

# CLASS STRUGGLE



Political Paper of the Revolutionary Communist League of Britain

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20p

## PALESTINE

### “They are trying to wipe out the Palestinians as a nation”



PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat tours the front line and meets Palestinian fighters defending the southern approaches to the city. Two days earlier, Israel's Chief of Staff claimed the Palestinian leader had taken refuge in a foreign embassy (Photo: AP).

"Class Struggle" is very pleased to be able to present below the views of a Palestinian patriot. Our newspaper aims to give a platform to the frontline fighters against imperialism, and today the heroic Palestinian people are writing pages of history which in terms of revolutionary heroism can have very few parallels. What follows are extracts from a long interview conducted recently by "Class Struggle" with a member of the Executive Committee of the U.K. and Ireland Branch of the General Union of Palestinian Students (GUPS). GUPS is a mass organisation of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), plays an important role in the Palestinian revolution and has branches all over the world.

#### Aims of the Invasion

CS: What would you say were the aims of the Zionist invasion of Lebanon?

GUPS: The most obvious reason for this attack was to crush the Palestinians militarily and politically in Lebanon. I think it's clear to many people that it's not just a

process of getting across the Lebanese border, of hitting the Palestinians and going back; it's a war of genocide against the Palestinians. The scale is so large that it's clear that they are trying to silence every call for freedom and self-determination and the fact that the air, sea and land bombardment has been going on everywhere shows

that it's not only trying to wipe out the military presence of the Palestinians and the PLO, but that they are trying to wipe out the Palestinians as a nation.

Obviously, that is directly related to the West Bank. Three months ago, there was a big uprising on the West Bank and the Zionist government had found out that the Palestinians would reject anything which would try and bypass the PLO. Everyone was saying that the PLO is our sole legitimate representative. To my mind, the Zionist scheme is to break the backbone of the PLO and hence push the idea of annexation through, first of all breaking the PLO, and then pushing in those people who are prepared to collaborate with the Zionist entity, and carry on with the final stage of Camp David, which is referred to as "autonomy". Basically, they're saying they'll give the Palestinians the right to sweep the streets, things like that. It's no more than that; it doesn't give the Palestinians their democratic rights and, above all, it does not accept the PLO as their representative.

Cont. page 6

## NEWMAN: racist and imperialist

Sir Kenneth Newman becomes Head of the Metropolitan Police in London in October. It is not hard to see why he is being brought to London in the wake of the uprisings last Summer. This former Head of the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) is a torturer, racist and imperialist.

James Rafferty

In the Belfast High Court a five year attempt to win justice collapsed recently. In November 1976 (when Newman was Head of the RUC), James Rafferty was arrested along with a number of others, including murdered hunger striker Martin Hurson. Taken to Omagh Barracks he was brutally beaten. In the 'Penguin' book "Beating the Terrorists?" Peter Taylor recalls some of James Rafferty's treatment:

"He was put against the wall again and beaten around the stomach. He lost all sense of time... He was confused and exhausted. He was made to strip to his underpants and told to perform exercises, step-ups on a chair, while counting out loud. If he lost count, he was made to start again. He was made to run on the spot. He was exhausted. He alleged that he had already been kicked around the room and hit with a closed fist."



After his release, Rafferty was in need of urgent hospital treatment. He made a formal complaint and for years struggled to have it investigated. One member of the Police Authority, Belfast solicitor Donal Murphy, resigned and accused Newman of denying Authority members access to the files dealing with torture cases. Eventually, four RUC

interrogators were charged with assaulting Rafferty. In November 1981 they were acquitted. Rafferty then pursued a civil action for damages against the RUC Chief Constable. That, too, was dismissed in June.

Once again, Newman's torturing goons have walked free, showing that for the oppressed British justice = no justice.

Jamaicans

The uprisings of last Summer were led by the black youth and they will be first in the firing line for torturer Newman. We should therefore take careful note of the fact that he has already confided his racist views to a journalist who interviewed him for the American "Police Magazine". He said:

"In the Jamaicans, you have a people who are constitutionally disorderly... It's simply in their make-up, they're constitutionally disposed to be anti-authority." Now that his remarks have leaked out in this country, and have caused a storm of protest, Newman is busily trying to deny that he ever made them. However, the journalist in question, Bruce Porter, insists that they are true. Porter has been a thoroughly respectable journalist for twenty years. He is a Professor at the Columbia University School of Journalism programme at Brooklyn College in New York. He has written two books on riots and the role of police in quelling them. He was also former urban editor of "Newsweek" magazine. "Police Magazine" is financed by the Ford Foundation.

Whilst denouncing the racist, pseudo-scientific and patronising tone of Newman's remarks it is, of course, true that the oppressed Jamaican masses and people of Jamaican descent have a tremendous spirit of freedom and an unquenchable anti-imperialist revolutionary fighting spirit as was shown in the Morant Bay Rebellion led by Paul Bogle in 1865, and on countless other occasions. Whatever barbarity Newman brings to the streets and police cells of London, the oppressed will fight back!

## KAMPUCHEA - United Government Formed

The three major components in the Kampuchean fight against Vietnamese aggression have reached an historic agreement to set up a joint Coalition Government. An agreement to this effect was signed on June 22 in Kuala Lumpur (Malaysia) by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Khieu Samphan and Son Sann.

Backed by the Soviet Union, Vietnam invaded Kampuchea, tried to annex the grain-rich areas of the country, occupied the capital Phnom Penh and set up a pathetic attempt at a puppet government. Since then, Kampuchea's struggle has been a symbol of the healthy trend in world affairs which embodies the people's aspiration to control their own destiny, free from the domination of the big imperialist powers and their stooges. It is supported by all genuine socialist countries and countless socialist organisations, and also by a majority of third world countries. These include the members of the Association

of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN - Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, Philippines, Indonesia) who played a significant part in promoting this agreement.

The forces of Democratic Kampuchea, whose main figure was Khieu Samphan, have continued to form the backbone of the effective resistance to the Vietnamese aggressors. The struggle also has to be carried out on a diplomatic level, and so far Democratic Kampuchea has been accepted as the legitimate representative of Kampuchea in the United Nations, in opposition to the Vietnamese puppet regime. The present agreement will be particularly important in consolidating this position. Prince Sihanouk is an important figure on the world political scene, who also enjoys very considerable popular sympathy within Kampuchea. Among the various forces which opposed the Kampuchean revolution but which also express a patriotic desire to free the country from Vietnamese

occupation, those led by Son Sann are the only ones which still display any combativity.

The agreement nominates Sihanouk as President of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, Khieu Samphan as Vice-President in charge of foreign affairs, and Son Sann as Prime Minister; it establishes a tripartite principle, with each organisation retaining its political identity, freedom of action, and the right to control its own armed forces.

In statements after the signature, the three leaders pointed out that the agreement would have not just diplomatic importance, but also political and military. Khieu Samphan stated that the coalition government "has dealt the Vietnamese invaders a head-on blow and encouraged all the Kampuchean people."

"Class Struggle" warmly greets the new Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea and wishes it every success.

### Stop the genocide against Palestinians Israel out of Lebanon

Demonstrate: SATURDAY JULY 31ST  
Assemble: 12.30 SPEAKERS CORNER,  
HYDE PARK  
Rally: 2.30PM TRAFALGAR SQUARE



# Editorial

## 'Left out' of the 'Falkland Spirit'

The dust is beginning to settle after Britain's war to maintain its possession of part of Argentina's territory, the Malvinas ('Falklands'). British imperialism, together with the United States, may have held onto these few islands, but at the expense of uniting a whole continent - together with large parts of the rest of the third world - against them in an anti-imperialist struggle.

But if British imperialism has done disastrously at an international level, it must be recognised that the war has to some extent succeeded in what was one of the government's major objectives in fighting it, namely in stirring up a nationalistic consensus behind capitalism's reactionary attacks on the working class.

### HOWE'S DICKENSIAN VISION

In a speech on July 3, Thatcher said: "If the lessons of the South Atlantic are to be learned, then they have to be learned by us all. No-one can afford to be left out. And yet on Tuesday night, eight men, the leaders of ASLEF, misunderstanding the mood of the nation, set out to bring the railways to a halt. What has happened is that now, once again, Britain is not prepared to be pushed around. We have ceased to be a nation in retreat. We have instead a new-found confidence, born in the economic battles at home, and tested and found true 8,000 miles away."

The present capitalist assault on the working class is one of enormous proportions. It aims at turning the clock back to a Dickensian situation. This was made extremely clear by Geoffrey Howe on July 6 when he invoked a "national duty" for the working class to allow its living standards to drop.

"In an ideal world it might well mean no pay increases at all," he said. "This would provide the fastest route to higher employment. Our goods and services would become more competitive: more and more people at home and abroad would buy them: and there would be more and more jobs."

### MARX EXPLAINED THE FACTS

This attack has met with a trade union movement in an unprecedented state of fragmentation and disarray. Only Arthur Scargill has appreciated the link between the South Atlantic war and the current attack on the working class, and even he has placed the emphasis on paying for the cost of the war, which is only a secondary issue. The fact is, as Karl Marx rigorously demonstrated, and has been amply confirmed by events since his time, the functioning of the capitalist mode of production itself creates a tendency for the rate of profit to sink.

This is because only human labour power can create profit for the capitalists, and with the continual introduction of new technology the proportion of capital devoted to labour power is bound to decrease. To offset this tendency, capitalism inevitably seeks to drive down the living standards of the working class.

### CIRCUMSCRIBED BY IMPERIALISM

In order to do this, the ruling class plays its trump card, which is the long history of the British labour movement's enslavement to imperialism.

