

CLASS STRUGGLE



Political Paper of the Revolutionary Communist League of Britain

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25P

THE UNIONS IN '86

TIME TO HIT BACK



Rolls of razor wire around the building. ID cards and security checks at double gates. Police helicopters escorting trucks in and out. This is not an army "anti-terrorist" operation at Heathrow or a heavily protected top-security nuclear plant. It is Murdoch's new printing plant at Wapping.

Murdoch, head of News International, owns companies world-wide dealing with the media - the press and TV. In the UK, News International publishes 'The Times', 'The Sunday Times', 'The Sun' and 'The News of the World'.

Murdoch has been planning for a long time to take on the print unions, the National Graphical Association (NGA) and the Society of Graphical and Allied Trades (SOGAT '82). One executive of Times Newspapers said: "Once these people go out, it will be the last time they do it. They won't come back. Never, never."

On Friday 23rd January, NGA and SOGAT '82 members on Murdoch's papers went on strike after negotiations had broken down.

Brenda Dean, General Secretary of SOGAT '82, said on January 24th: "Our members feel strongly that they have been provoked. They feel that the company has acted deceitfully, pretending it was seeking negotiations over our right to have members at Wapping when in fact they were setting up secret companies designed to ensure that they were kept out."

CLASS COLLABORATION

For the print unions, the issues are as important as they were

for the miners. However, they face a difficult fight. The major problem they face is that other unions and union members are collaborating with Murdoch at the Wapping plant to get the papers out.

The Electrical, Electronic, Telecommunication and Plumbing Union (EETPU) has already signed an agreement to work at Shah's new plant and their members are working now in Murdoch's Wapping plant. For distribution of his papers, which he plans to print without the NGA and SOGAT, Murdoch is relying on Transport and General Workers Union drivers happy to cross picket lines.

This trend of open collaboration is not new. It is one trend in the working class response to the crisis of British imperialism, particularly the need to re-structure key industries, bringing in new technology and cutting back the work force.

Since the end of the miners' strike, we have seen the care-

fully cultivated development of the Union of Democratic Mineworkers. On 10th January, the EETPU went ahead, in open defiance of the TUC, and held a "joint energy seminar" with the UDM. It was also significant that representatives of the International Miners Federation, which the National Union of Mineworkers left in 1983 but to which other European mining unions belong, were present at the conference. The fact that links are being made outside Britain shows the importance of this trend.

Class collaboration within the unions is nothing new of course. Nor is it simply a question of betrayal by union leaders. The working miners of Nottinghamshire and the union truck drivers crossing picket lines, shows the depth of this trend within the working class as a whole.

But it is time for the working class to hit back, both directly against the new organisations openly based on collaboration and within the traditional unions. To do this the struggle must be based on the interests of the majority of the class and on a determined struggle in these interests. It is this class unity that is essential to storm the Wapping fortress.

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NATIONAL TOUR

☆☆ P.A.C. ~ B.C.M. ☆☆

Organised by the Revolutionary Communist League.

WEEK MARCH 8th - MARCH 16th

Meetings to be held in Yorkshire, Bradford, Manchester, Birmingham, Bristol, Yeovil and London.

For details contact 'Class Struggle' seller or watch out for dates, venues, etc. in March issue of 'Class Struggle'.

Centre Pages

Anti-Racist News

WESTLAND AND IMPERIALISM



WHAT ARE THE ISSUES?

Two Cabinet Ministers have resigned and support for the Tories has fallen to its lowest, according to the polls. For weeks the Westland crisis has been headline news and the outcome is not yet clear. While the media covers the whole parliamentary circus and repeats endlessly details of meetings, minutes and letters; who said what, when and why, it does little to bring out the fundamental issues surrounding Westland. In Parliament, the main aspect of the crisis is the struggle within the Tory party and between the Tories and other parties in a pre-election period. However, on many of the basic issues, the bourgeois parties are united. We cannot expect them to raise such questions.

The articles on this page were written following discussions involving Westland workers. They begin to raise some of the key questions: What use are Westland products put to in the world? What is the relationship between defence industries, the state and other industry? What is the outlook and future for Westland workers whoever takes them over? And to what extent the USA already dominates British and European military capacity.

THE AMERICAN ALLIANCE

In 1985, Westland announced losses of £95 million and Sir John Cuckney was moved in to sort out a rescue plan. Their losses were not a result of lack of demand for helicopters. The helicopter is seen as "the weapon of the future". However, there is fierce competition between the four American and four leading European manufacturers. The crisis also came at a time when large amounts of capital are needed to modernise production and install new technology. This has resulted in the arms industry, as elsewhere, in large mergers and takeovers.

The choice between the deal offered by Sikorsky-Fiat (the largest US producers of helicopters) and the European consortium is a choice between a merger with European capital or subordination to US capital.

There are precedents, in the civilian sector, for the fears of those opposed to the American deal. United Technologies Corporation (UTC), a subsidiary of Sikorsky, took over, through one of its own subsidiaries, Elliot Turbo Machinery, an engineering firm on the Isle of Wight, in the '70s. 600 skilled jobs were lost and all the high tech machinery was shipped to the US. Another pattern has been that of "Silicon Glen" in Scotland where US firms are encouraged with government grants to set up factories which offer only low pay and no skilled jobs.

SIKORSKY PLANS FOR EUROPE

The picture is more complicated in the area of military production and it is unlikely that a straight asset-stripping operation would take place. But many have pointed as, as has E.P. Thompson that what the US wants from Westland is to create a "wholly owned American subsidiary stripped of independent research capability." Ken Gill, of AUEW TASS, has also pointed out that the job guarantee given by Sikorsky to Westland workers runs out in 1990, the year of the expected boom in helicopter sales. It is possible that the Sikorsky strategy is aimed at knocking out European rivals by that date, removing Westland as a rival and taking over the European market.

Whatever the particular developments could be at Westland, there is no doubt that under the Sikorsky deal, Britain would sink a little further under the boot of the US. But this is just one step in a long process that has been supported by all governments since the Second World War. On the military front, it is clear. Britain already houses 130 American bases. Cruise missiles are quite out of British control and the proposed Tridents will be targetted, serviced and navigated by the US.

The basic difference among the Tories and between Tories and other parties is one between different sections of British capitalists on the terms of the alliance with the US. None of the bourgeois parties are opposed to this alliance but they are arguing about its terms.

'STAR WARS' LINK

Thatcher's policies have been a closer alliance with US imperialism. The most blatant example of this was the agreement on the 'Space Defence Initiative' ('Star Wars'), which was signed at great speed by Heseltine, shortly after its announcement without any of the debate and hullabaloo surrounding the Westland deal. Yet in the words of E.P. Thompson: "This is an agreement so secret that the only two words as yet leaked to the US press are that it is to be kept secret 'in perpetuity'". He points out that clauses of the agreement: "Throw open the most privileged areas of British high technology... There will be no two-way technology exchange, on the excuse of 'reasons of security' but in reality to advantage the great American arms contractors."

There have been reports on Irish radio that UTC is involved in the production of the 'Star Wars' technology and that a deal was made by which Westland will be tied up with this work if the Sikorsky deal goes through. It seems likely therefore that this lies behind the government support for the Sikorsky deal.

It is also clear that whichever offer is accepted, military hardware will continue to be made, used against progressive forces all over the world, impoverishing countries who buy them. The profits will line the pockets of the imperialists - American or European.

THE MILITARY ECONOMY

Westland helicopters are used by the British army and by other countries all over the world both in the battlefield and in repression and surveillance of civilians.

They played a major role in the Malvinas (Falklands) War and are in constant use in the north of Ireland. They hover over rallies and demonstrations of all sorts in this country. They have been exported to Argentina, Brazil, India, the Arab Gulf States, Oman and Saudi Arabia. In addition, subsidiaries of Westland make other armaments. For example, Normalair Garrett make Tornado bomb release systems.

It is clear that the products of the 'defence' industry in Britain are mainly used to defend the interests of imperialism, both against people in struggle and in making vast profits in the world-wide arms trade.

The obscenity of the massive amounts of money spent on weapons of destruction in a world in which hundreds of thousands lack food, clothes and shelter, is shown up by stark statistics such as:

* week's spending on arms would feed 500 million of the world's hungriest people for a year.

* The cost of Cruise missiles currently being deployed on British soil - £1,000 million could have saved the 17 million children who starved to death last year.

