

# CLASS STRUGGLE



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## Elections in Birmingham Jailed Kashmiris Stand

The Kashmiris Defence Campaign was set up in Birmingham as a protest against the extensive police harassment and criminalisation of the Kashmiri community in the wake of the abduction and killing of the Indian diplomat in February this year. In order to further the campaign, and in particular to focus attention on those Kashmiris who have now been charged with "Kidnapping" and "Conspiracy to Kidnap", two of the imprisoned Kashmiris are standing in the local elections. Janghir Akhter Mirza for Nechells Ward and Mohammed Siddique for Small Heath Ward are standing on the ticket "Stop Harassment of Kashmiri People Now". Large numbers of Kashmiri people live in both areas.

### KASHMIRI PEOPLE ARE NOT CRIMINALS

The election is only one part of the campaign but it is important in that the campaign and the question of Kashmir is being raised in the community and also getting publicity elsewhere. In particular, the election shows that Kashmiri people are fighting back in every way possible, saying clearly that Kashmiri people are not criminals and that the five imprisoned Kashmiris are not criminals and should be freed. The election also shows that Kashmiri people are not

relying on any of the major parties to take up their cause, nor are they waiting for the outcome of "British justice". Kashmiri people, along with other black people, know only too well that they have to stand up and fight for their own rights. The above named candidates are fighting in the local elections as a gesture of defiance against the process of criminalisation and for an end to the harassment of their people. The campaign is supported by many religious, cultural and political organisations of the Kashmiri people and other organisations: Pakistani Workers Association (Britain); Indian Workers Association GB; Birmingham Black Sisters; Irish Republican Socialist Party and Sinn Fein (Britain).

Whilst the election campaign is going on, pickets of the court are still held weekly, when the five defendants come up for remand. On many occasions the police prevent people from entering the court. When challenged recently, a high-ranking police officer told a member of the campaign that he was not being allowed in because: "You're all fucking terrorists, you might have bombs with you."! So every Kashmiri is a "terrorist" in the eyes of the police.

### IMPRISONED

The five Kashmiris are not only suffering because they are being imprisoned because of their support for the liberation of their homeland, but they get worse treatment than other prisoners awaiting trial. Usually remand prisoners are allowed any number of visitors subject to a maximum of three per visit and within the visiting hours, even those charged with mass murder. For the five Kashmiris however, all potential visitors have to go through extensive security checks before they are given permission to visit. Two of the five have not yet received any visits. The father of a third has just been given permission to visit, only after extensive security checks. These people have not yet come to trial, yet they are being treated as convicted "criminals".

### SUPPORT THE CAMPAIGN

At the moment the campaign is contesting the elections, but when the election is over, the campaign will continue until the five Kashmiris are free.

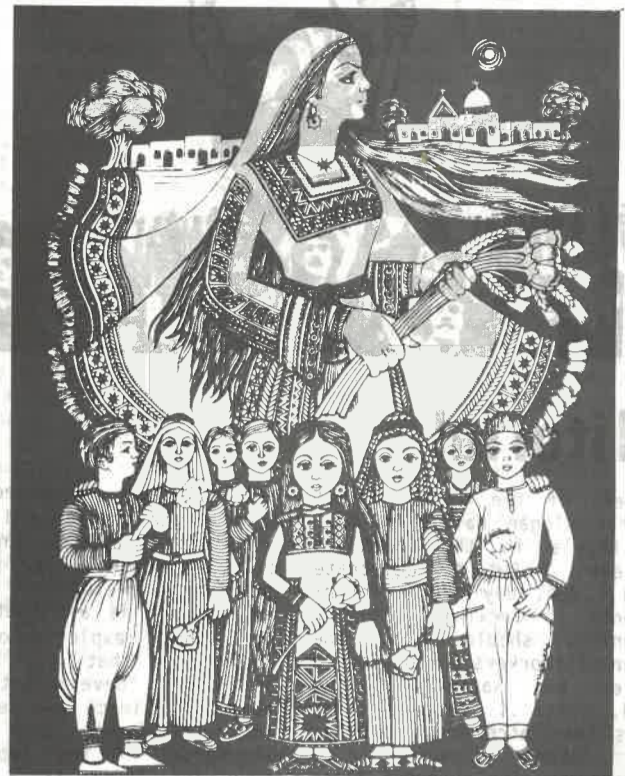
Donations and messages of support can be sent to: Kashmiris Defence Campaign, c/o 438 Alum Rock Road, Birmingham 8.

### STRUGGLE UNTIL VICTORY



## THE PALESTINE QUESTION

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## MINERS' STRIKE

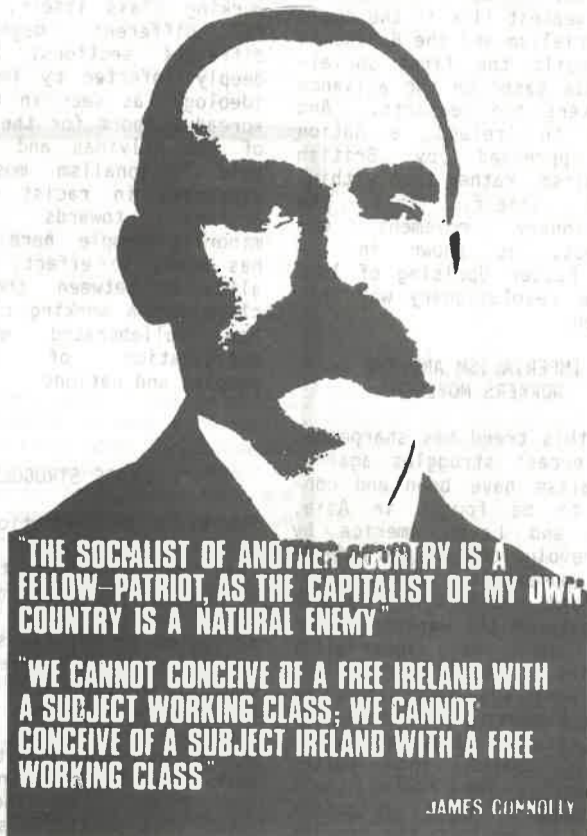
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## IRELAND

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"THE SOCIALIST OF ANOTHER COUNTRY IS A FELLOW-PATRIOT, AS THE CAPITALIST OF MY OWN COUNTRY IS A NATURAL ENEMY"

"WE CANNOT CONCEIVE OF A FREE IRELAND WITH A SUBJECT WORKING CLASS; WE CANNOT CONCEIVE OF A SUBJECT IRELAND WITH A FREE WORKING CLASS"

JAMES CONNOLLY

## MAY DAY EDITORIAL

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# MAY DAY



## Editorial

'Workers of the World, Unite' was the slogan raised by Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto. But to celebrate May 1, 1984, day of the international working class, communists should raise the slogan of 'Workers and Oppressed Peoples and Nations of the World, Unite'. Because today it is the Third World that is the storm centre of revolution. The sharpest class struggles take the form of national struggles against imperialism. Communists in imperialist countries must build a strong unity with the revolutionary movements of the oppressed nations and peoples.

May Day originated as a day to celebrate the revolutionary unity of the working class throughout the world. Inspired by the mass workers' movement in the United States, the 1880 Congress of the Second International adopted a resolution making May 1 the day for international demonstrations for the eight-hour day and support for the socialist revolution. Engels wrote in his 1890 preface to the Communist Manifesto: "The proletariat was mobilised for the first time as One army, under One flag and fighting for One immediate aim."

### RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND EASTER UPRISING

But the revolutionary movements of the working class did not bring about socialist revolutions in the main imperialist countries. Russia proved to be the weakest link in the chain of imperialism and the Bolshevik party built the first socialist state based on the alliance of workers and peasants. And it was in Ireland, a nation long oppressed by British imperialism, rather than within England itself, that the revolutionary movement was strongest, as shown in the heroic Easter Uprising of 1916 and the revolutionary war that followed.

### IMPERIALISM AND THE WORKERS MOVEMENT

Today this trend has sharpened. The fiercest struggles against imperialism have been and continue to be fought in Asia, Africa and Latin America by the revolutionary and democratic movements. Both objective and subjective factors have weakened the workers' movements in the imperialist countries. The British ruling class long ago recognised, as Cecil Rhodes, plunderer of Africa, stated, that imperialism "is a bread and butter question." The ruling class understands that Britain's ability to exploit the peoples and nations of the Third World has a direct bearing on their own ability to grant reforms which deflect the working class from a revolutionary path.

The objective basis for this goes back centuries to the early plantations in the Caribbean

islands, the so-called slave trade - the plunder and robbery of Africa's people, and early colonial trade. The poverty, and "underdevelopment" of the Third World is a direct result of the exploitation and oppression that has resulted in the "development", the advanced science and technology and relatively high living standards in the imperialist countries. It is a process that has taken many forms and continues today through neo-colonialism.

### MIDDLE STRATA

The British bourgeoisie, of course, makes huge profits from this system. Imperialism has also created a society in which large numbers of people form middle strata between the bourgeoisie and the working class who make up an important prop for imperialism. These strata have a privileged position in industry and society and have played a direct role in state institutions, particularly those created by the 'welfare' state, as a vehicle for imperialist ideology.

### WORKING CLASS

The effect of imperialism on the working class has been to blunt the contradiction between capital and labour. A labour aristocracy of well-paid officials dominates the basic organisations of the working class tying them to the interests of British imperialism. And the English working class itself, although to different degrees in different sections, has been deeply infected by imperialist ideology: as seen in the widespread support for the invasion of the Malvinas and a deeply held nationalism most often expressed in racist talk and actions towards national minority people here. There has been, in effect, a racist alliance between the ruling class and a working class that has collaborated with the exploitation of oppressed peoples and nations.

