

# CLASS STRUGGLE

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## Colin Roach: WE DEMAND THE TRUTH

On June 20, the jury reached a verdict of suicide at the inquest into the death of Colin Roach who died in Stoke Newington police station on January 12 of this year. The 8:2 verdict was met with cries of "Rubbish" but was not surprising to those who have been campaigning for a public inquiry.

### INQUEST IRRELEVANT

At a press conference, Barnor Hesse, spokesman for the Roach Family Support Committee, said:

"The inquest, its proceedings and its verdict, have since January 12 been regarded as irrelevant to establishing the true circumstances of the death of Colin Roach. What has taken place in this court over the last two weeks is clearly irrelevant to our campaign for truth and justice."

Black people know from past bitter experience that inquests have consistently failed to reveal the truth. Aseta Simms died in Stoke Newington police station; 13 black youth killed in the New Cross Massacre; Paul Worrell died in Brixton prison .... the list goes on. The black community know that the inquests gave no answers and have supported the demand of Mr and Mrs Roach that a full independent public inquiry be held to find out the truth about the tragic death of their son.

Even more than in an ordinary court, the nature of the coroner's court allows freedom for the police and their "experts" and little scope for the defence to put an opposing view to the jury.

For example, defence are not allowed to see statements from police etc. The coroner makes the summing up with no defence summing up allowed. Rules of cross-examination and evidence are different. Police officers sat through the whole inquest even when they were due to give evidence later on.

### "HE IS BIASED"

It was the coroner's summing up that particularly angered those in court. He took the police version of events and, ignoring the contradictions in their evidence and unanswered questions, instructed the jury to find a verdict of suicide. No wonder that he was interrupted in the course of the inquest. Pamela Roach, Colin's mother, had cried: "He is biased - it is what they are doing all the time."

Apart from the nature of the court and its rules, the coroner, Mr Douglas Chambers, showed his true attitudes early on in the inquest. On Friday 17 June, Mike Mansfield, acting for the Roach family, was questioning police about their cruel treatment of James Roach when he went to the station to inquire after his son. Mansfield has asked why Mr Roach had been detained for three hours before being informed of Colin's death. Chambers interrupted to say: "It's irrelevant, totally irrelevant. If he had been held till Christmas it would be totally irrelevant." He obviously shares the racism of the police who treated James Roach this way. No wonder he accepted the police version of Colin's death and refused to consider or direct the jury's attention to points raised by Mansfield.

### UNANSWERED QUESTIONS

Some of the points to which the inquest gave no answers were:

\* Where did the shotgun that killed Colin come from? Why had police not attempted to trace it? The gun did not fit into Colin's holdall, so where did it come from? Why were there no fingerprints on it? Had it been wiped? If so, by who?

\* Why were there no marks on Colin's hands from firing the gun? How did he manage to get into the position in which police said his body was found? Why were there no bruises on his head if he had fallen against the wall?

\* How were police able to identify Colin so quickly? Was someone expecting him at the station? How were they able to establish the facts by 1.50 a.m. when they put out a press statement saying that the dead man had been mentally disturbed?

\* What happened to Colin while he was in prison around Christmas? Why had he told his friends he was afraid for his life?

These and many other minor inconsistencies and contradictions were of no interest to the coroner and were not followed up in the court.

The matter will not rest here. Already 100 people have been arrested for demanding the truth about Colin's death. Seven black youths have been imprisoned. Cases are still being dragged through the

courts throughout June and July. Cyrus Noor has now been committed to the Central Criminal Court to be sentenced for breach of probation and a suspended sentence.

Neither the Roach family nor the black community in general, expected answers from an inquest. But their determination to find out the truth remains firm, and they are still demanding a public inquiry. The Roach Family Support Committee is now planning to take the case to the European Parliament for support.

COLIN ROACH: NO COVER UP!

FOR AN INDEPENDENT PUBLIC INQUIRY!

DROP THE CHARGES NOW!

Three black youths are still serving prison sentences - Cyrus Noor and Daniel Sylvester are both in Pentonville Prison, Caledonian Road, London N7 8TT. Paul Callaghan is in HMP Chelmsford, Essex. Please send messages of support and solidarity.

PUBLIC MEETING

8 July, 7.30 p.m.

Hackney Town Hall.

Speakers: Roach Family Support Committee, Mike Mansfield, Ron Smith.

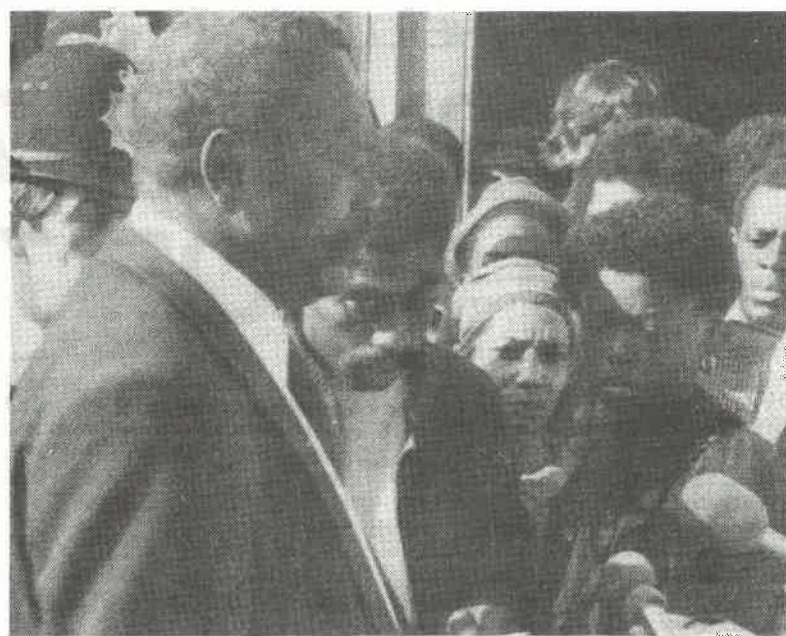
## ELECTION A TURNING POINT

The following statement was made on June 10, commenting on the Westminster election results, by Sinn Fein President Ruairi O Bradaigh.

I wish to congratulate all the Sinn Fein candidates, their workers and voters on a splendid performance all round. This election has indeed been a turning point.

The significant features of the campaign results, from a republican viewpoint, were that the Sinn Fein vote increased from 64,000 to 103,000 and that Sinn Fein's percentage of the nationalist vote has increased from 35% to 42%.

The continued operation of Section 31 by RTE has meant that the defeated candidate in West Belfast has been on their radio and television all day while



James Roach leaving the inquest in disgust.

## ROACH FAMILY SPEAK OUT

The following statement was issued by the Roach Family Support Committee following the suicide verdict of the inquest:

The case for a public inquiry into the death of Colin Roach remains undiminished by the illogical and nonsensical verdict of suicide at Clerkenwell County Court yesterday (June 20).

People who think otherwise simply do not understand the case. Colin Roach died in mysterious, still unexplained circumstances, in Stoke Newington police station on January 12, 1983. The basic fact that this took place in Stoke Newington police station represents the context in which we will continue to campaign for an independent public inquiry.

No-one who was aware of the violence and monstrosities which have taken place over the years in Stoke Newington police station will be satisfied that they know the true circumstances until there is an independent inquiry. We should not forget that in 1971 Aseta Simms died mysteriously as a result of injuries which emanated from within Stoke Newington police station. Her death to this day remains unexplained. Dr Douglas Chambers was the coroner in that inquest (as in the inquest on Colin Roach).

In 1978 Michael Ferreira died at Stoke Newington police station following his being taken there after being stabbed by two National Front people, and the police failed to act responsibly, preferring to

question his friends rather than contact an ambulance.

We are all aware of the outrageous violence meted out to Mr and Mrs White, who were awarded £51,000 exemplary damages against Stoke Newington police in 1982, and the brutality perpetrated against Mrs Knight and her family when the police had the callous audacity to charge her with assaulting the police. Mrs Knight and her daughter were acquitted on all charges, and are now taking out a civil action against members of Stoke Newington police.

This is the general context of violence and, in our view, racism, within which Colin Roach's death took place. Given the number of unanswered questions which remain, the discrepancies which exist, and the differing and contradictory accounts given by the police as to what happened on January 12, there is absolutely no way that we or anyone can be satisfied with the outcome of the inquest.

At the inquest no evidence whatsoever was presented to allow anyone to say anything of a definitive nature. In his summing up the coroner biased the jury blatantly and outrageously.

Still the questions remain. There is no positive evidence of any kind whatsoever to say what happened to Colin Roach. The coroner admits that no-one knows what happened to Colin Roach after he entered the police station.

ROACH FAMILY SUPPORT COMMITTEE, 50 Rectory Road, London N16.



Ruairi O'Bradaigh, Sinn Fein's President

the newly-elected representative for the constituency has been ignored. At least the British government realised the anomaly of their position in their prompt response to the election results by lifting the

ban on Gerry Adams travelling to England, Scotland and Wales.

How much longer must the ludicrous position continue in which the people of the twenty-six counties are denied the right to see and hear elected representatives from both north and south of the border?

As the Dublin Forum fails to advance the Irish national demand, and when Mrs Thatcher's government rejects even its compromise conclusions, then more and more nationalist voters will come out in support of Sinn Fein.

In the 1985 local council elections in the six counties Sinn Fein will finally overtake the SDLP and nationalist politics will undergo their most radical and significant change since 1918.



## AFTER THE ELECTION:

# TURN TO THE POLITICS OF THE FUTURE!

The Conservatives won the election with the biggest majority of seats that any government has had since 1931. They also won it with the support of less than a third of the eligible voters, in an election where over a quarter of the electorate did not vote - some "landslide"!

Not that this will make any difference to the new Thatcher government, which will use the election result as a mandate to step up attacks on the living standards and democratic rights of working people, particularly the poorest, most oppressed sections, such as the national minorities, working class women, and the unemployed. The formula is "more of the same - only worse".

The indications were clearly there during and immediately after the campaign:

\* The Police Bill was put into cold storage; a similar Bill will be put before the new Parliament.

\* Showing a degree of honesty which is rare in the world of bourgeois politics, Thatcher and her sidekicks refused to be drawn into any firm commitment about a reduction of unemployment, or not to make cuts in social services.

\* The Conservatives went after the votes of black people with talk of them being "not black, but British", the message being that black people in Britain already have all the rights they need, provided that they knuckle under to racist attitudes, accept the values and the dictates of British imperialism, and give up their own identity.

