

CLASS STRUGGLE



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Stop The Show Trials!

From time to time the British media report on trials in the north of Ireland. The reports are rare, often distorted and never tell the whole truth. A number of campaigns in the north of Ireland, from "Relatives for Justice" through to "Stop the Show Trials" have worked to expose the truth of what are in fact "Show Trials".

Yet still in Britain little has been heard. Reports indicate that it is possible that a new Hunger Strike may start this month. Why should prisoners be forced to go to such lengths in order to have the truth exposed? Maybe the press will now report the issue. But will they tell the truth? Here are the brutal realities of the Show Trial system.

WHAT IS A "SUPERGRASS"?

A "supergrass" is known in Ireland as a 'paid-perjurer'. In nearly every case a "supergrass" is someone who has either received a long prison sentence or expects to. He is promised either early release from prison or immunity from prosecution. He is offered a new identity and often housing in another

of 'law and order'. The question is whose law, whose order? Their role is to preserve the rule of British imperialism. The 'laws' they operate are intended to do just this.

Their 'paid-perjurers' either embellish or totally invent their evidence in order to please the RUC, who make the offers of bribes and the blackmail threats. Often the RUC write the statements entirely themselves and tell the perjurers to sign them.

As Robert Lean, who later retracted his evidence, said: "I was supplied with photographs of people they wanted named,

'SCHOOLING' THE EVIDENCE

The paid perjurers are systematically 'schooled' in their evidence before they go to court. Evidence of this can be seen in the otherwise incredible length of time it takes for a case to come to trial.

NAME OF PAID PERJURER	TIME OF REMAND
Black	13 months
Bennett	10 months
McGrady	16 months
McGurk	20 months
Grimley	21 months

"Supergrass" cases that have so far been completed.

Mrs Gilmour, whose husband was such a 'supergrass', described what it was like: "He was with them all day in a Portacabin, the table covered with papers ... They said he had to learn it all off."

NO-JURY COURTS

Finally the Show Trial takes place. Up to 38 accused have been packed into the courtroom. The Director of Public Prosecutions will have refused to allow the trial to be split into different cases. This would lead to a greater ability to cross-examine and expose the perjurers' lies.

In the north of Ireland all 'scheduled' (serious) cases take place in a Diplock Court, which has no jury - just a judge, paid and selected by the British state, on his own.

In a pamphlet produced by the Cobden Trust, Tony Gifford Q.C., described the "rapport" between the judge, Mr Justice Kelly, and the perjurer Christopher Black, in that trial.

"Black sat directly facing the judge, speaking directly to him, never turning away. In front of the witness, between Black and the rest of the court, stood two police officers. The effect was that even the barristers who were cross-examining Black could not properly see his face. To those who watched there appeared to be an intimate rapport between Black and the judge."

Continued on back page.



Pickets outside the court during the trial of those charged through the evidence of paid-perjurer Robert Quigley. 20 were originally charged. 5 cases have been thrown out after exposure of Quigley's evidence. This has included contradictions, self-styled 'mistakes' and an apparent admission that he falsely accused an innocent man. However Diplock Judge Matton refused defence applications that the perjurers' evidence was shown to be so unreliable that it would be unsafe to convict on the evidence of it. A few defendants have since been granted a re-trial following the nervous breakdown of their barrister.

country. He is usually offered a large sum of money. Jimmy Brown, presently in Crumlin Road prison, was offered £80,000 plus. He refused. Many others have reported inducements of a similar size. A "supergrass" is blackmailed about what will happen if he doesn't sign statements and bribed with large handouts if he does. He is indeed a paid-perjurer.

THE RUC: AGENTS OF IMPERIALISM

The state and the media like to present the RUC as a force

statements of what they termed "terrorist acts". I was given the whole run-down on it, the whole issue of what way I should put it across. In fact, the RUC did all the writing. They read it over to me, then I signed it."

The RUC claim their perjurers are "free agents". In fact Robert Lean had to escape from 'protective custody' in order to sign a statement retracting his evidence!

MINERS STRIKE

-THE BACKGROUND: P.4.



KASHMIR

-POLICE ATTACK COMMUNITY;
-KASHMIR DEMANDS FREEDOM AND UNITY: P.6.

A series of police raids on Kashmiri communities has taken place since the killing of an Indian diplomat in February.

"Class Struggle" reports on the defence campaign set up by Kashmiris in Birmingham and gives background information on the Kashmir question.



PRISON STRUGGLES

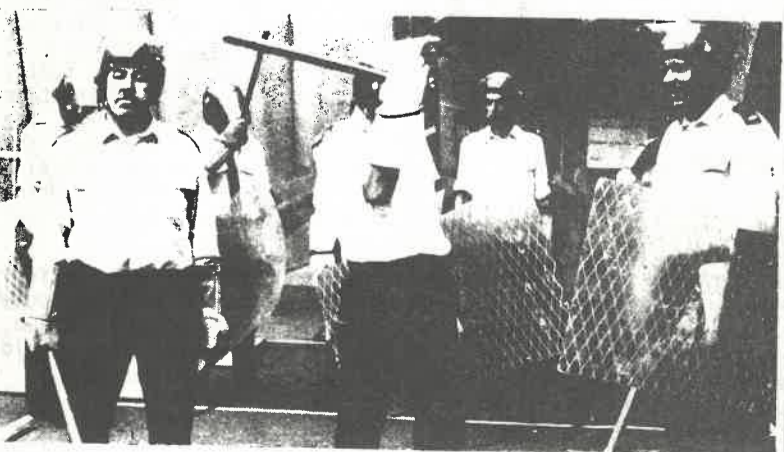
-ARMAGH WOMEN'S MESSAGE, DELEGATION REPORT: P.8.



-DURHAM: WOMEN ON HUNGER STRIKE: P.5.

-LESS THAN EQUAL:

IRISH PRISONERS IN BRITAIN: P.7.



A "MUFTI" (Minimum Use of Force Tactical Intervention) squad ready for action. Composed of prison officers, squads such as these are used to suppress prisoners' protests. Four and a half years ago, a MUFTI squad in Wormwood Scrubs injured over 50 prisoners staging a peaceful protest.

During the recent period, there have been a number of campaigns of great significance arising out of the struggle of the Irish people for independence.

In February Sinn Fein launched a campaign around the Irish Prisoners of War in British jails. The campaign has put forward five demands:

1. The right of Irish Political Prisoners to serve their sentences in jails in Ireland, if they so request.
2. The release of those prisoners framed by the British state.
3. An end to solitary confinement and special control units.
4. The release of Patrick Hackett on medical grounds.
5. The abolition of the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

Last month, 'Class Struggle' carried a detailed report of the launching of that campaign.

In this issue, we carry a report on the delegation that went to Armagh Prison to support the women Republican prisoners on the occasion of International Women's Day. At that time, as previously, the Republican Movement made it clear that it would like to see the condition of the women prisoners publicised, and campaigning work done around the demand to 'Stop the Strip Searches'.

Relatives for Justice, the Concerned Community Organisations, the Stop the Show Trials campaign and the Republican Movement itself have campaigned vigorously against the use of paid-perjurers in Diplock courts. They have demanded an end to the system where a judge can convict someone on the sole testimony of a paid-perjurer who stands to gain materially from that conviction. They have demanded full disclosure of all deals between the RUC and these so-called "supergrasses". A number of calls have been made for campaigning work to break the walls of silence and deceit that surround the farce of the show trials.

The question through all this is how will communists, progressives and democrats in Britain respond to these calls.

IMPERIALISM AND NATIONAL LIBERATION

As Communists, our position on national liberation struggles is clear.

The world is divided into oppressor and oppressed countries. All the imperialists seek to dominate, oppress and exploit the countries of the Third World. Britain is an oppressor imperialist power participating in the plunder of the world.

At the same time, these imperialists and particularly the two superpowers are stepping up their confrontation with each other, each seeking to maintain or gain a greater share of the plunder. It is this

struggle between them which has led to the growing danger of a world war.

THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE MEANS SUPPORT FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION

The struggle for peace can only advance through a growing understanding of this cause of imperialist war. But the struggle for world peace also demands a full commitment in solidarity with those who are struggling against imperialism, and for the national liberation of their own countries. It is primarily the national liberation struggles which undermine the imperialist powers of all hues, irrespective of the banners and slogans which the imperialists adopt to 'justify' their aggression. We must always remember that:

1. It is the struggle of the oppressed nations against imperialism and for their national liberation which is striking the greatest blows today against the world imperialist system and which prevents the imperialists from launching a world war.

2. At the same time the workers and oppressed national minorities and nations within the imperialist countries can only win their own freedom through uniting with the mighty force of the national liberation struggles.

3. The struggle for national liberation is in itself a just struggle and rightfully demands the support of all who claim to be democrats.

DOGMA CANNOT JUSTIFY LACK OF SUPPORT

Certainly we recognise that the workers and oppressed of the countries suffering from imperialist domination can only win their final victory, and their complete liberation through the leadership of a genuine communist party and the building of socialism. But at the same time it is clear, in everyday life, that national liberation movements do in fact deal great blows

against imperialism, and do in practice move down the road of liberation even without such a leadership.

It follows then that the struggle for peace, the struggle for national freedom and the struggle for socialism all demand unconditional support for any national liberation movement that is hitting imperialism, whatever differences may exist with the ideology, political views etc. of the leadership of that movement.

CHAUVINISM AT HOME

Alongside this it is an unavoidable reality that the existence of imperialism has also led to the spread of chauvinism, racism and opportunism (though in different degrees) throughout the working class of the imperialist countries. The struggle for socialism in an imperialist country demands a vigorous struggle against imperialist ideology within the working class. In Britain, the oldest imperialist power, this is particularly the case.

It is through understanding all these aspects that we should view the struggle of the people of Ireland for their liberation against British imperialism.