### CLASS STRUGGLE

The basic contradiction between capital and labour remains. And particularly at a time of deep crisis for imperialism as we can see in May 1984, the struggles of the class continue and bring it into even sharper conflict with the British state: the miners fighting for their jobs and earlier, the printers; women in the community and at work fighting cuts in services and jobs; an increasingly rebellious youth in school and on the dole - there are examples all around us. Such struggle is the basis on which communists must work: to unite with the struggles of the class and work to strengthen the trends within it that are ready to break with British imperialism and to move forward on a revolutionary path.

## FIGHT CHAUVINISM

But the history of the 'left' in this country, at least for the last forty years and probably going back further, is a history of compromise with imperialism. Opportunism has taken both the rightist path of reformism and the leftist path of sectarianism and either way has been deeply married by chauvinism. This chauvinism is reflected in many different ways but if we have to point to its most important thread it is its failure to give unconditional support to national liberation movements following from a lack of understanding and analysis of Britain's imperialist nature. Hence the 'left' has not worked to challenge and fight the national chauvinism within the working class but has tended to go along with it.

## STRATEGIC ALLIANCE

To build a revolutionary movement we must build an alliance with those who are striking the heaviest blows against imperialism: the peoples and nations of the Third World whose victories over the last years are the root of the crisis of imperialism. In this country too, the way forward is through a strategic alliance between national minorities and the working class. The black national minorities have a long history of resistance to the racist oppression they suffer here. We must recognise and support their national demands and build a new strategic alliance based on support for Free National Development for national minority people here.

On May Day, we should raise a banner of internationalism. We should unite with the struggle of all those fighting for national freedom - in Azania, Palestine, Eritrea, Afghanistan, and in many other places in the world. In particular we must support the struggle of the Irish people and on this anniversary, remember Bobby Sands, MP, murdered three years ago by the British state, along with nine other Republican freedom fighters. Remember the words of Karl Marx: "No nation that oppresses another can be free."

## Workers and Oppressed Peoples and Nations of the World, Unite!



### UNSELECTIVE SOLIDARITY

Dear Comrades,

I would like to comment on your excellent editorial in last month's issue. In my opinion you have provided an analysis that is really the watershed of British 'left' politics. How can the political nature of any organisation claiming to be revolutionary in modern Britain, be judged? It is their relationship to the national liberation struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations from Azania to Ireland. Simply put, this relationship demands unconditional support for ALL liberation movements (not selectively) in the oppressed nations and the subordination of the British groups to the needs of these liberation movements.

British 'left' organisations like the SWP and WRP are infamous throughout the world revolutionary movements for their disgusting public attacks on liberation movements in



## The Rhythm of Time

By Bobby Sands.

There's an inner thing in every man,  
Do you know this thing my friend?  
It has withstood the blows of a million years,  
And will do so to the end.

It was born when time did not exist,  
And it grew up out of life,  
It cut down evil's strangling vines,  
Like a slashing searing knife.

It lit fires when fires were not,  
And burnt the mind of man,  
Tempering leadened hearts to steel,  
From the time that time began.

It wept by the waters of Babylon,  
And when all men were a loss,  
It screeched in writhing agony,  
And it hung bleeding from the Cross.

It died in Rome by lion and sword,  
And in defiant cruel array,  
When the deathly word was 'Spartacus',  
Along the Appian Way.

It marched with Wat the Tyler's poor,  
And frightened lord and king,  
And it was emblazoned in their deathly stare,  
As e'er a living thing.

It smiled in holy innocence,  
Before conquistadors of old,  
So meek and tame and unaware,  
Of the deathly power of gold.

It burst forth through pitiful Paris streets,  
And stormed the old Bastille,  
And marched upon the serpent's head,  
And crushed it 'neath its heel.

It died in blood on Buffalo Plains,  
And starved by moons of rain,  
Its heart was buried in Wounded Knee,  
But it will come to rise again.

It screamed aloud by Kerry lakes,  
As it was knelt upon the ground,  
And it died in great defiance,  
As they coldly shot it down.

It is found in every light of hope,  
It knows no bounds nor space,  
It has risen in red and black and white,  
It is there in every race.

It lies in the hearts of heroes dead,  
It screams in tyrants' eyes,  
It has reached the peak of mountains high,  
It comes searing 'cross the skies.

It lights the dark of this prison cell,  
It thunders forth its might,  
It is 'the undaunted thought', my friend,  
That thought that says, 'I'm right!'

From 'Prison Poems by Bobby Sands'.

Zimbabwe, Azania, Palestine and Ireland to name but a few. Just as no outside nation, no matter how big and powerful, has a right to choose, split, divide or attempt to control the liberation struggles neither does any organisation in the oldest and one of the most vicious oppressor nations have any right to choose or publicly criticise any liberation movement. It is the business of the people in the oppressed nations what revolutionary movement they choose to lead them - not the business of the British petit-bourgeoisie.

A more subtle variation is those who publicly give support but in turn 'ponce' off the liberation movements - trying to use the struggles of other people to build up their own organisations. These can be recognised by such acts as spending all their time selling their own newspaper when supposedly "giving support" to the particular national liberation struggle they feel is key. You look in vain for the literature of the liberation movements themselves or of their members. Only when these organisations really begin to subordinate themselves and their particular interests to the national

liberation struggles will they truly deserve the name anti-imperialist.

Yours in struggle,  
Ralph Backstrom.

### LET THEM READ BOOKS

Dear Comrades,

The National Advisory Committee on Ireland of the Communist Party of Great Britain (!), publishes an Information Bulletin called 'Ireland'. I recently read the February issue. On page two is a shallow and distorted article attacking the armed struggle of the Irish people. The article states "this form of resistance is not necessary in Ireland" because ... "Sinn Fein have a bookshop in Dublin and Belfast and they publish a weekly newspaper which is publicly on sale and can be obtained by postal subscription" !! So, - presumably - Long Live Bourgeois Democracy! Down With the Revolution!

After that kind of article it was difficult to read on, but,  
(Cont. on p.3.)

# Police and the Miners

## MacGregor's Military Mates

"Class Struggle" Correspondent

In what has been described as the biggest police mobilisation since 1926, thousands of uniformed and plain clothes men have been directed from the National Reporting Centre at Scotland Yard at an estimated daily cost of around half a million pounds to assist the National Coal Board management further rationalise the coal industry at the expense of more miners' jobs.

Massed ranks of flying policemen, brought in from all parts of the country, have been used to patrol the approaches to the Midlands collieries. Road blocks have been set up to stop miners travelling from one coalfield to another. Video recordings have been made of picket lines. Arrested miners have been photographed and grilled about their political views and excessive force employed inside police vans and in the cells.

### Bail Conditions

Many of those arrested will not be coming up for trial before the middle of May. One condition of them getting bail is that they do not go back into Nottinghamshire. This will immediately have the effect of preventing them being able to play a full part in the defence of their own jobs.

It should be noted that there are close similarities between this and the way the state dealt with the Bradford 12, with those arrested during the Colin Roach campaign and, more recently, with the Greenham Women. In each case, bail has only been allowed on conditions that have severely restricted the ability of the accused to participate in political activity.

### Under-cover Operations?

During the fourth week of the strike, allegations were made of phone tapping and of plain clothes men working closely with police snatch squads in a manner reminiscent of the Army in the north of Ireland. In response to this, the Home Secretary, Leon Brittan, denied that the police were engaged in any under-cover operations. Speaking on April 6th at a Press Conference in Cheshire, he said, "There is no under-cover police operation. It seems

to me you have fallen for a lot of nonsense. What we are seeing is the smear-a-week technique."

Unfortunately for him, four days later a report appeared in the "Guardian" that said that the Chief Constable of North Wales had acknowledged that plain clothes officers had infiltrated picket lines at the Point of Ayr colliery at Prestatyn, the only pit in Wales working at the time.

The allegations about the phone tapping came to light when a Pontypridd bus operator, Clayton Jones, described how he had been rung up by Derbyshire police only ten minutes after he had finished talking on his phone to a local miner's leader about a coach trip to the Midlands. During the same week Radio Leeds interviewed a strike official from Kellingley colliery near Pontefract who spoke about the difficulty he was experiencing in getting through to the NUM area office in Barnsley due to police interference on the line.

A few days later, following the prosecution of the MI5 man, Michael Bettaney, on charges of spying for the Soviet Union,

the "Guardian" ran a three-part article on the role of the security services in Britain. In this it quoted the General Treasurer of the Post Office Engineering Union, members of which are directly involved in phone tapping. He said, "To our certain knowledge the process of tapping telephones is systematic and widespread, far more widespread than we are led to believe in official statements."

During disputes such as this the media usually depict the British police as being the poor men in the middle of someone else's dispute; as a neutral figure upholding the laws of the land which have been democratically decided by the people through their representatives in Parliament. Well, poor is one thing the police are not! Since 1979 their wages have risen steeply, and with all their overtime, £400 a week is not uncommon. Neither are they neutral. Their main task is to stop any real political or economic changes taking place that conflict with the wishes and needs of the ruling class. As Britain's economic crisis deepens, it looks as though they are going to be kept pretty busy.

"Class Struggle" correspondent.

