

# CLASS STRUGGLE



Political Paper of the Revolutionary Communist League of Britain

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*Azania (South Africa)*

## Shoring Up Colonialism

The visit to Britain of PW Botha Premier of the racist state of South Africa, has been condemned by black organisations, the black press, solidarity groups and many political figures and other organizations and groups. Thousands have mobilised for the demonstration against Botha's visit on June 2nd.

Despite this widespread protest, the British government refused to cancel the visit, just as it refused to stop the English rugby tour of South Africa.

This visit should surprise no-one. Successive British governments have criticised the racist order in South Africa while themselves presiding over a whole system of racist oppression of black people here. They have spoken of the need for "improvements" in South Africa for black people while happily watching British companies profit by the super-exploitation of the Azanian masses. (Azania is the name by which more and more of the black people there call the country which European settlers christened "South Africa.") Small wonder that a Prime Minister who spoke of Britain being "swamped by people of a different culture" should welcome Botha, and that Labour leaders who approved racist immigration laws and practices during their party's last term of office should be well to the rear in organising protest against the visit.

### POLICY SHIFTS

The Botha visit is no mere social call. It comes in the context of far-reaching readjustments in the South African regime's internal policies and external relations, which themselves flow from the Botha government's strategy for maintaining the colonial system of oppression in Azania.

In the early 1970's, South Africa maintained a rigid apartheid policy internally; it kept up warm ties with the US, Britain and other western powers, and effectively maintained a security frontier across central Africa, shielded from externally based or supplied guerrilla threats by the Portuguese colonies of Mozambique and Angola, the Smith regime in "Rhodesia", and its own occupied territory of South West Africa (Namibia).

But then one blow after another struck it. Angola and Mozambique won their freedom in 1975, under revolutionary leaderships, followed by Zimbabwe five years later. In 1976, an uprising which started in Soweto spread to other areas of the country.

This was followed by an upsurge in the organisation of trade unions by black workers. On a global level, condemnation of the racist system intensified.

Botha and his colleagues were presented as a more "moderate" strain of South African politicians by the western media when they took office. In fact, they simply provided the policies the South African colonial system needed to survive.

They had beefed up the South African army, which today outnumbers the combined forces of all neighbouring states by an order of 3-1, and has a large superiority over them in technology and weaponry. The Botha regime has used this force and its money to destabilise Angola, Zimbabwe and Mozambique through, respectively, UNITA, the so-called "dissidents", and the "National Resistance Movement" in order to pressure them not to support freedom fighters in Azania and Namibia. Early this year, in the face of the devastation caused by South Africa's activities, Angola and Mozambique made concessions to South Africa in order to gain a breathing space to rebuild their economies and restore stability.

### "LIBERALISATION"

The "moderation" of the Botha regime has shown itself in the removal of certain petty apartheid measures and the decision,

approved at the end of last year by a majority of the white voters, to give Indians and "Coloureds" the right to vote in elections to the racist South African Parliament.

In fact, these were measures to strengthen and preserve the colonial order in Azania. The Botha regime hopes to co-opt a major section of the Indians and "Coloureds" as junior allies in the colonial system. Meanwhile the black majority population have been classified as belonging to "homelands" like Transkei, Bophuthatswana or Ciskei, which have no real independence from the South African regime whatsoever. The upshot of this policy will be that the racist regime will be able to claim to have "democratised" and "liberalised" its rule when in fact, it has tightened its grip. This, in turn will help the British and US governments to justify their continuing support to this vicious regime.

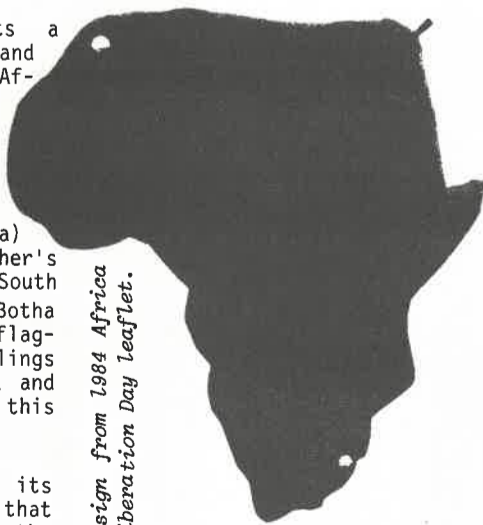
The Azanian people know the truth. Leading up to the Botha visit, the "moderate" racists murdered ANC freedom fighters in prison, and in May they raided offices of the Azanian People's Organisation and confiscated equipment and literature. The Azanian liberation movements are determined to fight on to defeat the South African racist regime and overthrow the colonial system whatever manoeuvres it resorts to.