UNCONDITIONAL SUPPORT

Our support for the national liberation movement and the leadership which it throws up must be unconditional. A section of the Trotskyists refuse to support the struggle because: "It is not led by a working class party." More commonly the Trotskyist 'left' camouflage this view behind other phrases. They cannot, or choose not to, understand that capitalism has long since developed into modern imperialism. They refuse to accept the character of imperialism and the objectively revolutionary nature of all struggles directed against it. They cannot, therefore, see the revolutionary character of the national struggle. Because of all these things they fail to give full support to the Republican Movement and justify it with criticisms that the Republican Movement is "only" fighting a national struggle and not fighting for the Trotskyist conception of a socialist state. The "middle-class" Trotskyists are so infected by imperialist ideas that they betray or, at least, vacillate in their support for a revolutionary movement fighting imperialism. (Which, in any case, has a more working class base than the Trotskyists can ever hope to achieve.)

The 'Communist' Party of Great Britain and others of the same ilk declare their outraged opposition to the Irish national liberation fighters who take up arms to fight for their

freedom. Their words of support for liberation fighters who are far away, vanish into nothing in the face of a national liberation struggle on their own doorstep. Whether it is because they support British imperialism or whether it is because they quail at the difficulties of fighting for support amongst an English working class that is thoroughly infected with chauvinism and anti-Irish racism is immaterial. Either way it is a betrayal of the Irish people and a betrayal of the working class and oppressed within England, Scotland and Wales.

There are those who give some support to the Irish national struggle but at the same time feel the need to continuously carp against policies, tactics etc. of the Republican Movement. Such too are infected by chauvinism. With no actual experience of the struggle in Ireland and with little to their credit in Britain, they still believe that they 'know best'. They still claim the 'right' to tell the oppressed of another country how to fight their own struggle. Actual active support is far more impressive, useful and revolutionary than half-hearted carping support.

SUPPORT REPUBLICAN DEMANDS

We have a situation now when the Republican Movement has made calls for support for specific demands. The Irish prisoners in British jails support the demands of the Sinn Fein campaign. Irish prisoners held on remand solely on the word of paid-perjurers have shown what their demands are. So let us come back to the initial question. How should we respond to this? There is only one answer.

We support the demands of the Republican Movement. We support them wholeheartedly. We support them actively.

No-one should be allowed to merely pay lip-service to the demands; and certainly no-one should be allowed to add or change these demands in order to make them "more revolutionary" or "more acceptable". Such a decision is for the Republican Movement.

BUILD WIDE SUPPORT

The Republican Movement has always demanded in such campaigns that support for such demands should be built wherever possible among democrats etc., even if those people do not support the Irish struggle wholeheartedly. The struggle will advance through winning the demands and that is the key point.

As communists we are clear and open about the context within which we see the Irish struggle. We see it as our duty to expose those who claim to be "marxists" but who do not take a Marxist-

Leninist stand. We state clearly our support for the national liberation movement, for the right of the Irish people to use arms in their struggle and for the leadership that has emerged through the struggle. But in campaigning over specific demands we do not demand as a condition for co-operation, that others should adopt the same view. There are some ultra-leftists who refuse to work with people who do not specifically support the Republican Movement. In taking such a stand, it is they who do not follow Republican leadership. Because the Republican Movement itself does not make such demands. On the contrary, it calls for the broadest possible movement to win the demands.

DON'T USE THE MOVEMENT - SUPPORT IT

Finally we must add that how organisations work in broad movements makes a critical difference to whether that movement can in practice unite forces. Genuine communists work in a broad movement because that movement can carry the struggle forward. Within such a movement we of course seek to build a deeper understanding amongst the membership of the character of imperialism and the relationship between national liberation struggles and the class struggle.

However some groups in the name of communism, seek to use the broad movement PRIMARILY as a means of publicising their own organisation. In acting in such a way they firstly cause divisions and damage the movement, and secondly discredit communism and what it stands for.

GO FORWARD BY CORRECTING ERRORS

The Revolutionary Communist League has made many mistakes in its history, including fundamental errors on the Irish Liberation Struggle. Our understanding of the struggle has developed through ideological and political struggle within our organisation. We have also learnt from some of our mistakes. We do not claim to "know it all" now. We still have much to learn. But what we are clear about is that it is necessary to have a clear analysis of the relationship between the struggle in Ireland and the struggle in England, Scotland and Wales, and between national liberation struggles and the struggle within the imperialist countries. It is also necessary to have firm principles and good methods of work. We need to combine a principled position with an ability to unite those who can be united in particular campaigns on specific demands. It is urgent, given the present poor state of Irish solidarity work in Britain, that all groups and individuals address themselves to these problems.



Dear Editor,

In the article on 'Reproductive Rights' in last month's "Class Struggle" it says that Depo-Provera is freely administered to those "regarded as second-class citizens who do not measure up to the British concept of the ideal mother". I know from my own experience in Leeds that this is true, not only for black women but as well for white working class women who the medical profession do not consider capable of being mothers.

My own daughter is handicapped

as the result of an accident when she was four. At the age of 23 she was given a contraceptive injection which I presume was DP. The fact that the injection was a contraceptive was not explained to her, let alone to any close family members or myself. At the time she wanted a baby. For the following three months she suffered from heavy bleeding and other side-effects which made her refuse to have a second injection.

Shortly after this she fell on and now has a healthy, bouncing nine-month old child. She is devoted to the child and copes with her admirably.

When she went to the ante-natal clinic we also found out from the medical record that she had earlier had an abortion without her consent. (She probably signed a document but without having been told that the doctor was planning an abortion) At the time, when I went to

visit her in hospital, the doctor denied to me that she had had an abortion.

It is because of this kind of experience as a white working class woman that I agree with campaigning on reproductive rights in general, for our right to have children and for a decent life for them, not on the single issue of abortion by itself. How many other women have had this kind of experience?

A Leeds reader.

Dear Editor,

I am writing about a march I went on which was part of the Ireland Solidarity Movement's Week of Action, on Saturday 17th March.

We assembled at Platt Fields at 10 o'clock. We were expecting at least 150 people to turn up but only around 50 people

turned up. This to me was a very disappointing turnout. Even the police nearly outnumbered us. A girl arriving at the march got picked on by 14 fascists which I thought disgusting. We marched to Strangeways. This was a big success because this is the first time in years that they have allowed supporters of the Irish people to march through the city centre of Manchester.

The police were making us go faster than we wanted to and we arrived at the gaol thirty minutes earlier than planned. We were forced to go to the car park behind the prison not onto Sherbourne Street as planned. We had a guest speaker called Mr Hill. His speech was, I thought, very interesting. A few fascists kept interfering with speeches and slogans. More fascists arrived, this time looking for trouble. After the speeches about twenty people left so

that there were only 30 of us left.

I quite enjoyed my first march but, in my opinion, (because I have only just become interested in the politics of Ireland and the Irish people), that if all the different groups united instead of squabbling with each other, we would show the general public how strong we are and how determined we are to fight for the Irish people. Also it would help if we had only one march instead of three on the same day. This way more people would attend the march from different parts of the country. I hope the next march I attend there will be more than fifty people there. If we aren't careful, people will be getting fed up and just not bothering turning up to meetings and marches. So let us fight for the rights of the Irish people!

yours sincerely,
Unemployed, Manchester.

Baba Bakhtaura

Legal Victory

Baba Bakhtaura and the campaign fighting against deportation achieved a significant breakthrough in the High Court on March 2nd. The court decided that a tribunal was wrong to refuse his appeal, and must re-hear it. It also decided that the interests of the community to which a person threatened with deportation belongs, in this case, the Sikh community, may be taken into account in deciding on that deportation.

Baba Bakhtaura, the popular Punjabi folk singer, has been fighting against the threat of deportation for over 2 years, and in June last year, he stood for election in Birmingham, Ladywood on the platform of "Stop Deportations of Black People Now." He came to England as a visitor, but all his family were here and he was welcomed by the Sikh community for his musical talents. However, he was ordered to be deported as an overstayer. He appealed to an adjudicator who turned him down. An appeal tribunal refused him leave to appeal against the adjudicator.

COMMUNITY

The High Court decided the adjudicator and the appeal tribunal had acted wrongly. According to the immigration rules, in deciding whether a person should be deported, the public interest has to be balanced against compassionate circumstances. It was thought that an adjudicator could not consider the interests of a

person's community because that was not a compassionate circumstance.

The judge said that this was not a correct view of the law. The interests of the community could be taken into account.

This was either because they were part of the public interest or because the wishes or interests of the Sikh community might be included in compassionate circumstances, or because the effect of a deportation order on that community was a relevant factor, and all relevant factors had to be considered.

Baba Bakhtaura's appeal must therefore be heard again and if the tribunal fairly considers the interests of the Sikh community, he must undoubtedly stay.

RIGHTS OF NATIONAL MINORITIES

Whilst the final decision in Bakhtaura's case has yet to be given, the decision overall is a victory in its recognition that national minority people have rights as communities, and not merely as individuals. This victory would not have been achieved however, without the vigorous campaign waged by the Baba Bakhtaura Defence Committee, and moreover, without the particular type of campaign which was always firmly based within Bakhtaura's own community. This strength of the campaign was clearly reflected in the decision of the High Court.

POLITICS OF FOOD

This is the third part of our series 'The Politics of Food'.

FOOD RETAIL

The food retail sector is totally dominated by the big supermarket chains. During the last six years their share of the market rose from 59 per cent to 69 per cent. To this can be added the Co-op's share of 17 per cent. Tesco (544 stores) and Sainsbury's (253 stores) have the biggest share. The trend is to build bigger stores geared to car-owners buying in bulk. The poor and old find shopping increasingly difficult. Supermarket chain chairman Sir John Sainsbury received £77,500 per annum director's fee plus £1,638,606 dividends on his shareholdings. That came to £33,000 per week in 1981. An assistant in his supermarket was paid £69 for a 39 hour week. Sainsbury refuse to negotiate with trade unions over pay and conditions.

read codes on items linked to check-out tills and computer records of stocks) have been set up. All this new technology will increase efficiency (profitability) of the companies and put jobs at risk.