In the 'Court and Social' columns of the 'Daily Telegraph' and 'The Times', on Friday 13 April, was a small item announcing that the previous evening the Honourable Artillery Company had held the annual St George's dinner at Armoury House, their headquarters in City Road, London. Nothing very interesting about that. But it was also announced that the toast of 'England' was proposed by none other than Mr Ian MacGregor, chairman of the National Coal Board. Which is very interesting - not to say ironic - that a representative of the US ruling class, on a mercenary contract to decimate Britain's mines and miners, should propose such a toast.

However if we look more closely at MacGregor's companions that evening, it is obvious that the 'England' they were toasting was the 'England' of big business, the aristocracy, the ruling echelons of the Civil Service, Law, Police, Armed Forces - certainly not the England of miners and their families.

The Honourable Artillery Company (HAC) boasts the title of "the world's oldest fighting regiment" and is a Territorial Army unit most of whose members are stockbrokers, bankers, lawyers, accountants, public relations/advertising men who are "someone in the City". It is claimed that "even the lowliest trooper belongs to the officer class and the atmosphere is more like that in a public school cadet force than a modern reconnaissance regiment". (Henry Stanhope in 'The Soldiers'). Their organisation is on Special Air Service (SAS) lines, and is clearly designed to give them a special counter-insurgency role in the event of 'civil unrest'.

Perhaps it is significant that immediately after MacGregor's junket with the HAC, he hinted that troops would be used to defeat the miners' strike, and Thatcher set up a special Cabinet committee which includes a representative of the Ministry of Defence, Lord Trefargne.

When troops attack miners, whose side will you be on? Our class or the men from the City?

## MINERS STRIKE

Letter:

Dear Editor,

I have a couple of comments on the article about the Miners' struggle in the last issue of "Class Struggle". It is not really a criticism of the author or the editor, but the article does accurately reflect the low level of the RCL's practical involvement in this particular struggle.

It begins with history rather than with the major issues in the contemporary struggle, and ends with a call for "full support" without the slightest hint about how concretely to give this support.

The other criticism is more important. The article does present quite a lot of very interesting facts, but it is fatally marred by Eurocentrism, of the kind which took over in the international communist movement, particularly after Lenin's death.

In political economy terms, the error consists in imagining that the economic and social affairs of a capitalist country can be analysed in isolation from the world system; the ideological error underlying this consists in failure to grasp deeply the contradiction between oppressed and oppressor nations and peoples and make this central to all one's thinking.

This comes across particularly strongly in the second paragraph where we read: "It was the labour of the men, and in the early days women and children (understood: in Britain) that made the Industrial Revolution possible." This writes off at one stroke the primary accumulation through the slave trade, the import of raw materials like cotton, the forcible conversion of areas like the West Indies into suppliers of sugar, etc., all of which were prerequisites of the industrial revolution. Industry in the "advanced" countries is predicated upon the denial of national

development in the Third World.

Unless we deeply grasp this fact, not only will we fall into chauvinism, but also we won't be able to make sense of events. Marxist (as opposed to revisionist) political economy recognises the central importance of class struggle, which in the era of imperialism finds its most powerful expression in the form of national struggles. Not only was the industrial revolution in general founded on national oppression, but so also was the post-war boom. The pits were closed because a higher rate of profit resulted from using cheap petroleum plundered from the Third World.

The oil producers fought back in an epic struggle over several decades which culminated in the price rises following 1973.

In fact, this struggle created good conditions for forcing the British bourgeoisie to redevelop the mining industry, but the major concrete result so far has been fantastic windfall profits for British imperialism from the North Sea oil

resources which would have been unprofitable to exploit at the pre-1973 low prices on the world market.

It is certainly true that imperialism has had the effect of defusing the class struggle in an oppressor nation like this one. At the same time, because of imperialism's uneven development, there will be some sectors of the working class whose concordance of interests with the national liberation movements can be perceived particularly clearly. This probably accounts for the high degree of internationalism in the mining communities.

These are points on which we can begin building. But to do this we have to learn from the trend in the Third World represented by people like Samir Amin and Walter Rodney and thoroughly break with the Eurocentric mentality which has dominated what passes for political economy in the communist movement for many decades.

In conclusion, let me congratulate you on a generally very good issue of "Class Struggle" which shows that we can move in the right direction as long as we appreciate the seriousness of the theoretical tasks.

London reader

(Cont. from p.2.)

### GERMAN FASCISM

Dear Comrades,

The spectre of fascism in Germany did not die with the suicide of Hitler in May 1945, or Germany's surrender a few days later. It is still alive in neo-Fascist organisation and the present programmes of the West German government towards so-called "Gastarbeiter" (Guest-workers). Under this programme, these workers (from Turkey, Yugoslavia, etc.) who are made redundant are offered the equivalent of a few months' wages and their pension fund contribution and a one-way ticket "home". This is an indication of the kind of attitude the state has to the many workers from abroad who did the jobs its own nationals did not want during the "economic miracle".

The German ruling class, in the present crisis, has put forward the repatriation of 'Gastarbeiter' as a solution to some of its 9.6% unemployment. One wonders how long will it be before repatriation becomes compulsory and the spectre of the Fourth Reich comes out of the shadows.

London reader.

### THE MINERS' STRUGGLE

Dear "CS,"

Hearing the many charges of intimidation and animal behaviour levelled against the miners reminded me of some of the things that Mao Zedong said about the peasant uprisings in China. Opposing the idea that the peasants were going too far, he made his famous comment that "Revolution is not a dinner party, or writing an essay, or painting a picture or doing embroidery; it cannot be so refined, so leisurely and gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous."

Well, there are clearly very big differences between rural China in 1927 and the coalfields of England, Scotland and Wales in 1984. Firstly, the peasants were still suffering feudal exploitation in a country being bled dry by the foreign devils, whereas the miners here are part of a working class that has benefited from imperialist exploitation of the Third World. Secondly, the actions of the peasants were a component part of the national revolution in an oppressed nation, whereas

the miners' struggle is still essentially a trade union struggle, albeit one that is taking on board many political aspects.

However, what I really wanted to emphasise is that in a strike such as this, when large numbers of people move into action in defence of both their jobs and their communities, it will be inevitable that there will be some disorder. Secondly, it will not be surprising that the ruling class will use every trick in the book to discredit those who pose any threat to their continued rule.

The miners are no angels as anyone who lives in a mining area will tell you. The struggle is now taking place against a background in which many will soon be at starvation level. Here in Yorkshire, the modern-day equivalent of the soup kitchen has returned. For some it has literally become a matter of life and death, and so far there have been at least two cases of suicide.

Leeds Reader

So the CPGB do know about brutalities, executions and repression of the Irish people by the British imperialist occupying power! And they still have the nerve to pontificate "this form of resistance (armed struggle) is not necessary in Ireland".

Bristol reader.

On the particular point about the labour of the men, women and children in the mines: The point of this was to show that the exploitation of the working class was necessary in producing the coal which at that time, provided the energy supply for most of industry. However we agree that the phrase about the Industrial Revolution was sloppy and could have been interpreted as denying the exploitation of the Third World which was the pre-condition for any of these developments.

## TASS WORKERS WIN

"Class Struggle" Correspondent

2,000 TASS workers returned to work on April 4th following a strike of four weeks, having won a significant victory. On March 1st Westlands bosses at their helicopter and hovercraft works at Yeovil, Weston-super-Mare and the Isle of Wight sacked ten technicians for refusing to accept new, imposed contracts of employment which would have compelled them to do compulsory, variable shift-work with no shift premiums.

These ten sackings directly led to the strike which began on March 6th. The bosses then followed up their earlier sackings by sacking a further 164 technicians - making a total of 174.

The situation was absolutely deadlocked. There was no way that TASS workers were prepared to discuss anything whilst these sacking notices were hanging over their heads. There was overwhelming unity amongst them and tremendous solidarity from other workers, both within Westlands and elsewhere. Workers clearly realised that if any bosses could get away with this one - existing contracts torn up Cheltenham-style and new draconian ones imposed by diktat and the threat of sackings - then no workers' jobs would be safe! All workers completely identified with the TASS slogan - Us Today: You Tomorrow. They had to win and they did, on all points.

## Details of Agreement

Through their strike action, the TASS workers forced the bosses to back down on all the major points. All dismissal notices and compulsory changes to contracts were withdrawn. Workers who agreed to the new

shifts won better terms: 32½ hour week for 37 hours pay; 10% premium and a one-off payment of £1,500. These terms were offered to all existing employees but exclude new workers.

("Class Struggle" apologies for inaccuracies in the original report on this strike in last month's paper.)

## Comment

We welcome the victory at Westlands won through the struggle and unity of the workers there. But Westlands is one example of the arms industry of an imperialist nation, an industry that profits directly from the repression of the Third World. A few years ago Westlands was preparing to lay-off workers and these jobs were saved by the expansion of production of military goods brought about by the British invasion of the Malvinas.

Workers in such industries, as in British industry in general, have been able to win a better standard of living for themselves precisely because British imperialism is built on the basis of exploitation of the Third World. The result is a working class which ranges from the unemployed, many living below the poverty line, to those at the top of the pay scale, but all of whom tend to accept the ideology of British imperialism. As communists we must build on the unity built in economic struggles and extend it to all the different sections of the working class, to the national minorities within this country and particularly the peoples and nations of the Third World. - Ed.

