ras Balogun denied having made the remarks attributed to him but explained: "It is unfortunate he had a heart attack but he brought it on himself..."

"I still don't feel compassion. They don't feel compassion for our kids who are arrested, beaten-up, strip-searched and all the other things they do to them in police cells."

Later on in the interview, he said: "...What we are fighting for is freedom. This freedom will come by any means necessary."

The fight for freedom from racist oppression continues on

many fronts in different parts of the country.

From Bradford and Manchester, to the East End of London and St Pauls of Bristol, racist attacks have been on the increase. Wherever attacks have taken place, black people have learned from bitter experience that the police will not protect them. They have to organise in self-defence.

The Broadwater Farm Defence Campaign has continued to work to defend those arrested since the uprisings last year. In September, they organised pickets outside the Old Bailey to protest the innocence of those charged.

On September 1st, the government announced a further strengthening of the immigration laws with new visa requirements.

In the same month, campaigns and protests were held against

the escalating number of deportations. The Immigration and Nationality laws already give the Home Office all the powers they need to harass, threaten and deport black people.

In September, a leader of the Kashmiri people's liberation struggle, a two-year old child and many others came under threat of deportation. (For 'etails, see inside.)

Introducing the new visa requirements, Home Secretary Douglas Hurd used the same arguments made by Merlyn Rees in May 1969 when the Labour government introduced new rules for wives and children applying to join husbands here.

At the start of the party conference season, it is already clear that none of the main political parties will change the fundamental racism in this society. The old slogan 'Tory - Labour Both the Same, Both Play the Racist Game' - still holds true. The only answer is the strategy of self-reliance and self-organisation followed by many in the black communities.

.....SOUTH AFRICAN MINING DISASTER...

177 DEAD!

.....WHO PROFITS?...

WHO PAYS?.....P.5.

THE PHILIPPINES STRUGGLE



New Situation, New TacticsPage 4

Politics With A Difference
???????



Marxism Today

NEW SOCIALIST

PUTTING THE SNAP
CRACKLE AND POP
BACK INTO POLITICS

90p MONTHLY

HALF PRICE FOR STUDENTS!

*A New Look for
The Left. P.3.*

PAGE 6

HERE TO STAY!!!

THE LEFT DRIFTS RIGHT

From time to time, 'Class Struggle' carries articles criticising the policies and practices of other organisations on the left. Usually these criticisms are related to their stand towards current events and trends in the world. Such articles have usually been popular with readers. Although they often have to go into complicated issues, they help clarify what is right and wrong on the left, and give a clearer idea of what needs to be done. Such polemics are an essential part of building a revolutionary organisation: they serve to educate those who study them on how to tell real from false Marxism and how to decide on the most suitable course forward for the struggles in which they are involved.

We print below an article which we hope will contribute to this kind of debate. While agreeing with many of the arguments in the article, we do not agree with parts. We welcome replies, comments etc. from our readers.

THE STATE OF THE LEFT

Contributed.

Consolidation of the Rightist Trend

In an article carried in 'Class Struggle' at the end of last year (1985- Crisis on the Left, 'Class Struggle' Vol.9, Nos 11-12), the impact of the increasing crisis of British imperialism upon the left here was examined. The article showed how, at a time when the importance and the possibilities of revolutionary work were increasing, the bulk of the left was distancing itself further from such work. This was especially true of the Labour left as a whole, but also of some outside it.

In the months since that article was written, that rightward trend has further consolidated itself.

'New Socialist', which began as a Labour Party magazine of Bennite inclinations, three years ago, has turned its back on "hard Left" (!) politics under the editorship of Stuart Weir, and now simply reflects the preoccupations and obsessions of its middle class, tired ex-student readership.

Pages and pages of this glossy magazine are filled with life-style politics that are totally irrelevant to the bulk of working class people for whom the increasingly difficult struggle to get by is more urgent. It has little to say about solidarity with liberation struggles, except for that in South Africa/Azania - an easy one to support.

In May of this year, associate editors Michele Barrett and Rosalind Coward wrote of how 'New Socialist' had "shown a willingness to move away from the traditional concerns of the white, male, middle-aged left". But all it seems to have done is to address itself more successfully to white, middle-aged people in general, of vaguely left of centre politics.

It has supposedly been heavily influenced by feminist perspectives but these can, without abusing that much misused term, be fairly called bourgeois feminist perspectives. Time and time again, issues such as incest, child murder, motherhood and sexuality, which have been raised by a wider women's movement, have been treated in a way divorced from class, as though, for example, the experience of motherhood which working class and middle class women have, is not radically different.

This "broadening" of the magazine's coverage, its "openness", concern with "style", etc. so beloved of an assortment of ex-

student hand-wringers in safe middle class jobs (not to mention its ugly new design, which resembles closely that of the pretentious magazine, 'The Face'), has not done it much good: 'New Socialist's' circulation has halved in the past year.

Also suffering under the impact of such soft left politics is 'New Statesman' magazine, now down to a quarter of its peak 1960's sales. The appointment of Kinnock supporter John Lloyd as editor should ensure that it says even less to upset the Labour leadership than in the past. 'Tribune', once the main voice of the Labour left, is also firmly hitched to the Kinnock bandwagon. It seems fitting. In the past, when people like Wilson and Foot were on the left of the Labour Party, they worked with 'Tribune', and then parted company with it as they moved to the right and to the top. 'Tribune' has moved after Kinnock, saving them from parting.

This clutch of right-moving Kinnock supporters is completed by the Communist Party's domin-

situations made the error of trying to hold back the struggles of the workers and peasants because they thought that was necessary in order to maintain their united front with bourgeois reformist parties. The modern CPGB has made this error the cornerstone of its policies for decades, but its policies have steadily worsened.

In the recent past, it has condemned the miners for violent picketing, and criticised the NUM for not adopting policies and tactics which it thought would win public opinion to its side: policies and tactics "moderate" enough to win the approval of the middle class people and trade union and Labour hacks who constitute the "public opinion" which is the CPGB's main concern today.

Now Eric Hobsbawm, leading CPGB theoretician, has re-written the history of the communist movement to add weight to his backing for a coalition government composed of Labour,

and Politics', edited by Chris Wrigley), he paraphrases part of a resolution adopted at the Fourth World Congress of the Communist International in 1922, saying that it called for the establishment of "broad" governments in the capitalist countries, when it actually said: "In certain circumstances, Communists must declare themselves ready to form a workers' government with non-Communist workers' parties and workers' organisations".

The kind of government Hobsbawm and his wing of the CPGB want is opposed by most of the Labour left, who believe that Labour's coalition partners would cooperate to stifle any pro-working class initiatives backed by the Labour Party. We, who have less faith in Labour's virtues, can see that a coalition would provide an easy way

while the other group, around the journal 'International', has taken a more critical stance towards Labour's leadership, and has also made a greater commitment to solidarity with Third World liberation movements than the Ross faction.