Another feature of the food industry is the growing links between the different parts of the industry. For example, in Lincolnshire pig farmers have direct contracts with super market chains and pea producers deliver direct to the frozen food processing factories based in Humberside. Sir Henry Plumb, director of United Biscuits, is also a director of Fisons (fertilisers and pesticides) and is a former president of the National Farmers Union.

Any discussion of the food industry must highlight the unpaid role played by women who, in the main, do the shopping, cooking and washing-up.

Food-processing, retailing and catering are all dominated by well-established monopoly interests. Low wages, dangerous work conditions and long hours are the lot of the workers. Women and national minority workers are exploited in large numbers.

The baking industry is typical. Two companies: Rank Hovis McDougall (Mother's Pride and Hovis bread; McVities biscuits; Mr Kipling's cakes; Cerebos salt) and Associated British Food (Sunblest bread; Twinings Tea; Ryvita; XL Crisps) sell 60 per cent of the bread in Britain. Associated British Foods made £115 million pre-tax profits in 1981. The average pay to employees was £70 per week in that year. Thirty-seven per cent of the company's sales came from overseas production. Baking industry workers labour in intense heat and high levels of dust. They are exposed to noisy and dangerous chopping and rolling machines. The work is unskilled production line work which produces uniform pre-packaged food; nutritional considerations are forgotten in the quest to increase profits.

CATERING

Over 2 million people are employed in the public and private sector of the hotel and catering industry. Catering accounts for a large part of the lowest-paid women workers. In 1982 waitresses, kitchen hands and barmaids had gross pay basics of £67 per week.

NEW TECHNOLOGY

Over the next five years the impact of new technology is predicted to have a major impact on the retail trade. Tesco have already expanded their computer department. In British Home Stores, electric point of sales systems (lasers

Without that work the distribution to the consumer would never be completed. This unpaid labour is part of the social oppression of women. It is also dangerous work. Twenty people die from accidents in the home every day - the kitchen is singled out as the most dangerous area.



Garment workers demonstrating in 1978 for better pay and union recognition. Catering workers are amongst the most poorly paid.

WORKERS' NOTEBOOK

□ Acid rain, caused by Britain discharging three quarters of its sulphur waste into the atmosphere, is damaging Swedish forests to an unprecedented degree. The annual plenary session of the Nordic Council has condemned Britain for failing to take this destruction seriously. A report just made to our government, proposing a delay of at least five years in measures against such pollution while the problem is studied, was condemned. The report is in contrast to a common strategy being discussed by the Nordic countries, West Germany, Austria, Switzerland and Canada, whereby sulphur fallout will be cut by 30% in the next ten years. In southern Sweden it is estimated, one in ten trees are damaged and in West Germany and eastern Europe about a third of the forest has been affected: this by emission from their own countries as well as from abroad. The Nordic countries have been especially hard hit because of their dependence on forest goods for export and the pollution of their numerous and usually productive lakes.

□ Local outcry against government dumping of nuclear waste in a disused mine in Billingham, Teeside, has persuaded ICI (the owner of the mine) to refuse to cooperate any further in the matter. This means the government would have to resort to compulsory purchase which is legally difficult. ICI, the biggest employer in the area, has taken note of local opposition which has included MP's, a petition with 70,000 signatures and union threats of industrial action. Protest is worthwhile.

□ A European Commission survey of economic conditions and unemployment in 131 regions in Europe, puts the north of Ireland at the bottom of the list. Only the region of Calabria, in southern Italy, is worse. Eight British regions are in the bottom fifteen, with Merseyside five from the bottom. The Republic of Ireland lies four from the bottom.

Alongside this poverty is the evidence of great riches displayed in this year's profits from the big clearing banks. Nat-West announced a pre-tax profit of £503 million - an increase of 15% from last year; Lloyds had an increase of 27% to a total of £419 million profit. The profits of Unilever, an Anglo-Dutch combine are an even bigger rake-off: £768 million. So it's not that money is scarce - far from it - it's in the hands of a tiny, and stinking rich, minority.

□ The new pay claim put in by health service workers highlights the need for a 20% pay increase to restore earnings to previous levels. The aim is a minimum pay rate equal to two thirds of national average earnings. At present more than a third of full-time male workers and three quarters of full-time female workers, fall below this poverty line with current basic rates ranging from £65 to £89 a week. The government is likely to offer 3%!

Another group of low-paid workers currently negotiating pay is the farm workers, whose average wage is £30 a week less than the industrial manual worker. Government figures show a drop in farmers' income of 15% but the unions dispute this, saying they are well able to pay up. Mr Jack Boddy, of the TGWU, says: "This so-called drop of 15% makes fascinating reading. They ignore last year's profits' rise of 40%. They ignore the previous year's profits' rise of 24%. They are not statistics. They are a work of art."

BOOK REVIEW

Think Tanks

by "Class Struggle"
Correspondent

INDEPENDENT RESEARCH?

On 29th September 1983 the "Daily Mail" carried a news item with the intriguing heading "69 Voices that all Preach Revolution". On reading further we discover that the "Mail" was carrying a review of a booklet just published by an organisation called 'The Social Affairs Unit'.

The booklet, oddly titled "Tracts Beyond The Times", gives details of "69 Communist or Revolutionary Marxist journals now published in Britain".

We were on the point of dismissing the "Mail" item as a piece of propaganda for yet another ruling class 'red menace' scare organisation, when we came across the following:

"Also listed is the Maoist monthly tabloid, Class Struggle, the political paper of the Revolutionary Communist League of Britain. Their most notorious member, Broadmoor escapee Alan Reeve, is now in prison for killing a Dutch policeman."

Seeing that Mr Alan Reeve is not, and never has been, a member of the RCLB, we thought it might be of interest to investigate the Social Affairs Unit.

It was founded in 1980 "as an independent research and education body. It publishes vigorous, readable and scholarly studies of controversial social issues in order to encourage informed public debate". Or so it claims in its own publicity blurb which also discloses that it is a "registered educational charity". Its Director is Dr Digby Anderson, a sociologist, one of whose books is titled 'Breaking the Spell of the Welfare State'. Chairman of the Trustees is Professor Julius Gould, who was chosen by the Institute for the Study of Conflict, and was responsible for the Gould Report 'The Attack on Higher Education', which accused Marxists and radicals of "subversive activities" in the universities and polytechnics. An impressive list of "Trustees, Academic Advisory Council and Consultants", consisting mainly of university and polytechnic professors, also includes one such from Harvard University (USA) and one from Cologne University (West Germany). Impressive too, is Lady Methven, wife of Sir John Methven, a previous Director General of the Confederation of British Industry. There is also a certain Arthur Seldon, a Trustee, described as "Editorial Advisor, Institute of Economic Affairs".

TORY HQ

Seldon, in fact, provides the clue because the Social Affairs Unit is basically a section of the Institute of Economic Affairs, both sharing the same premises - 2 Lord North Street, Westminster - which adjoins Smith Square where the Tory Party headquarters is situated.

The Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA) was set up in 1957 with the aim of the "extension of public understanding of economic principles and their application to practical problems". As there are 350 firms with membership of the IEA, it will hardly be surprising that the 'public understanding' it wants is "The Survival of the Capitalist System". This is the title of a book to which the Director-General of the IEA, Lord Harris of High Cross, contributed just after the defeat of the Heath government in 1974 and the coming to power of a Labour government with Benn as Industry Minister.

So, looking back to the publishers of the booklet 'Tracts Beyond the Times', the only true word in their declared founding objectives is the word 'vigorous'. We would suggest 'slandorous', 'crude' and 'vicious' to be more accurate - all adding up to false propaganda, at which the British ruling class is the most experienced in the world. This is the type of organisation on which the capitalist legal system can endow the title of a "registered educational charity".

SUPPORT JANA STRIKERS

Early in March, journalists working for the Libyan JANA news agency in London went on strike over the sacking of four journalists.

The first sacking took place on March 5th, when a journalist was criticised for arriving at work half an hour late, and he responded that his wages were late too. Three colleagues were dismissed for protesting against the sacking. One of them says that he was threatened by the director of the news agency: "It only takes one bullet to kill one man."

The strikers say that they are not involved in a political quarrel with the Libyan government, but they demand the reinstatement of those fired, recognition of the NUJ chapel at JANA and improved working conditions for all employees.

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MINERS' STRUGGLE

"Not a penny off the pay; not a second on the day" - this was the slogan of the miners in the 1920s when they were struggling against pay cuts and lengthening of hours. At that time it was the miners who led the struggles of the working class in England, Scotland and Wales. This time the fight is mainly for jobs and against pit closures. As a leader of the Yorkshire National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) put it: "The gloves are off now. Other areas and mining unions know their future is at stake, like ours, and we expect them to follow our lead."

Coal has been the basic raw material for energy for industry for many years. It was the labour of the men, and in the early days women and children, that made the Industrial Revolution possible. Taking over from water power, coal provided the power for most of industry and fuel for the railways and growing industrial towns. It was new scientific inventions that made possible large-scale deep mining, particularly in the invention of the steam engine which meant that water could be pumped out of deep shafts. At the beginning of the 19th century, miners produced 10,000,000 tons a year. By 1913 this had reached 287,000,000 tons. And at the time there were 1,250,000 men working in the mines of England, Scotland and Wales.