## POLITICS OF FOOD

THE FOOD WE HAVE TO EAT IS BAD FOR US

In April 1983 the DHSS decided to suppress the 'James Report' on the British diet. Its conclusions were that if we were able to eat less fat, sugar and salt but more fresh vegetables, fibre, bread, potatoes, vitamins and minerals, we would be a lot healthier. A report in the 'Sunday Times' estimated that if those sort of dietary changes had been put into operation then the savings to the NHS in the current financial year would be between £880-1,500 million. Also, approximately 53,000 people under 65 and 224,000 over 65 years would not have died in 1981. Diet was highlighted as a major factor in being overweight, heart disease, strokes, cancer of the large bowel and colon, diabetes, tooth decay, allergies, constipation and gall bladder disease.

## REPORT SUPPRESSED

The report was suppressed because of pressure from the food industry, particularly from the so-called British Nutrition Foundation (98 per cent funded by the food industry). The food industry is represented by a whole range of sectional interest organisations which can run rings round the middle class consumer associations and government health committees when it comes to influencing what we eat and drink. The Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries & Food, which is supposed to monitor food safety, has its committees dominated by employers' organisations.

Of course, patterns of health are class-based. The rich have always been able to afford to eat a healthy diet. Another report the DHSS suppressed was the 'Black Report' which showed that 30 years of the NHS had done nothing to remove the social inequalities in health. If you are poor you are still more likely to get ill or die. Public spending cuts which result in the abolition of school meals will only make matters worse.

## PROFITS BEFORE HEALTH

All the well-meaning noises made by the medical establishment and the token efforts on health education by the state are misdirected. They essentially blame the individual victims of ill health and overlook the wider realities of the economic, social and advertising pressures we all face:

"If you think we are going to stop stocking confectionary and chocolates because they are bad for people, well we're not. The turnover on these items is, say, £1,000 million per year. That means £50 million profits. If we lost £50 million profit, there'd be no more Co-op and everyone else would be selling just as many sweets as before." - Mr Amery, Chief Food Chemist for the Co-op.

The massive expenditure on advertising convinces people to buy convenient 'junk' food. Even if this could be resisted, and you could afford it, where would you go for alternatives? The Massachusetts Institute of Technology estimates that fifty per cent of own brands sold in British supermarkets are detrimental to good nutrition. Those supermarket own brands are made by essentially the same factories as the well-known brand equivalents.

In our present society, it's always the same: profits come before the people's welfare.



## Greenham: THE PEACE CAMP CONTINUES

"Class Struggle" Correspondent

April 4th heralded yet another unsuccessful attempt to get rid of the Greenham women. At 7 a.m. with the main A339 closed and 400 police surrounding the thirty women at the main gate, the bailiffs moved in and removed all property not actually held by the women. During the rest of the day the other four camps at the other gates were destroyed in the same manner. However, by nightfall increasing numbers of women had returned to all gates except the main one which was fenced off by an 8ft fence. A new camp was set up in the woods opposite. Since then the women are being continually harassed, moved on, and threatened with arrest by the police. Women are sleeping out in the open with shifts on watch at all times, camp fires are immediately put out with water or sand by police, and only belongings that can be carried on the

person can survive.

Tiring and stressful though this is the resolve of the women to maintain a protest at all times and at all gates has not faltered. They are supported by peace and women's groups all over the country who have arrived to swell numbers, help with night watches, bring hot food and drinks. There is no way these camps would have survived if they weren't the centre of a country-wide movement.

Greenham must also be heartened by the increasing chance that Holland may renege on its promise to deploy Cruise missiles. NATO defence ministers are putting great pressure on the Dutch to agree to deployment, but such a promise depends on a vote in Holland's Parliament in June. A decision not to deploy Cruise might lead to neighbouring Belgium changing its mind.

## MOTHER TONGUE TEACHING

While a recent report from the European Commission criticises all EEC countries on their provisions for 'migrant children', Britain comes out as one of the worst offenders. The British state is criticised for abdicating responsibilities for mother tongue teaching stemming from a 1981 EEC directive.

Because the report excludes Welsh and Gaelic, it does not touch upon the lip service paid by Britain to the use of the mother tongue in Wales and Scotland.

The report notes that in the UK only 2.2% of migrant children get mother tongue teaching at school. This compares with 80% in the Netherlands and about 60% in most parts of West Germany.

Most provisions in the UK exist at primary school level. It is left mainly to community centres to teach national minority children their language and cultural heritage. These centres are not provided with rent-free premises and subsidies and thus the burden is borne by the communities themselves. The willingness to do so only goes to emphasise the importance attached to mother tongue instruction for children by the various national minority communities in Britain.

The sizeable Punjabi-, Gujerati-Hindi-, Bengali-speaking communities have all evolved self-supporting systems of mother tongue instructions. Given that national minority people tend to be concentrated

in particular areas, the mother tongue, be it Polish, Urdu, Italian or Gujerati, is still widely spoken in every-day use.

Thus, for example, the report notes that North London's Cypriot organisations organise Greek and Turkish language schools, and the Chinese Association of Commerce, which provided free language classes, was considering the possibility of operating a full-time bilingual school in the mid-1970s.

The importance of mother tongue for national minority people as a living element can be found around 104MHz on the radio wave band. LGR is an illegal radio station serving London's Greek speaking community. The music is conventional Greek popular music, there is an occasional radio soap opera serial from Cyprus and Greek football results. Its advertisers include one of Britain's largest Cypriot tour firms and a Greek cafe bar.

In the wake of Budget taxes on take-away food, Greek language explanations were broadcast to London's Greek-Cypriot run taverns on LGR. Although only one of London's known illegal stations to broadcast in a national minority language, other "pirate stations" have specifically catered for musical preference such as reggae.

National minorities in this country face racism in all aspects of their lives. The fight for the teaching of their national languages is one part of the struggle against racism and for national freedom.



Oh what a hullabaloo Labour and SDP parties started to make when the Tory government authorised the purchase of submachine guns for the Metropolitan Police. And what red faces when it was disclosed that the Callaghan government had already authorised such guns in 1976 for use in a "terrorist emergency"! The Minister responsible was Roy Jenkins, now SDP MP for Hillhead. What a good example of Labour's two faces: one in opposition and one in power.

Taxes on income for all but the richest families are still higher in real terms than they were when the government came to power. This is demonstrated by post-budget treasury figures. Despite the budget's tax cuts, only families earning more than £856 a week will pay less income tax and National Insurance contributions this year, after allowing for inflation, than they did in 1978-79.

Two years ago an Argentinian liberation force overwhelmed the 69 British marines defending the Malvinas. Now, defending the 1,884 islanders are 6,000 British troops and back-up personnel. Helicopters and fighter planes roar overhead; artillery, missile-launchers and radar bristle on hilltops; and two destroyers, two frigates and at least one nuclear-powered submarine patrol offshore. British taxpayers are pouring in some £3 million a day and Mrs Thatcher pigheadedly maintains that sovereignty is not negotiable. Only one section is happy: the military. They believe that the "Fortress Falklands" policy is providing a training paradise. In the words of top dog, Major-General Keith Spacie: "From a military point of view, the Falklands is a challenging, interesting and stimulating environment."

Dinner ladies are reacting angrily and effectively to savage wage cuts being attempted by several County Councils recently. In Birmingham a meeting of 4,000 (out of 5,500) dinner ladies voted to reject the Council's ultimatum to accept wage cuts or get the sack, and backed this up by obtaining a High Court injunction preventing such action until reviewed in the courts. Hertfordshire dinner ladies marched 200-strong to Trafalgar Square protesting against a similar threat and many of the Counties are awaiting the court's decision. These women have spoken very forcefully in the media of 10-20 years' service in the same school, of their dependence on their already low wage, and the brazen ultimata of the Councils expecting them to do more work for less money at a time of 5% inflation. The Councils are discovering that the dinner ladies are a force to be reckoned with.

# Fight Education Cuts – Criticise the Education System

Contributed by a Secondary Teacher.

Have your children been sent home from school recently because of action by teachers over pay? Do you live in an authority where teachers and parents are fighting attempts to bring back grammar schools? Has there been a struggle, or arguments in your local schools against racism in education? Is your local council one of those that have recently banned corporal punishment in schools? Does your local school appeal for funds to help pay for basic educational equipment?

These issues and many others in education have been highlighted one way or another in the past period. Many newspapers on the 'left' have carried articles on at least some of these questions. But few set these struggles in the context of the main issue. What is the essential character of the education system in Britain? What are the real politics that lie behind the various political issues?

It is hardly possible to give an overall analysis here. Not only space now demands a concentration of the issue, but little work has been done by Marxist-Leninists to analyse it. They have had, and still have, other priorities. But some general comments must be made.

## Education for what?

Education was required by ruling classes in the past to train their children as the complexities of modern societies developed. It increasingly needed to be extended to provide a growing demand for managers, engineers, technicians, bureaucrats, office staff, and skilled workers. The liberal bourgeoisie sought to extend the provision of education to all children. Firstly, this was to build a massive sifting operation whereby the more 'acceptable' pupils are passed on to higher levels, and secondly to construct a system through which the ideology or view of the world, of the bourgeoisie could be passed on to future generations. For the majority of young people, education is largely irrelevant, often boring and anything but designed to equip them for living in today's society.

The more 'acceptable' pupil, beloved by the bulk of teachers, is docile, does what he or she is told, and learns to churn out the 'correct' answer to each question without asking - even to themselves - what the purpose of the question is, or why they are studying one particular type of problem rather than another. What the system promotes among pupils (not normally openly but in an insidious way through habit and through the lack of any serious challenge to a general world view and particular ideas) is a passive attitude, an acceptance of the system as an unchangeable fact with immutable laws, a knowledge and acceptance of their place in the scheme of things, and a recognition of the apparent power relations.