Since the split in the Workers' Revolutionary Party, last October, the expelled Healey faction have kept all the trappings of a religious cult, idolising their leader, seeing great conspiracies on all sides against their party and keeping the membership at arms length from other political tendencies, in a world of its own. (Funny enough, there is much in their antics which various Trotskyist groups have claimed is typical of "Stalinist" parties!) The WRP majority, has gone into a serious re-evaluation of its past since Healey's expulsion, with the consequence that the letters page of its weekly 'Workers Press' is now one of the liveliest and most thought-provoking on the left. One immediate result of the rejection of a great deal of the WRP's past under Healey, was the establishment of a commitment to serious work in solidarity with Ireland, which can only be welcomed in a left which generally has a bad record on this struggle so close to home. The WRP majority has also recently begun to challenge the Healey position towards women's movements worldwide, which branded them all, irrespective of their class composition and the content of their demands, as "bourgeois feminist".

In contrast to these positive developments, 'Socialist Organiser' has assumed the role of apologist for Zionism and Loyatism. The turn to a Militant-type "unite the workers - nationalism is divisive" line took place first in relation to Ireland. But in the past year, it was also extended to Palestine. Now 'Socialist Organiser' puts Zionism and Palestinian nationalism on a par, when the first is necessarily an oppressive ideology (in that the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine meant the dispossession of the Palestinians and Palestinian nationalism is the nationalism of an oppressed people who want only their own national freedom, not the oppression of anyone else). This means that 'Socialist Organiser' opposes the PLO and opposes the call for a democratic, secular state of Palestine. Labour Party students who support the Palestinians found at the last NUS conference that their pro-Palestinian work came in for more obstruction from 'Socialist Organiser' than the pro-Israel Union of Jewish Students.

The move rightwards, away from campaigning in the working class, and away from any consistent internationalist position, which much of the left has made, is opening up the political space for communist politics to have a greater influence. The League has to work out how to take up this challenge and make the most of the new possibilities that exist. Hopefully, productive dialogue can be established with those on the left who reject the rightward shift of the majority, who see through Labourism to a large extent, and who believe in the necessity of a socialist revolution in Britain in alliance with the liberation movements of Ireland and the Third World. Fundamental differences must not be glossed over, but a dialogue through which all learn from each other's strengths will be of service to the working people who liberation is the desired goal of all.

ant wing, who publish 'Marxism Today' and 'Seven Days'. They want a "broad alliance" against "Thatcherism", which would extend as far as "progressive Tories"; their harshest words seem to be reserved for the "hard left", which ranges from Benn supporters through Arthur Scargill and his allies in the National Union of Mineworkers to the Trotskyist groups outside the Labour Party. Over the past few months, they have been marking the establishment of the Popular Front governments in France and Spain in 1936, representing them as great successes and precedents for the CP's present policies. If they were precedents, it was only to the extent that the Communist Parties in those

Liberals and SDP. In an essay in a collection in honour of A.J.P.Taylor ('Warfare, Diplomacy

Philippines: New Tactics for CP

Talks about a ceasefire between the government and the New People's Army (NPA) are under way in the Philippines. The NPA is part of the National Democratic Front, which includes the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), Christians for National Liberation and other revolutionary organisations. It is representatives of the NDF who are conducting the negotiations from the revolutionary side.

The present situation is a difficult one. In July, a group of Marcos loyalists tried to stage a coup, and there is a danger of more serious attempts to overthrow the government in the future and to restore fascism. The July issue of the CPP's monthly 'Ang Bayan' carried a major article analysing the character of the Aquino government, and setting out the CPP's views on the present situation and the party's aims in the period ahead. 'An Urgent Task: Consolidate the National United Front' throws a lot of light on the thinking of the CPP as the ceasefire talks go ahead.

"Class Struggle" reproduces excerpts from this article below: subheadings are ours.

The fundamental contradiction in the semicolonial and semi-feudal Philippine society is headed towards its final resolution. The major political forces are all gearing for big battles ahead. The broad masses of the people are at a high level of political preparedness and activity. On the other hand, the rifts within the ranks of the reactionary ruling classes continue to widen, with those in the extreme Right scheming to predominate and reimpose out-and-out fascist rule.

The overthrow of the Marcos fascist dictatorship and the installation of the Aquino government last February failed to solve the contradictions within the ruling classes who are now divided and weakened and therefore unable to fully influence events in the direction they want. Neither did the events of last February alter the nature or abate the intensity of the fundamental contradiction in Philippine society, that is, between US imperialism and the local reactionary classes, on the one hand, and the broad masses of the Filipino people on the other.

At the forefront today in the reactionary camp which are scheming to restore fascist rule or to further entrench imperial-

imperialists in and out of government, and the clerico-fascists who represent the extreme Right in the Catholic church.

DIVIDED GOVERNMENT

'Ang Bayan' states that the ruling coalition is predominantly reactionary in composition, but says that it also contains a number of liberal democrats, giving it two aspects, one reactionary and fascist, the other democratic.

'Ang Bayan' continues: The liberal democrats want to

push the democratisation process and at least reduce imperialist domination over the country, but they have been blocked time and again by the Enrile-Ramos fascist clique and the pro-imperialist Ongpin-Fernandez clique. On the prodding of US imperialism, Enrile and Ramos are intensifying their anti-communist propaganda and "counterinsurgency" operations, while battling for the retention of US military bases here. Enrile, who has presidential ambitions of his own, has also been playing footsie with the Marcos loyalists.

The liberal democrats, who are of a patriotic, democratic and pro-people standpoint, have been instrumental in pushing the Aquino government's initial democratic reforms. Although a minority in the highest councils of the government, they were able to take the initiative. They have slowed down somewhat. They are handicapped by their lack of numbers in the government and by their lack of strong organisations and power base. On their own, the liberal democrats have shown a lack of will to carry on fighting for pro-people measures and they tend to vacillate and even compromise with the reactionaries. They need popular support, specifically of the organised democratic forces, and rely on Mrs. Aquino's backing to sustain their struggle with the fascists and proimperialists.

'Ang Bayan' argues that the US is pressing the Aquino government to intensify attacks on the NPA and to agree to US bases staying after 1991. It is leaving open its options should the Aquino government not cooperate with its plans.

'Ang Bayan' considers that the influence of the Catholic Church hierarchy has grown because of its role in getting rid of Marcos. Although the dominant section is reaction, a pro-people trend is developing inside the Catholic Bishops Conference because of the exposure of many bishops to the people's problems

and struggles.

AQUINO

Concerning the president, 'Ang Bayan' says,

President Aquino has a liberal tendency, especially an anti-fascist sentiment born of her family's victimisation by the Marcos fascist regime and her direct participation in the antifascist struggles. By reason of her class background, she also has a big landlord comprador bourgeois bias... She has been trying to play a balancing act between the liberal and the ultrareactionaries of her government... She continues to enjoy wide popular support but more and more people are becoming disillusioned with her because of her inability to address the fundamental problems of society.



President Aquino meets Jose Maria Sison-jailed under Marcos as alleged leader of the Communist Party.

TASKS OF THE PARTY

'Ang Bayan' says that the Party missed many excellent opportunities by its boycott policy towards the presidential election, but points out that the Party, NPA and the organisations and alliances the Party built are still intact. They also have a clear programme and are not tied to the government but, we need to do much more urgently to reestablish the pre-eminence of national-democratic leadership in the popular movement at the national level.