An aspect of the capitalist state's strategy is the option of imposing fascism. On one of the ships of the returning 'task force' a placard was exhibited by marines saying: "End the rail strike or we'll launch an air strike!" This is obviously one aspect of Thatcher's strategy, but this would be insufficient if there were not also a tendency for the labour movement willingly to accept imperialism.

Though Britain possesses few formal colonies or exclusive spheres of influence, there exists at a world level a system of neo-colonialism which enables the industrialised countries of the two imperialist blocs - east and west - to extract superprofits from the third world. For some time after World War II the expansion of these superprofits enabled the capitalist class to offset the shrinking rate of profit and make some concessions which resulted in the living standard of the working class substantially improving.

It is an excellent thing for the working class to screw more out of the capitalists, but the trouble is that these struggles were circumscribed, conducted within the limits of the imperialist system itself. Large sections of the trade union leadership accepted and in fact welcomed this imperialist basis.

### WAR AGAINST BLACK PEOPLE

Since the early 'seventies, an unprecedented world economic crisis has burst upon us, and is still intensifying.

This crisis is the reflection of the sharpening of the basic contradictions of capitalism in the era of imperialism, which is capitalism's highest stage.

Objectively, the oppression and misery which this crisis has brought for the working class points to the need for revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle. But subjectively the labour movement is still open to being influenced by ruling class propaganda that a good future will lie in the refurbishing of British imperialism. The vast majority of the Labour Party and trades union leadership supported and indeed encouraged the war of aggression against Argentina. They thus bear responsibility for and are in fact accomplices in the government's current offensive against the democratic right of trade unionism. In pointing out that imperialist chauvinism effectively contradicts the class struggle of working people, Thatcher is quite correct.

On the other hand, Thatcher threatens those who find themselves "left out". But the whole essence of the definition of the 'British character' is one which leaves out, and in fact treats as the enemy, the black and other national minority people.

Right from the beginning of her campaign to stir up

racism on the issue of 'immigration' she has argued that black people threaten to 'swamp' this 'character'.

This reflects the threat which the national minorities do indeed pose to pro-imperialist chauvinism, and the 'Falklands spirit' is a further extension of capitalism's declaration of war against them.

### FORWARD ON A NEW BASIS

In speaking of the impact of the Malvinas war on Latin America, the Communist Party of Peru (Patria Roja) has described it as a historical watershed. In Britain in a different way (but also for reasons which have to do with consciousness of imperialism!) it will come to be seen as a watershed. The use of the 'Falklands spirit' against the democratic right of trade unionism exposes in a tellingly sharp way the impossibility of conducting class war against imperialism at the same time as supporting it!

We should strive as hard as possible to defeat the current anti-union offensive, and support all those forces which are struggling against it.

Struggles like those of the health service workers and in the near future the miners will have a significant impact on the balance of class forces and the defence of democratic rights. However in the longer term it is now clear that the working class movement will have to be rebuilt as a fighting movement. This can only be done by injecting into it the element of anti-imperialism.

A hint of how this is to come about is provided by the 'Falklands spirit' itself: it identifies the left-wing forces as the enemy, alongside the oppressed people of a third-world country like Argentina striving to assert their national independence, and in particular alongside those who have for a long time had this chauvinist national spirit asserted against them, namely the national minorities.



WRITE TO: The Editor, Class Struggle, c/o 203, Seven Sisters Rd., London N4 3NG.

## A VISIT TO IRELAND

From a Worker Correspondent in Yeovil.

Taking three weeks of my annual holiday this June, I made my first-ever visit to Ireland for ten days, and to the Scilly Isles, also for ten days.

In Ireland I visited the Killarney/Cork regions of the West and South, and spent some time in Dublin, where I found the most tremendous warmth, friendship and hospitality wherever I went, in spite of being English!!! As one friend in Dublin put it, "Anyone who comes to Ireland, either as a visitor or to live no matter who they are, nor what they are, come as friends, and are welcome. There's no sectarianism here!"

This well sums up my personal experiences everywhere. To illustrate, in Killarney I met a man from Somerset who went there ten years ago, liked the atmosphere so much that he stayed, got married, raised a family and has lived there every since.

Politically, I found the atmosphere most inspiring: people wanting to talk about

all manner of things. It made me reflect how claustrophobic, myopic and introverted most British people's minds are, conditioned of course by blanket swamping of their minds by our imperialist mass media.

Of course, my knowledge of the situation, politically and economically in the Republic of Ireland, is at best rudimentary, but it certainly bears all the features of a state dominated by neo-colonialism (as I understand it), particularly British, in spite of Common Market membership. Vast areas of land are still owned by British absentee landlords. One Englishwoman, whose husband is a British Foreign Office diplomat, owns 970,000 acres of land around Killarney. Peter Jay, son-in-law of ex-Premier James Callaghan, owns a large amount of land in the same area, etc. etc.

In the Scilly Isles, which are completely owned by Prince Charles, all of his tenants received invitations to his wedding. HE THEN PUT ALL OF THEIR RENTS UP BY 300% - to pay for it, no doubt!

## Forthcoming events

### MONDAY JULY 26

Social organised by Free Phil Robbins Campaign. Ibo Club, Princes Road, Liverpool 8.

### WEDNESDAY JULY 28

Remember David Moore! First anniversary of his murder by the police. 12.30-4.30, Liverpool Town Hall.

### SATURDAY JULY 31

Stop the genocide! Israel out of Lebanon! Demonstration assembling at 12.30 Speakers' Corner, Hyde Park, London. Marching to rally at 2.30 at Trafalgar Square.

For details of other solidarity events contact: London Office, Palestine Liberation Organisation, 52 Green St., London W.1.

Supplies, blankets, donations etc. can be sent to: Emergency Relief for the Refugees in Lebanon Appeal London Area, 93 St. Mark's Rd., London W.10. Tel. 01-689 8444.

Donations can be sent to: A/c no. 507951, Arab Bank Ltd., 118 Kensington High St., London W.8.

### SUNDAY AUGUST 1

Vigil for Kevin Lynch and Kieran Doherty. 8 p.m. Kilburn Square, London.

### FRIDAY AUGUST 6 - MONDAY AUGUST 9

Mass Delegation to Ireland, visiting Belfast, Derry and Crossmaglen. Details from the Troops Out Movement, P.O. Box 353, London NW5 4NH.

### SATURDAY AUGUST 7

BRADFORD 12 NATIONAL VICTORY CELEBRATION Bhangra Dancers, Punjabi and Hindi singers, Reggae, Afro - Caribbean Poetry. Speakers invited include: Palestine Liberation Organisation, Sinn Fein, Bradford 12. 2pm till late. Elite Cinema, Soho Rd., Birmingham. Admission £1. Unemployed 50p.

### SUNDAY AUGUST 8

Vigil for Thomas McElwee. 8 pm, Kilburn Square, London.

### FRIDAY AUGUST 20

Vigil for Michael Devine. 8 pm, Kilburn Square, London.

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# Train Drivers - TUC Puts the Boot In

AS THIS ISSUE OF "CLASS STRUGGLE" WAS BEING PREPARED FOR THE PRINTERS, WE RECEIVED THE NEWS THAT ASLEF WERE TO CALL OFF THEIR STRIKE AT MIDNIGHT ON SUNDAY 18 JULY. The ASLEF Executive caved in after the TUC (pressurised and backed up by the Labour Party) stabbed the Railmen in the back and refused to support their strike. Particularly disgusting was the role of National Union of Railwaymen leader, Weighell. This reactionary and selfish labour aristocrat did everything to stab the ASLEF workers in the back and to undermine their struggle. The lessons of the ASLEF strike, where once again a strike of militant workers prepared to struggle has been defeated not by the bosses but by the so-called leadership of the working class movement, will be studied and summed up by class conscious workers throughout Britain. "Class Struggle" intends to intervene in this debate in our next issue. We print below the views of an ASLEF member, submitted to "Class Struggle" when the strike was in progress. We feel that the article is still of relevance and interest in analysing the background to the strike, the forms of struggle adopted by the workers, and some aspects of the strategy and tactics of the ruling class.



John Sturrock/Network.

ASLEF train drivers are in the middle of the most serious battle we've ever fought. It has important implications not only for railway workers but for all trade unionists.

## THE ISSUES

BR and ASLEF had been close to an agreement on six of BR's 19 'productivity' proposals, including 'flexible rosters'. BR's original proposal of a flexibility of between 4 and 12 hours per shift was knocked down to a difference between 7 and 9 hours. BR admitted that this would mean the loss of over 4,000 footplate jobs. With branch resolutions and conference instructions opposing the worsening of our conditions, our Executive Committee could not accept BR's 'flexible rosters'. In fact, BR had accepted ASLEF's proposal to test out BR's rosters in one area, and ASLEF's plan for rostering in another area, with an agreement based on the results. But after the NUR strike was called off, BR changed its mind and said it would start imposing the 'flexible rosters' starting from July 4th. ASLEF was told to accept or reject by 7 o'clock that same evening.

Our EC couldn't accept - because of our conference instruction - and BR wouldn't allow it to reject: the rosters were to be imposed.

## BR BREAKS AGREEMENT

In December, BR broke the agreement to pay us the 3% outstanding pay increase with back pay. BR would only pay if we accepted its 'flexible rostering', which was covered in a separate agreement. After our series of strikes (17 days in all), BR paid up.

We didn't let BR break an agreement then, but BR felt it had just put the NUR in its place, so now was the time to take on ASLEF again.