\* The Conservatives stressed the importance of the family, at the same time as their

policies have helped impose greater and greater stresses on working class families. They aim to push more women from their work into traditional roles as mothers and home makers.

\* The Tories promised more legislation to restrict the powers of trade unions.

\* They promised to maintain and strengthen the armed forces and police.

\* Immediately after the election, Thatcher carried out a Cabinet reshuffle. The (slightly) "wet" Francis Pym was shuffled out, and Sir Anthony Parsons, Britain's UN representative during the Malvinas War (and last ambassador to the States), with impeccable "hard" imperialist credentials, was promoted.

It's clear what the new Thatcher government has in store for us: the question is, what do we do about it?

### FALSE ANSWERS

The first thing that has to happen is that anyone looking for real political, social and economic progress in Britain has to reject reformist and social-democratic prescriptions on the way forward.

Plenty of these were on offer after the election from the great majority of the "left" amidst all their wailing and gnashing of teeth over the defeat of the Labour Party. "Socialist Organizer" and "Socialist Action" want to build up a mass Labour Party. The "Workers Revolutionary Party"

wants to build an anti-Tory united front. The "Socialist Workers Party" say the Labour Party can't show the way forward, and what's needed is "winning workers to socialism a few at a time, and ..... building and spreading the struggles of large numbers of workers." ("Socialist Worker" 18.6.83). It turns out that these struggles are to be workplace struggles, at a time when all workers know just how hard it is to fight successfully in the workplace. "Socialist Workers Party" hope, as ever, that these workers will be politicised, but the main thing workers learn through economic struggles generally is not revolutionary politics but how to conduct economic struggles!

As for the "Communist Party of Great Britain", it's too busy falling apart at the moment to do much more than cry and make general anti-Thatcher noises.

Labour leaders themselves showed what their perspective is. When Ken Livingstone talked about extra-parliamentary action, Dennis Healey called his statement "claptrap". Tony Benn made a good enough speech on his defeat in Bristol, but wound up by saying that we should get ready for the next election in five years time. In fact, for the Labour Party "left", any extra-parliamentary action over the next few years will only be important in so far as it helps bring about another Labour government.

### THE POWER OF THE PEOPLE

What kind of hope do these "leftists" hold out for those already ground down by British

imperialism, and facing much worse. They cannot and will not tie their future to that of the Labour Party.

British imperialism is in a deepening crisis; its world basis in the exploitation of the Third World peoples is being steadily and remorselessly undercut by its imperialist rivals and, more significantly, by the peoples and nations who are rising against the imperialist order. British imperialism must rebuild on the basis of intensified exploitation within Britain itself, or go down in the attempt. Those who hold up the prospect of a reforming government which will restore civil liberties, rebuild the health service and restore full employment, are living in a dream world. British imperialism could deliver these goods when it exploited half the world; in accelerating decline and deepening crisis, it cannot.

The great divergence on the left today is between those who cluster round the Labour Party and look for social democratic ways forward, and those who recognise what effect imperialism has had on British society, what the consequences of the decay of British imperialism are, and who act accordingly.

A look back at the detailed election results illustrates this. Thatcher was able to rally a portion of the working class and other working people on the basis of "the Falklands Factor" and her brazenly imperialist posture. This section at present identifies completely with British imperialism for reasons of self interest, a "more Socialist"

policy from Labour would repel, not rally, these people. Labour lost "moderate", largely middle class and better-off working class support to the SDP and Liberals.

A large section of the most oppressed simply did not vote, having no confidence in any of the bourgeois parties. The highest abstention votes were in the poorest working class areas, generally with a large percentage of black people in the population - places like Hackney, Stoke Newington and Vauxhall in London, and the inner city constituencies in Liverpool and Manchester. The lowest swings to the Conservatives among those who did vote were in Scotland, the West Midlands and North West England, which have been among the areas hardest hit by economic decline in the past few years.

Revolutionary communists must throw themselves into struggle alongside the national minorities and the most oppressed sections of the working class, who already see through parliamentary politics, and are not prepared to leave their destiny in others' hands. They must support the advanced organisations and anti-imperialist trends among the most oppressed, and help to build them as alternatives to the rotten imperialist state system. These organisations and trends will spread a new revolutionary spirit among the wider sections of the people who are beginning to turn away from Labour and parliamentary politics. Revolutionary communists must propagate the politics of self-reliance and revolutionary, anti-imperialist struggle, confident that the trend over the coming years will be for the people's struggle to become broader and more insurrectionary. Labour orientated politics are dead-end, imperialist politics; we embrace the politics of the future.

The revolutionary way is the only way forward.

## Juche Music In London

by Brendan Hill

Twelve years ago, in the summer of 1971, an experimental music group, the Scratch Orchestra, was banned from playing at the Newcastle Civic Centre and subjected to a national press campaign as a result of its letting a crowd of youth, 'skinheads', join in a performance against the wishes of civic dignitaries.

In summing up their experience, some of the musicians were able to see the role of the British state in stark relief. Among those who, as a direct consequence, moved towards an anti-imperialist stance was the experimental composer Cornelius Cardew. Over the next couple of years his music changed radically, and being highly respected internationally, the "moving of his feet over to the side of the people" aroused much interest and acted as a catalyst for many other composers worldwide to identify similarly with the struggles of the oppressed.

### ALMEIDA SPRING MUSIC FESTIVAL

At the recent 'Spring Music Festival' at Islington's Almeida Theatre, this trend was represented by the work of Cardew himself and also that of the American composer/pianist Frederic Rzewski and the Japanese composer Takahashi Yuji. In addition, a superb concert of vocal works by the German communist composer and Brecht collaborator, Hans Eisler was presented to great acclaim, by the Eisler Ensemble.

### MUSIC AGAINST FASCISM

The whole series had much to commend it, but one concert stood out even above the high standard set by the rest. This

was given on May 29 by Frederic Rzewski, who was originally to have accompanied Roswitha Trexler - the GDR's foremost interpreter of Brecht settings - in two new works incorporating texts by Brecht. But visa problems forced Rzewski to change the programme.

In the event, we heard Rzewski's own monumental "The People United will never be defeated", an hour-long work based on the Chilean song of the same name; and the British premiere of "Kwangju, May 1980" by Takahashi Yuji, the brilliant Japanese composer/pianist who has, in

recent years adopted a Juche orientation in his work.

### HUMAN FACTOR THE KEY LINK

As reported in Pyongyang Times, in response to the recent publication of the treatise by Comrade Kim Jong Il "Let Us Advance under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and the Juche Idea" (see last month's 'Class Struggle'). Takahashi expressed the view that:

"The treatise is a work explaining important problems of the revolution and construction correctly and in easy words while dealing with them on the

whole, proceeding from the Juche idea of President Kim Il Sung.

"It is a work with which Secretary Kim Jong Il has made an important contribution to correctly grasping the revolutionary feats of President Kim Il Sung and developing and enriching the Juche idea."

For those not yet familiar with the great Juche idea authored by Korea's leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, it can be said that it is the philosophical outlook based firmly in materialist dialectics, of daring to solve the problems of revolution, construction and national liberation self-reliantly taking the human factor as the key link. As such, it has no direct translation into the languages of oppressive powers. However, the great Irish ideology of Sinn Fein self-reliance, as re-advanced by Comrade Ruairi O'Bradaigh at last year's Sinn Fein Ard Feis, is a clear revolutionary parallel originating close to these shores.

### KWANGJU, MAY 1980

Kwangju, May 1980, is a starkly imposing example of Takahashi's Juche outlook. Written in direct response to the bloody suppression of the youth and student led uprising in the city of Kwangju in south Korea in the summer of 1980, in which some 5,000 men, women and children were slaughtered by the Chou Du Hwan fascist forces with the active participation of US 8th Army helicopter gunships which strafed the population, the work uses powerful allusions to Korean traditional melodies integrated with the techniques he has learned and developed as one of Japan's foremost composers. The result is both heartrending and

enervating - a fitting tribute indeed to the heroes and heroines of Kwangju.

Rzewski's performance, both of the Takahashi, and of his own powerful tribute to the Chilean people, was staggering in its breadth and power. The audience sat riveted throughout as he ranged from the most delicate nuance to thundering cluster chords with perfect control. In Frederic Rzewski the oppressed have a truly great artist on their side.

### THÄLMANN VARIATIONS

Cardew himself was killed by a hit and run driver just 18 months ago, but the seeds he helped sow amongst fellow progressive musicians around the world, bear fruit of the highest quality, while his own Thälmann Variations, included in a survey of Cardew's piano music, given by the leading English avant garde pianist John Tilbury, paid a strongly evocative tribute in memory of the German communist leader Ernst Thälmann who perished under Hitlerism - in a concentration camp. Cardew's Thälmann Variations vividly conjure up the man who, in response to Nazi guards' attempts to taunt him with the news of Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union, said: "Good! - Now Stalin will wring his neck for him!"

For providing a platform for the politics and artistry of these works the Almeida deserves much credit, and hopefully they will present similar events in the future. The one negative aspect of the series was its lack of effective prior publicity, resulting in fairly low attendances. Such music deserves a wider audience and hopefully that can be achieved in future projects.



TAKAHASHI YUJI PREPARING HIS PIANO IN THE RECORDING STUDIO, 1975.



# REVOLUTION *in the* PHILIPPINES

by Keith Anderson.

World attention is increasingly being focussed on the Philippines, an island grouping of 49 million people in South East Asia, as a broad revolutionary movement directed against the puppet Marcos regime and US imperialism, advances undaunted in the teeth of repression. Already some observers see the country as posing the next major challenge to US imperialism, following on from the revolutionary storms sweeping Central America.

## NEO-COLONY

Although the United States "granted" independence to the Philippines in 1946, the country has never enjoyed genuine independence and remains a neo-colony mainly of US imperialism, but of other imperialist powers as well.

The Philippines is dotted with American military bases, including two of the largest in Asia, Clark Air Force Base and Subic Naval Base. On June 1 a new agreement was signed by the US and Filipino governments concerning their use. This forms part of a drift to all-out US military intervention in the Philippines. The basis for this was already laid by the US-Philippine Treaty of January 1979 which provides a legal justification for "participation in security activities" off of the bases, and for the US to "contribute security forces." Many thousands of US troops are already in the Philippines and as many of their bases are near operational areas of the communist-led New People's Army, US combat troops have already on occasions become directly involved in attempting to suppress the national liberation war of the Filipino people.