STRUGGLE ON TWO FRONTS

Throughout all this time, the miners have had to fight for survival: both from the dangers of underground work in hazardous conditions and against the mine owners for decent wages and conditions. There will never be a complete record of all those killed or crippled by floods, explosions, rockfalls, etc. or the more long-term effects of black lung disease. But in the 1840s Engels wrote that it was unusual to see a miner who was over 40 years of age and even today the accident rate is high. Everyday working conditions in the mines have been notorious for their hardship and discomfort. Throughout the 19th century, the technology was available for mechanical cutting but labour was cheaper and coal was hacked out by hand. The fight for safety and decent working conditions has been at the centre of the miners' struggles but even in the 20th century, in the 1970s, miners have to work with no clothes on because of the heat and mechanisation has increased the dust. As one miner said

Just Like The Thirties

"In some ways it is just like the 1930's, when people appeared in court for stealing potatoes or a turnip from a field." These views were recently expressed by Eric Northrop, chairman of the bench in Bradford and 17 years a Justice of the Peace, when justifying his reluctance to jail or even fine minor offenders. He said that at least four out of every ten people who appeared before the bench in the city cannot actually afford to live within the law. The sorts of people he was referring to are those who reconnect their electricity supply, do a little work on the side while still claiming dole or are involved in minor theft. "They break the law because it is almost forced upon them. These are people without a job or low paid who cannot get out of the poverty trap."

The issue was carried right across the front page of the "Yorkshire Post!" In the same copy of the paper was a report about the effect that the closure of the Cortonwood pit would have on the village of Brampton. Situated between

in evidence to the Wilberforce Commission: "You end your days with a slab of coal where your lungs were."

The miners also have a long tradition of struggle against the mine owners and later the National Coal Board (NCB) when the government nationalised the mines. In the 18th century this often took the form of "rioting" and machine smashing. But as time went on the miners got more organised, went on strike in large numbers and eventually fought for a union and national organisation. They had to fight to end the system of "serfdom" which tied miners to a mine and gave them a yearly contract. They had to fight wage cuts whenever the price of coal fell, against the company shops and systems of weighing in that cheated them of their wages and a thousand and one other abuses by the employers.



Glasgow 1934: The start of a Hunger March to London.

It is a history of strikes, lockouts, of defeats and victories; of troops sent to put down strikes and protect scab labour and of whole communities resisting the combined forces of the owners, and the state with its troops and laws. After many earlier organisations on a more local basis the Miners Federation of Great Britain was set up in 1889 which became the present NUM in 1945.

WALES & SCOTLAND

The miners in Wales and Scotland have often played a leading role in the struggle of mine-workers. In 1844, for example, a conference held in Glasgow brought together representatives of 70,000 miners in an attempt to set up a broader framework for organisation. In South Wales the struggle against the mine and iron bosses was closely linked and long and bitter. In 1830 a mass meeting in Merthyr Tydfil led to the miners disarming the troops sent

Barnsley and Rotherham, it already has an unemployment rate of 16%; an estimated 40% of the population is on either rent rebate or social security and one in four of all the local school children are getting free school meals.

"Poverty was a fact of life here even before the strike." was one terse comment mid way through the article which dealt with the Coal Board's decision to close the pit, a move which sparked off the strike in the South Yorkshire coalfield.

Obviously the situation in Brampton will worsen if the pit is closed. No doubt some, or maybe even more of the village will be forced to bend a few rules in order to keep their heads above water. Yet when people like Ian Macgregor, by their economic decisions, literally rob thousands of people of their livelihoods, they are praised by the papers for their firm actions in pursuit of the country's prosperity. It is such twisted thinking that is helping both to fill Britain's jails to capacity and to compile next year's New Years Honours List.

against them and taking over the whole area for a week before their rebellion was defeated. Their leader, Dick Penderyn, was hanged after a court hearing held in English, a language he did not understand.

POLITICAL ACTIVITY

The miners also have a long tradition of political activity beyond the strictly economic demands they have put forward. The General Strike of 1926 was an attempt to stop wage cuts for the miners. Early on, in 1913, the Triple Alliance of miners, steelworkers and railwaymen was formed. Throughout the 20th century the miners have put forward the demand for nationalisation because of the need for government money invested in the industry to modernise it. This eventually took place under a Labour government on 1st January 1947. But not all miners have been tied to social-democratic policies. In the '20s and '30s miners were prominent in the Unemployed Workers' Movement and the Hunger Marches. The Communist Party had strong support among miners and many went to Spain answering the call to fight fascism. It was in this period, too, that the internationalism of the miners could be seen on occasions like when Paul Robeson, the black American communist, sang in South Wales.

NATIONALISATION

However, since the Second World War, nationalisation has not brought the gains that some hoped for. Between 1965 and 1971 alone 229 pits were closed. At the same time productivity has gone up: in 1951 it was 25 cwt per man per shift; in 1970 it was 45 cwt per man per shift. But in the same period miners' wages had gone down in relation to the average. This led to the struggles of the 1970s and the defeat of the Heath government after the 1974 strike for decent wages.

Tory and Labour governments alike have tried to rationalise the coal industry. This has meant pit closures and automation of remaining pits. To a large extent the miners have gone along with this. But coal is no longer as central to British industry as it was. Increasingly after the Second World War, governments turned to oil. This trend was only reversed by the 1974 Labour government's "Plan for Coal" which seemed to put coal back at the centre of the industrial scene because of the increase in the price of oil by the OPEC countries. However, the present struggle is taking place in a context in which, according to the Central Electricity Board's evidence at the Sizewell inquiry, the government's plan is to change from the present situation where there is 80 per cent reliance on coal to a situation in which, by 2020, the government plans a 90 per cent reliance on nuclear power.

NEW TECHNOLOGY

At the same time as this shift is being planned, the new technology opens up possibilities for the National Coal Board. As with the NGA's struggle, the NUM is fighting for jobs and control over the new technology at a time of fast change. It is estimated that with the technology already in existence the NCB could maintain current production with one quarter of the current workforce. The new systems include MINOS - Mine Operating System, FIDO - Face Information Digest On-Line, and IMPACT - In-Built Machine Performance and Condition Testing. The extent



Yorkshire miners surround their union headquarters in Barnsley to prevent the seizure of union assets, expected on Monday 19 March

of the threat to mining jobs is shown again by the fact that the newly-built modern pit at Selby in Yorkshire will produce 70 per cent of the whole production of the Scottish and South Wales pits with only one tenth of their work force.

So, it is clear that the present struggle between the NCB and the NUM is no abstract political fight or a question of greedy miners wanting higher wages, but a basic struggle over the terms on which the miners are prepared to see the industry modernised and rationalised again. Essentially it is a class struggle, as in the steel industry, in the print and on the railways in which the class interests of workers are sharply opposed to the class that owns industry, who want to restructure and restore their profits.

PIT CLOSURES

This process has already gone a long way. In 1980 the Tories passed the Coal Industry Act and since then 20 pits have closed and 41,000 jobs have been lost. Before this, from 1973 to mid-1982, a total of 28,000 men had been made redundant when their pits closed down, and 29,700 had taken voluntary redundancy elsewhere.

SOME FACTS AND FIGURES

Number of miners in England, Scotland and Wales: 184,000.

Present production: 101,400,000 tons per year.

1980: Coal Industry Act passed demanding NCB increase profitability.

1983: Monopolies and Mergers Commission report that out of 198 existing pits, 141 are unprofitable.

1984: McGregor announced that national output to be reduced by 4 million tons a year.

In next year: 20 pits to be closed with loss of 20,000 jobs.

Longer term: 100 pits to be closed with loss of 100,000 jobs.

In October 1983, the NUM resorted to this situation with a special conference 'Campaign for Coal' and in October 1983 started the overtime ban which led up to the present strike. Previous calls from South Wales and Scotland to fight pit closures had not met with a national agreement to strike.

The present struggle was sparked off by the NCB's announcement of closure of two pits in Yorkshire.

THE GLOVES ARE OFF

Both the government and the union are aware of the importance of the struggle. The gloves are off and although pretending that it is not involved, the government has prepared the ground well. McGregor, whose appointment symbolises the government's determination to hammer the miners, promptly used new laws to take out an injunction against the Yorkshire NUM to stop the picketing that had effectively closed the Notts pits. A massive mobilisation of the police force according even to the BBC, the biggest since the Second World War on the industrial scene, has been organised to stop picketing and to ensure that men can strike break. Coal stocks are high and a bill has been rushed through offering bigger redundancy payments.

The present government has also carried out an extremely effective ideological and political campaign on the question of a national ballot. This has been taken up by sections of the miners against a strike and repeated ad nauseam by the media. At a time of massive unemployment the media is trumpeting on about the right to work (of the Notts miners) and about the right to a ballot. They forget to mention that in 1976 and 1977 the miners overwhelmingly rejected the new productivity scheme proposed by the NCB in two national ballots. The NCB then went on regardless to implement the bonus scheme locally. This has laid the basis for the present divisions within the NUM as the Notts miners work in relatively modern, high productivity pits.

SUPPORT THE MINERS

This will be a difficult battle to win but one that is crucial for miners and in its implications for all working people. They have a long tradition on which to draw but over half the work force at present in the mines are newcomers who were not in the mines at the time of the '74 strike. It is older miners, more aware of the long and bitter class tradition of the NUM, who have been made redundant. Whether they can overcome the contradictions in their own ranks and build a fighting unity will determine whether the miners win. It is an important battle and one to which we should give our full support.

Greenham: Thin End of the Wedge

The grip of the state is tightening with recent new restrictions on servicemen and women preventing them from joining in activities of any political 'movements' or from joining political demonstrations or marches even out of uniform and service hours. There are also similar plans afoot for restricting activities of civil servants, especially those in sensitive areas like defence which may be leading up to further union bans. These moves are especially against organisations such as CND and Greenpeace and represent the thin end of the wedge of fascism.