So this strike is about whether BR should be allowed to tear up agreements and impose new conditions of service. If it can impose 7-9 hour flexible rosters, then it'll impose its original 4 to 12-hour shifts and all the other 18 'productivity' points.

These include split shifts and split breaks (i.e. several short meal breaks of 10-15 minutes).

Many of BR's proposals would make life intolerable. As it is we can book on at any time between 00.01 and 23.59, with some weeks a different starting time each day, i.e. Monday 05.23-13.23, Tuesday 04.43-12.43, Wednesday 07.26-15.26, Thursday 4.43-12.43 and so on. Also, sometimes we don't know the next day's booking-on time until the day before.

So not only do eating and sleep suffer, so does any sort of social life. Health is a casualty here; at one depot 50% of the drivers cannot drive trains on the main line because of nerves, heart disease, blood pressure etc. We're sure that the main causes are the stress of the job and the hours we work.

## WAR ON ASLEF

In tearing up our existing rostering agreements, BR has declared war on ASLEF. It wants to smash us. If it succeeds, it will impose new conditions of service on us whenever it wants. This will give the green light to every employer in the country to try the same.

The TV, press and radio are working overtime in stirring up hysteria against us. The handful of scabs suddenly become 'rebels' and the 98% or so on strike are labelled 'Luddite', 'wreckers' etc.

The day before the strike, the front page of the 'Sun' screamed "I will smash ASLEF", claiming that "a new ruthless Sir Peter is preparing to: Sack the ... ASLEF drivers. Banish ASLEF as a recognised trade union. Force all 250,000 rail workers into accepting BR's productivity demands." After the first day of the strike, the 'Telegraph's' front page was headed: "REBEL DRIVERS DEFY STRIKE", "Disillusioned ASLEF Men Run Skeleton Service". There was an interview with driver Derek 'Buckton gets up my nose' Hodges, from Grove Park Depot. The article didn't mention that he was the one and only scab at Grove Park, nor that he's an 'acting foreman'.

## THE MALVINAS CONNECTION

The aims of the mass media are different now than in the earlier strikes. Then much of it was pure hate, with the occasional incitement to violence. In the 'Sunday Telegraph' on January 17 an article advised commuters to carry a length of rope "in case it becomes necessary to hang the driver." Incidentally it was the same Tony Snow of the 'Sun' responsible for articles such as "THE DRIVERS WHO EARN DOUBLE TIME JUST BY LYING IN BED" and "WHOSE HEAD DO I KICK IN?" that reported from the British invasion force sent to the Malvinas with the "GOTCHA" and "WALLOP" headlines, and whose sick, overpaid mind led him to write "Up yours Galtieri" on the side of a Sidewinder missile.

So this time, actual hatred against ASLEF came second to a campaign to demoralise our members by distorting the issues and publicising the occasional scab. Despite the pressure of this campaign, along with the financial pressures many drivers are facing, the strike has held well with about 97.5% support.

## POOR UNION LEADERSHIP

While the ASLEF E.C. acted quickly and positively to BR's original ultimatum, they gave poor overall leadership. Just one leaflet was sent out; so the major source of information for most members is the mass media. Without a lead from the EC, picketing was slow to get off the ground. In fact there's been a lot of good local initiative

prepared to support them in saying that Self defence is No offence.

"Interest was so high in some areas that workers returning from holiday opened conversations with 'Have you heard anything new about the Bradford 12?' Sales of the Bradford 12 Bulletins followed and were met with excellent support. The first lot of 50 were sold out rapidly and the follow-up edition sold 98 in one day and 115 in all.

"The same shops that later made the South Atlantic collection a failure (see last issue of "Class Struggle") had strongly supported the Bradford 12 in their fight. When people heard of the successful completion of the trial they were quick to tell one another and to discuss the victory. The increasing unity among minority nationality peoples means that whenever there is increased repression there will surely be increased resistance."

shown, with bulletins and leaflets produced, strike committees set up, picketing rotas organised, and vans hired for sending out flying pickets. Even travelling picket squads were sent out, i.e. up with the driver of scab trains where we've got a captive audience!

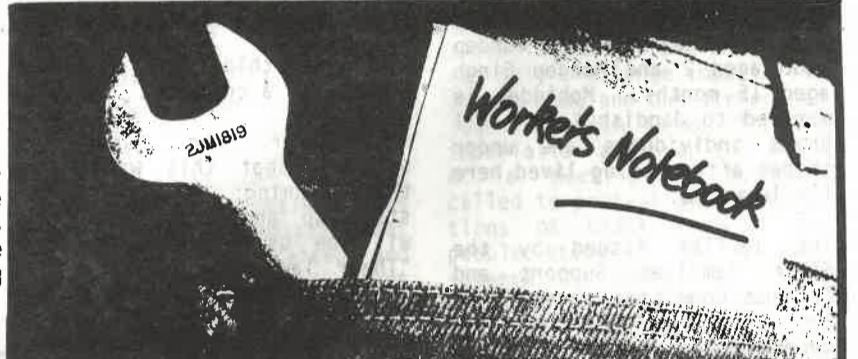
All the time the argument was being won. I know of 3 drivers originally coming to work, who are now doing picket duty down at Addiscombe. In fact by the first Friday BR had to admit that fewer drivers had come to work.

At the time of writing we're holding firm, with BR losing about £8 million a day, running a skeleton service with as many shuttle runs as possible to make the figures look less pathetic than they really are.

Sidney Weighell of the NUR has been making his usual attacks on ASLEF. Having enforced flexible rosters onto NUR

guards, he wants the same to happen to us. Support has however come from a number of other unions. The mine-workers' conference voted to stop the transport of coal by rail and prevent its transfer by the roads. Arthur Scargill said that miners would give ASLEF the support that Thatcher had given BR. It has been reported that London Transport (LT) workers agreed on a levy on their wages to go to our strike fund. And LT ASLEF members have said they'll strike in solidarity if BR sacks us; LT NUR drivers have pledged not to cross picket lines.

So working class support for ASLEF is growing, while we're up against a formidable enemy of the BR, the mass media, the NUR leadership, the Labour Party, the police and of course, behind it all - the Government. If we can win this battle it will be a tremendous victory, and will bring about renewed confidence to all workers. Let's hope we can pull it off.



★ The withdrawal of Earnings Related Supplement from January 1982 from persons claiming unemployment or sickness benefit has hit claimants hard. Whereas entitlement in 1981 was the equivalent of 28.4% (£35.5 p.w.) of average male earnings; under the new ruling it drops to a mere 18.2% (£25.0 p.w.).

This change is in line with the move in 1983 to privatisation of sick pay. It will push millions of people into the means test system for the first time.

★ Recent research on 76 pregnant women in Hackney has shown that many of them were not eating enough to produce healthy babies. Half the women had only 1,500 calories a day: the Department of Health recommends 2,400. Half the group gave birth to babies weighing less than 6½ lb. 12% had babies weighing less than 5½ lbs, the official low-weight danger mark.

Underweight babies are susceptible to infection and illness. With wages and Social Security benefits failing to keep up with the rate of inflation, many pregnant women simply cannot afford to eat well.

★ Our bosses are always telling us that they are underpaid; usually they are lying of course. There are sneaky ways in which they hide the truth. For example S.K. Zilka, director of Mothercare, only picked up a salary last year of £630. In the same year however he received £473,938 in dividend on his shares.

A damp flat which a young father claimed killed his baby boy has been pronounced unfit to live in. Nearly two months after the death, an independent surveyor's report stated that the flat is unfit for human habitation. The Lambeth Council flat in London has black fungus in every room because of dampness. The 5-month-old baby died of pneumonia. His sister has bronchitis and cannot breathe in the room without an inhaler.

★ Two company directors lived a life of extravagance and luxury using money borrowed from their own businesses. They went bankrupt owing £8½ million between them (their wives owned all their assets) but were ruled by the courts last week to have done nothing illegal! Our system apparently sees nothing wrong in stealing for the sort of luxuries quoted in this trial, e.g. "a dial-a-bath from the jetty at the end of his garden, so that after mooring his yacht a steaming hot bath would be ready and waiting by the time he reached the house."

Compare this to the sort of sentences meted out to a family who can't pay their electricity bills, or the unemployed youth who is caught shoplifting.

Not only did these men get off scot free but costs of £½ million were paid out of public funds.

★ "Workers should not expect pay rises as if they were delivered with the milk", says Geoffrey Howe. What pay rises? When average pay settlements amount to around 7% and inflation is running at 12%, what we have been getting is a pay cut! Bosses, however, are lapping up the cream. As Howe spoke, Gerald Ronson, Chairman of the Heron Corporation, got a 40% pay rise of £81,000 a year, bringing his annual salary up to £288,000.

★ Chancellor Geoffrey Howe has made it very clear this month that the health of ordinary people is not an important issue for the ruling class. The Tories plan to abolish the Welfare State if they are voted to power in the next election.

Meanwhile they will start by extending health service charges. Howe said that if people had to pay for their health it would "help induce a sense of priorities." Like: which is more important: medicine, or food, or keeping a roof over your head?

## Bradford 12 and MK Workers

We have received the following report from a worker at MK Electrics in North London:

"The Bradford 12 received a lot of support from MK workers. Several leafletings had been done by active anti-racists on the shop floor and they had met with a warm and friendly response, particularly from the minority nationality peoples. They appreciated the circumstances that the Bradford 12 had faced and were



# HERE TO STAY ~ HERE TO FIGHT!

"Class Struggle"  
Correspondent

"We're not talking about deportations any more," one speaker told a packed Queen's Hall in Bradford. "What's happening now is repatriation." Over 500 people, almost all from the Asian community, were supporting the demonstration and meeting called to protest against deportations of black people in Bradford.