...We must avail (ourselves)



Young fighters of the New People's Army.

Photo: May Gylfeldt and Per Gunnar Gabrielsen.

Self Reliantly Forward

The first part of this interview was carried in the July/August issue of 'Class Struggle'. We print below the second and final part of the interview:

'Class Struggle': Can you say something about the importance of the women's movement for your revolution?

Tigray People's Liberation Front: Well, this is one of the impressive achievements that we reached. For instance, 30 percent of the whole army are women. In the Political Bureau of the TPLF, as battalion commanders, there are many women as chairwomen of the whole council. Previously, the women were seen as supplementary to the men only for reproducing human beings, and confined to housework.

CS: Have you had to develop further the theory of the national question?

TPLF: Well, it's not even a question of theory. It's just logic that if people want to secede, any progressive, any Marxist would say, you should not stop them by force. I would try to convince them that unity based on equality is to the advantage of the working class. But actually, if they say no, we want to secede, that is their basic political right... But as a progressive organisation we agitate for unity based on equality. In fact, the narrow nationalist tendency that was prevailing in our society, the idea that all Amharas (the dominant nationality in Ethiopia - CS Editor) are our enemies, even working class Amharas, we convinced our people that this

is wrong, and convinced them that it is the ruling class of Amhara which is our common enemy - the enemy of the Tigrayan people, enemy of the Eritrean people, enemy of the Ethiopian people and enemy of the Amhara people.

They are the ones who are dividing us. But the poor Amhara has no benefit from the ruling class of Amhara. In fact they are our friends, our allies, our combatants, our comrades. So what we want is to overthrow the ruling class and ally the class alliances between Tigray and the whole of Ethiopia and Amhara, and then substitute a democratic government whereby the democratic rights of the people can be recognised. This, as progressives, we push for it, but at the same time if the people want to secede, it is their right.

CS: Is this principle viewed as a threat by the other regimes in Africa, in that it conflicts, at a certain level, with the

Organisation of African Unity's (OAU) principle of the non-violability of the frontiers inherited from colonialism?

TPLF: Well, you know this is irrelevant, with these big international organisations like the OAU and the United Nations (UN), we have to see whether they look after the interests



of the people, of the oppressed, of the working class. No, they don't. They look after the interests of the imperialists. So all the laws that exist in the OAU, in the UN, are in the interests of the ruling class, that's not the law of the working class, that is the law of the bourgeoisie. So that does not apply to any oppressed country.

Some governments bring in this principle of non-interference

in internal affairs from the UN Charter, that's just justification for themselves: for the ruling class it means "scratch my back, I'll scratch yours". But for the grassroots it doesn't apply. These governments are repressing the working class, the peasantry, the whole nation. So who's going to defend them? You have to interfere somehow.

So this has no logic or reason behind it, when you see it from the oppressed's perspective. But when you see it from the bourgeoisie's perspective, it's true. Truth has its own class character, anyway. For the bourgeoisie like Reagan, or Thatcher for instance, if you say imperialism is getting weaker and weaker and more and more rotten, she wouldn't believe it, because it is not true for her! So if you see us, we are illegal in the eyes of the UN, in the eyes of any government, in the eyes of the OAU. But we are not illegal for our people! We are legal for our people! In the eyes of the oppressors we are terrorists or whatever, because we are a threat to the bourgeoisie, but we are legal to our people. The Dergue is illegal to them. But it is legal to the Soviet Union, to the bourgeoisie.

CS: Your strategy of self-reliance seems to foreshadow a way forward for the liberation

struggles, which are necessarily increasingly directed against neo-colonial systems dependent upon imperialism. Can you say something about this, and particularly about your view of those theories which emphasise the need for "delinking" from the world economy?

TPLF: We have studied this and there are certain things we accept and certain things we don't accept. We have studied the experience of the Soviet Union - the Bolshevik revolution - China, Vietnamese revolution, Latin America, and still we, students, we are into study and implementing the positive aspects of these.

In the world today, we see many countries having a slogan of self-reliance, but in practice they are neo-colonised. If we have mass support, you can do it. If you are against the people, ultimately you will have a repressive regime. So, in order to get popular support you have to implement structures that are beneficial to the people. The people have to gain certain benefits from the revolution.

90 percent of our population have gained from the distribution. They see that we have gained this from the revolution. People have never seen medical services at all before. They elect their own leaders,

of all means to build up our forces, weaken our enemies; win over more allies, and rally the majority of the Filipino people to our central slogan: Fight for the full realisation of democracy and independence!

...Our specific targets of attack are US imperialism, the Enrile-Ramos/AFP fascist bloc, the Marcos loyalists/ KBL warlords, the proimperialists in and out of government, and the clerico-fascists.

The armed struggle remains central to the seizure of political power. But the unarmed means of struggle—such as the open mass movement, work within the government, and diplomatic work—assume greater importance than before...To achieve our objectives, we need to build the national revolutionary united front of all national and democratic forces. It is within the NRUF that we ally or cooperate with forces not led by the Party but who objectively contribute to the advancement of the programme of the National Democratic Front. Through the NRUF we can win over or neutralise, the leftmost wing of the reactionary ruling classes through their representatives in the political parties, in the government and in the church leadership.