The importance to US imperialism of its bases in the Philippines can be seen from the testimony to the US House Foreign Affairs Sub-Committee on November 18, 1981 by Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, Daniel O'Donohue: "Our Philippine facilities have a unique strategic advantage, because of their location, in being able to facilitate military operations in two major areas of the world (East and South East Asia and the Indian Ocean/Persian Gulf Region) of

particular importance to us. Because of the strategically advantageous location of Clark and Subic, no alternative site or group of sites could adequately replace them."

## BRITISH IMPERIALISM

By a complex web of agreements British imperialism also plays a military role in the Philippines. The "Five Power Defence Arrangement" groups Malaysia, Singapore, Australia, New Zealand and Britain; The "Manila Pact" groups Thailand, the United States and the Philippines; "ANZUS" groups Australia, New Zealand and the USA. Together they more than adequately compensate for the defunct "SEATO" Alliance. The Philippine Armed Forces are equipped with British Scorpion tanks and missile equipped boats. Filipino military personnel are trained in Britain and some half dozen RAF officers are attached to USAF Base at Clark where they assist in Filipino pilot training and make use of the military facilities.

## THIRD LARGEST FOREIGN INVESTOR

Britain's military involvement in the Philippines is paralleled by its economic interests. Britain is the third largest foreign investor in the Philippines after the US and Japan. At least 50 British companies have large investments in the Philippines. They include: Kimberly Clark, Shell, Barclays, Lloyds, Chartered Bank, Phoenix Assurance, Sun Insurance, Beechams, Commercial Union Assurance, Davy Corporation Ltd., BP, Unilever, Tootal and Dunlop. In addition to this direct investment, Britain is a major contributor to the World Bank, Asian Development Bank, EEC development funds and various United Nations agencies that are all involved in assisting the Marcos regime. All the "development aid" received by Marcos allows him to plough more money into military repression. The major such contributor in the Philippines is the World Bank. Britain has the second largest voting share in the World Bank, 9.75%. The United States has 25%, and if West Germany is added, the three countries hold over 40% of the voting power.

British imperialism profits from the host of incentives available to foreign investors (free

remittance of profits, abundant cheap land, etc.) from the terror and repression. Wages are amongst the lowest in Asia and the real value falls each year. 80% of the population live on or below the poverty line and unemployment stands at 40%. In 1980 the minimum wage for industrial workers was 85p a day, for agricultural workers, 53p. There is no statutory minimum wage for workers on the sugar plantations.

Two recent struggles have targeted the involvement of British imperialism. In January, women textile workers waged a strike in the Bataan Export Processing Zone against a British company: Intercontinental Garments Manufacturing Co. (IGMC). The workers were paid £1.50 for an 8-hour day, their main grievance was that they were not being paid the full amount of this pittance. IGMC is an 80%-owned subsidiary of Baird Textile Holdings Ltd. Almost all its garments are exported to Britain. Amongst the labels that the women sew in the completed garments are those of: Littlewoods, C&A, John Collier and Hepworths. The biggest customers are Debenhams. In September 1979 the "Glasgow Herald" put Philippines production as the "real secret of Baird's success" in riding out the effects of the recession in the textile industry. Baird's profits for the last financial year are expected to be well over £4 million after tax.

## WARLORDS AND LABOUR ARISTOCRATS

The other struggle concerns the plan by the Commonwealth Development Corporation (CDC, a government financed aid agency) to invest £6,400,000 in a palm oil plantation owned by Guthries in Mindanao. This is particularly controversial because the plantation is in an area where the Lost Command, a private army of warlord Lieutenant-Colonel Carlos Lademora terrorises the people who work for £1.10 a day, with no sick pay and no rights. In November 1982, the CDC was questioned by the "Sunday Times" about the workers' catalogue of murder, rape and other abuses. Here is their cynical reply: "These are the sort of grievances you get in most places, including Bradford, no more than the ordinary beefs of dis-

satisfied workers. They cannot be all that intimidated if they voice them."

Since that statement was made at least two more workers have been murdered in the course of their struggle to tell the world the truth about the Lost Command. It is worth noting that amongst those on the governing body of CDC are Prince Charles and David Warburton, a national officer of the General and Municipal Workers' Union.

"WHERE THERE IS OPPRESSION,  
THERE IS RESISTANCE."

The Filipino people are not suffering in silence, they are fighting back and organising their revolution. At the centre of this is the Communist Party of the Philippines which was re-established on the basis of revolutionary communism on December 26, 1968. On March 29, 1969, the Party founded the New People's Army (NPA), consisting of 60 people and 35 old rifles. On July 27, 1981, "Newsweek" estimated that the NPA numbered 10,000 fighters and enjoyed the support of millions. Today, the NPA has opened fronts in 50 of the country's 73 provinces.

The NPA has continued to advance this year. They staged at least 28 attacks in January. On 12 January, 200 Red Fighters disarmed the army, police and private security guards in the town of Matini, Davao del Norte. They held political lectures and made off with arms, typewriters and medicine. The barrio of Baco Benguet in Luzon province was held by the NPA for three days in which time they gave political lectures. In October 1982, General Ver ordered military commanders not to publicise NPA activities for fear of driving away foreign investors.

## PEOPLE'S ARMY

NPA success is due in no small part to the fact that it is a genuine people's army that not only fights but carries out agrarian reform, health and nutrition programmes and administers revolutionary justice. As the "Irish Times" reported on June 2: "Unlike the government troops, the NPA always seem to be busy,

helping villagers with their problems, training, studying and above all building up human relationships. Every village I entered it seemed like the NPA was greeted like long-lost relatives."

## ALLIANCES

The Party and the NPA attach a great deal of importance to building revolutionary alliances and were instrumental in launching the National Democratic Front (NDF) in April 1973. The NDF's ten-point programme seeks to unite all progressive forces to overthrow the Marcos regime and US imperialism and establish a people's coalition government. Fundamental reliance is placed on the workers and peasants with the strategy of a broad-based people's war supported by a united front. The NDF wants the Philippines to become an independent and non-aligned country with a revolutionary foreign policy.

Not forming part of the NDF, but in an effective alliance with the Party and the NPA is the organisation of the Muslim people in the south: the Moro National Liberation Front and the Bangsa Moro Army. During Spanish colonial rule in the Philippines, the Sulu Sultanate was never conquered and in the Bates Treaty of 1899, the US recognised the sovereignty of the Sultanate. The US reneged on this Treaty and included Bangsa Moro in the Philippine Republic in 1946. The Philippine communists recognise the right to self-determination of the Moro people.

The Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army are part of the new forces of the most oppressed, the forces of the future. Through the creative application of revolutionary communism to their own conditions they are scoring victories that also help to light a path for the future of revolution in the imperialist countries themselves. As Comrade Amado Guerrero, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines, points out:

"Integrating Marxist-Leninist theory with Philippine practice is a two-way process. We do not merely take advantage of the victories achieved abroad so that we may succeed in our own revolution. But we also hope to add our own victory to those of others and make some worthwhile contribution to the advancement of Marxism-Leninism and the world proletarian revolution so that in the end mankind will be freed from the scourge of imperialism and enter the era of communism."

## SOUTH AFRICAN AIRWAYS ATTACKED

By a Scottish correspondent.

Following the execution of three black African National Congress freedom fighters, which took place at dawn on Thursday June 9, in Central Prison, Pretoria, South Africa, the Scottish Republican Socialist Party (SRSP) issued a public statement condemning the executions as murder and calling for a vigorous protest.

On the following Monday at approximately 7 p.m. a number of SRSP members attacked the premises of South African Airways which are situated in Glasgow's Hope Street, one of the city's major streets.

The premises were first postered, the posters bearing a tribute to the murdered ANC patriots and denouncing the South African regime as "Murderers", and finally a hail of missiles smashed the large plate glass windows causing hundreds, perhaps thousands, of pounds of damage.

A similar attempt to attack the offices of the South African consul in Glasgow was unfortunately unsuccessful due to the presence of security men in and around the building.

An interesting feature of the attack on the Airways office was the fact that it took place in broad daylight on a crowded city street. A crowd of people witnessed the entire incident and not only made no attempt to hinder the attack, but actually chatted to the SRSP members during the posterings and cheered when the windows were smashed. When the police eventually arrived, no witnesses were available to assist them in their enquiries!

There is no doubt that the workers of Scotland have little sympathy for South Africa, for apartheid, or for any form of imperialism or racism.

On Wednesday 8 June the police arrested 9 people outside South Africa House, Trafalgar Square. They have been charged with obstruction or threatening words and behaviour. The 9 were part of a mass protest against the impending murder by hanging of Marcus Motaung, Jerry Mosololi and Simon Mogoerane - the Moroka 3 and include the son and daughter of a South African political prisoner, members of City of London Anti Apartheid Group, Stoke Newington and Hackney Defence Campaign, Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! and others.

Trafalgar 9 Defence Campaign has been formed by the defendants to demand the dropping of the charges brought against them and to defend the democratic right to demonstrate outside the South African Embassy.

Over the past year increasingly large and militant pickets have been held outside the Embassy. The police are determined to prevent effective pickets outside South Africa House under the guise of protecting 'the peace and dignity' of the Embassy, because the British government want to hide the fact that Britain is the biggest foreign investor in apartheid.

## TRAFALGAR 9

WHERE WAS POLICE CONCERN  
FOR PEACE AND DIGNITY  
OF THE ARRESTED 9?

The 9 were held overnight to prevent them returning to the demonstration. Three women were strip-searched. One woman had her asthma inhaler confiscated (she was later violently sick). The 9 were illegally photographed. Most were refused any drinking water, moved to four different cells and to two different police stations. On their release they made the following statement:

"We were arrested while protesting in a disciplined manner against the hanging of three of South Africa's finest young men - Simon Mogoerane, Jerry Mosololi and Marcus Motaung - the Moroka 3. It is fitting that the British state, which is the biggest supporter of apartheid should choose to imprison us on the same day. We were arrested for taking a stand against racism because the British police racists collaborate with the South African murderers. When people are murdered by the South African

regime the South African people have a tradition - DO NOT MOURN, MOBILISE! We call for support from British people to join with us in protesting against the continued imprisonment of Nelson Mandela and all South African political prisoners. It is time to act!

SMASH POLICE COLLABORATION WITH  
APARTHEID!

VICTORY TO THE ANC!  
VICTORY TO SWAPO!

WE ARE BLACK, WE ARE WHITE.  
WE WANT DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS!