\* Three Sikh families are under threat. Jarnail Singh and Gurmej Kaur are the parents of Bahadur Singh and Mohinder Singh. Bahadur is married to Kalash Kaur and they have two children, Gurdep Kaur aged 2 and Mandep Singh aged 15 months. Mohinder is married to Jagdish Kaur. All these individuals are under threat after having lived here for 10 years.

The leaflet issued by the Singh Families Support and Defence Committee says: "They are all jointly accused of deception on the authorities. The Home Office has not communicated with any of these individuals to inform them of what is being prepared against them... Their infant children are ruthlessly penalised. Two of those threatened - Bahadur and Mohinder - were aged 13 and 16 on entry to the UK... It must also be remembered that the amnesty of 1972 allowed security to all who entered before 31st December 1973..."

\* Mahmud Khan has lived here since 1971. He was granted permanent residence in 1975 but now the Home Office want to deport him because his marriage has broken up. The Home Office has decided that this was not a genuine marriage. But at the judicial review of his case, they would not allow evidence from his first wife to be heard.

\* Aurangzeb came to this country in 1972 at the age of 13. His passport was a false one. Now he is settled, married and has a child. Now the Home Office want to "remove" him from this country.

\* Pow Yean Leong, from Leeds, is the sister of Pow Shien Leong who has just won her six-year battle for Chun Hee's (her son) right to stay. Now the Home Office, who seem determined to harrass this family, have refused permission for Pow Yean to stay, although her life and her family are now in Leeds.

Before the meeting up to 500 people had marched from Thornbury, where the Singh families live and work, to Bradford City Centre. The biggest contingents on the march were those marching behind the banners of the Singh Family and Mahmud Khan campaigns. Sikhs and Kashmiris, men and women, old people and children showed the strong community support against these deportations. Other banners included the Pow Yean Leong Defence Committee from Leeds, and Asian Youth Movement banners from Bradford and Manchester.

Speakers from the Defence Committees expressed the anger

felt by the community, and the determination to fight, in Urdu, English and Punjabi.

Speakers stressed that there is no justice for black people - the only way is to fight.

Mahmud Khan told how he had been informed that it was in the public good that he should be deported. The strong community support showed this up as a lie. He has already been held in Armley jail for four months, taken to Heathrow and forced to sign a statement saying he wanted to leave the country. Now he has to sign on at the police station every day. "Even the day my father died. Even Christmas Day," he told us. He is treated as a criminal.

A speaker for Aurangzeb stressed that this was only the beginning. "If we don't stand up and fight now, it will be us next," he said. "Their laws make us illegal. But we have a right to be here, 300 years ago when they went to our country, who gave them the right to go there?"

The Asian Youth Movement speaker said that defence from racist immigration laws is only one front in the fight-back. Black people face racism in all aspects of their lives. Black women go to maternity clinics and are asked for their passports - just one example. He got loud applause when he acclaimed the victory of the Bradford 12 - a victory for the right to self-defence.

He went on: "The Asian Youth Movement has been fighting deportations for four years now. We will organise demonstrations; we will organise pickets. But what happens if these don't work? I know for myself and I'm sure I speak for many of my comrades; if these methods don't work, we will physically defend our people."

Several other speakers from support groups and one from a trade union spoke against the deportations. Pow Shien Leong spoke of her fight to keep her son Chun Hee here and the new fight to stop her sister Pow Yean from being forced to leave. She mentioned other people under threat, including a three-year-old, Lim Kok Keung, whom the Home Office want to deport from Sheffield. "We are all people from the third world," she said. "Perhaps they don't like our faces, they don't like our colour."

Tariq Ali, of the Bradford 12, spoke of their recent victory after nine weeks of hell in Leeds Crown Court. "The trial proved we have the right to self defence. And we must be prepared to defend our people, if necessary, by force." The whole meeting stood for one minute's silence in memory of those killed in Lebanon.

After this meeting there can be no doubt about the anger and determination to fight in the defence of the community in Bradford. Plans are being made for a national joint meeting and demonstration in August and September.

Last month we reported on the historic victory of the Bradford 12. The following article is an attempt at summing up the main lessons of the trial and the campaign. It was written by a member of the Revolutionary Communist League who was extremely active in the Bradford 12 Campaign. We welcome comments and contributions from readers, particularly from activists in the Campaign.

"People say it's a victory for the Bradford 12. But it's not. It's freedom for us, but victory for black people generally: the right to defend ourselves." - Saeed Hussein.

The central issue in the trial of the Bradford 12 was a simple but fundamental one: the right to self defence of national minority people in this country.

On July 11 last year, the Bradford 12 had discussed, and some of them made, petrol bombs which, as it turned out, were never used. The police and prosecution argued they were made for use 'in a riot'. The answer given by the twelve was self defence. Tariq Ali had said in his statement made in police custody last July: "It is my belief that when a people are attacked, it is their right to act in self defence. The nature of that defence depends upon the nature of the attack... We



decided that an organised defence of our community was necessary."

Tarlochan Gata-Aura explained in court: "My personal experience is that the police have never defended our community. There is an absence of the will to help... The police have always protected the fascists."

The 24 police witnesses for the prosecution provided good evidence for the self defence argument. They simply denied

the existence of racist attacks in Bradford or any reason for the Asian community to be afraid of violence from racists. They denied knowledge of specific local and national attacks and even of the Home Office study in which West Yorkshire had been one area studied.

The defence witnesses showed the day to day reality for black people - escalating violence which culminated in the first ten days of last July. On July 2 Mrs Khan and

support from everyone, I couldn't carry on. One person's war is not enough. I hope everyone will do what they can to support Pow Yean.

"I know this isn't just happening to Pow Yean alone. Lots of people all over the country are having these kinds of problems. Lim Kok Keung is a three-year-old boy they want to deport from Sheffield. Najat Chafee and her young son are also fighting deportation to Morocco. The Khan family in Manchester, the Darr family in Leeds and the Singh family in Bradford - every week there are more and more families who come under threat.

"It's all people from the third world who are affected - from what used to be 'the British Empire'. People who have been forced to leave their own country and seek a living elsewhere. My own family is originally from China. They moved to Malaysia before the Second World War. I am a British citizen by birth. On paper I am a 'citizen of UK and Colonies'. But in practice it means nothing.

"Especially after 1st January next year when the Nationality Act comes into force, there's going to be thousands of 'stateless' families. When it becomes law, thousands of Asian families in Malaysia will lose all their rights. On paper they will be 'British Overseas Citizens' which means nothing.

"It seems that black women have no rights at all. I had a lot of trouble with the Home Office because of being a single parent. It's going to be difficult for Pow Yean to start speaking in public. I am going to have to do a lot of the speaking, I know. I have so many responsibilities - a full time job, Chun Hee to look after and my parents and now Pow Yean to worry about."

Pow Yean is currently waiting for the result of her appeal. The Pow Yean Leong Defence Committee can be contacted at Box L, 59 Cookridge Street, Leeds 2.

## Pow Shien's Family Attacked Again

In past issues of "Class Struggle" we reported on the successful fight of Pow Shien Leong for the right of her son, Chun Hee, to live here. Now, Pow Shien has another fight on her hands, because the Home Office are trying to deport her sister, Pow Yean Leong. Pow Shien talked to a "Class Struggle" correspondent about her family and her fight:

"Pow Yean was adopted when she was just a tiny baby. None of us knew her natural parents. Pow Yean - as far as she was concerned - was her father's daughter. She didn't know she was adopted, she was brought up as one of the family. It was quite unnecessary to let her know.

"She came to England in November 1979, as a visitor. While she was there, my mother had to go into hospital - that was in 1980. The same year my father had a bad heart attack and had to go to hospital too. So we applied for her to stay and look after them. Our doctor wrote a letter for the Home Office saying that both of them need constant care and attention. Pow Yean agreed to stay and look after them. My father is 75 now and my mother's over 60 too.

"After we had applied for her to stay, we had to wait. We waited for two years for the Home Office to reply. Then they refused her permission to stay for two reasons. First they said they 'were not satisfied that she was legally adopted'. As I said, Pow Yean didn't know she was adopted before, so this was a cruel blow to her. Before she was quite content and now she's really upset. The second reason they gave was that she doesn't meet 'the requirements for permanent residence in UK'.

"Suddenly she was given three

weeks to leave the country. After waiting for two years! We've appealed this decision so now we're waiting for the appeal.

"The fact is that Pow Yean has nowhere else to go. She's got no relatives back in Malaysia. Her family is here in England. Where is she supposed to go? If she went back to Malaysia she wouldn't know anyone there.

"In 1977 when my parents first came over, they wanted to bring Pow Yean with them. But they were misinformed by people there who told them that she had no right to come because she was over 18. When they got here, they found out that she could have come then with them. But because we had wrong information, we hadn't applied.

"The letter from the Home Office about Pow Yean came just 7 weeks after we heard that Chun Hee could stay. We'd had a long fight to get permission for Chun Hee to stay. After 6 years of anxiety and tension, we won this fight. We began to settle down to normal family life. And now we're worried about what's going to happen to Pow Yean.

"I went through years of going through tribunals and appeals with Chun Hee. Then I tried to bring him over as a student. They tried to stop him and threatened to deport him. Then we started a campaign - last September. We were waiting for a judicial review when we heard he could stay at the beginning of April.