ONE MILLION EMPLOYED IN MILITARY WORK

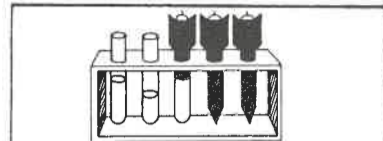
In the Yeovil area, Westland employ 8,000 workers directly, and including subsidiaries and sub-contract work they account for half those employed in the area. In the South West region alone about 60,000 work in aerospace which has close connections with defence. Probably at least half those employed in the West country work in the conventional defence industry. In the whole country, well over one million people are employed as a result of military spending.

Defence jobs tend to be concentrated in certain small areas where they dominate employment. As at Yeovil, these areas have tended to stay relatively prosperous. Nevertheless, between 1963 and 1978, 250,000 jobs were lost in the defence industries and since then, another 40,000 have disappeared.

Jobs are being lost even though there has been a real increase of 3% in spending on armaments each year and a higher level of spending than any other West

European country.

The importance of these industries in Britain, is also reflected in spending on research. Over half of government sponsored research and development goes on military research. In 1982, for example, £1,750 million was devoted to military, £234 million on science and engineering and only £107 on medical research.



Over half of Britain's publicly sponsored research and development is devoted to military purposes.

It is in this context that we have to look at the recent crisis round Westland. While Westland is a private company, it is clearly nonsense to talk of the helicopter issue as an independent issue to be sorted out privately by the company and its shareholders. The industry has always been heavily dependent on contracts from the government and on government policy generally. It has been run on a cost-plus basis - so that there is a guaranteed fixed profit on their costs. The world helicopter market boomed during the Vietnam War when vast numbers were shot down or crashed and it was the Malvinas War which gained a reprieve for Westland a few years ago.

OPPOSE REDUNDANCIES! OPPOSE IMPERIALISM!

Workers at Westland have no illusions about what they are manufacturing and the political outlook of the vast majority is based on their economic dependence on British imperialism. In talking of a 'labour aristocracy' - a section of the working class which has been bought off by the British ruling class and has lost its proletarian outlook - workers in the defence industries must be at the top of the list.

During the Malvinas War, for example, when the threat of redundancies suddenly disappeared and "the nation was proud of its Westland helicopters in combat", practically the whole workforce was united behind British imperialist aggression.

There are other ways in which the state tries to ensure a "loyal" workforce in Westland and elsewhere, for example, the union ban at Cheltenham GCHQ, and the use of the Official Secrets Act. At Westland, vetting of job applicants has always been thorough. More recently it has been taken over by the Ministry of Defence, who positively vet every applicant of whatever grade. People with an ex-service background are favoured whilst anyone with links with the communist or left-wing parties or organisations such as CND, or anyone with family links in Eastern Europe, is turned down.

It is then, hardly surprising that the majority of the workers is tied to imperialist ideology and is pro-American in outlook. In fact, there is great demoralisation at the factory. 742 redundancies were announced at Christmas and many more are promised.

"Work Until It Hurts"

Workers have, of course, been influenced by the coverage in

the media. In addition, they have come under pressure from both their company and some of their union representatives. At the local public meeting in December, Mr David Giles, the Chairman of the TASS negotiating committee at the factory, excelled himself by his call to his members to give of their best: "Tomorrow go back and work harder. Go back and work until it hurts."

Leaflets put around by the Labour Party flog the line that it is all the Tories' fault for not investing in buying helicopters earlier and for spending £12 billion on Trident instead of conventional defence. Paddy Ashdown, Liberal MP for the area, peddles the same line praising Westland as a "great company" and idolising its role in the "Falklands Crisis"

FIGHT FOR JOBS

Whatever deal is engineered over the heads of Westland's workers, American or European, they will need support in fighting for jobs. Westland is the only big local employer and working class people have no choice but to sell their labour power. A loss of jobs at Westland does not signify any defeat for British imperialism. It simply means that military hardware is being made cheaper elsewhere.

A struggle for jobs, based on the interests of the class, must include challenging the ideology of imperialism. It must also include challenging other seemingly progressive solutions that are put forward.

One of these ideas is that of arms conversion. The idea that the skills and technology of the workers could be used to produce socially useful goods instead of military hardware is sometimes discussed at the factory. In the '70s a plan

based on this strategy was put forward by the unions at Lucas Aerospace. Although useful in exposing production under imperialism, the experience at Lucas also illustrates that ultimately in this society the working class do not have the power to control production. Other struggles have demonstrated more effective ways to fight against imperialism such as when the Rolls Royce workers in Glasgow refused to allow engines to be sent to Chile for the use of the junta there. Whereas at Lucas, the objectives were unrealistic and the campaign failed to stop job losses.

Where such discussions are important, is in opening the eyes of workers to a different perspective. The fight for jobs at Westland must be accompanied by a political change of heart. Alternatives to arms production for our rulers and their allies cry out to be made. Workers at Westland conscious of the long term class interest, and who support the oppressed, need to stay put and fight the mercenary outlook which covers the cynicism and pessimism of many people who try to ignore the military uses of their work. The most reactionary workers need to be woken up from their "Rambo" daydreams to which Britain is doing in Ireland and what others are doing around the world with the products of their labour. Firms such as Westland are frightened of anti-imperialist ideas within the workforce. Why else the strict vetting procedure and sackings of workers taking a progressive political stand?

Imperialism permeates every sector of our society. We would not have the health and social services we do (inadequate as they are) if it were not for British imperialism's need for a relatively stable home base. Even medicine is turned into death when the imperialist drug companies have a free hand in the Third World. So whatever our job, we all need to change our outlook and open our eyes to the dream of a different world, a world without imperialism.

WE ARE HERE ~~~ BECAUSE ~~~ YOU WERE THERE

Broadwater Farm

'Class Struggle' correspondent.

Although four months have passed since the uprising on Broadwater Farm estate, Tottenham police are still harassing people there. Although the number of police on the estate has been reduced from a peak of around 400, the level of police activity has not fallen. Officers from the 'Blue Beret' gun squad, D11, have been deployed in many raids. Raids on flats and arrests of local people continue to take place daily. In many instances, people picked up and questioned by the police in connection with the October 6th uprising have been charged with offences unconnected with it, when the police failed to find any basis for charges linked with the uprising.

Children have been among those questioned by the police: the youngest was three years old. Teenagers have been held without their families being informed of their whereabouts for several

But observation by cops patrolling the Broadwater Farm estate is not the only form of information gathering used by the state. Not only are telephones belonging to the Youth Association and Defence Campaign tapped, but also private ones and even phone boxes off the estate!

The great majority of people who live on Broadwater Farm want the police out. The local council, Haringey, has demanded that the number of police in the area be reduced to its pre-uprising level. But the police have shown their contempt for democracy by refusing to respect the popular will and maintaining a heavy presence. They say that they want to establish a small police station on the estate itself, like a medieval castle built in the midst of a hostile population to repress the people. This is something they have wanted for years, and which the Youth Association, of which many young black people on the estate are members, has consistently opposed.

area have given their support to the campaign, including helping with fund-raising activities to meet costs. Benefits have been held, and on 20th December, there was even a fashion show and dance put on to raise money for the defence campaign and the Cynthia Jarrett Public Enquiry Campaign.

The Winston Silcott Defence Campaign has also been active in defending one of the victims of police activity on the Farm. Silcott is accused of murdering PC Blakelock on October 6th, a charge he denies. Many people say that he was not present when the uprising took place. The campaign considers that he is being picked on because the police wanted to make an arrest quickly, and knew Winston Silcott as a black person who had complained about their behaviour on a number of occasions prior to October 6th. He has been held in Brixton Prison since being charged, and committal hearings for him and three others are due on February 3rd.

STILL UNDER SIEGE



Policeman holding rock and iron bar, Tottenham.

days, and the youngest person taken into a police station for questioning was 11 years old. One special target for the police has been people on the estate who have appeared on television and told of what the police did on October 6th and after - they've generally been arrested afterwards.

Police from different parts of London have been deployed on the estate and then replaced by others, so that thousands of them gain experience of the kind of intensive operation going on there. No doubt they intend to apply what they've learnt elsewhere. They go through daily briefing and debriefing sessions, which helps build up a detailed picture of what's happening on the estate.

The police are out to exact vengeance from the people for the good thrashing they were given on October 6th. They see everyone except a few racists and collaborators as criminals who must be punished. Yet this bunch of uniformed thugs are given increased powers by the government's Police Bill!