## PAC Condemns Botha Visit

"Class Struggle" reprints a statement issued by the UK and Ireland Mission of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania when Botha's visit was announced.

"The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (South Africa) condemns Margaret Thatcher's government's invitation to South Africa's Prime Minister PW Botha to visit Britain. It is a flagrant disregard of the feelings and sensibilities of black and progressive people in this country.

This visit must be seen in its true light. We believe that it is calculated to boost the racist Pretoria regime at such a crucial time in our history. South Africa's gunboat diplomacy has turned it into a regional "superpower" in Southern Africa; its destabilisation programme carried out with the full knowledge and connivance of some Western governments deserves the strongest condemnation by the world community.



Design from 1984 Africa Liberation Day leaflet.

During Botha's visit here, the following atrocities will continue to unfold in Azania:

- a). Freedom loving men and women will remain under HOUSE ARREST.
- b). Scores will remain banned.

(Cont. p.2.)

## Philippines Election Boycott P.6.



Fighters of the New People's Army of the Philippines.

## Deportation Campaigns Under Attack P.4.



Josie Thomas: her fight for the right to stay in Britain goes on.

## Miners Struggle:



Women on the march to support the miners. (Picture: Martin Jenkinson)

## Women's Action Groups Mobilize P.3.

# Editorial

Since the mid-Seventies, there have been a number of efforts to improve the image of discredited pro-imperialist and puppet regimes around the world. The first of these attempts came during the Carter administration in the US, with its talk of "human rights." Carter's concern was really with weakening the Soviet Union's international influence and this made a bit of tidying up necessary in areas where US influence was predominant.

## MORE DECEPTION

Now, as the rival imperialist powers, especially the superpowers, jockey for position and at the same time, try to crush the growing fight of the Third World for independence national liberation and social progress, the Reagan administration, in co-operation with the British government, is trying to do a repair job on the images of a number of friendly regimes.

-In El Salvador and the Philippines, elections have recently taken place which were intended to give a veneer of democracy to US client regimes, despite the fact that they took place in an atmosphere of state terror.

-The racist South African regime has given itself a facelift by extending the right to vote for its parliament to "Indians and Coloureds" and a few other cosmetic changes.

-The Shamir government in Israel is going to the polls earlier than it wished. Both the US and other western imperialist powers hope for the return of a Labour government, which will give the Zionist state an image of greater "flexibility" and "moderation."

## BRUTAL REALITY

Yet side by side with this image improvement effort, there has been an increase in imperialist intervention in the Third World through reliable agents and directly.

-Following the El Salvador elections, the US Congress approved a greatly increased military aid package to the fascist regime. The way has already been opened for a possible increase in US intervention in the Philippines.

-The US occupied Grenada last year and is still there, trying to make sure that the revolutionary New Jewel Movement doesn't make a comeback in any shape or form. It has not only armed and trained counter-revolutionary bands of terrorists

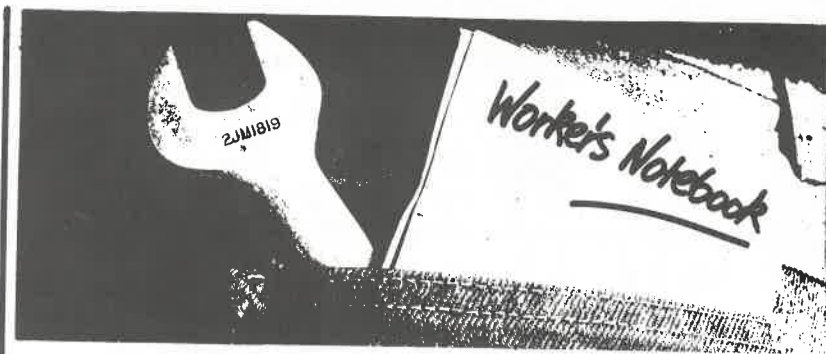
to destabilize free Nicaragua, but has used its own forces directly to mine Nicaraguan ports.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union defends its own "sphere of influence" with no less brutality. It recently carried out its most massive attack yet against Afghan freedom fighters in the Panjshir valley, boosted arms supplies to the Ethiopian regime to counter the advance of the Eritrean liberation forces, and backed Vietnamese provocations against China.