The police are trying to criminalise those who support the struggle for democratic rights in South Africa. Now Chief Superintendent Marsh is trying to enforce a rule that only two people can distribute leaflets and newspapers and petitions at any one time. We will fight to retain our right to demonstrate outside South Africa House, to demonstrate our hatred of apartheid and its British collaborators!

Further details from:  
Trafalgar 9 Defence Campaign,  
c/o 22 Brownlow Mews,  
London WC1N 2LA.



# BANGON! ARISE!

On Saturday June 4, a conference was held in London called 'Unite to Stop Forced Remittances imposed on Filipino Workers!'. It was jointly organised by the Commission for Filipino Migrant Workers (CFMW) and the Philippines Support Group (PSG) to draw attention and build opposition to 'Executive Order 857'. This Order of the Philippine government will compel Filipino workers abroad to remit 50% - 70% of their wages to the Philippines. Workers who do not comply could have their passports taken away. It was issued on 13 December 1982 to start from February of this year and covers all members of the Philippine labour force employed outside the Philippines.

The newsletter of the PSG(UK) explains: "It is an attempt to extract badly needed foreign exchange from the earnings of more than 617,000 Filipino migrant workers scattered all over the world. The Philippine government aims to raise \$1.5 billion (US) from foreign remittances this year - up from \$800 million in 1982."

## TAXED THREE TIMES

What the order means for Filipino workers is illustrated by examples. The newsletter goes on:

"The majority of Filipinos in Britain are low-paid workers in the hotel industry and in the health service. They already suffer from double taxation: they pay income taxes to both the British and

Philippine governments. If the Executive Order is implemented virtually the entire basic salary of Filipinos would go towards mandatory remittances and taxes, leaving nothing for the worker. They would have to do excessive overtime, or to take a second or third job to stay alive.

"Norma works as a waitress in a London hotel. Her gross pay weekly is £70, £28 of which pays for tax and insurance. Under the new Executive Order, £35 of her basic wage would have to be sent home. Norma would have only £7 a week to spend on rent, food, transport and all other expenses.

"Norma already takes on overtime and a second part-time job to make ends meet. Even with the second job, she can only afford to send £50 each month to the Philippines to help support her son and mother. Under the new Executive Order, she will be required to remit £140 a month. She could only raise this by working extremely long hours without any time off."

The conference heard messages of support and solidarity from a broad range of people and organisations. It was sponsored by Justice, Anti-Slavery Society and Migrants Action Group and by NUPE, NUR, TGWU (Catering Section). Letters of solidarity were received from Filipino and other national minority organisations such as the Rome Commission for Filipino Migrant Workers and the Union of Turkish Workers (Britain),

and from progressive church organisations.

The conference included many aspects of cultural work. The morning session included stalls of Filipino handicrafts and food. A cultural programme of Filipino song, dance and drama was held in the evening to finish the day.

## COMMISSION SET UP

Filipino workers first began to organise in this country when many of them were threatened with deportation from Britain. This conference reflected the growing level of organisation within the Filipino community here and in Europe. The CFMW was established in 1980 and its aim is "to work with Filipino workers in Europe in resolving their immediate problems and its long term interest is to relate their situation to the Philippines itself - so that they can eventually lead full and progressive lives in their own country." It is registered in Holland with centres in Rome and London and hopes to open a centre this year for Filipino seamen in Rotterdam.

## INSIDE AND OUTSIDE

The CFMW paper "Karisig" gives examples of the work of the Commission in Italy, Britain, France, Holland and news of Filipino migrant workers all over the world. It also reports on repression and resistance in the Philippines. It is clear that the struggle is not just a question of low pay and bad conditions in this country but



part of an international struggle against imperialism - both in the Philippines and in this country. As "Karisig" says on its cover: "The question is not who is inside, who is outside. The question is this: What are you doing inside or outside?"

There are about 18,000 Filipino workers throughout Britain. Significant numbers are in Glasgow, Aberdeen and Edinburgh in Scotland, and in Leeds, Manchester, Liverpool, Leicester, Birmingham, Bournemouth, Surrey and Southampton. The greatest

concentration is in London. Of this number almost 88% are women. It is vital that progressive people and organisations support their fightback and learn from these struggles.

More information from:

Kasama, Newsletter of the Philippines Support Group UK, BM Box 758, London WC1N 3XX.

Commission for Filipino Migrant Workers, St Francis Centre, Pottery Lane, London W11, Tel: 01.221.0356.

## Leeds Youth Fight Back

On 17 June three defendants of the Black and Anti-Racist Youth Defence Campaign - Michael Stewart, Paul Liburd and Nicholas Manners - appeared before Leeds Juvenile Court charged with "wounding". The case was adjourned till 15 July. The incident took place on 7 May when the defendants supposedly attacked an NF sympathiser. They strongly deny this alleged crime.

The Black and Anti-Racist Youth Defence Campaign was set up due to the increasing harassment

of black and anti-racist youth by police and fascists in Leeds city centre. For instance, on 14 May when Bobby Blackman was abused by a group of fascists, the police ignored the fascists and instead seized Bobby who was trying to shirk off the racist insults, and arrested him. Several more black youth have been arrested since then and there has been house to house harassment.

On 11 June yet another black youth who was walking with his girlfriend was attacked by a

fascist. Two security guards seized the fascist and summoned the police. Rather than arresting and charging the fascist themselves, the police asked the black youth if he wanted to pursue the matter. There is clearly one law for the fascists and one law for the black youth. On the same day, supporters of the Defence Campaign who were selling 'Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!', handing out leaflets and using a petition were persistently harassed by the police in Lands Lane Precinct.

A picket held opposite the court by supporters of the Black and Anti-Racist Youth Defence Campaign was harassed by the police. PC 1417 forced campaign supporters to move their placards from the pavement as, he claimed, they were causing an obstruction. PC 2339 threatened "trouble" if the picketers continued to use the megaphone as it was causing a "disturbance" in the court! He stated that Inspector Brown at Millgarth police station had instructed him to do this. Despite all this harassment the picketers

continued to receive enthusiastic support for their demands from members of the public. Over 100 signatures were collected on the petition against police harassment and £7.23½ was donated in the space of two hours.

The Black and Anti-Racist Youth Defence Campaign is determined to continue the struggle against police and fascist racism.

by Leeds Black and Anti-Racist Youth Defence Campaign.

## No To Slave Labour!

The factory had no first aid kit, there were no guards, automatic safety stops or hand brakes on the carding machines and any one who complained about the lack of safety faced the sack as did those who objected to the wage rates of £1.02 an hour or the compulsory overtime. This was how Liaquat Ali, the shop steward whose sacking led to the strike described some of the conditions at the Aire Valley Yarns Ltd., to the rally outside the factory on June 18. Earlier, 500 supporters including supporters from as far afield as Birmingham and London and led by the 21 Asian strikers had marched round Stanningley, Pudsey and Farsley, carrying banners that said: "Rawson, Bedford, must give in! We Will get the union in! Give the Workers back their Work!" "The Workers United will never be defeated" and "No To Slave Labour!"

In opening the rally, Peter Booth of the Transport and General Workers Union, pointed out that their crime had been to want to join a union and this was a fight for working class rights. It was not the first time that this had happened in the textile industry and he

reminded the crowd of the long bitter strike at William Denby at nearby Baildon - and how some of the men involved in that strike in the early 60s were now supporting the Aire Valley strike. But he felt that what was most significant about this strike was the way the 21 had walked out and stuck together since the sacking.

Speakers from the black community brought out some of the wider aspects of the strike. Leila Hassan, from the Alliance of the Black Parents Movement, Black Youth Movement and Race Today, told the strikers that they were fighting to break the stranglehold of having to do all the cheap and dirty jobs. This may only seem to some as a small strike and just for the right to belong to a union, but those involved could bring an international aspect to it since they were all born under conditions of colonialism and had the support of their community; if this struggle at work was linked to the other issues that the black community faced such as bad housing and police harassment then it could lead on to struggle that could mobilise thousands.

One of the Bradford 12, Tarlochan Gata-Aura, on behalf of the Support Committee, spoke about the historical significance of the strike. When they had been sacked and walked out, they had said No to the sweat shop and shown their determination to fight exploitation. They had now jumped the first hurdle and it would be a bad thing if this industrial struggle was not linked with the wider questions and here he pointed out that this was an international struggle due to the origins of the strikers. It was essential to develop the struggle outside the restraints of trade unionism and build up on the support that already exists within the community.

In his stirring and powerful speech, Liaquat Ali told the crowd that it was their fathers and grandfathers who had helped build the unions "and we intend to continue it." He also said that those now out on strike had not come over 7,000 miles and paid £500 for an air ticket just to go on strike - there were plenty back in Pakistan. To wide applause he said: "We don't intend to leave these problems for the generations to come."

## Plaid Cymru Success

In the recent General Election, two seats were won by a party which stood against the tide during last summer's war in the South Atlantic, and, unlike any other Parliamentary party, both spoke and voted against the war. That party is Plaid Cymru, the National Party of Wales. Its two MPs retained their seats with a handsome majority, and in two seats (Carmarthen and Ynys Mon), Plaid came about 2,000 votes short of winning.

Most of the fire in the Plaid Cymru manifesto was directed against the Labour Party, as Wales has never elected a majority of Tory MPs, and most Welsh people need little convincing about what the Tories stand for. The Plaid manifesto noted: "It was Labour administrations who:

- Closed coal mines in Wales during the 1960s at a rate of one every seven weeks, with a consequent loss of 52,000 jobs during one decade.
- Closed the Ebbw Vale and East Moors steelworks during the 1970s, so paving the way for Tory attacks on British Steel in Wales.
- Sabotaged its own half-baked devolution proposals, leaving Wales no effective defence against Thatcherism.

"It is small wonder that the Labour Party are unable to attack Tory policies which they themselves began."

Plaid called for the establishment of a Welsh state. On international affairs, it stated that it "fully supports the peace movement and seeks the dismantling of the imperialist power blocs on both sides of the Iron Curtain, beginning with the United Kingdom." It stated its belief in a "decentralised and nuclear-free Europe which is not a part of any military power bloc." The Manifesto also says: "Plaid Cymru supports the right of every nation to enjoy independence ....(it) strongly opposes the use of military power to interfere in the life of a country, whether it is the USA in El Salvador, or Israel in the Lebanon, or the USSR in Afghanistan." The party manifesto did not, however, take an open stand on the war in Ireland, despite the principled support sections of the membership (including Dafydd Elis Thomas MP) have given to the Irish people's struggle.