"Now I want to campaign for Pow Yean to stay. Without a campaign we wouldn't have won Chun Hee's right to stay. Although on paper he had the right to be here, we had to fight for it. I know that it is support from other people that meant we won. Without



# K PEOPLE

her three children were murdered in an arson attack on their home in Walthamstow. On July 3 racist and fascist skinheads attacked Southall. Many in the Asian community feared a new attack the following weekend: there were threats to invade Southall on 10th and skinheads did in fact go to Luton to attack black people in their homes. They did not appear in Bradford but many thought they would and rumours were everywhere. Saeed Hussein told the court that these events "affected my mother so much that she got my brother to seal up the letterbox. Southall usually seems quite far away, but on that day, it seemed like the end of our street."

Both the judge and the jury were aware of the importance of the issue. In ending his summing up, the judge directed the jury: "You set the standards. If you think that a store of such devices to use against opponents yet to come goes beyond reasonable self defence, and that chaos and confusion in the country would follow, then the verdict must be guilty."

The jury - 1 Asian, 4 Afro-Caribbeans and 7 white people - set a clear standard with their courageous not-guilty

verdict.

"Self Defence is No Offence" has been raised before by national minority people in this country, as it has elsewhere as in the US by the black liberation movement, as the oppressed rise up against their oppressors. It will be taken up more and more by black people in their fight back against organised fascist violence and against state racism. Hence the importance of this victory. And the fact that this fundamental right challenges the state's monopoly to the use of force.

## THE UPRISINGS

It was the state's monopoly of force that was challenged on the streets of England's cities last summer by the wide spread uprisings led by the black youth. In some places people responded to racist attacks - as in Southall. Elsewhere the target of their anger was the police, seen as an occupying army in their communities, as in Brixton and Toxteth. This was the wider context of the arrest of the Bradford 12.

Tariq Ali says in his letter to supporters: "The state made a mountain out of a molehill. In so doing, they made a monument to our beliefs. That is, we will defend ourselves

by whatever means necessary."

There have been no show trials of fascists, no charges of conspiracy to attack the black community. No culprits have been found for the murder of 13 young black people in Deptford or the Khan family in Walthamstow.

But when the police found the store of petrol bombs, instead of charging the 12 with minor offences, they blew the whole thing up into a show trial. It was clear that the members of the UBYL were well known for their history of militant defence of the black community. They were arrested, held incommunicado, statements forced out of them and written up by police, denied bail and held on remand for three months. They faced life sentences. When bail was granted, it was with strict conditions, including the political gagging.

The state attempted to make criminals of the strongest defenders of the black community. It was part of their response to the rebellion of last summer.

The response of the national minority community was central to the victory. The unity of the twelve, the courage of the jury and the political defence taken by the barristers settled the matter in court. But the political

campaign outside the court was the backbone. The mass meeting in Bradford immediately after the arrests when 800 declared their support for the 12, the black youth who picketed the court week after week, the Gurdwaras (temples) who supplied free food, and black workers who came on marches and pickets, all played their part. In the courtroom witnesses from different communities, of different political affiliations told of the need for self defence. It was recognised that not only the twelve but the whole community was on trial. And the community supported their youth in the face of the attack by the state, whatever their internal differences.

## BLACK LEADERSHIP

This support could have been much stronger if the campaign had been led by black organisations with strong roots among their people. In spite of this main weakness and many other mistakes, the campaign did organise broad-based support for the 12 and, hopefully, lessons will be learned from the mistakes. Right from the time of the arrests, it organised pickets and demonstrations. Support was built in most of the main cities of England which ensured that the issues were raised and the trial known about. Apart from the national minority communities, both Asian and

Afro-Caribbean, important support came from the anti-imperialist and women's movements.

Internationally, important support came from Sinn Fein and the IRSP. Parallels have been drawn between the state's response to the growth of a revolutionary movement here and to the Republican movement in Ireland. Many lessons are still to be drawn. The state will not take this defeat easily. An inquiry is already underway into the trial. The jury system, without which this victory could not have been possible, is under threat. In the north of Ireland, the twelve would have been sent down on long sentences by no-jury courts. The methods used by police have not been challenged apart from in the court.

This is an important victory which is one battle in a long fight. As national minority people strengthen their unity so too they will strengthen their leadership of a broad-based alliance against imperialism. Such an alliance will not only challenge imperialism in its homeland but strengthen its ties with those fighting imperialism all over the world. At a meeting in Bradford called to protest the deportations of black people, 500 people stood in one minute's silence in memory of those killed in Lebanon - expressing this internationalism.

# BRADFORD 12 AND IRELAND

*Solidarity between the different sections of the oppressed is a mighty weapon in the struggle against imperialism. The mutual support between the Bradford 12 and the Irish people has been one very important instance of this solidarity. Below we reprint a letter sent by Tariq M. Ali, one of the Bradford 12, to "An Phoblacht/Republican News" which was published in its July 8th issue.*

"It is some two weeks since the jury at Leeds Crown Court returned a 'not guilty' verdict on the 'Bradford 12' of which I was one. I write this letter as a gesture of solidarity both to the nationalist people of Ireland and the freedom fighters who are waging a heroic and just war against the British imperialist forces.

"It was heart-warming to receive telegrams from comrades in Ireland as indeed it is heart-warming to hear that the IRA have carried out yet another successful operation. It is the latter that has always filled me with a sense of imminent victory.

"Whilst I write this letter of solidarity, many miles away in Lebanon the Palestinians are once again being brutally butchered by Zionism. All the freedom-loving people are horrified at this terrible, terrible slaughter of the gallant Palestinians and their Lebanese allies. All the wealth and power of Saudi Arabia has once again left them to suffer untold misery at the guns of America in the hands of the Israelis. All of us committed to the struggle against imperialism must come out and show our solidarity in whichever way we can. I have no doubt that not only the Republican Movement but the nationalist people of Ireland will continue to stand by the Palestinians as they have done so in the past.

Capitalism in crisis is a violent, aggressive creature indeed. Britain in her true hypocritical manner was prepared to send a mighty armada to the Malvinas Islands and bring havoc and destruction there all in the name of 1,600 loyal Brits and a load of sheep. In the name of justice on the British mainland she is imposing a massive repressive regime, today against black people which tomorrow will be unleashed against the British working class. In the name of peace she brings war to the Malvinas Islands. In the name of British unity she maintains the division of Ireland. In reality it is all in the name of the maintenance of imperialist domination of the peoples of this globe.

"On many an occasion whilst in prison on remand, I gained strength from the martyrs of the Irish struggle. They may be buried a long way away in Ireland, but their spirit of resistance shone through into my life in prison.

"I learnt one very important lesson from the stance of Bobby Sands and the many other comrades that came and went before and after him. That is, prison walls can break your bones but never your will to struggle for what you believe is just. To all those who have sacrificed their lives and are continuing to sacrifice themselves for the unification of Ireland I send revolutionary greetings and fraternal salutations.

"For us, by our charges, the state made a mountain out of a mole hill. In their blind determination to send us to prison for a mighty long time, they ended up by making a monument to our beliefs. We will continue to defend ourselves by whatever means we feel are necessary.

"Victory to the nationalist people of Ireland!

Victory to the IRA!"

Tariq M. Ali



## NEW CROSS ~ 13 Dead, Still Nothing Said

On July 8 three High Court judges turned down a call for a new inquest into the New Cross fire in which 13 black children and youth were killed last year. The last shoddy inquest - the Coroner was so indifferent he did not even take notes - returned an "open verdict", and the pressure for a new inquest has come from the families of those who died.

Undeterred the parents are now going to hold an International Commission of Inquiry both to find out the cause of the fire and to examine the conduct of the police and judicial authorities.

Outside the Court the parents of the youths injured and killed angrily spoke out against the injustice of the racist British state.

George Francis, whose 17-year old son Gerry died, said: "If this is British justice we have no more faith in it. Thirteen black kids have died, and the authorities will say nothing more about how it happened. We want to know

what happened, and we will carry on until we find out."

Nerissa Campbell, who lost her 18-year-old son Peter, added: "How could anyone be satisfied with this result. We all lost our children in the fire, and they will not tell us how they died because we are black."

Orville Gooding lost 14-year-old Andrew, while his other son David has been scarred for life. "I can't describe the hurt I still feel about the fire and the injustice done to us the relatives and the whole community. The decision here today will change the attitude of everyone in the black community. Our opinion of British justice has been turned upside down."

Datli Johnson, who lost her daughter Patricia, asked: "Why was the incendiary device found in the garden washed out before being handed to the scientific experts? They do not want us to find out the reasons for the fire, and as far as the judges are concerned it was only 13 pigeons

that died."

Joseph Edwards, whose son and daughter were injured, revealed that: "My own children told me that the police had pressurised them to invent stories about a fight in the house. When I heard about this, and refused to let the police speak to them without being there myself, the police never interviewed them again."

Chairman of the New Cross Fire Massacre Action Committee, John La Rose, said: "Today's decision is totally unacceptable to us. We will hold our own inquiry, and we have more than enough evidence to show the complete incompetence of the police and their total inability and refusal to find out who was responsible for those deaths."

Whether it is black children slaughtered in fascist arson attacks, or Irish children slaughtered by plastic bullets the British state is utterly indifferent to the lives of the children of the oppressed. However, the oppressed are taking the struggle for justice into their own hands.