Pupils who 'misbehave' as a result of finding their 'work' irrelevant or boring, or because they challenge rules or what they are taught, or because they challenge open or implied racism, quickly find that they face the power not just of an individual teacher but of an apparently immovable system.

The promotion of imperialist politics takes place under the banner of "keeping politics

out of schools". In practice this means that the status quo, the present system, is defended and described as 'unpolitical', whereas opposition to imperialism is attacked as "bringing politics into the classroom". This works most obviously through compulsory religious assemblies (Christian ones), through for example the extensive projects on the royal family done in primary schools (including turning out whole schools to wave Union Jacks at the Queen, or her hangers-on if any of them are in the vicinity), through to the content of history, geography and humanities lessons in school. At best children of Irish and black national minorities face a 'history' that ignores the contributions, scientific and social, of their parents or ancestors, and often ignores, plays down or even justifies, the occupation, plunder and continued domination of those nations by British and other imperialisms. Scottish and Welsh children were in the past ordered not to speak their native language in a systematic, and largely successful attempt to stamp out their language and restrict their culture. Children of national minorities today - in the modern 'liberal' state education system - have little or no provision made to promote their language and culture. English children are inculcated therefore with a distorted view that sees their ruling class's culture as the only (or most civilised) culture. They know little or nothing of real history or other cultures and become normally imbued with chauvinism. Working class children know little or nothing about the history of class struggle, of the 'Diggers', of the 'Chartist' movement, of the struggles led by heroic fighters like Maclean against the inter-imperialist savage butchery of the First World War, of the General Strike. And if these movements and struggles mean little to you, the reader, this proves the point. In these, and a thousand and one other ways, the education system distorts the minds of developing generations.

And the tragedy is that for many of the young people who do reject the education system, the content of the lessons and forms of school discipline, the system is perceived as being not just a system in itself, but as education. There is a rejection not just of the imperialist education system but of education itself.

## Build the Opposition

Of course there is also a trend of struggle, which has had some high points. The Schools Action Union of the '60s and early '70s raised many of these issues. National minorities are fighting in various ways to defend their language and culture both through building their own institutions and through placing demands on the system. Organisations like the Black Parents Association which has existed for two decades, are fighting on most of these questions. In February 300 school students went on strike at one school in Bradford demanding the sacking of one teacher and the disciplining of two others accusing them of violence and racism. It is that trend that needs to be developed and broadened to challenge the ideology of the imperialist education system.

But what of the teachers themselves? As is to be expected there are various political trends. The majority of teachers in my experience do not even think about the

issues here. If they did they would approve of the general role of the system, although they would put it in rather different terms such as 'defending standards' or 'teaching discipline' or even 'They will have to do what they are told when they go to work, they might as well learn to do it now.'

There is a 'liberal' trend which does in practice concern itself rather more with the well-being of the individual pupil, but restricts itself to such individual concern and care, and does virtually nothing about the system. Some 'liberals' do criticise the more overt expressions of racism in library and text books, and often seek to treat black national minority school students as equal individuals with whites. But they can engage in no real struggle against the main ideology of imperialism and in fact spontaneously promote it.

## Failure of 'Radical Left'

Lastly there is a variety of 'radical/left' groups mainly concentrated in inner-city schools. Amongst these groups is a section of teachers who pay no attention to their own role in promoting imperialist ideology and who believe that being 'left-wing' means 'acting like trade unionists' in fighting first and foremost for 'better pay and conditions' for teachers. To these people 'teachers are just workers'. Well, they are not. Of course they work for their living and quite rightly fight against attacks on their living standards but they are also the perveyors of imperialist ideology. It is this struggle - the main struggle - that they ignore. Of course a section of the 'radical/left' have taken up a number of the above political and ideological issues. But they build no systematic campaign and are limited to opposing the worst aspects of the course content in a relatively piece-meal fashion. The real weakness of the majority of this section is shown in their attitude to the existing power relations, and in the case of a number in their casual attitude to individual students.

### CORPORAL PUNISHMENT

Typically the 'radical/left' together with the liberals are opposed to corporal punishment. They correctly see it as overt and unjustifiable violence against students. However many of them seem to think that such an opposition is in itself 'progressive' or even 'socialist'. They forget that every other imperialist country has already banned the use of the cane, and that here in Britain such a de-facto ban will soon exist nationally, not just in a number of local authorities, as a result of rulings by the European court, hardly a hot bed of revolutionary activities. The essence of the matter is the means by which such teachers defend their 'authority' and 'power', through the use of withering sarcasm or the setting of degrading tasks, which are both intended to isolate, demean or belittle the spirit of the 'offending' pupil; behaviour which intends to defend the existing power relations in schools.

### THE EXAM SYSTEM

One section of the 'radical/left' quite correctly criticises the exam system as part of the 'sifting' operation of the education system, but then many use that to hold back from giving real commitment to teaching their students. There they sit, in a relatively comfortable job, with their exams under their belts, whilst they justify

their lack of interest and laziness. They forget that whilst the exam system is wrong it nevertheless exists. Their students have a right to want to pass them in the hope of a better paid job. Such teachers' failure to deliver in practice shows contempt for working class and national minority youth.

### 'DEFENDING' COMPREHENSIVES

The majority of teachers defend the 'comprehensive' system against a 'selective' grammar and secondary modern system. Again this correct stand against overt discrimination is often used to conceal the fact that frequently comprehensive schools are either grammar schools or secondary moderns (depending on their geographical position and origins) in disguise. In those that are not, selection and sifting goes on in a now more subtle form, and the content and form of education is little changed.

Opposition to corporal punishment and to turning back the clock to a grammar system is important but should not be used as a diversion from the main struggle within the education establishment.

Even with the best will the teacher is in a difficult situation. The classroom teacher has no say in the content of a course or in the methods of testing and the forms of exams. He or she has little say in the running of the school. The teacher who really fights does not get promoted. Lastly it is exceptionally difficult for a teacher to behave, or treat pupils, in a markedly different manner to the prevailing system without running into immense problems. Thus even the most 'concerned' teacher vacillates, and this will continue until there is a real movement to challenge the ideology of imperialism both in and out of the education system with



Parents of children at the Nechells primary school, in Birmingham, fought to stop the closure of their school.

a firm base in the working class and national minorities. As Mao said: "Everyone lives as a member of a particular class, and every kind of thinking without exception, is stamped with the brand of a class." Teachers are no exception. The kind of thinking of the various trends amongst teachers is precisely a reflection of a class caught between the imperialist bourgeoisie and the proletariat and oppressed national minorities.

Having said all that, education provision and teachers' salaries are nevertheless under further attack by the present govern-

ment. Together Labour and Tory governments have in the last ten years cut teachers' pay by 31% compared to other 'professions'. Teachers are justifiably angry and are beginning to fight back. The government sees the teachers as a relatively soft target and an easy way to cut public expenditure.

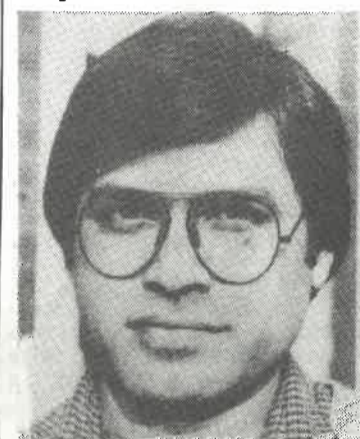
Similarly there is a continued erosion of spending on school equipment, books etc. Class sizes are being increased and schools closed.

## Fight the Cuts!

This real and immediate attack must be resisted by parents and teachers alike. But as I have said, such a struggle must not cover up the necessity for a growing struggle against the imperialist education system itself.

Editor's note: This article has been contributed by a teacher and opens up an important area of debate. We would welcome further contributions by anyone concerned, either to add to or criticise any of the points in the article.

## Deported in Secret



'Class Struggle' correspondent.

On 12 April, shortly after 10 a.m., Vinod Chauhan was picked up from his workplace in Manchester by four unidentified people - one in uniform and three in civilian clothes. He was taken away in an unmarked car.

Vinod, from Tameside, has been fighting for his right to stay in Britain for two years. Finally, he was informed that he could be deported any time after March 26.

Vinod was put on a plane to Bombay at 5 p.m. that same night from London. For the seven hours inbetween, nobody spoke to him, and nobody could find out his whereabouts - neither family, friends, campaign workers, solicitors or MPs. Everyone they contacted - all police forces, all Special Branches, Immigration officials, Home Office - denied being involved in Vinod's arrest and denied knowledge of his whereabouts.

It is clear that there was a concerted effort made to ensure that Vinod Chauhan left this country without contacting anyone and without anyone being able to protest about it. The Defence Campaign is committed to finding out everything it can about who was responsible - including who was responsible for the lies told.

The battle to keep Vinod Chauhan in Britain has been lost, but only after a tremendous struggle. He is one among thousands who are daily fighting this brand of state racism. That fight will continue and intensify, to match the intensification of the state's harassment. The war is far from over.

The next issue of 'Class Struggle' will carry a longer article looking at the possible reasons for the campaign's failure to prevent the deportation.