Inside Wales, Plaid called for progressive social reform and the implementation of measures to defend and promote the Welsh culture and language.



# DEPORTATION NOTEBOOK

● Halimat Samari (formerly ● Babamba) heard on June 6 ● that she has won her fight to stay in this country with her two children, Mustapha and Hakeem. The campaign to fight her deportation began last August when the Home Office refused to extend her visa beyond October of last year. After nearly one year of tension and uncertainty, Halimat now has indefinite leave to stay.

Before her victory, Halimat was winning support from all over the country, particularly from the black community and from the women's movement. On June 4 she spoke at the conference of black trade unionists in London; she had earlier attended an Africa Day organised in Manchester and had been asked to speak at a meeting in Birmingham in July.

Halimat thanked all those who have supported her and called on them to continue the struggle. In particular she called for support for the Aire Valley strikers in Farsley and for Josephine Thomas of Huddersfield who is fighting deportation.

● The following Saturday, ● June 11, Halimat was one of ● the speakers brought together by the Joint Committee Against Deportations (JACAD) in Bradford. This conference was called to strengthen the unity between individuals fighting deportation, for them to exchange experience and to consider raising more general demands. It was attended by campaigns from Bradford, Leeds, Huddersfield and Manchester. The main speakers were black people fighting deportation and their words were a moving testimony of the experience of black people in this country - their repression and their resistance.

Halimat Samari, recently victorious in her fight, told the audience that victory depends on your courage. "You need a massive campaign," she said. "You share my joy, today. I hope I will share yours."

Mahmud Khan, of Bradford, who came to Britain in 1971, said

that he still trusted British justice in 1980 when he received his deportation notice. But, with his deportation due on a Wednesday, the police came on the Sunday, when he was still shaving and still undressed, to take him to Armlay Jail. When he asked if he could contact his family and friends, he was told to dress immediately or be taken as he was.

"It was an indescribable experience," Mahmud said. "And I still get nightmares of that time." He said, with a smile, that if anyone wanted to visit him nowadays, he asks that they do not call at 8.00 on Sunday morning because that is when the police burst in and arrested him.

Later, when Mahmud was on the point of being forced onto a plane by the police, he was asked to sign a letter which said: "I understand representations are still being made on my behalf but I do not wish to wait the outcome of the representations and wish to leave of my own free will." He was held physically and told he must sign, otherwise he would go to prison in London. He did not sign.

Mahmud's case will be heard in London on 15 July. He went on to talk about campaigns. The person who is under threat is always the central figure, and must rally and lead people. He talked about the role played by ex Bradford MP, Edward Lyons, who only sent copies of replies to Mahmud. He was acting as a postman. Lyons said: "Mr Khan, there's no hope for the case. I am a QC." But Mahmud went on that he could see a brighter horizon, because of mass support.

The international basis for black people's oppression was vividly shown by the experience of Anwar Mahomed from South Africa, who also spoke (see June 'Class Struggle'). Since his release from Strangeways, he has spoken at anti-deportation campaign meetings and said he was reminded of South Africa by the developments here. He sees the roots of apartheid are now being planted in Britain.

Others present included Josephine Thomas who is waiting for a date for her appeal to be heard in Leeds and Vinod Chauhan, from Ashton-under-Lyme who recently heard that he had been refused permission to appeal but is continuing the fight to stay.

● Mass support is being built ● for Theresa Namuddu, the ● Ugandan woman fighting for her right to stay (see June 'Class Struggle'). Her supporters picketed the court where the appeal hearing was held in London on Wednesday June 22. No decision has been announced yet. Malika Benkhelefa's campaign to stay is also gaining support. Her supporters point out:

"Because women who leave their husbands may be liable to deportation - many women are deterred from leaving violent or unhappy marriages. The Immigration Rules therefore collude with the victimisation of women."

## Police Shooting

Leroy Fulkerton, a black painter and decorator from Brockley, was sentenced to 9 years imprisonment 2 years ago on a variety of charges arising from a post office robbery. In June of this year, at an appeal hearing, his sentence was reduced by three years.

Originally Leroy was charged with possession of a firearm and attempted murder, among other charges. He has not denied involvement in the robbery but has consistently denied possessing a gun. In the course of his arrest, Leroy was shot by police. He wrote about this to the black paper 'The Voice', following the uproar created by the shooting of Stephen Waldorf, a white man, by London police in January of this year. At the time Leroy wrote:

"I was shot by the police despite the fact that I was unarmed and in no way threatening the officer or anyone else ... I was trying to evade the police and found it necessary to run to my car and was about to drive off when a policeman approached my car and shot me through my side window."

His letter exposed the fact that the shooting of Stephen Waldorf was not the first time the police had used guns against unarmed men. The police had claimed that Leroy threw away his gun but produced no evidence of this. The charge of attempted murder was dropped. However the press has not created an uproar about Leroy as they did with Stephen Waldorf. 'Class Struggle' too, made the mistake of calling the shooting of Waldorf 'inaugural' as though it was the first time.

The other striking contrast was the difference in the publicity given to the near death of Waldorf and the actual death of Colin Roach who died two days earlier in Stoke Newington police station. As Leroy pointed out in his letter:

"A small, but possibly important point, is the fact that I am black. This may explain why this beast was so trigger happy and why the media hear so little about it and why the police investigation board are yet to complete their investigation despite the fact that they were informed of this incident in 1982."

"It is because Malika refused to accept her situation that she faces deportation. She has made, after some struggle, a life for herself and her daughter."

"Malika has the right to deter-

mine how and with whom she will live.

"The Immigration Rules are racist and sexist. Malika is not the only woman who is threatened in this way."



● Theresa Namuddu with baby Richard.



## BABA BAKHTAURA - 335 votes

As reported in last month's 'Class Struggle', Baba Bakhtaura, a Punjabi folk singer facing deportation, stood as a candidate in the General Election. He stood in the Ladywood constituency of Birmingham - a safe Labour seat in spite of boundary changes. In electoral terms he got 335 votes - a pleasing result, although the number of votes was never regarded as being of great importance. Those of us involved in the campaign had no illusions in bourgeois democracy. Presumably the 30% - 40% of the people who don't bother to vote, don't think much of it either!

The whole election campaign was an opportunity to carry a message to hundreds and thousands of people, in a way not possible at other times. Our message was clear and direct - in short, that both the major parties have passed racist immigration laws, have been very active and brutal in hounding "illegal" immigrants, and that as far as black people are concerned, their history shows that there is no difference between them. This message was carried via Punjabi songs specially composed by Baba Bakhtaura, speeches, leaflets in Urdu, Punjabi and English and canvassers. It was put across forcefully and was well received in some areas, like Handsworth where there are large numbers of national minorities.

However, Tories, Labour and Alliance were all trying to woo the "ethnic vote". The Tories stood an Asian woman who quickly adopted Punjabi dress and visited Gurudwaras. On canvassing in white areas, she did a quick change back into "English" dress. The Liberals put out leaflets in Punjabi. But the Labour Party in particular, because of Baba Bakhtaura standing on the platform of "Stop Deportations of Black People, Now", was forced into taking up the issue of racism, forced to realise that they could not

take the Black vote for granted. The Labour candidate was actually calling on people to "Vote Labour, Vote for Anti-Racism"! This was after it had become clear that Bakhtaura was not going to stand down, despite pressure being put on him.

We received much general support for our stand, but many people were unwilling to vote for Bakhtaura for fear of letting the Tories in, and because of illusions in social democracy and belief in their false promises. The myth that the Labour Party is a friend of the working class and black people is still powerful, and this was strengthened by all the so-called revolutionaries who were campaigning for the Labour Party - their "dialectical materialist analysis" stretching to "selective support" for the Labour Party! They did not welcome our principled stand, or support our real struggle against racist oppression. In fact, their hostility was such that they started a smear campaign - saying that we were being paid by the Tories, that we were all criminals and hooligans, and as election day approached, saying that Bakhtaura had already been deported and therefore it was not worth voting for him. Some of those campaigning for the supposedly "anti-racist" Labour Party actually argued that Bakhtaura was "illegal" and should be deported anyway, and furthermore, that he was not sufficiently educated to stand for parliament!

The real anger and hostility directed against us shows that the genuine forces willing to fight racist oppression in a direct and principled way are few, but we are growing. We took their bourgeois democracy and used it against them, and used it to further the struggle of black people - we caused a tremor today, but tomorrow it will be an earthquake! As one comrade summed it up: "We won by 335 votes."



□ At a time when the NHS is suffering severe cutbacks the drug companies supplying it are making vast profits and are allowed to make millions by selling to the NHS at inflated prices. Nine drug companies made £33 million in excess profits from the NHS in two years, according to a Commons Public Accounts Committee report. It details how four of the biggest companies are being allowed to make 35% profit on capital they employ to research, develop and market their drugs. The NHS bought £1,665 million worth of drugs in 1979-80 and those firms made £252 million profit from the NHS and paid only £36 million in corporation tax (supposed to be levied at 52% of profits). An example of such a firm is Glaxo which made £133 million profit last year, and £70 million of this came from the NHS.

□ Wage Councils set minimum rates for 3 million low paid workers □ ranging from £52.50 a week for full-time adult hairdressers to □ £66 for adult shopworkers. However government figures show that 40% of employers covered by the legislation underpaid their staff, and only 7 out of 9,000 firms discovered to be breaking the law last year were prosecuted! Even then the maximum fine is £100. Job Centres get no guidance on minimum pay and frequently advertise jobs with rates below the minimum. In other words minimum wage rates do not exist and the government encourages firms to make as much money as possible out of their workers.

□ Where better to film a Tory Party political broadcast than a □ hospital ward in London's East End? True, the film crew had □ to bring along their own trolleys, nurses, doctors, and get well cards ..... as the hospital had been closed 5 months earlier due to cuts in funding the district health authority. When Mildmay Mission hospital had been closed there had been widespread local protests, and now the Conservative Central Office have the effrontery to use it as a FILM SET. The political broadcast was to have been about the "Conservatives' caring attitude to health services" ... pass me the vomit bowl.



## LIAO CHENGZHI

On June 10, one of China's greatest communists, Liao Chengzhi, died in Beijing. On 13 June, the following letter was sent to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, by the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist League of Britain.

At a time when the Chinese people are greeting the successful convocation of the Sixth National People's Congress, and when negotiations are under way for the recovery of sovereignty over Hongkong, and its reunification with the rest of your motherland, it is a cause for tremendous sadness that your beloved Comrade Liao Chengzhi has passed away after a sudden heart attack.