PRINCIPLED STAND

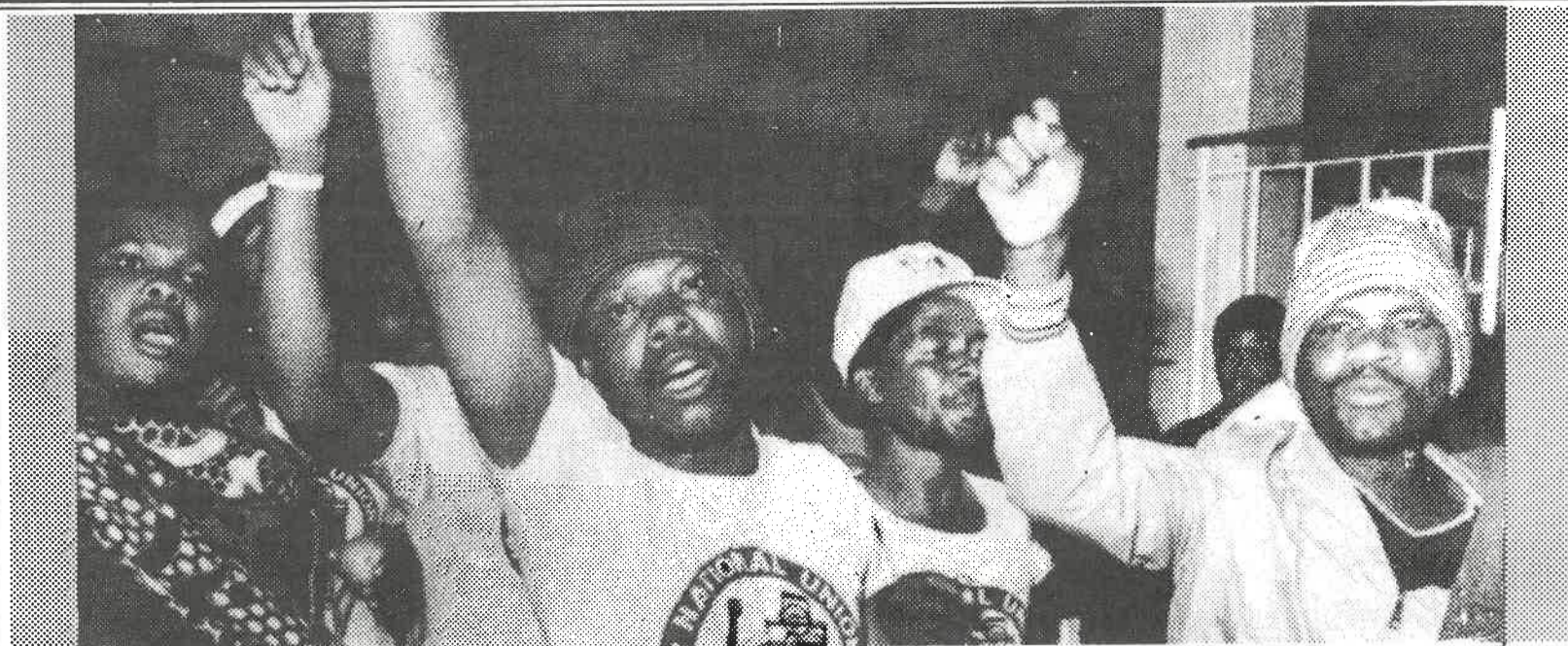
It is quite clear from its analysis of the situation today and the Party's tasks that the CPP is a strong and mature Marxist-Leninist Party which supports the present ceasefire talks with its eyes open and with a commitment to firmness in matters of principle, but the flexibility in tactics that is necessary for the revolutionary movement in the Philippines today.

*'CS' note: Enrile is Defence Minister in the present government and Ramos is chief of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP). Both were loyal to Marcos until days before his overthrow.

The KBL is the New Society Movement, Marcos' former party.

people's councils, soviet-type. they find an individual is not capable, they demote him, so they have a congress every two years. So they see this revolution is theirs, nobody else's. So if you go to Tigray now, parents encourage their sons and daughters to join the Front, if they don't want to lose the benefits from the revolution. They want to build the Front stronger so that they can exercise more rights.

So they contribute human power, economic aid. They want to contribute grain. In some areas we have to push them not to contribute so much. This is what self-reliance means, relying on your own people. When there is a battle to attack some garrison, the whole society is engaged in different respects: bringing water, bringing food, etc. and in a short period of time, we will be victorious. We have small industries like repair shops, woodworking shops, welding, smelting... If you are really genuinely politically motivated for the people, then you implement your political motives into the society and it will be materialised in the society. The society sees what is beneficial for themselves and they will have to guard it somehow. In short, this is what self-reliance means. Relying on yourself to build your own independent economy outside of any imperialist country.



Members of the NUM at the celebrations to mark its foundation.

MINE DISASTER IN SOUTH AFRICA

'Class Struggle' correspondent.

177 miners died in the second worst mining disaster in South Africa on September 16th. All but five were black. The disaster occurred when an oxyacetylene torch malfunctioned and started a fire. The great majority of deaths occurred when polyurethane foam which lined parts of the tunnels in the mine caught fire, giving off poisonous fumes which spread more than a mile from the site of the original accident.

It soon emerged that there were no fire extinguishers at the point where the burner was

being used, and nor was there an alarm system which could alert all the miners at work that they were in danger.

Those who died were victims of the racist system in South Africa as surely as if they had been shot on the streets by Botha's police. It is only because the great majority of miners are black and the mining companies want to get as much profit out of their labour as possible that such a disaster took place: safety precautions cost money, and that would mean smaller profits.

Nearly all the deaths which

occurred at the Kinross mine could have been avoided if a few thousand pounds had been spent on safety precautions.

80,000 KILLED

This disaster caught the headlines because of its scale. But thousands more deaths, equally horrendous to the families they affect, have occurred in lesser "accidents" over the years, caused by the quest of the mining companies for profit. In fact, the South African National Union of Mineworkers has estimated that about 80,000 people have died in mining

"accidents" since mining began in the country in the modern era.

It is not just the racist system in South Africa that is responsible for the destruction of these lives. Most mining in South Africa is controlled by foreign companies, including Britain's Consolidated Goldfields. The investors who collect dividends on their shares in such companies consent willingly to the maintenance of the conditions which have produced such destruction.

Nearly 80% of South Africa's coal exports come to EEC countries, providing a source of energy which is cheap to western economies, if not so cheap for those who perish producing it.

90% of its exports of gold (South Africa's most important export) go to Switzerland before being sold off to buyers in other western countries - if they have not already bought it.

Over the years, the Soviet Union has helped keep up gold and platinum prices by unofficial deals with South Africa, so that it too, despite the aid it has given to one of the Azanian liberation movements, has had its share in the suffering of the black mineworkers.

When the funerals of the dead miners took place, mineworkers from all around attended, though the former workmates of those who died were prevented from coming. The miners sang songs of defiance and freedom, a sign of their commitment to the destruction of a system that has killed and maimed so many of them.

NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT MEETS IN HARARE

The Non-Aligned Movement summit ended in Harare, Zimbabwe, on September 7th. The holding of the summit in Zimbabwe was itself a gesture of solidarity with the frontline states facing attack from South Africa and with the people of Azania and Namibia. The representatives of the more than a hundred states there came out with a strong declaration condemning the racist regime in South Africa and pledging support for those fighting against it.

The special declaration issued by the summit called for a full programme of sanctions against South Africa, and international action to help Namibia win its independence. A decision was taken to set up a solidarity fund to assist the frontline states to cope with the problems they face as a result of South African attacks, whether direct or through agents such as UNITA.

Two Years of Solidarity

Many trade unions have good policies on paper which they somehow don't expect to have to implement. The shopworkers' union in Ireland decided to call on members not to handle South African goods several years ago, and seems to have been taken by surprise when workers at one shop implemented the national decision.

That was the origin of the two-year old strike at Dunnes Stores in Dublin. One woman refused to handle South African goods and was fired as a result. Nine women and one man then struck in solidarity with their sacked colleague and in support of her action. They set up a picket line outside the store, and set about explaining to the public why they were on strike.

At first they came in for a lot of harassment from the police, which led to three women needing hospital treatment and several receiving unwelcome visits from the Special Branch in their homes. But as their struggle gained more publicity, the police were forced to be more restrained in their behaviour. There was a great deal of public support for the struggle of the Azanian people in Ireland, no doubt in part due to Ireland's own experience of colonialism.

CONTACTS WITH AZANIA

It is unusual for people to risk their livelihoods in solidarity with the people of another country. That is one of the main reasons why news of the struggle of the Dunnes strikers soon began to spread beyond Ireland. Activists who work in solidarity with the Azanian people around the world publicised what these Irish workers were doing, both to express their solidarity with them and to encourage others to follow their example.