DEFENCE CAMPAIGN

The Broadwater Farm Defence Campaign was formed following October 6th to support all those arrested by the police. The demands on it have been great, as over 200 people (80% of them black) have now been arrested, and the legal actions against those charged will drag on for months to come. Many people in the Tottenham and Wood Green



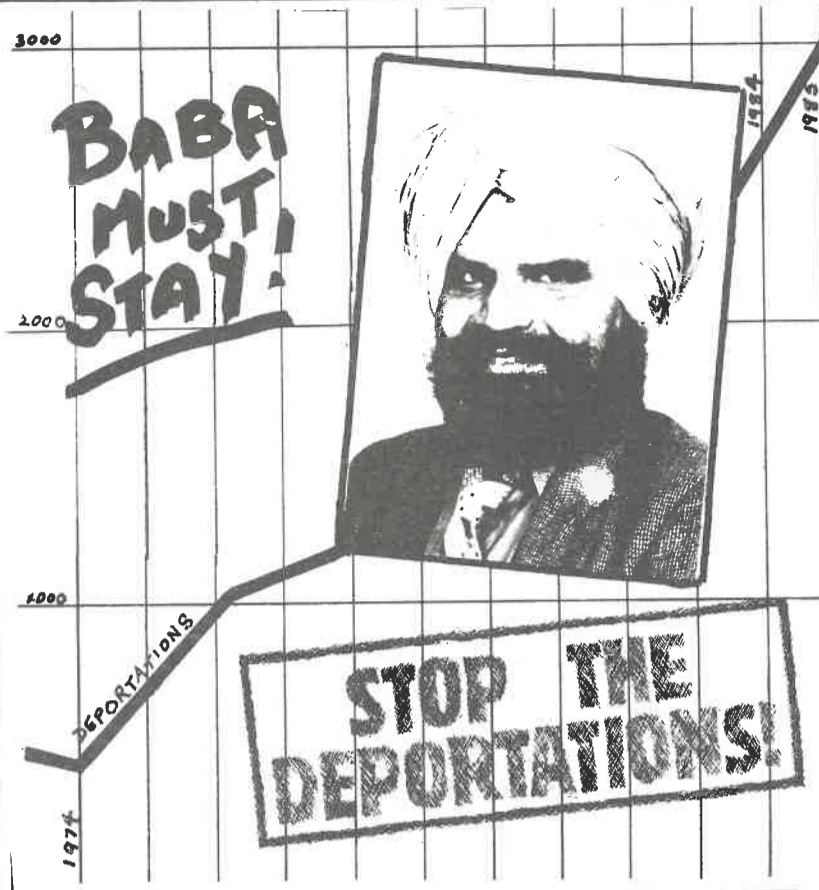
The Broadwater Farm Defence Campaign still needs money and it needs to win wider support if the police harassment of people on the Farm is to be stopped. Anyone wishing to make a donation or offer support can reach the BFDC c/o 79 Tangmere, Broadwater Farm Estate, London N17.

DEFEND RUBEN JOHNSON!

In the previous issue of 'Class Struggle', we reported that on the November 11th 'Justice for Black People' demonstration, the police did not move against participants until they were leaving that successful march.

One of those attacked by police at that time was Ruben Johnson, who received a fractured skull and serious bruising as the result of a police attack in Marble Arch tube station. After being punched, Ruben was dragged up the escalators by his foot, and later charged with assaulting the police. He still suffers from dizziness as a result of injuries to his head.

The Black People's Campaign for Justice is organising support for Ruben Johnson. It can be contacted c/o The Black Horse, Beehive Place, Brixton, London SW9.



baba bakhtaura defence campaign

'Class Struggle' correspondent.

Baba Bakhtaura, a Punjabi folk-singer from Birmingham, has been fighting a battle against deportation for over four years. His case has gone as far as the House of Lords, where his appeal will be heard in February or March. He will receive support from his own community. But white workers and progressive people must give their support as well.

Baba came to Britain in 1979 as a visitor. He is by profession a singer-songwriter in the Punjabi language. He began to perform to the local Punjabi community and soon became popular. His family ties were in the West Midlands, and he decided to make his home there.

But in 1982, Baba was convicted by a court of "overstaying". He went to prison for two months. The immigration authorities asked the court to make a deportation order, but the court refused to do the Home Office's dirty work for it.

The Home Office served Baba with a deportation order. He appealed to the immigration tribunal, but his appeal was rejected. He appealed to the High Court for a "judicial review" of the adjudicator's decision.

UPHOLDING NATIONAL MINORITY RIGHTS

The result was an important judgement upholding the rights of national minority communities. Immigration law provides that, in deciding whether a person should be deported, the public interest must be considered. The Home Office argued that the public interest meant the enforcement of immigration laws. That is, the interests of racists in having blacks kicked out of the country because "there are too many here"! Baba Bakhtaura argued that the "public interest" must include the interests of the minority community. The service of a person to his community must be considered - in Baba's case, his performances at weddings and religious festivals of the Sikhs, and his provision of entertainment at social events.

The High Court upheld Baba's interpretation. In doing so, the judge accepted that national minorities have rights, and, in particular, rights which preserve and develop their own culture.

Not surprisingly, the racist politicians and bureaucrats of the Home Office could not accept such a decision. What would the black minorities be demanding next? Control over their own areas? An appeal was lodged, and the Court of Appeal overturned the High Court decision. Baba appealed to the House of Lords.

Support for Baba Bakhtaura is important because of the principle of community interest recognised by the High Court. It is also important to uphold the rights of black people to live in Britain.

The Baba Bakhtaura campaign explains: "For hundreds of years Britain occupied our countries and took away our great wealth, leaving immense poverty. After the Second World War, they came and took our labour to build their 'Welfare State'. Now they say that we are a problem and make more and more laws to keep us out and send us back. But we made Britain the rich country that it is today and we have the right to live here."



Baba Bakhtaura another way. their past in and in car deportations. The Bakhtaura less racist because of the people's friend

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The fight ag experiences inspiration many methods MP's, unions resistance minority peo leged to sta

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"For hundreds of years, Britain occupied our countries and took away our great wealth, leaving immense poverty. After the Second World War they came and took our labour to build their 'Welfare State'. Now they say that we are a problem and make more and more laws to keep us out and send us back. But we made Britain the rich country that it is today and we have the right to live here."

"We made Britain the rich country that it is today and we have the right to live here."

"For hundreds of years Britain occupied our countries and took away our great wealth, leaving immense poverty."

Translation of election campaign song.

The Labour party has come here,
The Tories have come here,
Bringing their sacks full
of laws.

But their laws are not for us.

What's going to happen to
the black people?

They're going to try to kick
us out of this country.

What is going to happen to
the black people?

Black Women Book Review.

'The Heart of the Race', Black women's lives in Britain by Beverley Bryan, Stella Dadzie and Suzanne Scafe. Reviewed by 'Class Struggle' correspondent.

Not only is this book full of the experiences of Afro-Caribbean women, it is also full of their feelings and their spirit. Not only is it full of the reality of their lives in Britain, their organisation and fightbacks, it is also full of their history and living culture. It is a book which overwhelmingly sees Black women as the key to the future of society despite of, indeed because of, the centuries of brutal oppression they have suffered.

Although it is loosely divided into chapters, on work, education, health care, etc., the thread of historical perspective runs through all these. Black women's experiences of slavery and colonialism in the West Indies are the starting points to their reaction to life in this country and the source of their strength in fighting back. I found the chapters on education and on culture especially interesting.



experiences - something which cannot be separated from the economic realities and political processes which have shaped our history. To us, the only valid definition of our culture is one which recognises that it was and remains our primary means of survival. It represents those rituals, symbols and practices which have given expression to our struggles to triumph over poverty and exploitation."

The book vividly describes how the traditions of their African society helped women to survive the horrific ordeals of slavery and colonialism, and examines in more detail aspects such as language and religion. How the Creole language "became a vehicle for expressing all our desires for freedom, our secret subversive comments, and our rejection of those who held sway over us." How it was the women particularly who had the responsibility for building and preserving the language by oral tradition and by music and dance. The language is illustrated by a poem by Louise Bennett. The traditions of poetry, music and dance are followed through to the present day with quotes from Black women involved in these areas.