Comrade Liao Chengzhi was a brilliant Communist! Throughout his life he made immortal contributions to the liberation and unification of China, to socialist construction, to supporting the peoples of the world in their just struggles, and to defending world peace. It is not at all surprising that he should enjoy the love and respect of the Chinese people at home and abroad, and of many friends of China around the world, including the Revolutionary Communist League of Britain.

As a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, as Vice Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, as Head of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission of the State Council, and in his many other important posts, Comrade Liao performed immortal exploits for the revolution in areas too numerous to mention. We would just like to say that the struggle to reunite Hongkong with the rest of the motherland that Comrade Liao took charge of, is a model of Leninist strategy and tactics. It combines absolute firmness on questions of principle with infinite flexibility on questions of tactics. Comrade Liao was a determined and resourceful fighter against British imperialism!

The Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist League of Britain shares your sorrow over the very untimely passing away of Comrade Liao. We are sure that the Chinese people, including the patriots in Taiwan, Hongkong and Macao, and the overseas Chinese, including the Chinese community in Britain, will turn grief into strength, and fight on for the cause of socialist modernisation and national reunification.

We take this opportunity to re-affirm our stand of giving unconditional support to the Chinese people, their Government and Communist Party in their struggle to recover their sacred territory of Hongkong by whatever means they consider necessary.

Please accept our condolences and convey them also to Comrade Liao's family and friends.

ETERNAL GLORY TO COMRADE LIAO CHENGZHI!

## Malaya: the subversive tombstone

The following article has been sent to 'Class Struggle' by comrades from Malaya with a request that it be published. We are honoured to be able to do so.

### REACTIONARIES TREMBLE

The ruling class in Singapore trembles in fright at the mention of the Malayan martyr Tan Chay Wa. Tan Chay Wa, a proletarian son of the Malayan people, was one of the recent victims of the Essential (Security Cases) Amendment Regulations (ESCAR). This notorious piece of legislation is often used by the Malaysian regime to terminate the lives of revolutionaries. Those charged under ESCAR face a mandatory death sentence upon conviction. In other words, ESCAR exists to legalize the regime's murder of revolutionaries. Since 1980, 39 people were executed under ESCAR and many more are awaiting their executions.

On May 30 this year, Tan Chay Wa's elder brother, Tan Chu Boon, 39, was charged in a magistrate's court under Singapore's Internal Security Act. His alleged crime is that he had "under his control" during April the marble tombstone of Tan Chay Wa. As far as is known, this is the first case under the Internal Security Act that the Singapore authorities have held a tombstone to be a "subversive document which tended to advocate acts prejudicial to the security of Singapore". (read security of the exploiting class in Singapore.)

To honour Tan Chay Wa, a martyr of Malaya, the following epitaph in Chinese was engraved on his tombstone:

Martyr Tan Chay Wa was of poor peasant origin. On the completion of his secondary education he worked as a factory

hand. In the middle of the seventies, he joined the Malayan National Liberation Front (MNLF), led by the Communist Party of Malaya. Later he was promoted to the position of district committee member. Under extremely harsh circumstances, he often alleviated his hunger with wild edible vegetation and donated all his savings to the organisation. Thus, he fully embodied the noble quality of a revolutionary fighter. When faced with being arrested by the enemy, he immediately moved to the state of Johore. In spite of the danger he faced, he selflessly persisted in his work. Unfortunately on the 2nd of June 1979 he was arrested. While in prison, he underwent cruel torture as well as alternate intimidation and bribery; but, he remained faithful and unyielding and faced death in complete calmness. On the 18th of January 1983, for the liberation cause of the motherland, he valiantly faced the gallows at the Kuala Lumpur Pudu jail. At that time he was only 35 years old. Towards the very last moment of his life, with great courage he wrote:

"With heart filled with righteous indignation, I stand at the gallows, and forcefully pen this poem with blood; I want to air my grievances for a hundred years, unable to tell all with blood. When will this gallows be destroyed to bring forth a new world?"

This militant poem depicts his deep hatred against the old society and his boundless confidence in the victory of the country's revolution. His glorious example will forever live in the hearts of the people.

Eternal glory to martyr, Tan Chay Wa.

# British Intelligence and Covert Action

BOOK REVIEW:

"BRITISH INTELLIGENCE AND COVERT ACTION"

by Jonathan Bloch and Patrick Fitzgerald.  
Junction Books - £5.95.

"It is a tale of terror, murder, bribery, cheating, lying and torture, which have been practised in varying combinations from Malaya in the early 1950s to Ireland in the 1980s." These are the words of Philip Agee in his introduction, referring to the activities of the British intelligence services, whose schemings have been excellently detailed in this new book.

The authors do not claim that they are making a Marxist analysis, but the area of their investigations touches the raw nerve of true political understanding - the role of the State. This is an area where the communist movement in Britain has always been weak, culminating in the revisionist 'British Road' series of programmes, which show a pathetic ignorance - (or at best, misunderstanding) - of the magnitude, purpose and operative seriousness of the State repressive force.

There is a parallel area too, which is brought out very forcibly as the tale unfolds, and that is the true nature of the Labour Party. The periods of Labour Government were characterised by rampant reaction in all areas of intelligence services work, with the full knowledge and connivance of Labour ministers, not one whit less than during periods of Tory Governments. Indeed, the authors pick out the period of 1945-51 Labour administration as a time of extreme 'cold-war' expansion. (Trotskyists of various tendencies please note.)

This is the most compact and yet comprehensive book produced in this important area of state organisation. Necessary reading. Buy it - or get your library to stock it. But read and remember.....

## Palestine

During the past two months, there has been a conflict within the Palestinian resistance movement which has troubled many friends of the Palestinian people. A struggle is taking place within the largest Palestinian organisation, Al-Fatah. Disagreements have been inflamed by outside interference, especially from Syria and Libya, who have given money and arms to the "dissidents" in Fatah, despite the fact that their leader played a significant role in opposing Syrian intervention against the Palestinian and Lebanese national forces in 1976.

## ANTI-IMPERIALISM IN LIVERPOOL



Over the 17 and 18 June, a very successful picket was held in Liverpool City Precinct as part of the international campaign to free Nelson Mandela. It was

MALAYA

The events in Malaya, where the Malayan Communist Party led the fight for freedom from colonial rule, starting the armed struggle in 1948, showed the ruthlessness and the expertise of the British ruling class in developing a counter-insurgency plan of action. Most of the basic elements of Kitson's theories saw their main post-war early development in Malaya.

The director of operations was General Templar, previously a director of military intelligence in the War Office, whose comment was: "The Emergency will be won by our intelligence system." (The war was always referred to as 'The Emergency'.) In effect the various intelligence organisations were combined with the Special Branch taking the leading role. They developed the art of covert observation, carefully organised search of persons and village areas, and the bribing and/or threatening of arrested guerillas and sympathisers to become informers.

At the same time, the government propaganda machine was organised on a "psychological operations" (psyops) basis, using military psyops units, backed up by a broader programme run from Singapore by MI6 and the Foreign Office Information Research Department (IRD), a 'cold war' anti-communist organisation set up by the Labour Government. Hugh Carleton-Greene organised the Government Emergency Information Service - he later became Director-General of the BBC.

Also Malaya was the first testing ground for the post-war Special Air Service, which had been up to then restricted to a territorial unit (21 SAS). At the time of the Korean war in 1950, elements of 21 SAS went to Malaya, and were placed under the command of wartime SAS man Mad Mike Calvert, who was in charge of the Malayan Scouts. As a result of the 'special operations' of these units in

The interference of these states and others has nothing to do with helping the Palestinian people in their struggle, and everything to do with trying to split and weaken the PLO in order to control it. The vast majority of the Palestinian people hope for an early end to the conflict in Al-Fatah; they feel that the crucial thing now is Palestinian national unity against all imperialist, Zionist and Arab reactionary schemes. Appreciating the dangers of the present situation, both the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, two major independent organisations, are attempting to mediate.

Malaya, the government brought back the regular SAS regiment, and so 22 SAS was born.

From these various counter-insurgency tactics there developed the 'British school' of theory, and Sir Robert Thompson used his Malayan experience to become a much sought after leading 'adviser' in counter-insurgency warfare (Vietnam, Rhodesia). All this suppression of a freedom struggle took place with the active connivance and enthusiasm of a Labour government who claimed they were transforming Britain into a socialist state.

OMAN

A more up-to-date example of very secret war, in support of British imperialist interests and against a people struggling to defeat a reactionary medieval tyrant, is that of Oman. Although never a declared colony, Oman has been virtually a British-controlled state since 1871, occupying as it does a strategic position between Europe and the East, on the sea routes. In the early 1970s the guerilla struggle under the People's Front for the Liberation of Oman (PFLO) was progressing well. The British 'advisers' to the ruler, Sultan Said, decided he was a hindrance to the development of a counter-insurgency plan because of his feudal rule, and they organised a coup which overthrew him and installed his son, Qabus, as ruler. Oman is swarming with British mercenary troops in the Sultan's employ, and by officially 'seconded' military personnel, including many SAS men. Oman is a regular training area for the SAS, who organised counter-intelligence work against the guerillas. British officers are commanders of the three armed services, Army, Navy and Air Force, and General Creasey is over-all commander. Creasey is an ex-Northern Ireland Commander, and there is a regular Ireland/Oman shuttle of SAS and other British military personnel.

Meanwhile, in Britain, activities have taken place to mark the anniversary of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. The General Union of Palestine Students (GUPS) organised pickets of the US and Israeli embassies on June 3rd and 6th respectively. A coalition of Palestine solidarity groups took part in activities around the conclusion of the People's March for Jobs, distributing thousands of leaflets and a lot of free literature at a jamboree at Crystal Palace, South London on June 4th and on the large jobs march the following day. The Palestine Solidarity Campaign supported all these events, and will hold a rally with GUPS at County Hall, London on July 8th.

Wolfe Tone commemoration at Bodenstown. That night 25 people from Sinn Fein, Liverpool and Manchester Irish Solidarity Committees, IFM, TOM and SWP held a picket of the police station where the two comrades were being held. Despite the police applying for an extension of their detention orders, the two were released without charge at 1.30 p.m. on Tuesday. Referring to the campaign of constant phone calls to the station that had been organised, one policeman was heard to exclaim: "They've been ringing up about these two all day." This short but successful campaign shows that mobilisation and struggle can deflect the PTA.