The picket line received many visitors as the strike went on, and these included visitors from Azania itself who went to ex-



Spartacus R, Director of the Brixton-based Cultural Awareness Programme, with Lambeth Council leader, Linda Bellon, and the manager of the new Tesco store in Brixton. Thanks to the work of black activists campaigning in the Brixton area, Tesco has agreed that their new store will not stock South African goods. Spartacus R has faced arrest for his protest actions, which have won local support. Also very active in the Brixton area are members of the Africa Liberation Committee, who mount regular pickets of Barclays Bank.

press their appreciation of the workers' determined action. Bishop Desmond Tutu was one of those visitors, and others were activists from the growing black trade union movement in Azania.

Two women from the picket were invited to go to South Africa to meet Azanian activists on their home ground, but the South African authorities detained them on their arrival and sent them back to Ireland.

IMPORT BAN

Partly as a result of the efforts of the strikers, the 26-counties' government said that it would ban the import of South African goods. This was a great success, but then the shopworkers' union decided to stop picketing Dunnes, in spite of the strikers' own wishes. They wanted to continue

picketing until they'd seen how effective the import ban really was and until they were reinstated in their jobs.

The strikers have had support from many women's organisations and solidarity groups, but they still need more as their fight goes on. The example of solidarity which they have set is one which should be followed by workers elsewhere. Some workers have already taken matters into their own hands in Britain and refused to handle goods going to or from South Africa, but more action like this is needed if these popular sanctions are to bite really hard.

For information on the Dunnes strike and how to support the strikers now, contact the Irish Women's Centre, Church Street, London N.16. (Tel. 01-249-7318).

NO ENTRY FOR BLACK PEOPLE

'Class Struggle' correspondent.

The majority of black national minority people came to Britain in the period after the Second World War. They came often as a direct response to labour recruitment drives in the Indian sub-continent and in the Caribbean. They took up the dirtiest and lowest paid jobs that white workers did not want, at a time when the economy was expanding and labour scarce.

The immigration laws, (and later a new Nationality law), were passed and administered by successive governments, Labour and Tory. The demand for labour had fallen. But the immigration laws have always been aimed specifically at restricting the numbers of black people here and the arguments about actual numbers of people coming in or going out of Britain, secondary. The laws, and their implementation, have restricted and denied to black national minority people, basic rights, particularly the right to live here and have increasingly been used as a form of internal control by a racist state against black people.

DEFENCE CAMPAIGNS

Every year thousands are forced to leave this country either directly by deportation and "removal" or indirectly by threats. There has always been resistance to these racist controls and recently this has been most successful in the form of defence campaigns round one individual, family or group.

The campaigns have highlighted many aspects of the laws: the inhuman separation of black families - children from parents and wives from husbands; the pressure on women to stay with a violent husband out of fear of losing the right to stay - to name only some.

One important aspect of the immigration laws is the wide and arbitrary powers they give the authorities. Rights taken for granted in other areas of the law are denied to black people under immigration law: the right to be present at an appeal or to have an appeal at all; the right not to be held in prison indefinitely (as many are waiting deportation) and the right to be assumed innocent until proved guilty. (In many immigration cases, "defendants" have to prove their "good character" in the face of vague, unsubstantiated views put forward by the Home Office.)

Events in September and particular campaigns illustrate well the sweeping powers of the immigration laws:

POLITICAL POWERS

On Monday, September 22nd, after having been acquitted at St Albans Crown Court by a jury, Aminullah Khan, President of the Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front was told that he was to be deported as his presence was not "conducive to the public good". This clause in immigration law gives the Home Office sweeping powers. In this case, Mr Khan's solicitor, speaking on the radio, expressed the view that Mr Khan was being

as far away as London and Tyneside.

KHURAM AZAD

Two year old Khuram Azad also joined the march with his father, Abdul Khaliq. Two year old Khuram received unusual media attention as the result of the mass mobilisation by black people and organisations in Bradford to prevent his deportation.

From the day he was born in Pakistan, Khuram Azad was adopted by the childless couple,

"The immigration service has spared no expense in trying to deprive the Khaliques of their long-awaited child. Officials were despatched to a small village in rural Pakistan, where they interviewed Khuram Azad's natural parents.

"The parents confirmed that they had willingly given their son to his aunt and uncle. They are happy that their son is safe and well within their extended family. But, according to the family, this was not good enough for the immigration officials

afternoon - all pledging to prevent Khuram Azad from being seized by immigration officials and deported. The large protest and meetings had all been organised by word of mouth at 24 hours notice.

"The Home Office responded by saying that they do not now intend to grab the boy and bundle him onto a plane - but nor are they saying he can stay.

"The Khalique's MP, Max Madden, has appealed to the Home Office to allow Khuram Azad to stay in Britain long enough for courts in Bradford to decide whether he can be adopted.

"But the family and their supporters insist that the child was legally adopted in Pakistan and that should be good enough."

"The proper procedure has been followed in Pakistan, and we demand that it be accepted," says Tarlochan Gata-Aura of the Khuram Azad Defence Campaign. "We are demanding that the child be granted indefinite leave to stay. The family has had enough."

DOUBLE PUNISHMENT

The Home Office has also used its powers to deport a Jamaican-born community worker, Estivan Samuels, on the grounds that his presence here is "not conducive to the public good", even though he has made Britain his home and lived here for the past nine years with his British wife and British-born children in Peckham, South London. We can only assume that the Home Office wishes the whole family to leave.

A particular injustice in this case is the fact that Mr Samuel had already served a nine-month prison sentence for trying to bring in four kilos of ganja. It is quite common for people to suffer this form of double punishment under the immigration laws - first prison, then deportation. There is no appeal in this country to this type of deportation. Mr Samuels is denied the right to be present at the appeal and is forced to appeal from Jamaica.

Local people are calling for the decision to be reversed, and for Mr Samuel to be given the right to return to live with his wife and family in the country that he has made his home.

The campaigns reveal only a small part of a long story. But they have proved to be a more effective way of forcing the Home Office to back down by exposing the injustice and inhumanity of Britain's racist immigration laws.



Above: Rose and Brian on the demonstration. Top right: Two year old Khuram Azad with his adoptive parents.



Left to right: Tarlochan Gata-Aura, Mushtaq Hussain, Zeenat Naheed Iqbal, Rokhsana Ishaq, Khuram and his adoptive parents.

Photos: Max Farrar

deported for his political views and activities in support of the liberation of Kashmir. She said that it was the government's way of getting round the jury's 'not guilty' verdict.

The other side of this, is the refusal to give political asylum to groups such as the Tamil people fleeing from Sri Lanka and individuals such as Rose Alaso of Leeds who has been fighting a long campaign to stay here with her son, Brian.

On September 13th, over 1,000 people demonstrated in support of the right to stay of Rose and Brian. The previous week, local police had arrested Rose in what appears to have been a simple act of harassment and intimidation. The march in Leeds was led by a steel band. Unusually, it had been organised by Rose's union, NALGO, who had nine banners on the march from

Anver and Abdul Khaliq, with the agreements of his natural parents.