SPIRIT OF RESISTANCE

children's identity, culture and aspirations and how so many were placed in ESN schools and special units. And from there, how Black women organised to set up their own "Saturday schools" at the same time as challenging the schools themselves; also the struggle of many Black women to return to education at college despite the obstacles which were placed in their way.

"You see, with the Europeans their culture is in their buildings and their artifacts, their paintings and books and so on, and this is why they say that Black people have no culture. But our culture has been passed on in a different way, in an oral form and through dance. In any culture at all, dance is important - no matter where you go, you'll find people dancing. But I think with Black culture, dance is particularly important because it revolves around everything."

RACISM AND SEXISM

The section on Black women and sexism grapples with the contradictions of race and sex in this society which victimises Black men by both class and racial oppression as well as criminalising them. Thus Black women are usually forced to deal with male violence by relying on the support of mothers and other women rather than the state:

"In the end, it was my mum who got him to go. She came round one night after he'd been laying into me, and she was so mad, I've never seen her so angry. I was crying, the kids were crying, it was a really bad scene. She just stood there and told him that if he didn't leave right that minute, she'd kill him, and she meant it too. My mum's a big woman, and there's no way he was going to mess with her. After he'd gone it was like I'd just woken up from a bad dream. I'd let that man tread over me for nearly two years."

My copy of the book is full of lots more underlined passages I'd like to pass on to you ... But you'll have to read it instead. It will leave you better informed, with lots of new ideas, and an optimistic and militant conclusion:

"Even centuries of slavery, oppression and sexual abuse, of attacks on our culture and on our right to be, have not succeeded in breaking Black women's spirit of resistance. Instead of distancing us from the African heritage which has sustained us, the thousands of miles which we have travelled and the oceans we have crossed have simply strengthened our collective sense of self-worth."



RACISM: THE MOST SIGNIFICANT INFLUENCE

The chapter on education begins: "Black women cannot afford to look at our experience of Britain's education system merely from our perspective as women: this would be to oversimplify the realities we face in the classroom. For Black schoolgirls sexism has, it is true, played an insidious role in our lives. It has influenced our already limited career choices and has scarred our already tarnished self-image. But it is racism which has determined the schools we can attend and the quality of education we receive in them. Consequently, this has been the most significant influence on our experience of school and society."

It goes on to explain how education has always been a burning issue for Black women as, in the aftermath of slavery, it was virtually the only means to escape the burden of poverty and exploitation. By using experiences of women and girls in their own words the book illustrates how British schools attempt to destroy their

CULTURE AND IDENTITY

The section on culture and identity begins: "Our culture shapes and determines our identity. To convey our sense of self, as Black women, we must first generate a positive understanding of the long cultural tradition which has fashioned our way of life here in Britain. In describing the Black culture which emanates from the Caribbean, we seek to portray a vital changing phenomenon, created from our lived

Doctor Mark Ponnampalam's appeal was heard in the High Court on 14th January, 1986. Justice Sir Douglas Frank agreed that the racial discrimination that the doctor has suffered has been "unfortunate and outrageous". However he ruled that there was "no power in this court to effect a remedy. There are common law rights involved here. There are none regarding racial discrimination".

Dr Mark Ponnampalam is one of the most highly qualified surgeons in this country. However in recent years he has been unable to find employment in any way suitable to his qualifications. He has been campaigning to expose the institutionalised racism within the National Health Service which prevents him getting a suitable job. Over the past two years, he has taken over 50 cases to industrial tribunals - one for each job he has been refused.

To put a stop to his campaign he has been served with an order intended to gag him. If the order is successful, it would mean that he could never again launch legal proceedings of any kind, in any court, as of right - he would always have to apply for permission to the High Court first.

Dr Mark Ponnampalam has argued that under the common law of England, members of a community have a right to contribute to, and participate in, the health care of their communities and these very communities have the right to receive medical attention in humane, compassionate, sympathetic and familiar environs. He argued that these rights were further protected by the Race Relations Act of 1976.

It was this argument that was denied by the judge on January 14th when he argued that there are no common law rights for black people suffering from racism. Dr Mark Ponnampalam will be appealing this most recent judgement and arguing against the view that the Secretary of State can have no say as he is not an employer of doctors. He will argue that finally the Secretary of State has to have responsibility for the fair and just operation of the National Health Service.

The campaign in support of Mark Ponnampalam can be contacted at: c/o 17-19 Dalston Lane, London E8 3DF.

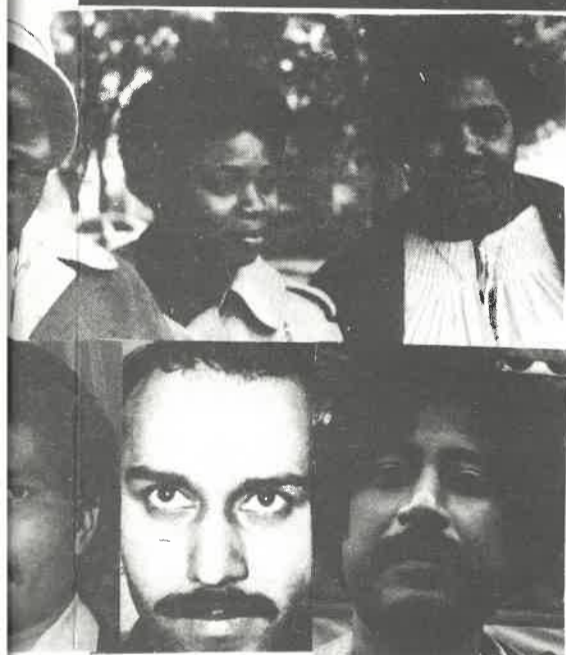
Earlier issues of 'Class Struggle' have reported on the fight of Pedro Galleguillos, a 25 year-old Chilean who has been living in Manchester for 3½ years, against deportation.

Pedro's case was heard in September 1985, before the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), who wrote to his MP, Stan Orme, as follows: "Having studied his case, we informed the Home Office that in our view Mr Galleguillos qualifies for refugee status under the 1951 Convention and, therefore, we request that he be granted asylum in the United Kingdom".

In a recent press release, Pedro's defence campaign has pointed out that this statement confirms what Pedro himself, and his campaign have been stating for the past 15 months.

They have demanded that the Home Office now acknowledges that Pedro's life would be in grave danger if he were to be deported to Chile, and that he be granted the right to remain in Britain.

The campaign can be contacted at: Pedro Galleguillos Defence Campaign, on (061) 848 9783 or c/o 9 Lucy Street, Manchester M15 4BX.



EXPOSING LABOUR'S RACISM

Bakhtaura's campaign has been significant in Labour party politicians want us to forget in passing immigration laws (e.g. in 1968) carrying out racist refusals of entry, and harassment while they were in power. Baba's campaign showed up the Labour party as no more than the Conservatives - possibly more so than their hypocrisy in pretending to be the black friend.

The Bakhtaura campaign was taken to the people in an election campaign which contemptuously dismissed Labour's fake anti-racism. Baba himself a candidate for the Ladywood constituency, which was a Labour stronghold. He stood for no party, but under the banner "Stop Deportations of Black People Now!" against Claire Short, a Labour blue-eyed girl who had carefully cultivated image as a lefty and an anti-racist. Although Baba polled less than 400 votes, he won the battle of the streets and struck fear into the party and their supporters. His message went to the people of Handsworth loud and clear, through leafletting and canvassing and loudspeakers in the election headquarters in the centre of the shopping area, blaring out his defiant message - that Labour and Tory are both the same when it comes to deporting black people.

Information drawn from the book 'Class Struggle' has drawn from the experiences of many campaigns before. It has proved an inspiration for many others. It is necessary to use the lessons in those campaigns - through the courts, the media, churches, the media. But the backbone of the fight against racism is the strength of the national people themselves. White supporters are privy to stand beside them in their struggle.

For more information, contact: Baba Bakhtaura Defence Campaign, c/o 101 Villa Road, Handsworth, Birmingham 19.

Azania: Boycott... Meeting... PAC Statement

Pokela Leads Us To Freedom

'Class Struggle' correspondent.