# Britain's Military Strategy In Ireland

BOOK REVIEW:

"BRITAIN'S MILITARY STRATEGY IN IRELAND - THE KITSON EXPERIMENT"

By Roger Faligot (Zed Press, £6.95)

"Northern Ireland has become a laboratory to experiment with new methods of controlling civilian populations...." - these words of the publishers on the cover of the book express no great new discovery, indeed the same point is being made from numerous sources, with increasing frequency.

But this book, more than any other to date, has uncovered the whole range of the modern state "counter-insurgency" apparatus, based in the main on General Frank Kitson's theory of 'low intensity operations', and has assembled it into one extremely interesting, enlightening and frightening account.

As Faligot says in his introduction:

"Because they speak English, are white, and an integral part of Europe, the Irish people provide a model internal enemy", - and to illustrate this more forcibly he quoted from a statement at a seminar of the Royal Institute for Defence Studies:

"...if we lose in Belfast we may have to fight in Brixton or Birmingham. Just as Spain in the thirties was a rehearsal for a wider European conflict, so perhaps what is happening in Northern Ireland is a rehearsal for urban guerilla war more widely in Europe, and particularly in Great Britain."

So the British ruling class, having selected Kitson (from among several other contenders) - as the 'guru' of counter-insurgency, awarded him a 'defence fellowship' at university to write the text book on control and/or suppression of civilian populations, which he called "Low Intensity Operations". The theoretical 'scenario' - (to use a favourite military in-word) - presented by Kitson, so impressed his friends that he was sent to Ireland to complete his 'defence fellowship' with a practical demonstration. The most notorious result of this was the Derry Bloody Sunday massacre, but Faligot goes on to show that it took some years for Kitson's ideas of a fully co-ordinated counter-insurgency offensive to be developed.

It is necessary to read the book to understand the various stages and the techniques employed, but we will give a few examples.

Essential to the plan is the use of 'Special Units', for the collection of information (intelligence) and for the 'elimination' of selected targets. The core of such units is made up of SAS (Special Air Services), and one of the first experiments consisted of small mobile units known as the MRF (Military Reconnaissance Forces). They were involved in the well-known 'Four Square Laundry' events (intelligence gathering) and in selected assassinations. As one former member of the MRF stated: "We had a death list with names and photos, with the orders 'Shoot On Sight'. These events occur-

ed in 1972, but 'Special Units' (SAS) operations on a similar basis have continued, and at various stages since 1972 have played a major part in military operations, especially since 1976 when large numbers of SAS were sent into the six counties.

Another area of Kitsonian technique is that of Psychological Warfare and Black Propaganda where the aim is to discredit and isolate the resistance movement. The Ministry of Defence organises courses on this at the National Defence College at Latimer, which are attended not only by members of the armed forces but also by members of government ministries.

The co-operation of the media in such matters is vital, and Faligot shows that there is in fact a close connection between the media and the government intelligence community. Several instances are mentioned where soldiers in plain clothes have been posing as reporters, using faked press cards. In summary, as Faligot says: "...the role of the British media in the Irish conflict is that of participants, not observers."

The 'regular' Intelligence Services, MI6 and MI5, were in no need of a Kitson to present them with a plan of operation in respect of Ireland - they already have a vast store of experience to draw on. Perhaps the most memorable events are those surrounding the Littlejohn brothers, operating in the south of Ireland under the direction of MI6 controllers. Their range of activities included bank robberies carried out to look

like the work of the IRA, and instructions to assassinate leading Republicans including Seamus Costello and Sean MacStiofain. There is also an overlap in some MI6 and SAS operations, because one important role of the SAS is to provide operatives for the 'dirty tricks' unit of MI6. It was probably such a MI6/SAS unit which murdered the Belfast IRSP leaders Ronnie Bunting and Noel Lyttle in 1980.

Basic to a situation where people are in a state of 'unrest' or 'civil disobedience' etc., would be some form of 'control of population'. It could be argued that it is in this area that the Kitson doctrine has been most extensively and thoroughly deployed, ranging from the string of military forts at strategic points, with road ramps, civilian check-points, harassment, arrest and detention without charge, to phoney 'community projects', to massive use of computerised information, to phone-tapping and bugging, visual surveillance and the control of movement (Prevention of Terrorism Act). And in the event of a demonstration, protest, riot .... the use of plastic bullets, CS gas, water cannons.

Linked with population control is the use of the legal system, with the introduction of special powers, special courts, interrogation and torture, all of which are in use in the six counties. Similarly the control of prisoner status, where the recognition of political status won by the internees in 1972 was withdrawn in 1976 as part

of the criminalisation process. The determined resistance of the prisoners in their "dirty" strike, and subsequently the hunger strikes, won the admiration of most of the world, and together with the election of Bobby Sands, disproved once and for all the tag of 'criminal', and upheld the status of political prisoners.

A final chapter, dealing with the Peace Movement, shows that this was essentially a huge 'psyops', - (psychological operations) - plan devised by the counter-insurgency planners, based on a Kitson technique which he calls "drowning the revolution in baby's milk". The reasons for its initial successes, and for the subsequent decline and collapse, make a story full of deception and intrigue, where the principled revolutionaries and oppressed stood firm, and all shades of opportunists jumped willingly on the band wagon or were brainwashed into giving support.

Faligot's book was originally published in France in 1980, and he had added a small Postscript to his English edition. The main development he notes is the 'supergrass' phase - (also a noted Kitsonian tactic) - but the net result of this has been a suitable response from the Republican forces in their organisational structure.

There is so much in this book that a review cannot do it full justice. This is a must for the bookshelves of all who can afford it. Otherwise borrow it, but read it.

## WHO ARE THE REAL TERRORISTS?

A few weeks ago, the French authorities finally released three Irish people, Mary Reid, Michael Plunkett and Stephen King, who had been imprisoned without trial for nine months; there is still a threat that charges will be brought against them.

The story goes back to August 1982. Taking as an excuse the foul bomb attack carried out against Goldenberg's restaurant in a Jewish quarter of Paris, French president Francois Mitterand, announced a so-called campaign against "terrorism", to be carried out by a new special force called Groupe d'Intervention de la Gendarmerie nationale (GIGN). Now, if the French authorities had been seriously interested in fighting terrorism they could for example, have taken action against the Israeli secret service, which for years has enjoyed complete immunity in assassinating Palestinian leaders in Paris (in fact Israel must be the main suspect for the restaurant bombing, which was used as 'justification' for committing fresh atrocities in Lebanon that summer); or, Mitterand could have prevented a well-known international terrorist organisation, the British SAS, from using France for its 'training' activities (strenuous training, judging by the fact that a number of them have been officially reported killed in action in France).

But instead with enormous publicity the French presidency announced that GIGN (which is under its direct control) had arrested these three Irish patriots, presumed members of the Irish National Liberation Army (INLA) - even though the security forces had kept them under surveillance for years without apparently seeing any reason to take action, and even

the French bourgeois paper 'Le Monde' describes them as refugees.

To 'justify' the arrest, the GIGN commando 'found' on the premises a quantity of arms and explosives. But now a former gendarme, Pierre Caudan, who took the police photos of the Irish Republicans' flat (photos which have since disappeared!), has provided evidence clearly pointing to the fact that the incriminating goods were planted. The Irish people only actually had one weapon, a single handgun which they required for protection against British agents; so busy were the gendarmes planting things that they didn't even bother to search the flat and they were thrown into panic at the end of the so-called search when one of the Republicans calmly produced his gun and handed it over to them with a humorous remark.

The traditional 'right' of French politics has a strong entrenched influence among the civil wing of the police force ('police') which it has been exploiting to stir up the recent right-wing demonstrations against the 'socialist' government. In answer to this, the Socialists have relied increasingly on the military wing ('gendarmerie'). Their methods have shown them to be every bit as reactionary as the 'right'. For example, one of the top leaders of GIGN, who personally led the operation against the Irish Republicans, is Captain Paul Barril who has a long record as a fascist. Beginning as a mercenary in the army of Ian Smith, he went on to participate in an unsuccessful rightist coup attempt in the west African state of Benin before becoming implicated in an arms-smuggling operation between France and Belgium in the service of extreme right

## The Campaign goes on -

## RELEASE NICKY KELLY!

By Brendan Hill.



On May 7th, after the Release Nicky Kelly Committee had convinced him that he was more valuable to Ireland alive than dead, Nicky came off his hunger strike for justice after 38 days without food.

Coincidentally, the Free State government issued a statement in which they tried to move towards getting themselves out of trouble by putting the onus on Nicky Kelly to produce 'new evidence' of the forced nature of his confession.

The Irish legal system, based as it is on the colonial system left by the Brits in 1920, is held up to the light of day by Nicky's campaign, and daylight is something Free State 'justice' is just not compatible with. Now the Fine Gael government tell Nicky that he should pursue his case with a civil action against those who actually administered the beatings during his interrogation.

The Free Staters know full well that Nicky Kelly is innocent, yet they would rather he died than that they 'lose face' by admitting that their non-jury court conspired to convict an innocent man. No - he must, they say, get them out of the mess they are in, die, or give up and 'do his bird'. How right the great Irish communist, James Connolly, was when he said:

"If you remove the English army tomorrow and hoist the Green Flag over Dublin Castle, unless you set about the organisation of the Socialist Republic your efforts would be in vain ...

"England would still rule you to your ruin, even while your lips offered hypocritical

homage at the shrine of Freedom whose cause you had betrayed."

The neo-colonial government in Dublin acts as a proxy for British imperialist interests in Ireland. The Free Nicky Kelly Campaign is a real threat to its credibility as a 'sovereign state'. Thus, as reported in the 'Irish Press' editorial on May 25th, the Irish Minister of Justice, Michael Noonan claimed that "if the state is to accept that Kelly has been wrongly imprisoned for the Sallins mail train robbery, then that is tantamount to saying that the entire court system, right up to the Supreme Court has been guilty of incompetence, or worse, in its handling of the case." Quite so! That is the real problem for the Free Staters. Their corrupt legal system stands exposed to the world's gaze.

And as for 'new evidence'; as Caoilte Breatnach of the Release Nicky Kelly Campaign points out: "The Minister for Justice has stated that he may review the case were new evidence available. The whole point is that there was no evidence in the first place. Nicky Kelly was convicted on the basis of an uncorroborated statement which he asserts was signed under duress. This took place after three long sessions of interrogation totalling 36 hours, after being 60 hours in garda custody. Would a jury have convicted him on this evidence alone?"