Abdul Khaliq returned first to Bradford with his wife, Anver, following later with the child. A report in 'Leeds Other Paper' tells the rest of the story:

"But they were stopped at Heathrow, and the child was refused permission to enter the country despite the fact that Abdul Khaliq is a British citizen. Immigration officials said young Khuram Azad did not have entry clearance to settle in Britain.

"The child was given temporary leave to enter, and since then the family has lived with the constant threat of him being deported.

who used accusations, threats and intimidation to get them to say they wanted the child back.

"Eventually the parents reluctantly said that if their son was deported to Pakistan they would make arrangements to look after him.

"The Home Office used this to challenge to validity of Khuram Azad's adoption - and he was ordered to leave the country on Sunday, 7th September.

"But a swift response by the Asian community in Bradford has kept the family together. At very short notice over 100 people gathered for a meeting on the Saturday morning, 6th September. 250 people held a demonstration the following morning and 400 people gathered for a further meeting that

New Bar to Immigration: Visas Now Required

On 1st September, the Home Secretary announced the government's decision to impose visa requirements on visitors to Britain from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nigeria and Ghana.

There are two important points to be made about this decision: firstly, on the implications of the decision and

secondly, about the way the decision came about, in particular the press campaign and the role of the immigration officers' union, the ISU.

ENTRY CLEARANCE

The requirement for visas on people from the five countries means that before being able to visit Britain, for whatever reason, people will have to apply for entry clearance from their own country. As well as being an insulting process, this can mean long delays. Women and children from Bangladesh are having to wait up to seven years to join husbands in this country. But equally important is that when an application is refused, visitors will no longer be able to use the system whereby MP's can get them temporary admission.

As David Rose commented in 'The Guardian', on 3rd September: "A crucial feature of the new system is that it will, at a stroke, virtually wipe out ...

the capacity of MP's to make representations on behalf of visitors who have been refused entry.... Last year, 8,500 gained entry this way."

If entry clearance is refused, people will have to appeal from their own country. Steve Cohen, an immigration lawyer from Manchester, remarked on this in a letter to 'The Guardian' on September 5th: "I have had numerous letters from Home Office ministers stating that the immigration appeal system is purposely designed for hearings in the absence of appellants. This renders it somewhat unusual, even under the norms of British justice."

The new measures, then, represent a strengthening of the immigration laws. They will make it harder for black people to come here for short visits, probably mainly for family and personal reasons.

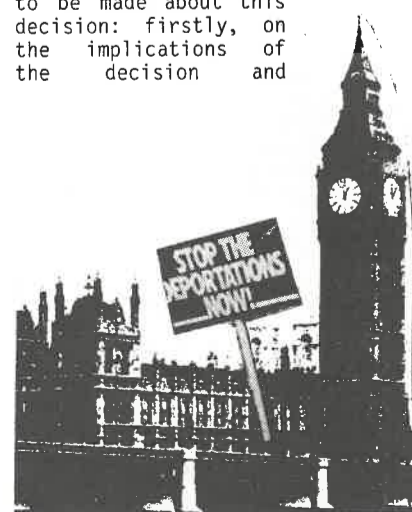
PRESS FANS RACISM

These latest moves are in line

with the racist policies of successive British governments that have seen black people as a "problem", made explicit in Thatcher's statements about Britain being "swamped". The relationship between government policy, the "popular press" and sections of white people is close. The campaign leading to the present moves started at the time when many Tamil refugees were seeking asylum in Britain in the period following the massacres in Sri Lanka in 1983. At that time, the Home Office restricted the right of MP's to make representations and indicated disapproval of them using this method at all.

These points have been taken up noisily by the immigration officers' union and some sections of the press. In July of this year, for example, the 'Daily Express' ran a two-page feature on the "Scandal of the vanishing immigrants" in which it claimed that "hundreds of

illegal immigrants" were coming into the UK as visitors and then absconding. There is no basis in any set of statistics for this claim. The ISU has also used unreliable statistics to back its claims that more people are seeking to evade controls. They have demanded more staff and better conditions and an end to the system of MP representation. ISU General Secretary said in one interview recently that MP's were allowing "unpleasant characters" an easy ride. This kind of orchestrated campaign has been a well-used way of justifying racist controls, fuelling racism and pandering to demands for strict immigration controls. None of the bourgeois parties challenge the basic premises of such arguments. It is only black people themselves who have taken up the fight against the immigration laws and made the point that it is not black people who are the problem but white racism and imperialism.



CHANGING THE WORLD PART 2

THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF MAO

The first part of this article, printed in the September issue of 'Class Struggle' covered the earlier period of the Chinese Revolution. The second part, printed here, covers the transition to socialism and goes on to the great debates in the international communist movement in the 1960's. The third and concluding part will be carried in the next issue of 'Class Struggle'.

TRANSITION TO SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

Deeply understanding the fact that the revolution in the oppressed nations is, in essence, anti-imperialist, Mao Zedong saw that the victory in the struggle for democracy (won with the foundation of the People's Republic of China in 1949), opened the way for an uninterrupted progress to socialist revolution by stages.

Mao had a deep conviction that revolutions are the work of the masses. He always felt that real reactionaries are a small minority and it is possible to unite a broad range of forces against them. This may be difficult but it is the task of communists to bring it about. During the revolution up to 1949, the Communist Party managed to win the leadership of a very wide range of social forces who were ready to fight for at least some aspect of human dignity against domestic and foreign oppressors. Even with the transition to the much more radical, socialist revolution after 1949, Mao sought to maintain these allies and gradually transform them, rather than letting them drift into a reactionary position.

But most important of all was the worker-peasant alliance. Unless this could be consolidated in a very real way, by means of actual, concrete policies, any talk about socialism would be meaningless.

EXISTENCE OF CONTRADICTION IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY

During the Stalin period, the Soviet Union had drifted into a position of thinking that the ruling Communist Party had to be monolithic, with only a single set of ideas, and even in socialist society at large, differences were considered something of an anomaly. Mao's conception was very different. As a thoroughgoing exponent of dialectical materialism, he held that contradiction was the lifeblood of any phenomenon or process. Contradictions within socialist society are an expression of its material reality and its liveliness - without them it would be dead.

Mao distinguished between two different kinds of contradictions. He opposed the view that anyone who disagreed with the official conception was part of the enemy. At the same time, in a world still ruled by forces hostile to socialism, of course there were real enemies; hence the two types of contradiction should not be confused.

TWO LINE STRUGGLE

Mao's encouragement of debate and clash of ideas within the party and within socialist society did not mean that he considered these ideas purely neutral. On the contrary, until the abolition of class society on a world scale, ideas would still have a class character. He believed firmly that progress in the communist movement was determined by struggle between two opposing lines or views. The two line struggle reflects the conflicting interests of the proletariat and bourgeoisie; but, of course, the issue can only be resolved through the test of practice, and even those putting forward a bourgeois line are not necessarily agents of the bourgeoisie. Mao believed in the principle of "curing the sickness to save the patient" in order to win round those who had put forward wrong lines.