# Palestine from Page 1

They found out that there's so much strength, so much support for the Palestinians on the West Bank, they thought that by crushing the PLO, crushing its military strength they could get across easier to those people in the West Bank, and eventually annex the West Bank and make it part of the Jewish state. More than that, the aims go even further: the Zionists are trying to kill all Palestinian aspirations. The idea that the Palestinian nation, as a nation, has proved it can fight and struggle and can put up an opposition is something of which the Israelis are very scared; they are scared of the image of Palestinians prepared to fight until death. That's what they've proved not only in this war, but last year and in 1978 when they crossed the border into Lebanon, and even before that. Since 1964 when the PLO was founded, they've proved that they are people who are committed to their cause, their strength of belief is so great that nothing can stop them. You actually have to kill someone to stop this great feeling within them, and that scares the Zionist leaders because their plan - drawn up long ago together with the imperialists, especially the Americans - was that they would occupy Palestine, or a major part of it, and then the Palestinians would be dispersed all over the Arab world and most of them would be absorbed in the Arab world and forget their identity.

That policy has proved fruitless; it did not work. On the contrary, Palestinians are proud of being Palestinians, they stick together and are doing a lot for their cause. We've shown, as Palestinians, as students, and as a nation all together that there's no way things like this can bypass us. The fact that we've opposed the Camp David agreement because they've chosen people who are not Palestinians to speak on our behalf just showed them that it's impossible - there's no way they can do it because we are a nation and we've picked our representatives. We're proud of our democracy.

We pick our representatives and nobody on this earth can pick another representative for us. I think the Zionist state knows this as well, and that's why they want to crush us because by crushing our military strength, which is the backbone of our presence, they could pass any plans they have in mind in a much easier way. I think that summarises the aims of the invasion.

## Camp David

CS: To what extent can the preparations for this attempt to eliminate the Palestinians be traced back to Camp David? What role did that play in leading up to this attack?

GUPS: Obviously, Camp David can be assessed just by looking at who signed the Camp David agreement, ex-President Sadat, Carter and Begin: I don't think any of these three are qualified to speak for the Palestinians.

Camp David was obviously designed first of all to neutralize Egypt, one of the largest Arab countries, and which initially speaking had an important role in the Arab-Israeli conflict. The basic aim was to neutralize this



Israeli-Egyptian front. Camp David did do that by the evacuation of the Sinai, by giving Sinai back to the Egyptians.

The next phase was to be "autonomy" for the Palestinians. As a Palestinian, I reject this on first principles. How can you start autonomy talks without asking the Palestinians' point of view? Although the Zionist leaders claim they have a Palestinian view through these so-called "Village Leagues" everybody knows who these people are - just a few people they've picked up who are ready to collaborate with the Zionist entity for their own personal benefit. Anyone who goes to the West Bank can find out for themselves without going to Lebanon or anywhere else that these people represent nobody except themselves. When one of these people in the "Village Leagues" goes walking in his own village, he'll have Israeli protection all the time because everyone knows what he's doing, that he's a collaborator.

So the Palestinian point of view is not taken into account and Camp David didn't aim to give the Palestinians the right of self-determination, yet the minimum that a nation can ask for is the right to choose what it wants to do, the right to statehood. Camp David is not designed to do that; it is designed to lengthen the chain encircling the Palestinians on the West Bank. It doesn't go any further than that, and that's why the Palestinians, whether in the occupied land or outside in the refugee camps, in exile, have rejected Camp David since the beginning. It's just one new glossy design to impress the world, to say we want peace and we are trying to give the Palestinians their rights, but they are rejecting it. This is the glossy image in which this whole Camp David process has been presented, but you only have to go into a bit more detail to see that this is not the case. It denies the basic rights of the Palestinians and has been rejected by them.

The PLO's military strength is predominantly in Lebanon, but obviously it is everywhere especially in the West Bank. The level of operations which have taken place in the last three years in the occupied land shows that with all the restrictions, with all the house arrests, with all the oppression to which the Palestinians are being subjected, they are still going out and opposing this occupation, especially since this "civil administration" thing came out, with Professor Milsom as civil administrator.

It's by no means a civil administration; and even if it was, the aims of such an administration are not civil. It's just a way of impressing people - not Palestinians, because they can't impress the Palestinians by all these tricks, but the world - saying that we are trying to implement this peace treaty, but it's the Palestinians who are obstructing it.

In many areas - in Gaza, for example - the civil administrator is the very same man who was the military administrator just a few months before that... They wear civilian clothes, but does that make them civilian administrators?

## The Arab States

CS: There were people who, over the years, said they supported the Palestinians firmly but obviously they haven't come to their aid. How do the Palestinians react to this and how do they see future relations with them?

GUPS: We feel very bitter. Not that we believed all those who said on many occasions that they would support the Palestinians; we knew pretty well that many of those - when it came to the crunch - would do nothing, but I have to admit that the low profile reaction has been beyond expectations, especially in the Arab world.

Nevertheless, we still hope that some mobilization can take place. I think that those Arab regimes who are oppressing their own peoples cannot do it for a very long time because the Arab masses generally, and all freedom-loving people, are with the Palestinians.

In the Arab world many volunteers have joined the joint Palestinian-Lebanese forces in Lebanon, fighting the Zionist invasion, but still there are many Arab regimes which are oppressing their people and think those people cannot be quiet any more.

This conspiracy of silence makes those who are taking part full partners in the war of genocide. So many regimes are just trying to avoid the issue altogether, for reasons we know very well: many of them are rotten regimes who do not want to see a Palestinian state. They do not want to see the Palestinians achieve their goals for many reasons. The most important is the fear that the Palestinians have lost their land, and do not have much more to lose. Through the Palestinian revolution many of these people have been exposed as traitors to their own people. Their own people have found out that they're not doing what they're supposed to be doing. Some feel very bitter about this situation, but nevertheless we feel that the masses are fully behind us. The number of volunteers who came from all over the Arab world to support us just shows how much the masses are supporting the Palestinians. They feel that the cause of the Palestinians is the cause of the Arab nation, and even those who are oppressed and not allowed to show their feelings will rise and show them in one way or another.

## The Big Powers

CS: What do you feel about the attitude of the major powers?

GUPS: I feel that the Americans are full partners in this

operation and I don't think people like Begin and the Zionist leaders would have dared to start such an operation without the agreement of the American administration. Obviously, they are full partners.

As for the other powers, I would have liked, as a Palestinian, the Soviet Union to have taken a more positive stand towards the situation.

As a member of GUPS in Britain I was encouraged by a number of remarks made by the British government and, more importantly, those by MPs and general democratic movements around the country in solidarity with the Palestinian people. Now is the time to work hard to try and pressurise the government in all possible ways to recognize the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. It's very important that the British government should take such a step, because the government talks about the rights of the Palestinians, the right of the Palestinians to a homeland and their right to take part in negotiations; they're saying this, so why don't they accept the PLO as the representative of the Palestinians? If they accept the rights of the Palestinians, then it's up to the Palestinians to choose their representatives, which they did - over 17 years ago. So it's high time that the British government took a more positive stance towards this. I think the British

## Jews against zionism

Israel's fascist aggression against the Palestinian people is opposed by many Jewish people in Israel, in Britain and around the world. In Begin, they see a reflection of Hitler, see that his actions desecrate the memory of the six million Jews murdered by the Nazis and see that today anti-fascist Jews must resolutely support the Palestinian people. Their stand shows that there is no greater fraud than Begin posing as an anti-fascist.

In a recent letter to the "Morning Star" Maurice Levitas a long-standing Jewish member of the Communist Party of Great Britain said:

"Surely the time has come for Jews in Britain and the rest of the world to complain firmly to the Israeli government. Its slaughter in Lebanon cannot, must not, be condoned by the majority of us. And we must speak out.

"It is not only this latest violence which should be condemned. The philosophy which inspires the strategies of the Begin government has no correspondence with the feelings and aspirations of ordinary Jews.

"When we Jews were suffering the racism of the 1930s there were two main responses. One was to join with those who abhorred fascism and to engage in common action with them. This was the secular democratic path acknowledging the universality of human kind. The other was to discover a specifically Jewish mode of defence: the religious communal path asserting the identity of a 'chosen people'.

"The second, Zionist, way was not that which ended the holocaust....

"Should we not now begin to espouse international justice and a secular, bi-national Jewish-Palestinian state in place of what is now Israel?"

ANL

At its recent Annual General Meeting the Brighton Branch

government could also take a more positive stance within the EEC to try and pressurise, in their own ways, the Israeli government to withdraw. What we want now is a complete withdrawal of the Israelis from Lebanon to stop the massacre. It's so huge that I don't think anybody can keep quiet about it. I would like to see the British government - specifically, the British government because of its historical involvement in this whole issue - taking a more positive stance towards the Palestinians.

Obviously as a Palestinian I'm very proud of the level of solidarity we've been getting in this country from different groups and organisations, especially those organisations which fight for the right of people to self-determination and the right to establish their own home. But still, I think the media blackout on the issue has actually not allowed as many people as I'd like to see take part in protests, because a lot of people still don't know much about it; even if they do, they just know the Israeli propaganda side of it which has dominated the media of this country for at least the last 40 years.

I would like to see a larger scale organisation in this country of solidarity with the Palestinians, to try and put as much pressure as possible on the British government to stop the war of genocide in Lebanon.

of the Anti-Nazi League unanimously passed a motion condemning Israeli aggression, and decided to affiliate to the Palestinian Solidarity Liaison Committee. A branch spokesperson explained:

"We feel that it is important for us to take such a decision. As an organisation that has many Jewish members and activists we feel it is regrettable that some Jewish people in this country should be encouraged to support a war of aggression with underlying racist motives - the wholesale slaughter of Palestinian Arabs, their only crime being that they are not Jewish."