## Stop the Criminalisation & Deportation of Black Youth

During the 1981 uprising, the Horticultural Club and the British Legion in Birmingham, both known for their racist practices, were petrol-bombed. In May 1982, Karamjit Singh Varriach and four other youths were imprisoned for arson. The racist police had again succeeded in the criminalisation of black youth. On no occasion did the courts recommend deportation, but whilst in prison, Karamjit was interviewed by an immigration officer. The racist immigration officer initiated his own actions and became another policeman, judge and jury in Karamjit's case. Karamjit completed his sentence and supposedly paid his "debt" to society, but within months he received a document outlining the intention of the Home Office to deport him. Other black youths have received similar documents. One youth, after

completing his sentence, has been put on what can only be described as a life-long indeterminate sentence - the Home Office has informed him that if he is convicted of any further offence, he will be deported!

### STATE RACISM

The implications of this are clear for the black community. The state is stepping up its attack on black people. Deportations are on the increase, and increasingly they are linked to the criminalisation of black people. Soon, the racist government of Britain will meet the standards set by the National Front. The various parts of the state coordinate with each other. In Karamjit's case, extensive liaison between the police and the Home Office must have taken place. In recent years, the DHSS, doctors,

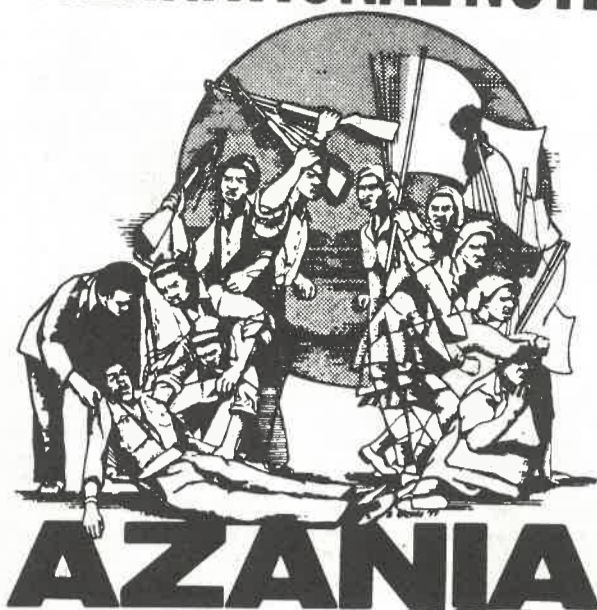
hospitals, banks and teachers have all been involved in compiling evidence of black people's immigration status to pass on to the Home Office.

### STOP THE DEPORTATION

The campaign is fighting to prevent Karamjit's deportation and also fighting against the full-scale attack being waged against the black community. The state uses any means to oppress black people, in particular, those who fight back - first criminalised, then deported.

Campaign Against Criminalisation and Deportation of Black Youths, c/o 101 Villa Road, Birmingham 19.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES



Azania: 25th Anniversary of Pan Africanist Congress

On April 6, the Special Committee Against Apartheid and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in New York commemorated the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) of Azania (South Africa).

The PAC is one of the main national liberation groups fighting for self-determination in Azania. It was formed in 1959 and has a long history of struggle, from the campaign against the pass laws, to the Sharpeville massacre and Soweto, to its present organising among Black workers, students, youth and landless peasants. The PAC is waging a protracted people's war and is recognised by the OAU, the Non-Aligned Movement and the UN.

John Pokela, who spent 13 years on the infamous Robben Island and assumed chairmanship of the PAC two years ago, said that PAC had earlier arrived at its position that armed struggle, with the participation of the masses, is the only solution to regain the land.

The celebration was completed by an international reception and cultural event featuring the Izulu Dance Theatre, the Mbele and Azanian singer Aura.

### Kampuchea: Hanoi's Offensive

Fierce fighting between Kampuchean resistance forces and occupying Vietnamese troops erupted near the Thailand border in April. During a concentrated onslaught on the Khmer People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF). Vietnamese troops blatantly violated Thai territory. The capture of 40 Vietnamese soldiers and the destruction of the Russian-supplied T-54 tanks on Thai territory led to a formal protest at Hanoi's acts of aggression at the United Nations by Bangkok. While Thailand has reinforced its border positions, fighting has forced thousands of civilians across into the Thai province of Aranyaprathet.

Hanoi's delayed offensive, centred on north western Kampuchea, has focussed on the headquarters of the KPNLF, led by Son Sann. Spirited resistance has prevented the destruction of the camp to date. However tactical retreat from some positions is an established routine as with the onset of the rainy season in May, Vietnamese military operations virtually end with withdrawal to military strongholds.

The attack against areas administered by a smaller element in the tripartite Kampuchean coalition government is against a less formidable fighting force than the National Army of Democratic Kampuchea. As reported in 'Class Struggle' (March 1984), their attacks on Vietnamese-occupied towns, military installations and supply lines have damaged Hanoi's ability to consolidate its grip. This is illustrated in Hanoi's inability to sustain a dry season offensive on the scale of last year's fighting that occurred from December 1982 to April 1983.

At the same time, heavy fighting has been taking place along the border between China and Vietnam. The shelling of Vietnamese positions by China was in response to repeated attacks and incursions by Vietnamese troops into China's Guangxi region since the beginning of the year.

### "Aid" and Arms Sales

Commercial relations between Third World countries and the 'developed world' are characterised by indifference to the development of the Third World. Aid from the USSR, self-proclaimed "natural ally" of the Third World, represents 0.2% of its GNP. In contrast to \$606 million in economic aid to the Third World from Warsaw Pact countries, they sold arms worth \$6,000 million in 1982. A NATO study suggests that arms sales to the Third World are probably the Kremlin's second biggest source of hard currency. That imperialists are the same the world over can be seen in that nearly two-thirds of Britain's bi-lateral aid programme is tied to the export of British goods, and a third of EEC aid goes to the Third World in the form of food.

### Indonesia: Murdani on Kampuchea

The head of Indonesia's armed forces, General Benny Murdani, was centrally involved in the army take-over in 1965 and the mass killings of hundreds of thousands of communists and progressives. Today, he has overall responsibility for the Indonesian occupation forces in East Timor and West Papua, where they have killed thousands in their attempts to suppress the resistance of the fighters of FRETILIN and the Free Papua Movement (OPM).

With this record, Murdani finds it easy to identify with aggressor states around the world. In March, he made a speech in Jakarta in which he stated that Vietnam's invasion of Kampuchea was a matter of "national survival, not of territorial ambition," and he added that he sympathised with countries like Vietnam and Israel "which are surrounded by hostile powers and tend to take an aggressive geopolitical stance."

## El Salvador: SUPPORT RADIO FARABUNDO MARTI

The RCL recently received an appeal for support from the External Relations team of Radio Farabundo Marti (RFM). We print below extracts from the appeal:

In the current stage of the war in El Salvador and the intervention of the United States in Central America, the Salvadorean regime and their North American accomplices have expanded their offensive at every level. The regime is pushing ahead its counter-insurgency strategy, using new military techniques and false reforms, culminating in a farcical election.

The regime has intensified its control over all forms of communication, including systematic repression of journalists and workers in the media to put out its own propaganda and to separate truth from reality.

Confronted with this situation, the underground communications of the FMLN (radio, newspapers,

etc.) become even more important every day being our only means of communicating with the masses the truth about the situation in El Salvador and in the world.



The appeal included a detailed list of material needed for the radio station - RFM and other means of communication of the liberation forces. These include: cassettes, microphones, stereo decks, cameras, print paper, stencils, letraset etc

and a wide range of electronic radio equipment. (Precise specifications are included and can be obtained by writing to 'Class Struggle').

The appeal also made suggestions for solidarity work in this field: formation of support groups of media workers; subscriptions to a monthly news service from RFM; appeal for finance for the radio; sending for cassette recordings from RFM etc. (Please send for details.)

Finally, details were given of the resources of the radio for solidarity work: cassette recordings are available, for example, on 'The Popular Movement', 'Women', a recording of some radio programmes and a recording in English on solidarity work. Information material includes a dossier on RFM, regular information about the situation in El Salvador and other material.

that they should be able to determine their own future, including having the right to unite with Somalia.

If Kenya's possession of a Somali area is a legacy of British rule, so are the methods being used by the Kenyan authorities both to suppress the Somalis in the Northeast and to suppress the mass of the Kenyan people. Methods used to repress the struggle of the Kenya Land and Freedom Army (Mau Mau) have been freely applied against opponents by the neo-colonial regime in Kenya. The Emergency Laws frequently applied to the Northeast province were inherited from Britain.

### POLITICAL PRISONERS

Kenya has at least 1,000 political prisoners, some serving sentences of 25 years. The great majority were arrested in the wake of an attempted coup in August 1982, which was crushed in a few hours. The government forces went on to kill around 2,000 people and arrest others belonging to opposition forces. Some are still being held without trial.

The Committee for the Release of Political Prisoners in Kenya was established after the coup and publishes a bulletin and holds public activities to further its aims. Anyone interested in finding out more or in helping it in its work should write to it at:

CRPP,  
76, Stroud Green Road,  
London.  
N4 3EN

## Kenya: Bloody Massacres

Over 1,000 people have been massacred in Wajir District, in Kenya's Northeast province according to a report published in "Kenya News" (Bulletin of the Committee for the Release of Political Prisoners in Kenya).

The killings took place between 10th and 14th February. 5,000 men were rounded up by army and police forces and put in a camp nine miles away from Wajir township. Those who died did so as a result of being denied water, clubbed to death or burnt alive. Some were shot shortly after arriving at the camp when they refused to strip and lie face down under the blazing sun.