CULTURE IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY

With regard to the culture of socialist society, Mao put forward the principle of "letting a hundred flowers bloom and a

hundred schools of thought contend". This should be understood from a dual viewpoint. On the one hand, socialism has to be a society which gives the fullest play to human creativity, and hence it will be more rich and varied than earlier forms of society. On the other hand, as long as classes exist, reactionary ideas can crop up, but socialism can only grow stronger in combatting what is reactionary; so the principle of letting a hundred flowers bloom promotes the two line struggle.



Building the economic basis for socialism.

BUILDING THE CLASS AND ECONOMIC BASIS FOR SOCIALISM

Mao understood the need to maintain the class base for socialism even after the revolution. The worker-peasant alliance was a key factor, and in a sense, this needed to be embedded in the economic base itself. Hence Mao put forward a line best summed up in his article "On the Ten Major Relationships" (1956), which argues for putting great emphasis on the rural masses. This will create demand for the products of light industry and in turn there will be a reliable basis for heavy industry.

This model of development contrasts with that used in the Soviet Union in the 1930's whereby the peasantry was squeezed to provide a massive surplus, which did indeed permit rapid industrialisation, but also weakened the class basis of socialism, as well as leading to the dislocation between different sectors of the economy from which the Soviet Union is still suffering.

Thus the differences between the Chinese and Soviet kinds of society go much further than

THE WAY FORWARD FOR THE OPPRESSED NATIONS

There is another angle from which we can look at the Maoist economic model of development. It is not only a breath of fresh air within the socialist movement, but also has profound significance for the debates within the third world movement. As well as showing the socialist movement what direction it should take, the Maoist model also shows the third world that it must take a socialist direction. Even if they genuinely aspire to be independent, those countries which allow themselves to be integrated into the capitalist world market will inevitably find their internal structures forced into a capitalist mould: within this mould the revenues of the peasantry are absurdly low because the pricing structure between agriculture and industry reflects that of a developed capitalism where agricultural productivity is much higher, and this provides a crucial barrier to development. Maoism points the way forward to a "delinking" from the world capitalist economy, and shows that development for the third world can only be realised under socialism.

POLEMIC

ON THE GENERAL LINE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

£3 including P&P

ON THE TEN MAJOR RELATIONSHIPS

Article by Mao Zedong
30p + P&P.

Available from:

New Era Books,
203 Seven Sisters Road,
London N4.

ANALYSIS OF WORLD SITUATION

The Communist Party of China (CPC), under Mao's leadership, had a very acute understanding of the overall world situation. In Mao's talk with the American Anna Louise Strong, he correctly characterised a whole era in world history - that of the Cold War - pointing out that although America really was threatening the Soviet Union, at the same time it was also using this issue as a cover for expanding its own spheres of influence and it was in the "intermediate" area that the most acute threat lay.

The problem of the correct role in world politics for a socialist state, and the relationship between this and the world revolutionary movement, was very difficult and the CPC made great contributions in this respect. The experience of the Soviet Union had accumulated quite a number of problems, particularly in the way in which revolutionaries were expected to con-

form to the twists and turns of Soviet foreign policy in the years leading up to World War Two. As early as the 1940's, Mao already pointed out that the post-World War Two situation might oblige the Soviet Union to enter into some compromises with the imperialist countries, but these would not oblige the revolutionaries of those countries to follow suit.

PRINCIPLED APPROACH TO INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Once China in turn had become a socialist state, Mao and his close comrade Zhou Enlai, worked out some very important new principles governing foreign relations. These were distinguished into three types of relations, namely party-to-party, state-to-state and people-to-people relations. The point was to bring together every possible force in the broadest united front against the main enemy - US imperialism tried everything to make the nations of the world, particularly the newly-independent third world nations, align with it and come under its domination. Later the Soviet Union tried the same trick. The popular masses in the oppressed countries vigorously resisted and the governments of many states, even if they were quite reactionary in some respects, had to go along with the mass demands and show certain tendencies towards independence. Otherwise they would have been kicked out. The virtue of China's principled approach was that it distinguished clearly between the mass movement itself (expressed most clearly in the liberation movements) and the government policies which gave it circumstantial expression, while at the same time, encouraging whatever was progressive in the latter. And the communist movement itself which is indispensable as the core of any successful revolutionary movement in the long term, was regarded as a separate level again.

China refused to abandon revolutionaries in order to curry favour with any government. China maintained friendly state relations with a number of countries e.g. Burma and Thailand - while the revolutionaries of those countries were applying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to their own conditions and making revolution with the active encouragement of the CPC.

THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN MARXISM AND REVISIONISM

Around the turn of the century, there had been a trend which tried to revise Marxism by eliminating its essence, for example by claiming that there could be a peaceful transition to socialism. Genuine communists waged a counter-attack against this "revisionism" in which they not only vindicated Marx's ideas, but also developed his theory further; Lenin saw that the revisionists were backing their own bourgeoisie on the colonial question, and developed a line on this question which went beyond Marx. As Lenin said, the theoretical victory of Marxism obliged even its enemies to disguise themselves as Marxists. This is a deep truth which applies to the whole of the present era.

Mao fully grasped this truth, and understood that the line of the communist movement develops in struggle against what is negative. Under his leadership, the Central Committee of the CPC identified

the fact that a new international trend, which they called "modern revisionism" had reared its head. The Soviet leadership had been putting forward, particularly since its 20th Party Congress in 1956, a line which held that peaceful co-existence between themselves and the USA was the decisive factor influencing the world situation and alleging that both class and national liberation struggles could proceed in a moderate way, without facing violence.



Nikita Khrushchev.

The CPC decided to counter-attack in the early 1960's with a series of collectively written documents which together make up the "Polemic on the General Line of the International Communist Movement". The CPC made a few mistakes but overall the Polemic is an astonishingly correct and systematic re-statement of basic Marxist-Leninist principles, as well as creatively developing the theory.

MAIN LESSONS OF THE ANTI-REVISIONIST STRUGGLE

Today we call our movement Marxist-Leninist because the revisionists had departed from certain scientific truths which apply throughout the whole era of capitalism and imperialism, and the Polemic re-asserted them. They include the following:

(a) The capitalist state is an instrument of violence for the maintenance of capitalist rule, and it is virtually impossible that the exploiters will give up power voluntarily.

(b) Relations between socialist and capitalist countries can never determine the development of the three other important conflicts in the world i.e. the class struggle, national liberation and the clash between rival imperialist powers.

(c) Imperialism as a system is the source of war. Hence, struggles which serve to abolish imperialism, especially revolutionary wars of national liberation, can never be held up under the excuse that they would disrupt world peace.

Among the new ideas developed, the following are particularly important:

(a) The oppressed nations are facing a new era of neo-colonialism in which the tasks of national liberation, far from coming to an end, move to a higher plane.

(b) Asia, Africa and Latin America are the focus of contradictions in the contemporary world.

The political storms across the Third World at times of relative peace within the imperialist states have amply proved the point.

FREEDOM FOR IRELAND



CLASS STRUGGLE AND... NATIONAL LIBERATION

Wednesday 17th September: Belfast.

Raymond Mooney was shot four times in the back by three loyalist gunmen as he left Holy Cross Church Hall. His companion was tied up with her own tights and forced to watch the cold-blooded murder.