## FEMINISTS

In a letter to the feminist newspaper "Outwrite" thirteen members of the Jewish Feminist Group "totally condemn the Israeli invasion". We reprint their letter below:

"As Jewish Feminists we totally condemn the invasion of Lebanon by Israel. We are appalled by this further unjustifiable act of aggression against Lebanon which reinforces the continual repression of the Palestinians in Israel, the West Bank and Gaza. We support the Palestinian People in their liberation struggles. The State of Israel justifies its aggression by saying that it represents the interests of Jews around the world; we want to make it clear that such acts do not represent our interests.

"In writing this letter we want to emphasise that, as Jews, our position on Israel can't be taken for granted. It is anti-semitic to assume that Judaism and Zionism are synonymous. Feminist groups can be as guilty of this as left groups, the mass media and big business. As Jews, with a history of persecution and oppression, we utterly condemn the persecution and oppression of the Palestinian people carried out in our name."



## Solidarity from Korea

In a June 29 statement, the Government of Socialist Korea condemned the imperialist and Zionist invasion of Lebanon and declared its full support for the fighting Palestinian and Arab peoples and offered to extend any form of support, up to and including the dispatch of volunteers. The statement said:

"The present critical Middle East situation makes it incumbent upon the world peace-loving countries and peoples to pool their strength and conduct more powerful joint action for checking and frustrating the brigandish aggressive manoeuvres of the US imperialists and Israel against Lebanon.

"We consider it necessary first of all for the socialist, non-aligned and all the new-emerging countries to do all they can to assist the just cause of the Lebanese, Palestinian and Syrian peoples and all other Arab peoples.

"The valiant Palestinian and other Arab peoples are now hardening the determination to repulse all the vicious manoeuvres of the US imperialists and the Israeli aggressors and fight them to the last.

"The Government of the Demo-

cratic People's Republic of Korea and the Korean people have consistently supported the just cause of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples.

"The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea solemnly declares that if the Palestinian and other fighting Arab peoples request, it will extend every form of support and encouragement to them including the dispatch of volunteers."

"We regard it as a bounden internationalist duty of a brother and comrade-in-arms standing on the common front against imperialism and for independence."

"The struggle of the Palestinian and all other Arab peoples against the US imperialists and the Zionists is a just cause and enjoys the full support of the world's peace-loving people. Therefore, it will certainly emerge victorious."

"Class Struggle" hails the principled, internationalist stand taken by Socialist Korea, a stand thoroughly in keeping with its traditions. It is all the more significant when contrasted with the treachery of many Arab and so-called "socialist" countries.

## Iran and Palestine

The leading Iranian revolutionary organisation, the People's Mojahedin Organisation of Iran, has responded to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon with its customary exemplary internationalism. In a statement the Mojahedin say:

"Now that Iraq has agreed to the passage of Iranian troops through her territory, the People's Mojahedin Organisation of Iran is prepared to send, within its own independent ranks, at least 100,000 volunteers to the Lebanon within one week. In case Khomeini releases the political prisoners this figure will exceed 140,000."

The Mojahedin say that their proposition is only practicable if Khomeini places no obstacle in the path of the Mojahedin sending its volunteers, and if the supervision of the PLO over the whole process is accepted.

Khomeini has made no concessions whatsoever and so has betrayed his sham opposition to, and real support for, Zionism and imperialism. Further to that, on June 22 Khomeini declared that the Lebanon and Palestine are peripheral issues which must not overshadow the Iran-Iraq war. He has advised Mullahs not to preach about the Lebanon and Palestine, but to concentrate on calls for the overthrow of the Iraqi government. A statement from the People's Mojahedin says:

"Thus Khomeini's real alliance with Israel against the Arab world and particularly against the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese people becomes better proven than before. Khomeini has not only betrayed the Iranian Revolution and people, but he has also done the same to the Arab people and the Palestinian Revolution."

## China - Korea Internationalism

"Under a socialist system, every nation will be the supreme arbiter of its own destinies, national and international; it will be forced into no alliance against its will, but will have its independence guaranteed and its freedom respected by the enlightened self-interest of the social democracy of the world."

So said James Connolly during his struggle to break Irish Socialism free from domination by the British Labour movement,

Now, seventy years later, on the occasion of a June visit to Korea by a Chinese delegation headed by Politbureau member and Defence Minister, Geng Biao, we can survey the progress that has been made in building the socialist international relations to which Connolly looked forward.

Socialist Korea has grown in the teeth of US imperialism's opposition, and hourly faces immediate and terrible aggression. As Geng Biao said

during his recent visit: "The United States still keeps its troops in south Korea... This once again brings to light the hegemonic nature of the United States arbitrarily trampling under foot the sovereignty of another country and interfering in its internal affairs."

Comrade Geng recalled that not a small number of Korean revolutionaries, including Comrade Kim Il Sung, fought in China for the cause of the Chinese revolution. "It can be said," commented Comrade Geng, "that such mutual trust and support as those between China and Korea can hardly be found in any party or country in the world."

Korean leader, Comrade O Jin U, addressing a mass meeting during the Chinese visit, recalled the assistance provided by the Chinese People's Volunteers who fought shoulder to shoulder with Korea's revolutionaries to resist US imperialism's aggressive war of 1950-53. He described China as a "comrade-in-arms

In a recent interview reported in the French paper "Le Monde" Abu Iyad, one of the five top PLO leaders and a leader of Al Fatah, currently besieged in Beirut, gave the following summing up of the PLO's experience:

"We have resisted the Israeli army more than all the other Arab armies and have shown that this needed to be done with people rather than with planes and armoured vehicles, where the Israeli superiority is obvious. (Syrian) President Assad would have done better to send 30,000 infantry - the Arabs are all in the plot. As for Syria, it got scared..."

"The Soviet attitude is even more inexplicable. We have questioned Moscow publicly and in secret. All we got in return was symbolic encouragement: 'We are with you, we are exercising pressure...' How can the Soviet Union allow itself to be so passive when the USA is participating actively in the battle in such a flagrant manner? I don't understand it.

"No matter what, we have no other choice but resistance to the end. We will fulfill our historic duty which is not to allow the enemy in anywhere without fighting. If we die, the Palestinian People

## Lebanese and British nazis

Israel's main ally in Lebanon is the Phalange. This openly fascist party (its name was borrowed from that of the Spanish fascists) was founded in 1936 after its leaders had visited Hitler and Mussolini. The Phalangists are trained, armed and financed by Israel. In return they massacre the Palestinians and the poor and oppressed Lebanese. During the invasion they have acted as touts and have been allowed to administer occupied territory. The Zionists have learnt their techniques from the Nazis, indeed they have perfected them. During the Second World War they collaborated with the Nazis. It is not surprising that today they find their allies amongst other fascists.

Recent evidence, uncovered by the anti-fascist magazine "Searchlight" suggests a link

faithful to revolutionary obligation." "The Korea-China friendship," he continued, "is not an ordinary relationship between Parties, states and peoples, but a particularly excellent and genuine relationship of truly trusting depending and helping - like members of one family regardless of any practice or formality."

US imperialism is modernising the military equipment of its puppet regime in the south of Korea, and in today's tense international situation the road to reunification of Korea presents the prospect of serious difficulties. In such a situation, the Korea-China friendship, based on mutual independence, is a powerful factor against war. It is not based on the politics of military blocs, or schemes of domination or hegemony by either country.

"The internationalism of the future," said James Connolly, "... cannot be realised through the subjugation of the smaller by the larger

will carry on the struggle. "The more people they kill, the more explosive the region will become. Our cause is greater than us, and it explains our calm and determination. None of us five chiefs will leave and it's time people stopped inventing stories about fleeing in Soviet ships or otherwise, because that would be the end of the Palestinian cause. We will never raise the white flag."

Even before the current events an opinion poll among Palestinians in the occupied West Bank showed that over 60% believed that the Soviet Union "only supported the Palestinian cause for its own interests". The experience of the past few weeks will without any doubt accentuate the trend for the popular forces to see through hegemonism and neo-colonialism and reinforce the struggle for genuine independence. As Abu Iyad has commented:

"The current war will change many things in the area. And if the Soviets do not correct their stand in respect of what is happening in Lebanon, many of the liberation movements and Communist Parties will have different positions, very different."

between the Phalange and a British Nazi group, the League of St. George. This is a sinister, shadowy, Nazi and anti-Semitic organisation with extensive links with European Nazi groups. Below we re-print the relevant piece from "Searchlight":

"Recent evidence strongly suggests a link between British Nazis and the extreme right Phalangist militias in the Lebanon.

"It is now known that before he returned to Rome to die in a gun battle with police, the Italian NAR fugitive Alessandro Alibrandi was sheltered in London by members of the League of St. George. It appears that even while the League was looking after him he was developing his contacts with the Phalangists in Beirut, whom he had visited previously.

"When he was killed in Rome, police found on his body the stubs of airline tickets for return journeys between London and the Lebanon. At an apartment where he had been hiding, and which was subsequently raided, they found flight time tables with flights between London and Beirut underlined.

"More sinister are recent reports from sources on the British right that at least one member of the League of St. George has travelled to Beirut as a guest of the Phalangists. The man, whose identity is known to "Searchlight", was one of those involved in safehousing Alibrandi and other Nazi fugitives from Italy."

political unit." The Korea-China relations of today embody this cherished vision of James Connolly, whose most deeply-held belief was that in the world family of nations the small, the weak, the colonised and the divided should no longer be subject to domination or hegemony by the large and the strong - no matter what signboard of philanthropy or even socialism should be used by the latter.