HEAVY HAND

The heavy hand of the state has also been in evidence at Greenham Common where bailiffs have moved in to evict Peace camps at several of the gates with the assistance of the police. Bailiffs threw tents, bedding and personal belongings in the back of the council dustcart and the police made 13

arrests as the women resisted this violence. 11 of the women arrested were charged with criminal damage! The camp at the main gate has been told to move by April 2nd, when the road widening scheme will start and the camp will be destroyed. Most of the women have not left the site and are recamped in places around the perimeter fence and in the woods. But the disruption was sufficient to allow the first outing of a Cruise missile launcher to succeed and there was a second outing this week. The first convoy was only a fifth of the full size and drove out in the middle of the night while 100 police surrounded the peace campaigners. It only stayed out for four hours, returning before dawn. Since then, there have been reports from the camp of a second outing but this has not been publicised in the media.

These things are all setbacks for the Greenham women. But they remain determined to stay and are receiving support from groups all over the country.



Westlands



'Class Struggle' correspondent 2,000 white-collar workers, members of TASS, are on strike throughout the Westland Aircraft Group. Technicians working at the Yeovil, Weston-Super-Mare and Isle of Wight plants walked out on March 8th, after rejecting new contracts of employment. Management have now further escalated the situation by sacking 200 workers, members of TASS, who had refused to accept the new contract. The union, having initially recommended acceptance of the deal has now made the strike official because of overwhelming opposition from its members.

NEW TECHNOLOGY

The dispute is over new proposals for working hours and conditions put forward by management to enable them to introduce new technology in the work-place. In their own words; "The company believes this (new shifts; Ed.) to be essential to maximise upon the major capital investment already made and on-going on Computer Aided Design and Computer Aided Manufacture, and thus to ensure our projected growth and competitiveness in the market."

Westlands, who make helicopters, have recently signed a new

contract for design and development of the new EH 101 helicopter. The project has the financial backing of the British and Italian governments. The new helicopter, designed for military and civil use, will be produced jointly by Westlands and Agusta of Italy.

Production workers already work shifts and now Westlands want white-collar workers to do the same in order to squeeze maximum profits in return for the £5 million investment in new technology. Management want to ensure that the new equipment is in use from 6a.m. to 10p.m. but they are not prepared to pay a shift premium.

IMPOSED BY DIKTAT

What has angered workers most is the "Cheltenham tactics" used by management in order to impose the deal. All TASS workers have refused to accept the new, imposed by Diktat, contract of employment which would force them to do compulsory shift work with no shift premiums. Westlands have simply torn up the existing contracts which should be in force until the end of May this year. They then followed this up by dismissing 200 workers. At present the men have refused to hold further discussions until this threat is withdrawn.

NGA: New Technology Policy

A recent television programme compared conditions of work at a Bradford newspaper and in Eddie Shah's Warrington plant. The programme exposed why the National Graphical Association (NGA) clashed with Eddie Shah at what seemed to be a relatively unimportant work-place. It showed the unsafe and inefficient working conditions. The presses broke down three times during the filming and workers had been told not to discuss wages.

FUTURE OF PRINT

The programme contrasted this with the NGA closed shop in Bradford where conditions were good and skilled men ran the presses efficiently. It showed that for owners, union and workers, the struggle at Eddie Shah's plant had symbolised the struggle over the future of the print industry and its workers. A central aspect of this struggle has been the Newspaper Association's (owners' organisation) campaign to get the union to accept "single-keystroking", a new process

that cuts out composing work in which many NGA members are skilled.

POLICY CHANGES

The NGA national council has recently endorsed policy changes which would mean accepting material directly from journalists and advertising staff. The NGA plan seems to be to ensure that work is shared with two other unions - SOGAT AND NUJ - and thus remains with union workers. They are also demanding no compulsory redundancies.

SATELLITE

It is unlikely, however, that the union will be bargaining from a position of strength, after the collapse of the struggle against Eddie Shah. The policy also only applies to provincial newspapers. In Fleet Street, there are new battles ahead. Management at 'The Financial Times' is reported to be investigating printing in the United States and using satellite transmission!

BOOK REVIEW

War Plan U.K.

Here is a book which blows the roof off the government's 'civil defence' plans, and makes a mockery of official views of the effects of nuclear war. It is packed with information on government and military nuclear shelters, their massive and intricate communications network, their monitoring systems which will tell them when to dive underground and us when we're going to fry, and their well-practised pre-war plans for fascism. Despite the dusty sources of much of this information, and the inherent complexity of some of the chapters, its factual content is fascinating and eye-opening and cries out to be broadcast widely.

WAR PREPARATIONS

Two main themes run through the book. Firstly, the attempted secrecy of government in all aspects of civil defence and war preparation. There has been a succession of governments who regard the civil population as a nuisance to be fobbed off, misinformed and finally sacrificed. Secondly, the complex web of plans for a military and totally undemocratic pre-war and post-war society. Since 1963, all official memos on civil defence have put the maintenance of law and order top of the list and any attempt at succour far down.

REGIONAL COMMAND

Duncan Campbell tells us of a series of tunnels under London, Manchester and Birmingham built in complete secrecy and at the cost of £20 million in the 1950's to protect mainly Post Office communications. By the time they were finished they were obsolete because they weren't secure against a direct nuclear attack. He describes the

regional command structure, its dependence on military command, its total lack of preparation in terms of food, fuel and medical stockpiling; and the seat of wartime government at Hawthorne, near Bath. This has bunker space for 55,000 people and is operated and maintained on a daily basis today by 200 white-collar staff. Impressive though these bunkers are for the privileged few, it is unlikely any of them would survive a direct hit by present-day nuclear weapons.

In 1971 Home Defence was reorganised into the Emergency Services Division (F6) of the police department and in a pre-war phase Police Support Units will disperse to safe areas. The Police Manual of Home Defence gives the first task in a pre-war stage as "detention or restriction of movement of subversive or potentially subversive people". Some 20,000 people are thought to be on lists monitored by MI5. All public telephone exchanges are fitted with the Telephone Preference Scheme which can cut off 90-98% of subscribers on government orders. Each new phone installed is given a preference code from 1 to 3. Category 1 will never be disconnected; Category 2 will be cut off in a pre-war phase but not in a peace-time emergency and applies to employers' organisations, CBI, ACAS, MP's (but not the TUC!). Category 3 can be cut off whenever it suits the government. (E.g. when Cruise missiles venture out of Greenham into a locality in southern England?)

CIVIL DEFENCE

The book considers civil defence in other countries - in the USA where the command structure will be airborne in a converted Boeing 707 and a £4.2 billion evacuation programme has just

been approved; in Switzerland, Norway, Canada and other nuclear free non-aggressive states where billions have been spent on nuclear shelters and preparations for survival; in the USSR where extensive civil defence plans have been made; and in France, which like Britain, has its own nuclear 'deterrent' and nothing much else.

NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

Campbell concludes that the first step in our civil defence must be nuclear disarmament and reversal of our role as the USA's unsinkable aircraft carrier; that until that is done we are such a prime target that civil defence is hopeless and should be admitted as such. However, if alternative defence policies were to replace nuclear 'deterrence' then agitation for proper civil defence could start. (It is estimated that the current cost of Trident at £5 billion would be enough to build communal shelters for the whole population.)

ULTIMATE INSULT

"Britain and NATO each say they stand for 'freedom'. National independence will be defended against outside aggression. That is fine and proper. But as we have seen the first home defence task of Britain, within NATO, is to extinguish public dissent. If war comes, freedom will already have been sacrificed to the cause of making war. That is the ultimate insult, obscenity and deception of what the British government calls civil defence; it asks citizens to die for freedom with their lips sealed and their cries unheard, lest they call too loudly for freedom and their own independence of thought, choice and action.

The book is full of telling details which speak for themselves without table thumping or emotion. If you wish to be well informed, read it!

'War Plan UK' is published by Paladin at £2.95.

DURHAM PRISON

Women on Hunger Strike

"Class Struggle" correspondent

"Buried alive in a concrete box" is how a women prisoner in Durham Prison described how she felt. In February, five women prisoners were on hunger strike in Durham Prison in protest against the conditions in which they are held in the "maximum security wing", the H wing.

INHUMAN CONDITIONS

The inhuman conditions in the wing are well-known to the Home Office. The fact that it is still being used to incarcerate women is one example of the vicious policies being implemented in British prisons.

"The unit was built in 1965 with dog runs, electric locking devices, closed circuit television surveillance, bullet-proof cubicles for officers and special security procedures. Built for "dangerous" men prisoners, it was so oppressive that it was condemned even by Lord Mountbatten in the 1966 report on prison security. This report stated: "No country with a record of civilised behaviour ought to tolerate it." Another report in 1968, the Radzowicz Report, said that the unit should be seen as "a temporary and most undesirable expedient."

PRISON REBELLION

The British government, not well-known for its "civilised behaviour", only closed the unit in 1971 after large-scale rebellion and protest by the men prisoners.

The H wing was re-opened three years later, this time for women



prisoners but is at present only occupied by three women classed in this way. In order to justify the cost, it is filled up with 35 other women who are not considered "dangerous."

HUNGER STRIKE

Such degrading and inhuman treatment amounts to a policy of psychological torture on the part of the Home Office. On February 2nd, Lorraine Greenwood started the hunger strike in protest. She was joined, on February 16, by Judith Ward, an Irish prisoner framed up for the M62 bombing who has been in the unit for ten years. Another woman who joined was Khoulood Moghrabi, a Palestinian prisoner. At one stage, twenty three women were on protest.