### SOMALIS

Kenya's Northeast province is mainly inhabited by Somalis. Much of the Horn of Africa is Somali populated, but only about half of the Somali-inhabited area is included in the state of Somalia. The rest of the Somali area is accounted for by the state of Djibouti, the Ogaden area of Ethiopia, and Kenya's Northeast province. As a result of the imperialist partition of the area between Britain, Italy and France, the Somali homeland was divided into five parts. The former British and Italian Somalilands were united by popular demand in 1960, but there have been recurrent demands by the Somalis elsewhere

## NEW ERA BOOKS

203, Seven Sisters Road, London. N.4. Open Monday-Friday-10am-6pm, Saturday-11am-4.30pm; late opening-Thursday until 7pm.

### NEW BOOKS

- I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings-Maya Angelou 288pp £3.95+45p p&p.
- Sassafrass, Cypress & Indigo-Ntozake Shange 225pp £2.95+39p p&p.
- The Fateful Triangle-The United States, Israel and the Palestinians -Noam Chomsky 481pp £6.95+£1.30 p+p
- None but Ourselves-Masses Vs. Media in the Making of Zimbabwe-Julie Frederikse 368pp £7.50+£1.30 p&p.
- Ireland, The Propaganda War-The British Media and the "Battle for Hearts and Minds"-Liz Curtis 336pp £5.50+39p p&p.
- No Fire No Thunder-The Threat of Chemical and Biological Weapons-Sean Murphy, Alastair Hay, Steven Rose 145pp £3.95+31p p&p.

# The Palestine Question

## Part 1: The Zionist Movement

By David Evans

"We can reasonably say that should Palestine fall within the British sphere of influence, and should Britain encourage Jewish settlement there, as a British dependency, we could have in twenty to thirty years a million Jews out there, perhaps more; they would develop the country, bring back civilization to it and form a very effective guard to the Suez Canal." (Chaim Weitzmann, then the most important single figure in the Zionist Organisation, in a letter to "Manchester Guardian" editor C.P. Scott in 1914).

Three years later, Britain captured Palestine from the Ottoman Empire, and in 1922, Palestine became a British Mandate- supposedly a territory which was to be prepared for independence, but in fact, another part of the British Empire. Within thirty years, Weitzmann's "million Jews" were in Palestine. By then, there was a "Jewish State" of Israel, whose civilizing mission had begun with the occupation of around 80 per cent of Palestine and the expulsion of most of the Palestinians from the occupied areas. The new state co-operated with Britain and France in attacking Egypt in 1956 when it nationalized the Suez Canal, and it has always served as a watchdog for imperialist interests in the area since its foundation.

Weitzmann's vision had become a reality.

### European Anti-Semitism

Israel was born out of an alliance between major imperialist powers (first and foremost, Britain) and Zionism.

Zionism is a political trend which stands for the building of a Jewish state. Although many Zionists today explain their commitment to this goal in terms of a "historical attachment of the Jews to the land of Israel, "the fact of the matter is that Zionism originally emerged as a reaction to European anti-semitism.

There isn't a European country where Jews have not been persecuted at some time in its history. Medieval England saw pogroms against the Jews in York, Lincoln and elsewhere, and in 1290, Edward I expelled England's Jewish population. Although Britain later had a reputation for having "liberal" attitudes towards Jews, it was only in 1858 that a number of disabilities against Jews were removed by the British Parliament, and in 1906, Parliament passed the first of modern Britain's racist immigration laws in the shape of the Aliens Act, (which, incidentally, was championed by Lord Balfour, later to be a staunch supporter of Zionism), which was specifically directed against Jewish immigration from eastern Europe. The late 19th century saw a resurgence of anti-semitism in Europe, especially in the east. The Dreyfus Affair in France revealed extensive anti-semitism in the upper ranks of French society. In Russia, the Tsarist government tried to head off rising mass discontent into anti-semitism - a policy which culminated in large scale pogroms in the aftermath of the defeat of the 1905 Revolution. In the Austro-Hungarian Empire, an anti-semitic party attracted growing support in the last decades of the 19th century.

There were two main political reactions among Jews to this wave of anti-semitism. One trend recognised that anti-semitism was fed and used by the ruling classes of Europe to split and divert a working class movement



Theodore Herzl, principal theoretician and founder of the Zionist movement.

which was gaining in strength and coming increasingly under the influence of socialist parties. These Jews believed that the elimination of anti-semitism depended on the destruction of the capitalist system and the establishment of an internationalist, socialist order. They joined various socialist parties, often playing a leading role in them.

The other trend fundamentally accepted much of the logic of the anti-semites of Europe, and came up with a "solution" which was in keeping with the

dominant imperialist-colonialist ideology of the time. This trend was Zionism, which was founded as a political movement by an Austrian Jew, Theodor Herzl. The Zionists believed that anti-semitism was firmly rooted among non-Jews in general, and that only by setting up a Jewish state could Jews escape from anti-semitism. Few of those involved in the early Zionist movement were religious, as is shown by the preparedness of many to consider the establishment of a Jewish colony in places other than Palestine, Argentina, Sinai, and Uganda were all considered as possibilities. But it was the advocates of Palestine as the site of the Jewish state who won out.

### The Zionist Organisation

In 1896, Herzl published "The Jewish State" arguing for the creation of a Jewish national state. The following year in Basle, Switzerland, the first Zionist Congress took place and established a permanent Zionist organisation, with a programme of organizing large scale Jewish colonization of Palestine and securing an internationally recognised legal right to carry out such colonization. Except for a brief flirtation with a scheme to colonize Uganda, the Zionist Organisation stuck closely to this programme in the years to come. It established or built active groups throughout Europe, in the USA, in the settler countries of the British Empire, as well as in a few other countries. It canvassed for political support, raised money and organised a trickle of settlers to Palestine.

But in Palestine they ran into a problem to which the Zionist

Organisation had given little thought. In 1901, the Zionist Israel Zangwill had raised the slogan, "The land without people - for the people without land." But some of the early Zionist visitors were genuinely surprised to find that not only did Palestine have a people, but that the people wanted their land.

Herzl expressed a few thoughts on the problem in his diaries: "We shall try to spirit the penniless population across the border by procuring employment for it in the transit countries, while denying it any employment in our own country".

Still, the question of what to do about the "Arab problem" was only posed acutely after Herzl's death, when Weitzmann secured a fateful declaration from the British Government - what became known as the Balfour Declaration, because it was contained in a letter written by Foreign Secretary A.J. Balfour:

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

The "existing non-Jewish communities" - the Arab 92% of the population of Palestine - had not been consulted about their wishes for the future of their country, but they were soon to make their views felt.

## Part 2: The Palestinians

"It was not as though there was a Palestinian people in Palestine considering itself as a Palestinian people and we came and threw them out and took their country away from them. They did not exist." Golda Meir, Israeli Prime Minister, in 1969.

The Balfour Declaration's reference to "existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine" and the use of terms such as "the Arab problem" as a label for the Palestinians by Weitzmann and other early Zionists indicated what was to be a long standing theme of both the Zionist movement and of the imperialists who supported it: that the Palestinians didn't really exist.

Of course, it couldn't be denied that Palestine was inhabited before Zionist colonization began, but if it was admitted that they had a distinct Palestinian identity and a deep attachment to their land, then it followed that they should have certain national rights, including the right to live in and decide the future of their country. Yet since the Zionist movement sought to establish a Jewish state in Palestine, it could not afford to recognize this right. Therefore, in a mixture of self-deception and propaganda for foreign consumption, it persistently denied the Palestinians' national existence.

Referring to the Palestinians simply as "Arabs" carried the implication that they had no particular attachment to Palestine, but could be equally at home in any Arab country; furth-



Jaffa oranges for sale, pre-First World War. Palestine exported citrus fruit long before the Zionist colonization process began. The name "Jaffa" became so well established internationally that Israel has continued to use it for its own citrus exports.

ermore, if that was the case, why should they not go to Egypt, Syria, Iraq, or anywhere else in the Arab world, and leave Palestine to "the people without a land"?

Such ideas were soon to be translated into an active policy of encouraging the Palestinians to go-a policy which has continued up to the present day, carried out with increasing ruthlessness, so that three-fifths of the Palestinian people now live outside their homeland. It is Zionism's denial of the Palestinians' national rights which lies at the root of the Palestine conflict.

### Imperialist Agreement

The major imperialist powers have generally endorsed the Zionist denial of the Palestinians' national identity and rights since the Balfour Declaration. In 1919, Balfour himself quite candidly stated,

"In Palestine we do not propose even to go through the form of consulting the wishes of the present inhabitants of the country....The four great powers are committed to Zionism and Zionism, be it right or wrong, good or bad, is rooted in age-long tradition, in present needs, in future hopes, of far profounder import than the desires and prejudices of the 700,000 Arabs who now inhabit that ancient land."