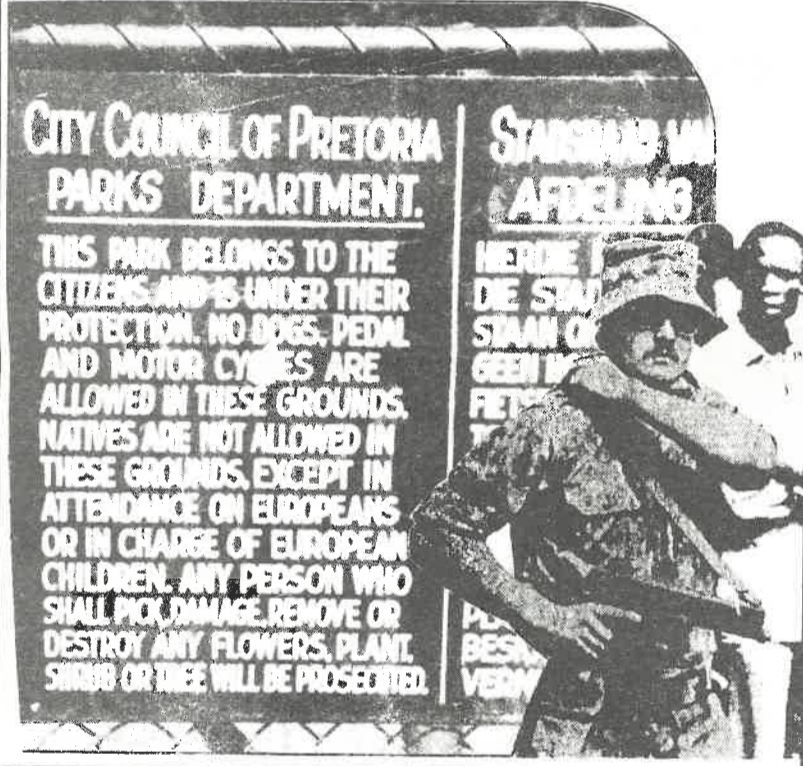
An important meeting was held at the Africa Centre in London in early December, bringing together on the same platform representatives of two of the three major liberation movements in Azania (South Africa), the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM). The masses in Azania have consistently demand-

HIJACKING THE HISTORY OF STRUGGLE

The representative of the BCM, Comrade Moichopari Segwai, referred ironically to the outcry about the banning of press reporting in South Africa; this starts from the assumption that there was a free press and objective reporting, which of course is nonsense! In fact, the system has hijacked not only



"The Eighties—Decade Of The Azanian Revolution"



ed that those fighting the system should unite in action, and this is a particularly significant step because the two organisations will be working increasingly closely in Britain, and hopefully also worldwide.

The PAC speaker pointed out that there are several currents of struggle in Azania. But if you read the media, you would have the impression that there is nothing but the African National Congress (ANC). Anyway, it is the job of the media to distort the truth - the prime task cannot be to combat their lies, because this won't liberate Azania. The PAC is concentrating on the grass-roots, building the movement to topple the system.

At the time of the meeting, five PAC members were awaiting trial on charges relating to the armed struggle and supplying arms. But both the South African authorities and the western press have hushed this up. A recent PAC armed attack was carried out in East London (a place in South Africa where the struggle has been particularly intense), and one could read on a bridge there, painted in big letters, the slogan "Pokela Lead Us To Freedom!". Nyati John Pokela, the late Chairman of the PAC, stated that the 80s would be the decade of the Azanian revolution.

the black people's land, but also the history of their struggles. The media go to great lengths in analysing the subtleties of white South African politics, but when it comes to blacks, the picture suddenly becomes simple - there is nothing but the ANC and the UDF (United Democratic Front - a broad organisation sympathetic to the ANC).

But the reality, Comrade Segwai pointed out, is quite different. While it is true that all blacks cry out with one voice against their oppression, in respect to the question of what to put in place of the present system, it is a situation where "a hundred schools of thought contend".

Both the PAC and BCM hold that the main content of the struggle is not to get rid of apartheid. The point is to repossess the African land of Azania which was usurped by the European settler. Recently when Senator Edward Kennedy visited South Africa, the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO, an organisation close to the philosophy of the BCM), launched a successful protest campaign. Kennedy was there to help cook up some scheme for a neo-colonial, post-apartheid settlement. This protest was necessary, the BCM believe, because the Azanian revolution must concern itself not just with getting rid of apartheid, but with the long-term future.

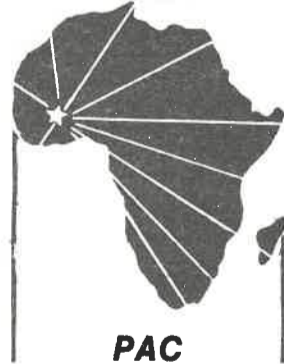
PAC CONDEMNS PRETORIA & BENONI SENTENCES

The Pan Africanist Congress issued the following statement on December 19th:

The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania condemns the death sentences passed by a Pretoria court on 6 Azanian patriots for allegedly killing the deputy mayor of Sharpeville in September 1984, at the start of the current wave of unrest. Two others were sentenced to eight years each.

In the Benoni trial, a racist court sentenced 5 alleged PAC members to a total of 33 years for furthering the aims of the PAC and "supplying weapons and equipment to the people". Two of those sentenced are critically ill because of injuries inflicted by the police in their Nazi-torture chambers. Jan Shoba, who was sentenced to 8 years, has a blood clot and was sentenced in absentia. Michael Gqamana, sentenced to 3½ years, has two broken ribs and other internal injuries. Their colleagues sentenced to 7 years each are Mlandeli Ketye, Elby July and Bonise Nkabinde. The Azanian patriots sentenced to death are Mojalefa Reginald Sefatsa, Rid Malebo Mokeona, Oupa Moses Diniso, Theresa Ramashamola, Duma Joshua Khumalo and Francis Dan Mokgesi. These patriots are to pay the highest price for opposing the policies and practices of the minority settler regime, policies condemned as a crime against humanity. Two others appearing in the same trial, Motseki Motsiri and Gideon Mokone, were sentenced to 8 years each.

The PAC's attitude to racist courts was authoritatively conveyed to the illegal regime by our Founder-President, Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe, in a racist court after leading our people on March 21, 1960 in a non-violent campaign against the pass laws. Sobukwe stated that the racist courts were unjust institutions based on unjust laws... laws enacted by the white settler minority without the participation of the African majority and other oppressed sections of our community. We re-state this basic position today and we call upon the world community to condemn this latest murder and police brutalities and act decisively to assist the oppressed people in their fight to establish a just order. The PAC also strongly condemns the racist regime's threats to invade Zimbabwe as a diversionary tactic to focus attention away from the basic cause of conflict in Southern Africa.



The basic and root cause of all the problems in Southern Africa is the universally condemned policies of the apartheid regime and the denial of self-determination to the indigenous African majority as well as other sections of the Black community. We take this opportunity to remind the racist regime and its allies that destabilisation and unequal treaties imposed upon some of its African neighbours recently have brought no respite for the oppressors. Fresh acts of aggression against neighbouring states will intensify the just struggle of all Azanian patriots and hasten the doom of the racist regime.

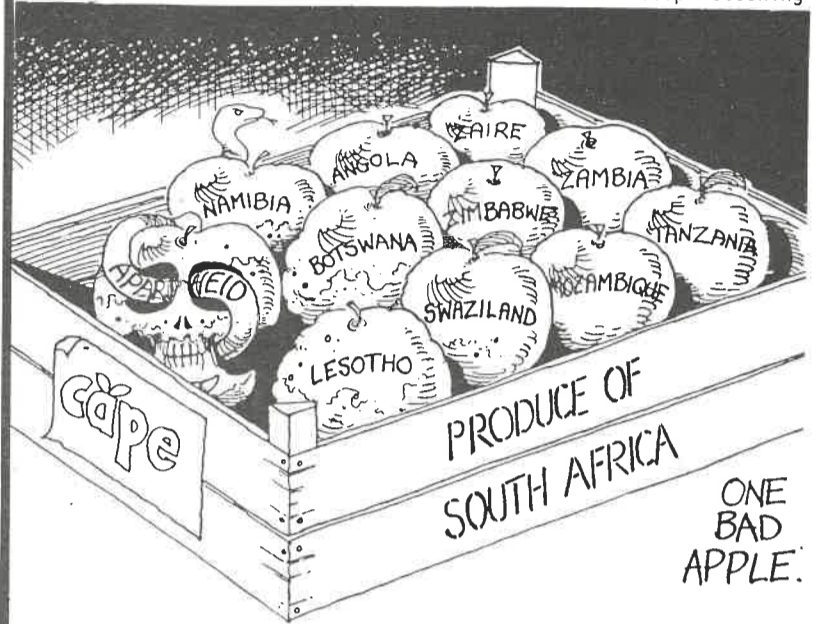
Johnson Philip Mlambo, Chairman: Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.