Nicky Kelly's case has been taken up by Amnesty International and many other organisations and individuals throughout the world. He is alive to continue his fight for justice.

We must join him in that fight!



# FREEDOM FOR IRELAND



## BODENSTOWN - BALLOT AND BULLET.

In the editorial of its 16 June issue, "An Phoblacht/Republican News" gave an initial summing up of Sinn Fein's election success. They said:

"In entering the Westminster election contest, Sinn Fein set itself a number of objectives: primarily to maximise its vote from the 64,191 in October's Assembly elections - and a target of 90,000 was set; to extend the political base of its support for future organisation; and to show with even greater clarity than before that the SDLP's claim to be the voice of the nationalist people is indeed an empty one.

"If seats were won in the process, so much the better.

"The election campaign itself proved the extent to which there is potential for organisational improvement throughout the North. The election results, in terms of votes, exceeded the target set by over 12,000 and improved the October total by a massive 60%. One seat was won and one missed by the slenderest of margins.

"The SDLP, amazingly confident, right up to polling day, of taking four seats, were stopped in their tracks and only took one. The damage to their morale was reflected in the bitterness of their post-election comments.

"The SDLP, it would appear, has reached the ceiling of its support and its ageing vote must be contrasted with the young supporters of Sinn Fein. Moreover, the dissatisfaction of SDLP voters can only increase as that party fails to deliver on John Hume's 'New Ireland', and Sinn Fein will attract this support too.

"Sinn Fein now represents 42% of the nationalist voters and the gap between it and the SDLP, which is narrowing dramatically, could yet be closed by the time of the EEC elections next year."

Republicans were therefore in a buoyant mood on 19 June when they assembled in Bodenstown for the annual commemoration of the founding father of Irish Republicanism, General Theobald Wolfe Tone. Delivering the main speech, Gerry Adams, newly elected Member of Parliament for West Belfast and (far more importantly) Vice President of Sinn Fein, used the occasion to situate the republican electoral strategy and its outcome into an overall revolutionary framework. Excerpts from his address are printed below:

"In May 1795 Tone and his Belfast friends of the United Irishmen met at MacArt's Fort on the summit of Cave Hill. Most of the inner circle of that revolutionary movement were present and they pledged themselves never to desist in their efforts until they had subverted the authority of England over our country and asserted their independence.

"Today, 188 years later, we are gathered here at Tone's grave to renew ourselves in our republican faith and to pledge ourselves, like those on Cave Hill, never to desist in our efforts until we have subverted



Gerry Adams MP addresses the assembled.

the authority of England over our country and asserted our independence. That is our message which goes from Bodenstown graveyard to the British government today. We unapologetically and without reservation deny the right of the British parliament to make laws for Ireland. We assert that the British government has no rights to Ireland or rights in Ireland. We declare that our independence must be had at all hazards and we defend the right of Irish people to engage in armed struggle in pursuance of that independence and in resistance to the British presence in our country.

\* \* \*

"Sinn Fein now commands 42% electoral support amongst nationalist voters and the gains we made last October have been increased dramatically by a massive 60% in the recent elections. We fought both these election campaigns under the worst possible conditions. Our workers and candidates were harassed on a daily basis by the RUC and the British army, a number of us were arrested, our stand in the election was condemned by the British and Irish establishments, by sections of the Catholic Hierarchy, by all the Protestant churches and by the SDLP. The unionist parties organised electoral pacts against us, the Alliance Party decided not to contest certain seats in order to maximise the anti-Sinn Fein vote, our policies were misrepresented and the electorate was subject to moral pressures and condemnations unprecedented since the Civil War. It was Sinn Fein versus everyone else.

"Despite this we set as our primary tactical objective the winning of 90,000. On June 9th we secured 102,701 votes. I would like on your behalf to congratulate all our election workers on their victory and I would like to thank and congratulate each and every one of these 102,701 voters.

"As soon as the election results became clear, everything else became obscure. Before June 9th we were told that a vote for Sinn Fein would be a vote for the IRA. After June 9th we were told that the Sinn Fein vote can't really be interpreted as a vote for the IRA and our

opponents tried vainly to explain away our success.

"We also had the ridiculous spectacle of establishment figures lining up to tell us that they won't talk to me. Peter Barry played it really safe. He ensured that I, or any other member of Sinn Fein, couldn't talk back to him by using RTE with its notorious Section 31 as his medium. Nobody thought of asking us whether we were interested in talking to Garret FitzGerald, James Prior or Peter Barry. I am sure you people would have a lot to say on that subject. Meanwhile Garret FitzGerald is today talking to that arch-terrorist Margaret Thatcher. Hypocrisy personified!

"All these contradictions, and others besides, have come clearly into focus because Sinn Fein have won the leadership of the anti-imperialist people in the occupied six counties, because we have established a republican veto and because we have restricted the ability of the SDLP leadership to sell out those they purported to represent in the past. We have started on the road to building a strong, dynamic political movement throughout the six counties, and we will continue to make gains and to increase our vote as this development, the broadening of our struggle and the consolidation of our gains, proceeds.

"We stood on a radical republican platform, in the socialist republican tradition of Connolly and Pearse. We gave people an alternative and they responded to us. Our vote will not go away. We are winning and we will be victorious in driving the British out of Ireland and achieving what all others lack the courage to do.

"There is, of course, another front to the struggle in the six counties, and this is conducted by the men and women Volunteers of the IRA. Sinn Fein defends, not through any sense of bravado or fixation with physical force but through necessity, the right of the IRA to engage in armed resistance to the British presence. We are unapologetic in this defence. Irish people have the right to engage in armed resistance to the British presence.

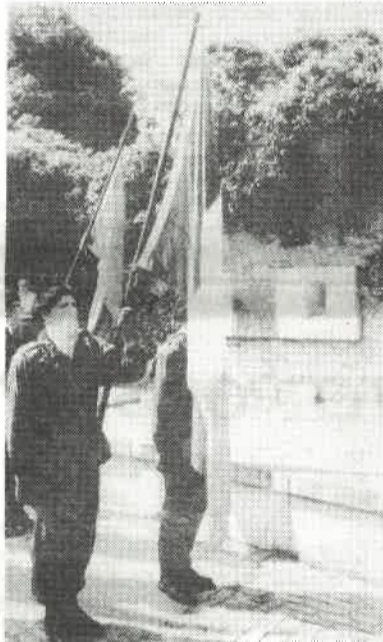
The IRA needs no electoral mandate for its armed struggle. It derives its mandate from the presence of a foreign government on Irish soil and stands on the same right as the United Irishmen, the signatories of the 1916 Proclamation and all those other Irishmen and women who took the painful but correct position that the British government, scornful of the force of argument will listen only to the argument of force.

"There are those who tell us that the British government will not be moved by armed struggle. The history of Ireland and of British colonial involvement throughout the world tells us that they will not be moved by anything else.

"It is fitting, and I am glad of the opportunity therefore, to pay tribute to the freedom fighters of the IRA. By their determination and courage the men and women Volunteers of Oglagh na hEireann have won the admiration of progressive nationalists throughout Ireland and of freedom-loving people throughout the world.

"They have assured us, by their tenacity and resilience, that they, and thus we, can never be defeated and that for as long as the British government maintains its presence in our country they will be faced by armed resistance. The IRA is the assertion and the guarantee that our will as a people to be free is stronger than the will of any British government to enslave us."

\* \* \*



The IRA colour party salutes the memory of Wolfe Tone at Bodenstown.

"The IRA have told us, by their actions and their statements that the war against the British occupation will go on.

"Let us declare, by our actions and by our application to the work before us, that the political struggle going so well in the six counties will spread to the twenty-six counties in a way which transcends partition and unites us all in one powerful united political thrust forward. By developing realistic policies and strategies, by hard work, because there are no short cuts, and by principled leadership at all levels we will prove ourselves worthy of the legend of Theobald Wolfe Tone. To do anything less is to shirk our duty and our responsibility.

"Let us go forward therefore from here today mindful of the sacrifices of our political prisoners and their families, especially the prisoners in England, mindful of the sacrifices of generations, mindful of the ongoing sacrifices made on a daily basis by all our activists and supporters and mindful also, and most importantly, of the opportunities available to us. Let us go from here rededicated in our republican faith.

"There is work to be done. Let us do it."

## IRISH SOLIDARITY IN EDINBURGH

By the Publicity Group -  
Edinburgh Irish Solidarity  
Campaign.

The Edinburgh Irish Solidarity Committee conducted a Weekend of Action on the 18/19 June. This put us face to face with Loyalists and Ulster Orangemen. However the weekend was a major victory and a tremendous show of solidarity with the Irish people's liberation struggle.

The weekend began with a successfully defended rally in the centre of Scotland's tourist capital. 70 people gathered despite Loyalist counter-demonstrators attracted by the rumour of Ian Paisley's attendance. We were defended by our stewards as the police presence was almost non-existent. Only after an attack on the rally and an arrest of one of our supporters did the police swarm round. Prior to this members of the public had joined us, an Irish-American from Los Angeles, who was passing came up to speak and pledged his solidarity.

The day after, we had a well-attended conference. Messages of support were delivered by Manchester ISC, GIFAC, Dundee, London and Fife supporters of BISM, International Solidarity Front Iran, RCG and a member of the Young Communist League. Support was read out from the Organisation of Iranian People's Fedayeen Guerrillas, Michael Holden, Sinn Fein member, ISCs in West London and South London, the University of Essex and Colchester Troops Out Movement, Stoke Newington and Hackney Defence Campaign, Dave Dinsmore and Peter Wardlow Scottish Political Prisoners, Ricky Wretham Scottish prisoner and an 81-year old retired miner.

The Conference heard speeches from Edinburgh ISC supporters calling for a united solidarity movement and the co-ordinating committee of BISM. The film 'POW' was shown. The conference finished by passing a motion unanimously of support for Irish POWs in English jails. Congratulations were sent to Gerry Adams MP and an invitation for him to come to Edinburgh. Also agreed was a national march to be held in Edinburgh calling for "Victory to the Irish People! Troops Out Now!"

Also passed was a message of support to Jimmy Anderson, prisoner in Wormwood Scrubs who two days previously had been badly beaten up by prison warders.

The whole rally then left the building to go to James Connolly's birthplace in Edinburgh's Cowgate, where we put up an alternative plaque: "James Connolly. Born here 1868. Ignored by Edinburgh, Remembered by EISC. WE SHALL RISE AGAIN!" And so we will.