In early March, it was reported that the hunger strike had ended. The lessons from Ireland teach us that the cruel treatment of political prisoners there, has only strengthened their resolve to fight back and united people outside in defence of the prisoners. The women prisoners in Durham may not all be conscious political prisoners, but they have all been sentenced to imprisonment by the class society in which we live. It is the duty of all progressive people to support their struggle to be treated as human beings. The Close H Wing Campaign continues. Support outside is being co-ordinated by: Women in Prison Tel: 01-607-4859.

CLOSE DOWN THE H-WING!

KASHMIR:



Kashmir is divided into 3 parts: Indian-held Kashmir, about 52 thousand square miles with a population of about 4.6 million; Azad Kashmir, indirectly controlled by Pakistan, 4 thousand square miles with a population of about 1.9 million; and Gilgit Baltistan, under direct control of Pakistan, 28 thousand square miles with a population of 0.6 million. In addition, there are nearly a million refugees in Pakistan. The population is 77% Muslim, 20% Hindus and the rest Sikhs, Buddhists and Christians.

STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL FREEDOM

Defence Campaign

The killing of an Indian diplomat in Birmingham in February has given the police a great opportunity to direct their racism against the Kashmiri community. Kashmiri people in Birmingham and elsewhere have been harassed and terrorised. There are many incidences of Kashmiri people's homes being raided by police, who don't wait to be let in but break down doors and enter without warrants. Women and children are terrorised, and then left in houses open to the elements. Some young Kashmiris have been picked up by the police two or three times in one day. In most cases, they are illegally detained and harassed without access to solicitors or friends.

HARASSMENT IN EUROPE

The British police are also involving other European police forces in their attempts to make life difficult for Kashmiris. Recently, about a dozen Dutch police forced their way into Mohammed Bashir Bhatti's home in Amsterdam. One of them held a gun to his chest and the others handcuffed him. Similar treatment was handed out to a Kashmiri guest in the house. They were taken first to the police station, and then to police headquarters where they were interrogated for many hours about the killing of the Indian diplomat. Meantime, their house was searched thoroughly, Mohammad Bashir Bhatti is a Kashmiri-born British national. If similar treatment had been received by a white British national, there would have been outrage in the press, and questions asked in parliament. After all, the British government regards it as its duty to protect white British citizens, even when they have committed serious crimes. The early release from Angolan prisons of seven white British

mercenaries who had been involved in the killing of African men, women and children, was acclaimed as a "diplomatic victory".

KASHMIRIS CHARGED

Five Kashmiris have now been imprisoned and charged in connection with the kidnapping of the Indian diplomat. They were arrested because they believe that Kashmir should be free, and now they face trial in British courts.

DEFENCE CAMPAIGN ORGANISES DEMONSTRATION

A Kashmiris Defence Campaign has been set up in Birmingham. It has held a successful picket of the police headquarters in Birmingham and on March 10th organised a demonstration. A thousand people, mainly Kashmiri, marched from Alum Rock, an area where the police have been very active in harassing local Kashmiris, to the city centre, going past the Law Courts, the Police station and the Indian High Commission. Militant slogans were raised against the police harassment, for Free Kashmir and asserting that "We are freedom fighters, not criminals". Mohammad Younas (Kashmiri Workers Association), spoke throughout the demonstration to the people alongside, describing the "numerous children in Kashmir who are made orphans, our sisters widowed, many of our young brothers martyred". But, he asserted: "We will not be intimidated. We fought against the British. We continue to fight against India, and we will carry on fighting until we get our liberation!"

At the rally held in the city centre, Amanullah Khan, President of the Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front, talked about the rights of the Kashmiri people to fight for the liberation of their land from Indian

Kashmir is a nation denied its right to self-determination. It is not a "disputed territory" subject of conflicting claims between India and Pakistan.

HISTORY

The history of Kashmir can be traced back to 4000 B.C. Most of the dynasties which ruled Kashmir up to the 14th century were themselves Kashmiri. Muslims ruled Kashmir from 1340-1819. In 1819, Kashmir was taken over by the Sikhs of Punjab who ruled it for 25 years. It was then taken by the British and sold off for about £375,000 to a feudal lord - Gulab Singh Dogra.

THE END OF BRITISH RULE

In 1947, the British were forced to leave India. "British India" the territory under British rule comprising many peoples and nations, became two independent states, India and Pakistan. Those areas not under direct British rule, the princely states, were given the option to join either India or Pakistan, or to remain independent. These states were required to take into consideration the will of the people and the economic, social and geographic factors.

One such princely state was Hyderabad, a majority non-Muslim state with a Muslim ruler. (Having rulers of a different religion from the majority of the ruled, was just one of British imperialists' tactics to maintain control). The ruler of Hyderabad decided to remain independent, but India plundered and forcibly occupied it on the grounds that the non-Muslim majority wished to be part of India. The same thing happened in Junagadh. Here, the Muslim ruler declared the state's accession to Pakistan,

but it was annexed by India on the same argument. But when it came to Kashmir, the largest of the princely states, the argument was turned on its head. For the people of Kashmir, a nation with a 77% Muslim population, economically more dependent upon and geographically contiguous with Pakistan, the only realistic options were accession to Pakistan or complete independence. But the Indian government started to conspire with the despotic Sikh ruler of Kashmir to bring about Kashmir's accession to India,

and India agreed to, and signed the resolutions. (Pakistan was at that time representing the revolutionary government of the Kashmiri freedom fighters who had not been internationally recognised.)

The cease-fire came into effect on the 1st January, 1949. The Indian government delayed implementing the UN resolution and eventually backed out of her commitment altogether. She now refuses to hold the plebiscite, claiming that Kashmir is an integral part

A Nation Occupied and Divided

completely against the wishes of the people. When the people got to hear of this, they rose up in armed revolt, liberated a large area and established a revolutionary government. The ruler was forced to flee the state capital, yet he signed the instrument of state's "accession" to India. Immediately, the Indian army went into Kashmir, and a full-scale war began between the Indian forces and Kashmiri freedom fighters, supported by tribesmen from Pakistan. The war continued until the end of 1948. 200,000 Muslims were killed and another half a million were forced to leave the state and take refuge in Pakistan.

KASHMIR RAISED AT UNITED NATIONS

Following discussions in the UN Security Council and the appointment of a Commission, resolutions were adopted providing for a cease-fire to be followed by a free and impartial plebiscite in Kashmir to determine its future. Both Pakistan

of India.
STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION

Thus, the people of Kashmir must fight for their national liberation. The bulk of the territory and population of Kashmir suffer under the forcible occupation of India. Of the rest, one part is under direct, and the other indirect control of Pakistan. Families are divided, and travelling from one part of their motherland to another has become a "crime". One whole family, men, women and children, were butchered by the Indian army for crossing from Azad Kashmir into Indian-held Kashmir. Shaheed Maqbool Butt was arrested as he made such a journey, and has since been murdered by the Indian government.

This is but a brief indication of some of the events in Kashmir's history. History is also being made now by the brave people of Kashmir, fighting for their freedom. We salute them and offer our full support.

'I am Azania'

'Class Struggle' correspondent.

On March 21, over 70 people went to a rally in East London to commemorate the 24th anniversary of the Sharpeville massacres. As a woman speaker from the Pan Africanist Congress explained, 69 black people were gunned down protesting peacefully against South Africa's racist pass laws. The PAC had organised a Positive Action Campaign against the laws among the black people of Azania (the people's name for the land the colonialists christened "South Africa"), and tens of thousands went to various police stations and municipal offices to offer themselves for arrest for refusing to carry passes. At Sharpeville and at Langa, the police fired on the crowds. It was the end of the road for attempts at peaceful change. Both PAC and the African National Congress then turned to armed struggle.

"I AM AZANIA"

(extracts from a poem recited by Ahmed Sheikh of African Dawn at the Sharpeville rally.)

I am Azania
My name itself
A platform, a programme
I scatter the white mist
Over Kliptown

I am Azania
Mangaliso Sobukwe
Heard my call
It was at Sharpeville
Sharpeville
A name that blossoms
Into the fertile hearts
Of black folks
.....

I am Azania
Land of Zanj
Burning truth
Charring the tyrant's gag.

I am Azania
The truth made dream
The dream made true
Izwe letu!

A speaker from the Black Consciousness Movement paid tribute to the pioneering work

of PAC in showing the necessity for black people to organise together in Azania and fight for the liberation of their land.

Unlike many on the British 'left' who have rushed to condemn Angola and Mozambique for their recent agreements with the South African regime, the participants in this meeting did not join in the chorus of criticism. As a speaker from the South African Youth Revolutionary Council said: "The people of Angola and Mozambique have made sacrifices for years fighting colonialism. It is not our job to criticise them now."

Other speakers were from the PLO, El Salvador, Nicaragua Solidarity Campaign, New Jewel Movement Support Group, Asian Collective of East London, Black People's Socialist League and RCL. Between some of the speeches, members of PAC, BCM and the group African Dawn recited poems about Azania.

It is hoped that this year's rally will be a first step towards a much bigger event for next year's 25th anniversary of Sharpeville.

The Revolutionary Communist League participated in the organising committee for the Sharpeville rally. Its speaker at the rally pointed out that the 'left' in Britain has a long tradition of criticising liberation movements, when it is the duty of anyone claiming to be revolutionary in imperialist Britain to fully support the struggles of the national liberation movements. Part of such support must be recognising that it is for the peoples fighting imperialism to decide which liberation movement represents them, not for people on the 'left' in Britain, and so we reject any picking and choosing between liberation movements in Azania, and any denial of platforms by major sections of the 'left' to PAC and BCM.

THE ROOT OF THE PROBLEM

'Arming the Protestants' by Michael Farrell, Pluto Press, £7.95.

At the conclusion of his preface, Michael Farrell says that: "Essentially this book attempts to ... see what conclusions can be drawn from this examination (of the Special Constabulary:Ed.) which are relevant to the present day." There is indeed, a strikingly obvious lesson in his very detailed history of the Protestant sectarian paramilitary forces which flourish in all social classes of the settler/Unionist sections of Irish society.