Boycott Of South Africa Bites

'Class Struggle' correspondent.

"The boycott of South African produce is something all the liberation movements agree on. Actually, it's pretty effective at the moment. A brother who

leafletting of shopping areas and slogan painting. In Brixton, South London, local activists have approached many shop keepers who still have goods from South Africa and asked them to stop stocking



visited us very recently told us that the white farmers are having to sell a lot of their fruit on the home market because they can't export it. And they have to sell it at prices which people can afford, too."

That was the comment of a member of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania when 'Class Struggle' recently asked him about the usefulness of the boycott campaign. This shows what an international concerted effort can do.

In Britain, the Anti-Apartheid Movement and various other organisations have mounted a succession of boycott activities, including the

them any more. On 21st December in Brixton, the Africa Liberation Committee held a two hour picket of Barclays Bank during the morning.

At the end of November, the boycott effort won a great success when the giant supermarket chain, Tesco, announced that they were going to run down their stock of South African goods to a minimum. This followed announcements by the Fine Fare and Co-op chains that they were stopping the stocking of South African produce. These successes give boycott campaigners additional leverage against shops and supermarkets which still sell South African goods.

International Notes

PALESTINE: PRISONERS WIN DEMANDS

Hundreds of Palestinian prisoners held by Israel came off hunger strike on December 12th, after the head of Israel's prison administration had accepted many of their demands and agreed to discuss others. The strike began on December 4th at Jnaid Prison, near Nablus, over worsening conditions, and then spread to other areas. It was supported by prisoners' families. The prison director agreed that the prisoners should have hot and cold water; that broken wash basins, tables and chairs would be repaired; rooms would be paved with concrete; glass put in windows and prisoners would be allowed to buy western papers. He also agreed to allow more time for families' prison visits and to permit Arab medical specialists to see patients who were in prison.

About one third of all males on the West Bank have spent some time in an Israeli prison. Two prisoners died on a previous hunger strike in 1980 at top-security Nafha prison.



ERITREA: SPECTACULAR ACTION BY LIBERATION FRONT

On December 10th, a special commando unit of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front penetrated a base of the Ethiopian occupation army in Asmara, Eritrea's capital, and destroyed 30 enemy military vehicles, including petrol tankers. The unit then escaped through the Ethiopian defences without any losses to itself.

This spectacular action followed the defeat of the latest Ethiopian attack on the liberated areas, which began on October 10th. Ethiopia lost 14,500 troops and the EPLF was able to replenish its weaponry with captured Ethiopian equipment.



EAST TIMOR: TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF INDONESIAN INVASION

December 7th was the tenth anniversary of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor. In 1975 Indonesian forces invaded East Timor days after it won its independence from Portugal. In the West, there have been many accusations of genocide against Democratic Kampuchea, but the US and West European governments ignore the real genocide that has been taking place in East Timor, where the Indonesian army has slaughtered one third of the population. Over the last ten years, Britain is one of the powers which has armed Indonesia.

The Revolutionary Front for Independent East Timor (FRETILIN) lost 80% of its troops, over 90% of its weapons and all its support bases in an Indonesian campaign lasting from September 1977 to March 1979, but re-organised and adopted a new strategy which has led to a re-building of its strength. Jose Ramos Horta, international representative of FRETILIN, told a meeting in London marking the tenth anniversary of the invasion. FRETILIN has received no outside military aid: it has been able to carry on fighting thanks to its popular support and sound strategy.

Interview with Jose Maria Sison Philippines Election Farce

The latest issue of *Solidaridad II*, published by the Resource Centre for Philippine Concerns, carries an interview with Jose Maria Sison, a political prisoner accused of being Chairman of the underground Communist Party of the Philippines. He was interviewed in August 1985 about the prospect of elections. 'Class Struggle' reprints excerpts of this interview as it is very relevant to the present situation. Sison was first asked about the prospects of the opposition in any forthcoming elections:

A: The fascist dictatorship continues to have a firm control of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, the Batasang Pambansa and the Commission on Elections. It is therefore in a position to rig the electoral rules and the entire process of election and prevent the opposition from winning the majority of local seats as well as the presidency.

elections to more militant forms of struggle after elections indeed prove to be an exercise of fraud and terror by the enemy.

The anti-fascist opposition can never hope to defeat the fascists in elections under their own auspices, especially because they do not hesitate to use fraud and terror.

Revolutionaries are prepared ideologically, politically and organisationally to confront even an outright US war of aggression."

Even if the opposition parties and organisations unite, Marcos will make them appear disunited through fragmented accreditation...

In his entire political career, Marcos has never failed to use his advantages to the hilt. He has the killer's instinct and his style is overkill.

Q: If, as you estimate, President Marcos will rig the elections, what then would be the wisdom for the Left or for the entire opposition, for that matter, in participating in these elections?

A: Legal forces of the Left can give company to the middle forces, and in so doing propagate the cause of national freedom and democracy, denounce the farcical and rigged character of the elections in general while at the same time pushing the elections of progressive candidates of whatever party or organisation wherever possible, and help breach the structure of the fascist dictatorship.

With the Left, the Middle and the anti-Marcos Right ranged against it, the fascist dictatorship will have to do a lot of terrorising and cheating to fabricate its victory. But its victory will be pyrrhic, self-destructive. One other objective of the Left could be that of being in a position to swing those who believe they can defeat the fascists solely through

Q: What do you think would happen if President Marcos or a placeman of his gets the presidency for another six years?

A: The armed revolution will accelerate as never before. The entire people will not accept another six years of fascist tyranny. Even the advocates of peaceful change will start rethinking their position or if they do not, they will become isolated. The economic crisis will worsen rapidly. Neither Marcos nor his placeman will be able to finish his term either because the armed revolution will win total victory or the US will try to head off such a victory with a military coup to instal another gorilla government or pave the way for a "civilian" government or a civilian-military government. A gorilla government will further incite the people to wage armed resistance. A "civilian" government or a civilian-military government completely under the control of the US and the reactionaries will also fan the flames of armed resistance. At any rate the armed revolutionaries will become a far stronger force as the fascist dictatorship persists, with or without Marcos. It is obvious that the armed revolutionaries are prepared ideologically, politically and organisationally to confront even an outright US war of aggression.

'Liberation', official international publication of the National Democratic Front (NDF) of the Philippines, has reported that the NDF and all clandestine affiliated organisations are campaigning for a boycott of the February 7th presidential elections.

An NDF official commented to the paper that the snap polls are not intended to oust Marcos but rather to reunify the ruling elite behind the regime and to intensify dictatorial rule in the Philippines. He called the election a "scheme of the US-Marcos dictatorship" that is deceptive in nature and anti-people in character. He added that the anti-dictatorship forces and the rest of the people could not hope to gain anything substantial from the election and that consequently the only correct course of action is that of boycott.

The KMU (May 1st Movement), the independent trade union movement and the League of Filipino Students, have also called for a boycott.

Participating in the election are some establishment, anti-Marcos forces, who are sponsoring Corazon Aquino and Salvador Laurel as presidential and vice-presidential candidates respectively.

The US is preparing for a more active role in counter-insurgency operations. 'Liberation', publication of the National Democratic Front, reported the deployment of US 'Special Operation Forces' at the Subic Naval base and Clark air base, adding to the presence of over 20,000 troops stationed at the two bases. Escalating US military intervention is being carried out through gradual measures with New People's Army units reporting sightings of US military advisers directing field operations. A discredited Marcos determined to hang on to the reins of power increases the prospects of the military taking a direct hand in the dictatorship. The US have already prepared the ground by initiating the formation of a reform movement of army officers designed to make the army a more effective counter-revolutionary instrument.