Nearly 50 years later, following the 1967 war, Britain sponsored UN Resolution 242, which supposedly set out the basis for a just Middle East settlement. Its only reference to the Palestinians was as a refugee prob-

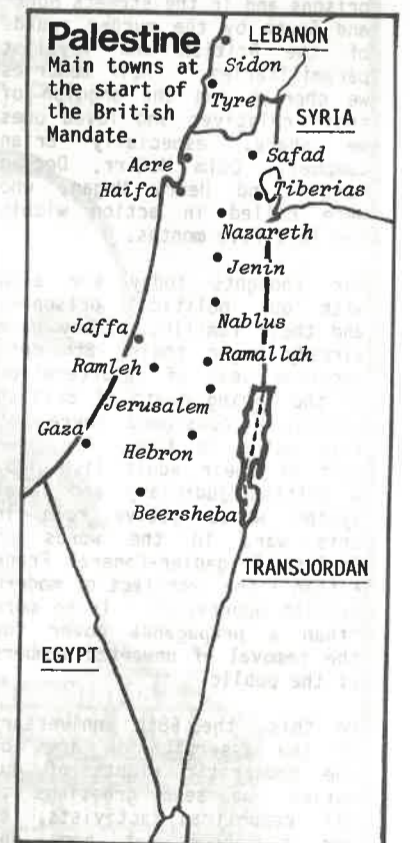
lem. The resolution was supported by the USA, Soviet Union and France, but every independent Palestinian body has consistently rejected its stand of ignoring the Palestinians' national existence and rights.

### The Palestinian People

At the end of the First World War, the "desert" land of Palestine had a population of 700,000, of whom 644,000 were Arabs and 56,000 Jews. Many of the Jews belonged to old, long-established religious communities and lived in harmony with other Palestinians. They regarded the new Zionist immigrants with distrust, and some were actively hostile to the Zionist movement, refusing all co-operation with it. (To this day, the Neturei Karta group based in Jerusalem regard Zionism as blasphemous and refuse to recognise the state of Israel.) Only two per cent of the land of Palestine was owned by Jews.

The Palestinians were not newcomers to their land. Palestine had been continuously inhabited for thousands of years and the Palestinians were the descendants, for the most part, of the people who had lived in the area thousands of years ago - Canaanites, Philistines, and others, no doubt including Israelites. Since the Arab conquest in the 7th century AD, they have adopted Arabic as their language and the majority have become Muslims.

While a strong Palestinian identity was only forged in the course of this century



during the long struggle against Zionism and imperialism, this does not mean that the Palestinians' attachment to their land was weak. Their tradition and culture were rooted in Palestine and, when the Zionist movement began trying to displace them, it ran into consistent and unrelenting opposition.

(First two parts of a "Class Struggle" series on Palestine.)

# FREEDOM FOR IRELAND



## End British Rule!



### easter 1916...

Below we reprint in full the Easter Statement of the Republican Movement published in the April 26th edition of *An Phoblacht/Republican News*.

- Today we commemorate and honour the patriots of Easter Week 1916, who - with no blessing or mandate other than that inherent in the natural right of all nations to national sovereignty and self-determination - went out to do 'bloody and deadly violence' against our enemy whose susceptibility to reasonable persuasion is as absent today as it was then.

We also take this opportunity to reflect, with pride, on all our fallen comrades, who gave their lives that our people can be free and can live in peace. Pre-eminent in our thoughts, and with a great sense of loss, we naturally remember our contemporaries - comrades, countrymen, women and children - whose lives have been taken in action, in the prisons and in the streets North and South by the murder squads of the British and loyalist paramilitaries. Their memories we cherish and the anguish of their relatives and loved ones we share, especially Brian Campbell, Colm McGirr, Declan Martin and Henry Hogan, who were killed in action within the last five months.

Our thoughts today are also with our political prisoners and their families. Many have already begun their 12th consecutive year of incarceration in the living death of British prisons - consigned there, at this point in time, for over half of their adult lives, by a British judiciary and legal system whose active role in this war, in the words of English Brigadier-General Frank Kitson - the architect of modern British oppression - is no more "than a propaganda cover for the removal of unwanted members of the public."

On this, the 68th anniversary of the assertion in arms of the democratic rights of our nation, we send greetings to all republican activists, to our supporters at home and abroad, to our solidarity groups in the USA, Australia, Europe and Britain, to the Irish people, and to struggling peoples everywhere.

The Irish Republican Army welcomes the continuing political successes of our comrades in Sinn Fein in the electoral field and in the party's enhanced organisation, membership and influence. Sinn Fein's emergence as a major political force in the occupied six counties has provided a politi-

cal focus for the socially and economically disaffected nationalist working-class and other sections of the nationalist community who do not necessarily support the armed struggle, as well as giving an effective political voice to those who actively support the ideal of the Irish Republic.

The Irish Republican Army recognises that armed struggle linked to political action will end the British connection.

#### PAID PERJURERS

In the North, Britain's paid-perjurer tactic remains a major but discredited weapon in their armoury, aimed not only at removing those Irish men and women whom they deem hostile to British interests in Ireland, but also aimed at demoralising and fracturing the solidarity of the nationalist community.

But let us beware. Just as the loss of internment was compensated for by torture, and its loss in turn compensated for by the use of the paid perjurer, so also, when this current inequitable practice becomes untenable, compensation will be found in some equally corrupt 'legal' practice.

The Diplock judge goes through the farce of self-administered warning before consigning the life of a young Irish man or woman to a British jail. Each time he does it, let him also take warning from us: the IRA deem him as guilty as the crown force murderers whom he consistently returns to our streets.

The shoot-to-kill policy, with its periodic legal sanction from the British judiciary and, in the absence of condemnation,

its moral sanction from the Catholic and Protestant Hierarchies, continues abreast with the paid-perjurer tactic in an attempt to break our will to resist.

The Catholic Hierarchy's role in Irish history, in relation to the liberation struggle, is well-known. The Catholic Hierarchy has a duty to adjudicate on moral issues for its flock. But if it is to have a moral position on the use of force it must be on indivisible morality and not a selective one. Selective morality can only be judged to be ideologically motivated and political in substance and aspiration.

We therefore pose this to Bishop Cahal Daly who has maintained a series of pro-SDLP, politically motivated attacks on us. Will you - as publicly and as stridently - demand similar moral caution from the British Catholic hierarchies to their flock in relation to the vast majority of British politicians and all three major political parties who have refused to condemn the several hundreds of murders, committed by crown forces in Ireland? For, surely, Catholic morality is universal and indivisible. Will you - as publicly and as stridently

our people, our children and the unborn generations demand that we pursue this struggle to a successful conclusion and end this evil forever.

South of the British-imposed border, the politicians of Leinster House continue to defend their self-interests above all else and ignore our national rights and the lives and well-being of Northern nationalists.

While, in their poverty, idleness and seeming lack of purpose in life, the unemployed youth of our cities fall victim to the escapism of deadly narcotics, the Leinster House politicians continue to spend tens of millions of the taxpayers' money in protecting the British-imposed border, harassing republicans and bugging each other. Overflights by British army helicopters - into an allegedly sovereign state - continue with open official sanction while the special units of the British army and RUC, with murder their objective, use the state's territory with the covert sanction of the authorities, and when they are discovered there are merely squeaks of protest.

The ever-increasing spiral of collaboration with the crown

means of boosting that party's political profile in the North's nationalist community, it was readily acceded to by the major Leinster House parties in an attempt to bolster the SDLP's flagging electoral appeal in the face of Sinn Fein's republican alternative at the polling booths in the North. The Forum's first act, in the anti-democratic tradition of imperial Britain, was to disenfranchise the 100,000-plus nationalist who voted for Sinn Fein - by excluding Sinn Fein. But they have been caught in a trap of their own making. And it is now clear from the negotiating and bickering over compromising on Ireland's nationhood that the true heirs of this tradition, of the men and women of 1916, are the Republican Movement, its activists and its supporters.

The Forum report, whatever its contents, will be dismissed by unionists safely ensconced in their British-guaranteed veto while the British government itself will toy with it, if it provides a harmless diversion - such as the Constitutional Convention of 1974-76 - or if such toying will provide some benefit for the SDLP in the forthcoming EEC elections. Little has changed since Padraig Pearse first wrote in 1914: "After all, there are in Ireland two parties: those who stand for the English connection and those who stand against it." Nor will it ever change if the managers of this island and its

### ...and now



- demand a similar moral caution from the hierarchies and leadership of the Protestant denominations in Ireland and Britain in this regard? For, surely, what is concerned here, in an era of attempted ecumenism, is Christian morality.

The refusal to answer these questions should leave no one in any doubts as to which side Bishop Cahal Daly is on.

The IRA's use of revolutionary force results from the inescapable fact that we are left with no peaceful or democratic alternative by which to achieve the national rights of our people.

It is a reluctant course of action for any oppressed people to take because of the repression unleashed by such a vicious imperialist power as Britain. But we will not lie down. We cannot lie down. Our martyrs,

forces reached a new peak in March with the indecently-hurried extradition of Dominic McGlinchey in an act of treachery unparalleled in Western Europe since the French Vichy government handed over members of the French resistance to the Nazis.

In desperation, they cite the IRA as justification for increasingly draconian legislation. Let us again be categorical in this matter: the Irish Republican Army is not out to overthrow the twenty-six counties by force of arms. Assertions to the contrary by Free State politicians and Gardaí are based only on their fear of the growing political popularity of the republican cause in Ireland as a whole.

The much-heralded Dublin Forum report seems to be coming adrift. Conceived originally by the SDLP's John Hume as a

people are allowed to prevail. But change it must, and change it will. The age-old demand of the Irish people for political independence is, in this generation, fast reaching irresistible proportions. That aspiration can only be justly fulfilled in the democratic, socialist republican for which we all strive - the republic of Pearse, Connolly and Mellows.

And the first part of our struggle - Britain getting kicked out of Ireland - will be achieved through the force of arms of the Irish Republican Army supported by the oppressed people of Ireland and by the ongoing strides of Sinn Fein on the political front.

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