SECTARIAN STATE

As Farrell himself states after 300 pages of facts and figures, mainly from unchallengeable sources:

"The conclusion seemed clear: that it was not so much the personnel of those forces who were at fault - they were, after all, the products and indeed, the victims of the situation in the North It was the attempt to establish and maintain a separate sectarian defined state in the North of Ireland in opposition to the wishes of the majority in the rest of the country and of a very substantial minority in the North itself, which was at the root of the problem."

No-one except a complete bigot could deny the above conclusion from the facts presented. Which is why we give a hearty welcome to this book and recommend it particularly to those sections of liberal/progressive/social-democrat/labour, and also a host of self-styled revolutionaries, all of whom have an attractive little

package to solve "the troubles" - unity 'by consent', or unity of 'the working class'.

WORKING CLASS SOLIDARITY?

In theory, such sentiments are excellent. But the old proverb says that the road to Hell is paved with good intentions. The reality of politics in this artificial statelet, conceived and fashioned to thrive on sectarianism, the domination of a settler community of all classes, identified by the Protestant religion, makes nonsense of a simplistic appeal to 'working class solidarity'. No doubt it would be a 'good thing' and neatly orthodox, if the white South African miners showed class solidarity with their black fellow workers. But only a fool would suggest that blacks should anchor their freedom struggles to a theor-

etically desirable, but practically unrealistic, prospect of class solidarity from the state embodied white privileged classes.

DEFENCE OF PROTESTANT SUPREMACY

The distortion of 'normal' class politics in the occupied six counties is summed up in this brief quote:

"Because the cement which held the Unionist alliance together was the defence of Protestant supremacy, lower class discontent with the Unionist leadership often expressed itself in a more extreme sectarianism than that of the pragmatic leaders."

And again in this:

"The Unionist Party's mass support was based around the defence of Protestant dominance

in the six counties, in politics and in the workplace. To retain this mass following the Unionist leaders had to endorse activities like the expulsion of thousands of Catholics from their jobs and homes in 1920-1922 and avoid any suspicion of making concessions to 'disloyalists', i.e. Catholics."

"PANACEA"

It is a refusal to acknowledge this very unpalatable reality of the sectarian domination of a large section of the working class over the Catholic minority, which is the basis for the moralising 'class solidarity' panacea.

For a slice of life as it is, a slice of reality, as distinct from what it ought to be 'in theory', read this book.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES



El Salvador: Fake Elections

Only a year after the last national elections, another election was held on March 25th in El Salvador. As with the previous elections, these were said to be free, but the liberation movement of El Salvador, the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN), and the progressive coalition in which it works, the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), denounced them as a fraud. They took place in a situation of terror, with a heavy army presence on the streets of the cities, no electoral law in force, no press freedom, and the Death squads quietly kidnapping and murdering anyone suspected of holding progressive views. Even conservative democrats go in fear of the Death squads, who last year murdered over 1,500 people according to the Catholic Church in El Salvador.

US Manoeuvres in Korea:

Since February 1st, massive military exercises have been going on in south Korea. "Team Spirit 84" involves 207,500 US and south Korean puppet troops, as well as naval and air force units, and continues until mid-April.

The exercises are a threat to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Their provocative character is underlined by the fact that they are offensive operations including exercises like airborne and marine landings "behind enemy lines" and assaults on fortified "enemy" positions.

These exercises follow the proposal of the DPRK in January for talks between itself, the US and the south Korean authorities to discuss a DPRK-US peace treaty, the withdrawal of US troops from Korea and the adoption of a non-aggression declaration by the DPRK and south Korean authorities.

Lebanon:

In last month's 'Class Struggle', we pointed out that Syria did not want a total victory for the patriotic forces in Lebanon, as this would make them less open to its pressure. This was confirmed after the fighting in Beirut died down in March, when the Phalangist Lebanese President went to Damascus to meet Syrian leaders, prior to entering into talks with representatives of the largest patriotic forces in Geneva. Syria has re-established the position of influence in Lebanon which it lost during Israel's invasion of Lebanon in 1982.

Eritrea:

On March 22nd, the Eritrean People's Liberation Front announced that its forces had taken all Ethiopian fortifications on a 37-mile front in four days of fighting. Despite all the Soviet support given to the Ethiopian regime during the past six years, the initiative in Eritrea has passed once more to its liberation forces.

Superpowers in Irish Sea:

At the beginning of March, an unknown submarine dragged the 58-foot Irish trawler, Oriol, backwards for two and a half miles in the Irish Sea. The Irish government approached the embassies of Britain, the US and the Soviet Union, to get them to identify the submarine.

"It is happening because Ireland is so strategically important," explained a Fianna Fail deputy. "It is very worrying, not only to the fishing industry but also because we are a neutral country and are determined to remain so."

Three trawlers have been sunk by clandestine submarine activity in the Irish Sea in the last few years. These included the sinking of a trawler in 1982 for which the Ministry of Defence admitted responsibility. The incidents in the Irish Sea reflect the West's own criminal disregard for lives as much as the grounding of a Russian 'whisky' class sub on rocks off Karlskorna in 1981. That sub was employed mapping suitable Baltic hiding places in the event of war.

LESS THAN EQUAL

"Equality before the law is a principle subscribed to by all British political parties. But to a disturbing extent, the Home Office has been prepared to regard that principle as a privilege from which a certain class of citizen may reasonably be excluded. Citizens whom the Home Office seems to regard as less equal than others have, to my certain knowledge, recently included those suspected of offences connected with Irish republicanism and its terrorist manifestations, and prisoners accused of disciplinary violations or infringements of prison regulations."

These are the words of Mr. Nigel Seed, a junior barrister and a member of the Association of the Conservative Graduates.

BOARD OF VISITORS

Mr. Seed, who is obviously no "radical", was appointed to the Board of Visitors at Holloway Prison in April 1982. His appointment was proposed by a Windsor Conservative councillor and came up for review recently. Mrs. Joan Galbraith, chairwoman of the board, said that Mr. Seed had been an assiduous member. He had been particularly valuable because of his legal training and his relative youth, she said. (Mr. Seed is 33.)

The Home Office thinks differently. His appointment was not renewed. He was the only member of the board who was turned down even though he has served

on it less than two years, while other members have already done 15 years.

SINISTER

Although the Home Office has given no reason, it is not hard to find. At the time, Mr. Seed said to the press: "I think it is rather sinister that if you are prepared to be conscientious and take on the Home Office on valid issues, you get thrown out." He later wrote an article, printed in the 'Guardian', giving detailed examples from his own experience from which the statement quoted above is taken.

The 'valid issues' Mr. Seed referred to are the defence in the courts of Irish Republicans and in particular the recent successful battle for prisoners' right to legal representation when facing internal disciplinary charges.

VICTORY FOR PRISONERS

Mr. Seed has represented prisoners on both counts and has now come up against the Home Office. Following the Albany Prison protest last May and June, the struggle for legal representation for prisoners was fought and won; an important victory. The Home Office has its own way of dealing with such matters. In the case of prisoners found not guilty of the serious charges arising from the Albany protest, the Home Office has moved them around or kept them in solitary confinement.

Paul Norney, for example has been in solitary confinement in Durham since May 26 last year. He is being held in a strip cell so small that he has to stand his mattress up during the day so that he can move around. Lord Elton, for the Home Office, justified this treatment:

LESS THAN EQUAL

"I am not saying that the conditions which Mr. Norney experiences at Durham in any way match those generally available in the dispersal system or that he should continue to experience them indefinitely though the extent to which subversive prisoners dedicated to the disruption of the prison system should be able to enjoy the full range of facilities they seek to destroy is at least questionable."

There are many other examples of this less than equal treatment.

In the case of Mr. Seed, the Home Office has removed him from the Board of Visitors, whose philanthropic title hides an important function. The board holds internal disciplinary hearings against prisoners and are supposed to be "independent." As in the case of the Immigration tribunals, whose adjudicators are appointed by the Home Office, their independence is a fiction. The removal of Mr. Seed only confirms this fact.

Irish Solidarity: Prison Pickets

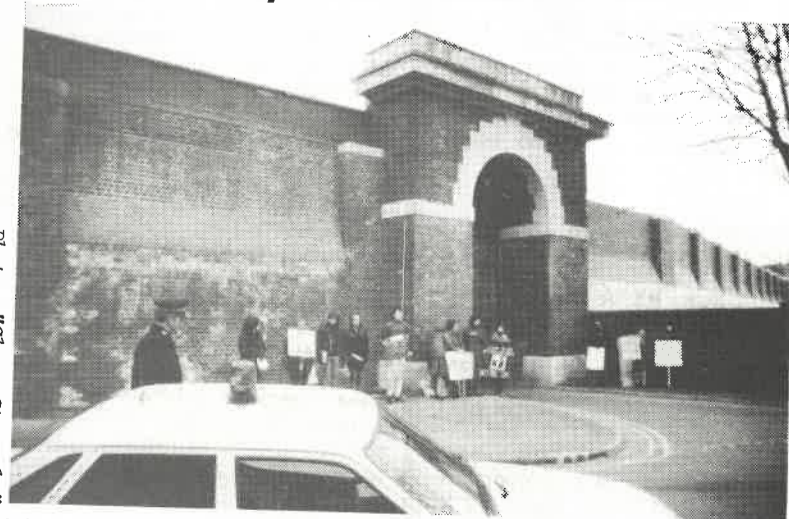


Photo: "Class Struggle"

Picket of Horfield Prison, Bristol, called by Bristol Troops Out Movement on March 17th.