The Philippines votes for its president on February 7th in an election which is heavily weighted in favour of the dictator Marcos. He announced this snap election on November 3rd, during a visit to the US, hoping to leave the legal opposition too little time to organise effectively. In the

packages have disappeared into the bank accounts of corrupt military and civilian officials, including members of the Marcos family itself! The US wanted elections as part of a clean-up of the regime's image, as it did in El Salvador several years ago. The US also wanted General Fidel

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON TRADE UNION STRUGGLE IN THE PHILIPPINES



Speakers from European Unions and the Philippines

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10.00am Saturday February 8th 1986, County Hall, London

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last national elections, when the first results revealed a strong showing for the opposition, Marcos resorted to massive ballot rigging to ensure that the great majority of the remaining results went in his favour. He will certainly go all out to win again. The announcement of the elections from the US was significant. The US has been trying to get Marcos to give his regime a facelift, so that it can justify its massive aid to the dictatorship and in order to make sure its investment in repression is made more effective - apart from anything else, up to a half of many aid

Ramos to become head of the Philippines armed forces; it sees him as more professional and cleaner than Marcos' personal choice, General Ver, who has been on extensive leave while his role in the murder of opposition leader Aquino was being investigated. In the event, some sort of compromise seems to have been worked out between the US and Marcos. The Philippines Supreme Court has returned a 'Not Guilty' verdict on charges of murder and conspiracy made against Ver, but he has announced the intention of retiring soon, leaving open the possibility of Ramos replacing him.

PAKISTAN: What Does Zia's Proclamation Mean?

We print below a press statement made by the Pakistani Workers' Association (Britain) on 2nd January, 1986:

ZIA'S PROCLAMATION ON THE 'ENDING OF MARTIAL LAW AND THE RESTORATION OF DEMOCRACY'

On 30th December 1985, General Zia proclaimed the "end" of martial law and the beginning of a new era of his version of democracy. Whilst we welcome any genuine return to democracy in Pakistan, our understanding of General Zia and the history of our country, justify our reception of Zia's announcement with some degree of scepticism!

The next section details the 38 year history of "open martial law" interspersed with "short periods when martial law had been disguised and various forms of sham democracy imposed".....

THE REIGN OF GENERAL ZIA

From 5th July 1977, when the present military dictatorship seized power, Pakistani people have been subjected to untold injustices. One of the first acts of this murderous regime was to massacre over 200 workers of the Colony Textile Mills in

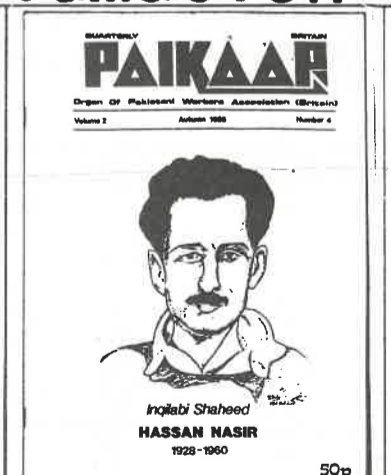
Multan. The workers' basic demands were for elementary trade union rights. This massacre was to set the scene for numerous crimes that have been and continue to be committed against our people. Whilst carrying out such blatant acts of criminality, the dictatorship always attempted to disguise its actions. Even after gunning down unarmed workers, Zia maintained that the military had "intervened" to stop Pakistan sliding towards "civil war". Pakistani people were told that democracy would be restored within 90 days. As subsequent events have proven, this lie was to gain the dictatorship time in which to consolidate its stranglehold.

Since the massacre of the workers in Multan, in the eight and half years this dictatorship has been in power, all basic rights of our people have been ruthlessly trampled upon. Hundreds if not thousands of political prisoners languish in jails, political parties are banned, workers are denied basic trade union rights, students unions are banned. What meagre rights women had have been taken away and religious and national minorities are brutally persecuted. Thousands of people have been

forced to seek political asylum abroad. The media has been made into a docile tool of the regime.

THE "ISLAMISATION" OF PAKISTAN With Quranic verses on his lips, and the repression of the people on his hands, Zia has tried to hide the hideous crimes of the military dictatorship. In the name of "Islamisation", people have been publicly flogged, numerous people hanged, people demonstrating on the streets have been lathi-charged and shot at, and anti-women legislation has been introduced, creating a climate whereby violent crimes against women have increased. He is using "Islamisation" in an attempt to gain some sort of legitimacy for a regime which surpasses those of previous dictators in repression and brutality.

On 19th December 1984, a farcical "referendum" was held in which Zia decreed that a "yes" vote meant that he could remain President for the next 5 years. On 25th February 1985, fraudulent elections were held. Like Ayub's "basic democracy", Zia's "controlled democracy" was an attempt to give a democratic veneer to what is in essence a dictatorial regime. Alongside the creation of a docile



The Autumn 1985 issue of 'PAIKAAR', organ of the Pakistani Workers' Association (Britain) (Vol.2, No.4) is now available (price 50p) with more news and analysis about the struggles of Pakistani people both in this country and in Pakistan.

"National Assembly", Zia has re-written the constitution, in an attempt to protect himself from the retribution of the people and to maintain his absolute power. Having spent eight and half years consolidating his position, Zia now

feels confident to make the proclamation that martial law is 'ended'.

WHAT DOES ZIA'S PROCLAMATION MEAN?

At best Zia's proclamation is meaningless. Political parties remain banned for the next 12 months, after which they will have to go through a complicated registration process ensuring that only those acceptable to the regime will be allowed to operate legally. Political prisoners still languish in jails, many serving life sentences. Although military courts have now been abolished, there is no appeal against sentences imposed by them, often sitting in secret. Many of the draconian decrees already passed will remain in force. In reality, it is another cloak under which Zia is hiding, so that he can prolong his reign of terror. Like Ayub Khan, Zia is attempting to end "open" martial law, whilst perpetuating his regime's rule. Who does Zia think he is kidding? The people of Pakistan will see through his sham democracy and continue to struggle against dictatorial rule.

'Paikaar' is available from New Era Books at 50p plus 12p P&P.

FREEDOM FOR IRELAND

SINN FEIN STANDS FIRM



The Republican Movement faced one of its most difficult electoral tests in January, when parliamentary by-elections were held in 15 constituencies in the north of Ireland.

The 15 seats were left vacant when Unionist MPs resigned in protest over the Anglo-Irish deal. To the Orange bigots the simultaneous elections were claimed to represent a mini 'referendum', and their prime objective was to muster half a million votes and thus claim an overwhelming 'mandate' from the majority 'Loyalist' population of the north of Ireland.

To outsiders the point of the exercise may seem puzzling. The nationalist population of the north have long had the aim of completing the struggle for independence and winning the unity of Ireland. But the Anglo-Irish deal holds out no prospect of this - in fact, quite the opposite.

ORANGE SECTARIAN RULE

The last all-Ireland election in 1978 saw nationalist candidates win over 80% of the vote - an absolute mandate for the independence of Ireland as a whole. British imperialism responded to the political and military struggle of the time by partitioning Ireland and retaining six counties of the north within the UK. The Orange sectarian statelet was established so that the bulk of Irish industry was held in Britain's hands, and at the same time a border (with absolutely no historical basis) was drawn to ensure a 'Loyalist' majority. Since then, orange-sectarian rule has been wielded with savage discrimination and ruthlessness against the nationalist population. This bigoted assault has been made in economic, political and social fields and backed up by varying degrees of violence and terror.

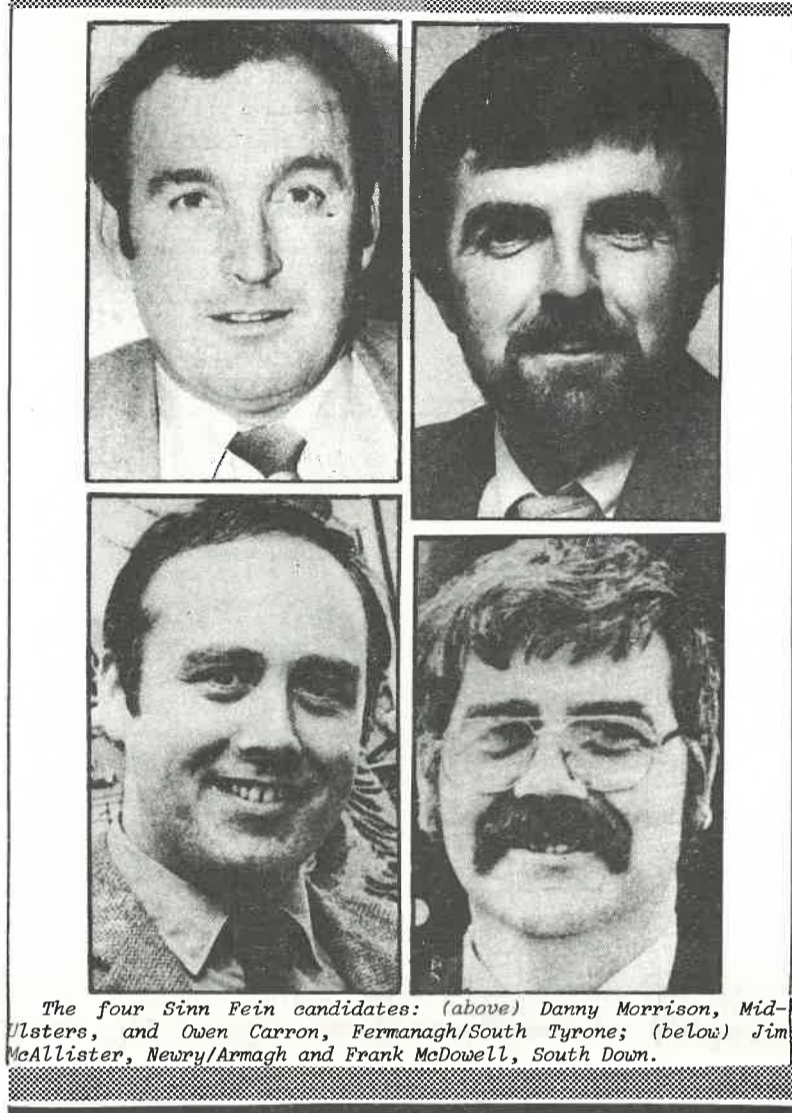
The struggle of the nationalist people led by the Republican Movement has forced British imperialism to reassess its strategy. Essentially the London-Dublin deal at the end of 1985 represented Britain's aim of enlisting Dublin's aid in maintaining partition.