**PTA**

Events in July provided further evidence of how the racist, anti-Irish Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) is used to terrorise the Irish community in Britain.

Four men were arrested and held for up to six days, before being released without charge, in Southampton. Press speculation centred on a possible link with recent arrests of Ireland solidarity activists in the United States, one of whom, Gabriel Megahey, lived in Southampton before being deported under the PTA.

Those held in Southampton included Thomas McAllister who was detained under the Act in 1974 and fought and won a battle against an exclusion order, on the grounds that he had lived in Britain for over 20 years.

Also, in July, two brothers, Peter and Leo Grimes were held at Paddington Green Police Station in London for two and five days respectively. Leo was arrested first, and Peter was arrested when he went to make enquiries at the police station.

Peter Grimes was formerly the national organiser of the Irish Republican Socialist Party in Britain, but he has not been politically active for a couple of years. Since the PTA was introduced in 1974 it has been used to detain Peter Grimes eight times. Pickets were held each night outside Paddington Green Station. During the same week workers from an electrical firm in Kilburn were arrested under the PTA on three consecutive days.

## PLASTIC BULLETS

On June 30 the parents of 14-years-old Julie Livingstone who last year was murdered by a British Army plastic bullet, won an order in the Belfast High Court for a new inquest into her death, this time sitting with a jury.

In Parliament recently, Labour MP Dennis Canavan called for the complete banning of plastic bullets, as has been ordered by the European Parliament. He revealed how these killer bullets are made even more deadly by soldiers inserting blades, nails or electric torch batteries.

Direct ruler Prior rejected Canavan's call out of hand:

"Rather than make such remarks he should encourage parents not to allow children on to the streets. That is the way to prevent them being injured."

Some years ago a leading cop said that if black people "kept off the streets they wouldn't have the SPG to worry about". For the ruling class, the oppressed don't even have the right to be on the streets. In the eyes of Prior children walking the streets of Ireland are legitimate targets for the British State's war against the Irish people. What could testify better to the legitimacy of Irish armed resistance to British tyranny?



# FREEDOM FOR IRELAND



## IRELAND AND PALESTINE

Many are the similarities between the struggles of the Irish and Palestinian peoples. In both cases, Britain bears the historic responsibility for the oppression of the people. In the name of recognising the rights of a pro-imperialist minority, they both had their lands partitioned. They both saw a settler population introduced to their country to serve the oppressor nation.

Today, the Zionist aggressors ape the British attitude to captured freedom fighters when they refuse to consider captured Palestinian patriots as prisoners of war.

When it created the state of Israel, British imperialism knew what it was doing. One colonial governor said the new state would be "a little loyal Jewish Ulster in a sea of potentially hostile Arabism."

The oppressed, too, see the links between their struggles. During the hunger strike in Ireland last year, Palestinian prisoners in the desert prison of Nafha smuggled out a message of support, and their mothers demonstrated in Jerusalem with placards reading: "Nafha H-Block Armagh One Struggle."

The Irish people have reciprocated this support. The newspaper of the Republican Movement, "An Phoblacht/Republican News", has been giving regular coverage to the struggle against Israeli aggression. On 31 July, Sinn Fein is organising a Rally and exhibition in Belfast in support of the Palestinian people. At a Rally in London (organised by Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! and sponsored by a number of other organisations including the Revolutionary Communist League), a speaker from Sinn Fein stressed the solidarity between Ireland and Palestine, and said that out of the ashes of defeat the phoenix of armed struggle will always emerge. She said that the Republican Movement had learned much from the experience of the Palestinian Revolution, most notably the need for a revolutionary movement to be self-reliant.

The Irish Friends of Palestine has recently formed branches in Dublin, Belfast, Sligo and Galway. It has mounted a one-week-long 24-hour vigil outside the US Embassy, and has raised funds which it is using for relief work, including sending a doctor to work in a mobile hospital.

Reports in the "Irish Times" and elsewhere speak of Irish patriots fighting side by side with the revolutionaries of Lebanon and Palestine. If the reports are true, they illustrate once again the essential unity between revolutionary patriotism and genuine internationalism.



## Gerry Tuite Gaoled by Traitors

On July 13, a new chapter was written in the history of puppets dancing to the tunes of foreign masters.

Gerry Tuite, Irish freedom fighter, was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment for allegedly possessing explosives in London, by the Special Criminal Court in Dublin. On October 6 he faces another trial, on conspiracy charges.

Tuite's case was the first involving offenses allegedly committed in England, to be brought under the 1974 Criminal Law Jurisdiction Act, which allows Irish citizens to be tried in Ireland for offences allegedly committed outside of the state.

It was brought in by the national sell-out government

## Unemployment and Inflation

Recently available statistics show the all-round domination of the Irish economy by imperialism, and the retarding effect that that has.

In the occupied six northern counties 20.3% (more than one in five) of the workforce is unemployed. This figure will grow as another batch of school leavers come onto the market. Disproportionately affected are the nationalist communities. In Strabane, well over 50% of the men are out of work, and the situation is almost as bad in West Belfast.

Unemployment in the 26-county Free State is also steadily rising. A nett 3,000 people joined the dole queues in June, a month when the total figure normally falls owing to seasonal employment in the tourist industry, employment that has not materialised this year. In addition there have been a spate of closures in the manufacturing and building industries. Up to 600 firms are being kept afloat solely by government rescue agencies.

The Irish Free State has the highest rate of inflation in the Common Market. For the year ending mid-May it was 21%. The next highest was Italy with 15.8%. Britain's was 9.5%. The Irish rate is double the Common Market average. In the year quoted, price rises included: Transport 30%, Housing 19%, Fuel and light 17%, Food 16%, and Clothing/footwear 12%.

### FOREIGN INVESTMENT

In the February issue of the monthly Foreign Affairs bulletin of the Free State, Declan Murphy of the Irish Development Authority (IDA) reveals that 1 in 5 workers in manufacturing industry work for American companies. Murphy boasts of this national sell-out:

"The combination of Ireland's location in a market with 270 million consumers (the Common Market)... the quality and productivity of

in Dublin to circumvent the international practice of refusing to extradite political offenders. The trial itself was a travesty of justice. The court sat without a jury. The prosecution had barely bothered to prepare their case, so that on one occasion even one of the judges was moved to say:

"Merely because the witnesses are outside the jurisdiction it did not entitle the prosecution to any concessions in relation to the admissibility of evidence.... It is becoming impossible for the court to follow this case."

After sentencing, a Defence Application to appeal, on no less than seven grounds, was refused.

As Gerry Tuite was driven away to begin his sentence demonstrators carried placards reading, "Tuite - a patriotic, revolutionary freedom fighter" and "The oppressor is the criminal, not the oppressed."



"I'll wear no convict's uniform,  
Nor meekly serve my time,  
That Britain might brand Ireland's fight,  
800 years of crime."

August of this year sees the first anniversary of the deaths on hunger strike, in the struggle to win political status, of four revolutionary Irish martyrs.

INLA volunteer Kevin Lynch died on August 1st after 71 days on hunger strike. IRA volunteer Kieran Doherty died on August 2nd after 73 days on hunger strike. IRA volunteer Thomas McElwee (a first cousin of Francis Hughes) died on August 8 after 62 days on hunger strike. INLA volunteer Micky Devine died on August 20 after 60 days on hunger strike. The British imperialists will never be able to wash the blood of these brave Irish soldiers off of their hands.

In June of last year (i.e. whilst on hunger strike), Kevin Lynch and Kieran Doherty stood as candidates in the Free State General Election. Kevin polled 3,337 first preference votes and was eliminated on the fifth count - after Labour Party and Fianna Fail candidates - with 3,753 votes. Kieran was elected to Leinster House as a TD for the Cavan/Monaghan Constituency with 9,121 first preference votes. Still, the British imperialists persisted with their preposterous claim that the Irish prisoners are not political prisoners and prisoners of war, but simply common criminals, and the Free State lackeys stood by and let British imperialism murder one of their elected representatives.

Micky Devine once gave an insight into what fired his passionate republicanism. Speaking of Bloody Sunday, when British paratroops murdered 13 peaceful demonstrators (and a fourteenth who died from wounds later) in Derry, he said,

"I will never forget standing in the Creggan Chapel staring at the brown wooden boxes. We mourned, and Ireland mourned with us. That sight more than anything convinced me that there will never be peace in Ireland while Britain remains. When I looked at those coffins I developed a commitment to the republican cause that I have never lost."

It is this bitter experience of British oppression that produces revolutionaries of the calibre of the hunger strikers. Kieran Doherty gave expression to their single minded determination. Speaking to a friend who visited him after the first hunger strike in December, 1980, he said,

"They (the warders) are really rubbing our noses in it. By God, they will not rub mine!"

Kevin Lynch, Kieran Doherty, Thomas McElwee and Micky Devine, like Bobby Sands, Francis Hughes, Raymond McCreesh, Patsy O'Hara, Joe McDonnell and Martin Hurson, are the embodiment of the risen Irish people's revolutionary spirit of freedom. The Revolutionary Communist League and "Class Struggle" salute the glorious memory of all these revolutionary soldiers of Ireland.

"Soldiers are we,  
Whose lives are pledged to Ireland,  
Some have come from a land beyond the wave,  
Sworn to be free,  
No more our ancient sireland,  
Shall shelter the despot or the slave,  
Tonight we'll man the Bearn-Boaghail,  
In Erin's cause come woe or weal,  
Mid cannon's roar and rifles' peal,  
We'll chant a soldier's song."