During the week 11th to 18th March, a number of events in solidarity with Republican POW's took place in England and Scotland. On Saturday 17th demonstrations took place in

London, Dundee and Manchester. Pickets of prisons including Horfield Prison, Bristol, Strangeways Prison, Manchester, Wakefield Prison, Brixton and Wormwood Scrubs in London,

Gartree Prison, Leicestershire and Durham Prison.

Public meetings and street meetings took place in a number of towns and cities during the week. The week of action was originally called by the Irish Solidarity Movement. It was sponsored by a number of Irish POW's. In some places, Republican organisations and solidarity groups sponsored or took part in a number of the activities.

The week of action concentrated public activities in support of the prisoners, gained some publicity for their demands and showed some good examples of unity in action by solidarity organisations. However it must be said that it also showed the weakness of a solidarity movement which is still in the main divided, and it pointed to the need for all solidarity organisations to seek forms of unity in action.

FREEDOM FOR IRELAND



« We Support You! »

'Class Struggle' correspondent.

"We Support You!" was the cry that followed the names of the women prisoners in Armagh, shouted out by about 500 people taking part in the picket of the jail on March 11th. I was part of the delegation of women that had travelled from England, Scotland and Wales to join men and women from the north and the south of Ireland for the annual picket which marks International Women's Day.

It was very inspiring. You could feel the solidarity on the picket as we stood there surrounded by RUC and Brits. "You at the back there, better watch out!" Maura McCrory shouted to them. She also condemned the strip-searches, still going on in Armagh, under Murtagh's regime. "Murtagh, Murtagh - Strip Search Her - Better Watch Out - Or the Women'll Hurt You!" was another shout.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

At the picket, a statement was read out from Republican women prisoners inside the jail. Speakers came forward to express their support for the women inside. Messages of support from all over the world were too numerous to all be read out.

Women from Greenham Common in England, contributed their

distinctive whooping to the atmosphere of the picket. It finished with Marie Mulholland on the platform leading women's songs and the singing continued as we went back to the coaches through ranks of RUC and Brit soldiers.

NEED TO PROTEST

The strip-searches were also the main theme of the workshops organised by the Falls Women's Centre, on the Saturday before the picket. When asked what support we women in England could give them, women stressed the importance of opposing the policy of strip-searching. This degrading practice continues at Armagh as a systematic way of humiliating and attempting to break the women prisoners, particularly the political prisoners. When other campaigns are highlighted, such as opposition to the Shoot-to-Kill policy, or to the use of Paid Perjurors, the strip-searches tend to get pushed to the background. But when there is protest, the prisoners notice that the pressure is not so great. If protest drops off, the use of strip-searching is intensified.

Ex-prisoners from Armagh told us at the workshop of other forms of harassment. They told how women are being held in Armagh, month after month, as a form of "internment by remand" to get women off the streets, to stop them being active.



Photo: "Troops Out"

They told of the constant stress of being locked up. The constant petty harassment. One example was how the screws took away the chairs from the association room available to the prisoners. Another was the denial of brown bread to a prisoner whose family had brought it in for her especially. Food parcels are a "privilege" often taken away as a punishment. One ex-prisoner told how she would throw away the drugs trolley that was brought round. "When we needed drugs for medical treatment, we didn't get them", she said. "But all the time they gave us tranquillisers." Valium is one of those used.

WOMEN'S RESISTANCE

Both the strip-searching and other forms of harassment are meant to break the spirit of Republican women. But they have not succeeded and will not succeed. The weekend focussed on the brave women in Armagh but I was impressed by the different forms of organising that are taking place. The Falls Women's Centre is a new development. They are putting out a women's newspaper and acting as a drop-in centre for women in the area. They are active on a wide number of women's issues such as sexual violence and rape. Posters on the walls show their awareness of international struggles and of past struggles of working

class women in Ireland. Some of the ex-prisoners we talked to were sent down for their active resistance to the British Army. Women are also active in encouraging the use of the Gaelic language. Posters at the club where a social was held, said "Use Your Own Language" and the songs were introduced and sung in English and Gaelic.

It is a moving experience to see at first-hand the active resistance of a whole people to the British state. Women are active in all aspects of this resistance. For us in Britain, it is vital that we do what we can to support our sisters in Ireland.

VICTORY TO THE ARMAGH WOMEN!

ARMAGH POWS MESSAGE

At Sunday's Armagh picket a statement from the republican women prisoners in Armagh was read by former POW Mary Doyle, who has spent a total of eight years incarcerated in the jail, and was one of three women POWs who joined the 1980 hunger-strike for political status. In the course of a lengthy analysis, the women expressed special solidarity greetings to women throughout Ireland, and stressed the close relationship between Irish women's fight for equality and the struggle to remove the corrupt and oppressive systems North and South.

The statement added:

EVERYDAY ISSUES

"While our people as a nation remain unfree, women in Ireland may only achieve so much. The solution can only come when we remove the source of that oppression.

"To our sisters in the Irish Republican Army, daily facing the threat of death, or imprisonment in this very gaol, and to women political activists within the Republican Movement, striving to bring social change and to educate our people throughout the country, we, your imprisoned comrades, salute you."

Turning to the POW's own struggles, the statement pointed out that the strip-search tactic implemented by the prison regime "in close collusion with the British government not only strips a woman of her clothing, but is designed to disrobe her of her dignity and self-respect. Not only has this practice been introduced to demoralise republicans, but it can also be regarded as an attack on our sexuality".

The harsh prison administration has failed in the past to break the women's spirit as republican POWs, the statement pointed out, confidently predicting:

"Today, as in the future, they will encounter the same resistance and we will emerge stronger and more resilient for the stand we have taken."

"Sisters, we realise beyond these walls the everyday issues that women must contend with, the continuous struggle for the rights of every woman to change society's acceptance of women as second-class citizens... In 1984 we are still regarded as easy prey by the rapist and wife-beater; still compelled to relate the sordid details of such ordeals to a courtroom, and at the end of the day, victims also of the judiciary. In so many of these cases the innocent victim is judged to be the guilty party - just one aspect of the unjust treatment women receive within our so-called 'fair and equal' societies.

"To conclude, we send, on this International Women's Day 1984, special solidarity greetings to women freedom fighters throughout the world, to our sisters in Palestine, Nicaragua, Honduras, Chile, to the women of SWAPO and indeed to all women who are striving, either militarily or politically, to bring social change and the freedom of the world's oppressed peoples.

"May the strength you have found to resist oppression in your countries remain as strong within all of us and may we all reap the rewards of the suffering and hardships which have been endured in the name of freedom." (Reprinted from AP/RN)

stop show trials!

Continued from front page.

In most cases the defendants are charged solely on the evidence of the perjurer. There is usually no "corroborating" (supporting) evidence. Sometimes there is corroborating evidence. It maybe an RUC police officer claiming that the accused 'confessed' to him verbally! Or even, in at least one case, that the 'accused', responded 'shiftily' when faced by the perjurer! On a few occasions there is a signed confession, extracted after brutality by the RUC. Nevertheless many people have been sentenced to very long periods of imprisonment solely on the word of the perjurer.

Often the perjurer is effectively exposed through cross-examination. Grimley was so discredited that even the judge, alongside the whole court, had to laugh in derision. The judge said: "In his evidence he was self-contradictory and constantly trimmed his evidence to suit the moment. He had little or no regard for the truth." Yet on his word many men had spent 21 months 'on remand' in prison waiting for their trial. Several released in this trial were immediately re-arrested on the word of another 'supergrass'. Now they have another long wait in prison.

Much of McGrady's evidence could also not be 'covered up'. It was obvious that he lied. It too had to be admitted by the judge, Lord Lowry, in that trial. He described it as: "Contradictory, bizarre and in some respects incredible" and also said: "So devious and deliberately evasive was his manner of giving it." Yet

in the same trial, and on the sole evidence of McGrady, the judge convicted three defendants. Four more were convicted purely on McGrady's evidence and on statements they had been forced to sign by the RUC following McGrady's statements.

EVIDENCE ALTERED

In the trial where Christopher Black was the perjurer, his evidence was shown to have been altered. Many discrepancies were shown by the defence between his original statements to the RUC in November 1981 and his final statement in September 1982. One man was only named by Black after Black had been in custody for nine months; a rather late 'memory'! Black admitted an "instant dislike" for him. Yet he was convicted solely on Black's word!

Even names of people have been altered between earlier and later statements of the perjurers.

INTERMENT THROUGH REMAND

In some cases some defendants have been acquitted because the lies of the perjurer could not be concealed. In others either at the trial or before the perjurer has 'retracted' his evidence and admitted that he lied. This may be for reasons of remorse or for fear of being exposed through cross-

examination. Either way the victims who were fitted up by the perjurer and the RUC have spent a long time in prison. Some have already spent over two years 'on remand'. Some, despite earlier acquittals, have been immediately re-arrested by the RUC on the word of another perjurer. When the perjurer has admitted he has lied and retracted his evidence, the RUC has produced yet another perjurer.

The British state and their agents may be sometimes embarrassed by the retractions; but they are still happy that their aims are being achieved. They are keeping nationalist Irish men and women in prison for long periods of time. This form of internment is as important to British imperialism as falsely convicting Republicans in the Show Trials.

The farce of the Show Trials and Internment through Remand must be exposed for what it is. The reality of British imperialist 'justice' is that it doesn't exist. British imperialism has no interest in justice. Its interest lies in continuing to partition, oppress and exploit Ireland. Britain knows it is fighting a war in Ireland, and the imperialist state knows what the purpose of its law courts are. As General Kitson, head of UK land forces, so vividly put it himself (and we make no apology for printing this again):

"The law should be used as just another weapon in the government arsenal and in this case become little more than a propaganda cover for the disposal of unwanted members of the public.

The activities of the legal services have to be tied into the war effort in as discreet a way as possible."

Of Twenty Six "Supergrasses" known to us, at least Thirteen of the perjurers have retracted their 'evidence'.