ATTACK ON REPUBLICANISM

Although the Dublin government has long been passive on the issue of Irish unity, it has retained the constitutional aim of re-unification. The process over the past few years has been one of gradual movement towards overt cooperation between British imperialism and the bourgeois politicians of the south of Ireland to suppress the only movement threatening direct British rule in the north - the Republican Movement. The basis of this development is that while the Republican Movement has no intention of developing a military struggle in the south, its growth is a political threat. The bigger sections of the Irish bourgeoisie are therefore prepared to come to the direct aid of British imperialism in an attempt to smash the Republican Movement.

ORANGE RULE TO STAY

The establishment of an alliance with Dublin, based on Dublin's recognition of a loyalist veto made absolute by carefully defined borders, does however depend on some changes in orange rule in the north. What is at stake is not loyalist domination and certainly not British rule. But the most extreme fascist forms of domination will have to be modified. So there are calls for a code of conduct for the RUC, some changes in the UDR, to increase the number of judges in Diplock courts to three,



The four Sinn Féin candidates: (above) Danny Morrison, Mid-Ulster, and Owen Carron, Fermanagh/South Tyrone; (below) Jim McAllister, Newry/Armagh and Frank McDowell, South Down.

quicker appeals for those convicted, changes in employment discrimination etc.

None of this changes the essence of British rule or of the sectarian state. But it is a challenge to absolute orange bigotry and this is total anathema to the loyalist population. The 418,000 votes

won by the Unionist coalition, whilst being short of their target - and less than half of the electorate - nevertheless shows that the bulk of the orange working class refuse to see a future in any other terms than those of sectarianism and privilege. The fact that Dublin recognises this veto shows that it is not the struggle to re-

unify Ireland (which was not the issue of the election) that divides the working class, but loyalist-protestant defence of sectarian privilege, which will never go away so long as the orange state exists.

TACTICAL VOTES

In response to this extreme display of sectarian anger by the loyalist population over even the tiniest of concessions, the nationalist population was faced with a choice in the election. Growing numbers have shown their support for the Republican Movement, and in particular Sinn Féin. Sinn Féin rightly campaigned to show that the London-Dublin deal was essentially an attack on the struggle for Irish unity in general, and on the Republican Movement in particular.

But given the loyalist campaign, and the fact that the Unionist parties were for once standing only one candidate in each constituency, there was some shift in tactical voting. In the face of orange bigotry some felt that defeating the loyalist candidate was a more important short-term gain than proclaiming their support for Republicanism. As a result the Official Unionist MP for Newry and Armagh, Nicholson, lost his seat to Mallon of the SDLP.

SINN FEIN STILL STRONG

Sinn Féin's campaign was also made more difficult by the security forces who detained a number of key leaders during the most important period.

The small shift in votes from Sinn Féin to SDLP is portrayed in the press as a victory over Republicanism. The fact is that Sinn Féin still outpolled the SDLP in two of the four seats in which they both stood. The imperialists will find to their cost that behind the slight tactical voting shift the Republican Movement is as healthy as ever.

IRISH ON TRIAL

'Class Struggle' correspondent.

Screaming sirens, hovering helicopters, armed police, sealed off streets: this is the daily scene outside Manchester's courtroom No.5. Inside, the trial of those arrested 13 months ago goes on.

Peter Jordan, and now William Grimes, have pleaded guilty to conspiring to cause an explosion. Now on trial, are Dr Maire O'Shea and Patrick Brazil, also facing the same charge under conspiracy law.

All were arrested under the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA). The PTA was not passed to combat the armed Republican struggle, but to suppress the Irish struggle as a whole. To the imperialists behind the PTA those who struggle for Irish independence, either by armed struggle or by political means, are all the enemy.

The use of conspiracy law, in general, supplies a legal weapon to back up the same essential point - the criminalisation of the Irish struggle as a whole.

In this trial, Prosecutor Rhys Davis has told the jury: "This is not a political trial but what is said about someone's political views may assist you". He went on to add that Danny Ryan (alleged to have masterminded the operation),

Peter Jordan and Dr O'Shea "shared a political ideology".

To emphasise the point, he stated that when interrogated, Dr O'Shea "made no secret of her political views, favouring a united Ireland and seeing Northern Ireland as being occupied".

This particular viewpoint will, of course, be shared by the majority of the Irish people, whether in Ireland, England or elsewhere.

To be Irish has become a crime.

CONSPIRACY TRIALS

The defendants in this trial face the same difficulties as many others have faced in conspiracy trials. Conspiracy law which has been largely developed over the centuries on the basis of judges' decisions in Irish trials, allows evidence of a general nature which would be unacceptable in other cases. In effect the jury is invited on the basis of hearsay evidence, and the background of the person involved, to reach conclusions on the probability that they were involved. Evidence against one defendant is used by implication against another. The result in practice is that the burden of proof is shifted and the defendants are put in

a position of having to convince the jury that they were not involved.

In such a situation, the high profile top security surrounding the court is bound to have an effect on the jury. The judge's reminder to the jury to "not draw any inference ... It is in no way associated with the defendants" may well leave one wondering what it is associated with. Given that Dr O'Shea on bail, has to walk through the streets into the court, the reason for the big security screen is hardly answered.

At the time of writing, the trial is continuing.

* * * *

Some relatives of the prisoners trade union observers and members of campaigns supporting the defendants, were left standing on the street at the start of the trial when 31 of the 35 available seats in the public gallery were allocated to members of the Press (but only to those with a special police pass). As much of the press has now lost interest, following their earlier dramatic headlines, it is now possible for observers and supporters to enter the court. Readers are urged to attend whenever possible to show their support.



'Bloody Sunday' Demonstration London 2nd February

Demonstration on the anniversary of Bloody Sunday called by the Coordinating Committee for British Withdrawal from Ireland.

"On January 30th 1972, the British Army shot dead 14 unarmed demonstrators in the City of Derry. This day became known as Bloody Sunday. It showed that the presence of the British Army could not solve anything. It was part of the problem. "For a just and lasting peace Britain must withdraw and Ireland must be reunited. Therefore we call for self determination for the whole of the Irish people and political and military withdrawal from Ireland."

EVENTS

COLOMBIAN VOLCANO APPEAL CONCERT

Sponsored by Concern Universal.

Sunday, February 9th, Royal Albert Hall, London. Leading musicians including: Chrissie Hynde, Robbie McIntosh, Dave Gilmour, Pete Townsend, Working Week and The Communards.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY DELEGATION TO ARMAGH MARCH 7-10, 1986.

For the last seven years a picket has been held outside Armagh women's prison in solidarity with the women political prisoners inside.

The aim of the delegation is to show support for the Irish women prisoners on International Women's Day, support their relatives and protest against British repression and occupation.

If you want to go on the delegation or support the delegation in other ways such as sponsoring a delegate, fund-raising etc, contact: London Armagh Women's Group, 52-54 Featherstone Street, London EC1.