Earlier that same day, Joseph Webb was gunned down by two men who fired repeatedly into his body from point blank range.

Their Crimes? They were both Catholics.

The murders of Raymond Mooney and Joseph Webb are just two events in another month of indiscriminate sectarian attacks by Loyalists. They stand out from a catalogue of petrol bombings, threats, attacks, intimidation and discrimination.

BACKLASH?

The Bourgeois press uniformly talk of a protestant backlash against the Anglo-Irish deal. The reality is very different.

Yes, the Unionists do see the Anglo-Irish Agreement as weakening their relationship with British imperialism. But their actions are not new. The Orange state was built on anti-Catholic pogroms, murder, sectarianism and discrimination. Orange supremacy lies at the heart of the creation of the six-county statelet. Loyalist murders today are merely the latest of a long line of such campaigns. As 'Class Struggle' demonstrated last month, Orange sectarianism and murder are not a reaction to the national struggle. They are the cause of it. The national struggle is far from being the creator of the present conflict. It is the solution, the only possible solution, to it.

NATIONAL STRUGGLE - A FORM OF CLASS STRUGGLE

Which brings us to the point of this article. There are none so blind as those who do not wish to see. Most of the British 'left' still consider the national struggle to be a diversion to the class struggle.

In their wisdom, they cry out for Protestant and Catholic workers to unite and fight for socialism, putting aside "national" questions. The problem they do not wish to face up to is that the majority of the Orange working class sees absolutely nothing for them in it. They are quite happy to sit on the backs of Catholics and feed on the crumbs of benefit that such discrimination brings. They believe that their interests lie in siding with British imperialism and gaining the benefits of jobs and housing that the Orange state offers them.

TELL IT TO THE LOYALISTS

If there is to be any unity between Protestant and Catholic workers, that can only be on the basis of Protestant workers denouncing discrimination and sectarianism, and this necessarily means renouncing the Orange state. The 'left' should stop preaching to the Republicans who are fighting against a real oppression. If they really believe what they are saying they should try going to the working class Loyalist clubs and preaching to those who have sided with the oppressor. They will not go because they know that their answer will be short and violent.

It is the Republican Movement that proclaims the objective of socialism and social equality. It is the Republican Movement that puts forward class issues in the community. And it is the Republican Movement



Labour leader Jim Larkin

ABOVE: The proclamation of the Provisional Government of the Irish Republic in 1916. "We proclaim the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland", it declares.

LEFT: Jim Larkin - Workers' leader, founding member of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union, socialist and nationalist.

that has rallied support among the most oppressed in the working class. The Loyalist-dominated movements are uniformly reactionary.

The message here is not new. Those who have fought for socialism in countries oppressed by imperialism have long recognised the need for progress by stages. Socialism cannot be built in any nation as long as it is under imperialist domination. It has proved necessary therefore to build an alliance of all classes and social strata who oppose imperialism. There is indeed a necessity to "Unite all who can be united", as Mao said. This is the character of the national struggle. But within the national struggle, the working class movement struggles to win the leadership by being the most resolute and the best organised, by taking up the struggles which benefit the most

oppressed, and by giving a vision of a new society to replace imperialist exploitation.

James Connolly pointed out 70 years ago that it would not be enough to win formal independence - that without taking the banks and industry into social ownership Ireland would remain dominated by imperialism through its economic power - which in the end, means political power.

The national struggle is, therefore, not only the first stage in the revolution, it is the necessary springboard to socialism.

The 'left' who call for socialism without nationalism in the context of an oppressed nation not only throw out the national struggle, but inevitably sabotage the class struggle. They end up doomed to isolation and defeat. Those who still cannot



The Republican Movement campaigns on all economic and social issues that affect the working class. Their advice centres in working class areas have broad community support and have contributed to the political strength of Sinn Fein. The above photograph shows a demonstration against drugs in the south. The Republican movement has been active in the campaign which has also confronted state opposition.

fathom this would do well to look at the history of the Stickies - the 'Workers' Party. They followed the slippery road. They ended up in the swamp of opportunism and collaboration.

Predictably though, their call for 'broad unity' for socialism led only to isolation and a dwindling band of supporters in the cauldron of the north of Ireland.

The killer of Sean Downes walked free on wed. 24 Sept. when he was found not guilty on an unlawful killing charge. It seems the court believed that its OK to kill nationalists if the RUC believes that an officer may otherwise be injured. Reserve Constable Nigel Heggarty is not even to face internal disciplinary action. He is now back on duty - but for how long?

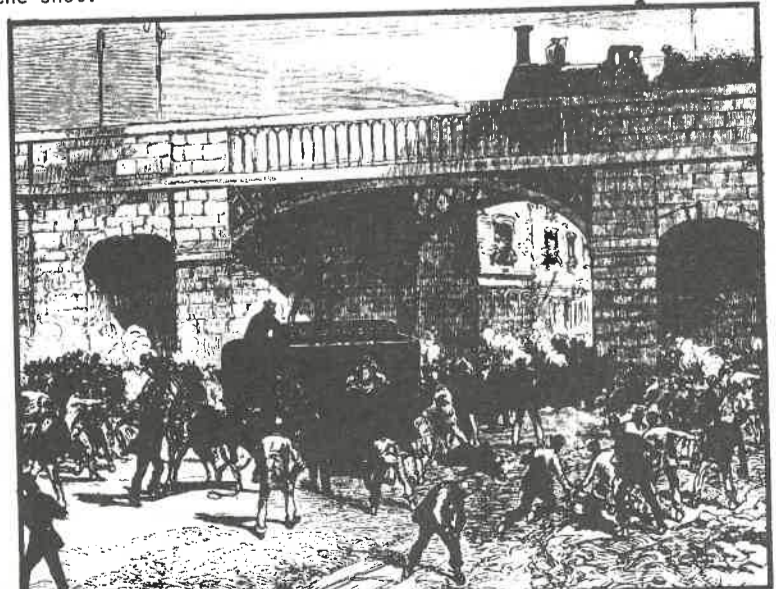
Mark Trotter a REME soldier and UDR man, Robert Kenny were not so lucky. They were gaoled for life on Sept. 26 for murdering Edward Love. It was obviously

a bit difficult to find excuses for off-duty soldiers murdering catholics at random.

Back in Britain, Manchester business man and Stalker associate Kevin Taylor is taking Police Chief Anderton to court. Apparently he wants an investigation into the one against him. Meanwhile Samson's report on Stalker is running into more problems - several people named in the report have denied statements attributed to them. And we though he had done such a good job.

REMEMBER MANCHESTER MARTYRS

In November 1867, William Phillip, Michael Larkin and Michael O'Brien were executed and their bodies buried in Strangeways Prison. Their legal murders arose after two Fenian leaders were freed from a black maria taking them to prison. A group of Irishmen ambushed the black maria. As the lock was shot off, a police sergeant was accidentally killed by the ricochet. The three martyrs captured afterwards were found guilty of murder despite the fact that there was no evidence that any of them had fired the shot.



REMEMBER THE MANCHESTER MARTYRS!

Demonstrate in Manchester, Sunday 23rd November, 1986.