## THE PEOPLE WILL WIN

The fact that western imperialists are seeking to improve the image of certain of their clients and allies in the Third World, while the superpowers in particular (but not just the superpowers) are resorting to greater intervention and increased brutality to crush progressive movements there are signs of the weakness of the imperialist system. If it was not for the strength of the people's struggles across the Third World, the imperialists would not have to use such desperate measures.

This merely confirms that the historically inevitable doom of imperialism is approaching.



Strip searching, a common assault on women in Armagh jail for some years, has now been extended to Greenham women. Ten women were arrested after breaking into Greenham base, searched by the Ministry of Defence police officer on duty, and then taken by the Americans to Huntingdon police station. Half of the women were then subjected to a strip search by a female American security officer at the police station. They were all released without charge.

Democracy in action this week, in Dumbarton where the plans for developing the Trident nuclear submarine base on the Clyde were made public. Vice-Admiral Anthony Tippet, armed with a 147-page "environmental impact assessment" spoke to local councillors. There is strong local opposition to the plans despite a 26% unemployment rate. The area is a 'nuclear free zone' and many of the councillors were elected on that basis. Head of the Council Planning Committee, Ian Leitch, explained: "It doesn't matter a tupenny hoot what we say or do, as it will all go to the Secretary of State for Scotland in the end." The meeting was peacefully picketed by anti-Trident protesters, ten of whom were arrested and seven taken off the roof by naval police. Further arrests were halted by threatening to chuck out the naval officers from the meeting! (The Trident programme has never been debated or voted on in Parliament: only £8-£10 billion of radio-activity after all!)

Plans to impose cuts totalling nearly £11 million a year which would mean the running down of St Thomas Hospital, closure of one or two other large hospitals and the loss of 1,500 jobs have been drawn up by West Lambeth health authority in London. The confidential paper says that annual spending in West Lambeth should be reduced from £72.7 million a year to £61.9 million by 1993. Options include substantially reducing beds in three hospitals - St Thomas, Tooting Bec, which takes the mentally ill; and South-Western in Brixton, which looks after disturbed elderly people: or closing one or two of the hospitals.

For the past three years, all details of prospective new employees, at Westland Aircraft, have been sent to the Ministry of Defence, for security vetting. (One more example of creeping fascism of the state.)

## PAC Statement

(Cont. from front page.)

c). Scores will remain held under Section Six of their "Terrorism Act" without any recourse to their lawyers, denied visits by their loved ones.

d). Trade unionists will continue to be detained.

e). Thousands of people will continue to be forcibly removed

from their land to give way for multinational concerns to create their monuments of profit.

f). Hundreds of workers will be arrested for various "pass law offences."

g). Millions of school children will continue being miseducated under the Botha government's Bantu Education system.

Whilst here, the Prime Minister will supervise his espionage

network, front organizations, give further orders for the harassment of South African exiles in this country and give moral and material support to South Africa's gun runners in this country. Offices of liberation movements and Anti-Apartheid will remain targets.

THE BEST FORM OF CONDEMNATION OF THIS ATROCIOUS REGIME AND INSULTING VISIT IS TO TURN UP FOR A MASSIVE DEMONSTRATION ON 2ND JUNE.



## WHAT THE TOLPUDDLE MARTYRS MEAN TO ME

Dear Editor,

Sometimes, when in conversation with my workmates, I find myself using history to make a point. The reaction to this, is that history is of no importance and should be left well alone. "But how," I remark, "can we every learn without considering past experiences, and in particular, those which relate to working class struggles of the past?" The Tolpuddle men are a positive example of our need to learn.

The first thing I learn, is from their strong determination to struggle for rights, which even at this moment are being suppressed. Secondly, their denial of self-interest, which gave them the strength to unite, to serve the interests of others; a principle which is seemingly lacking with some of us today.

It is very difficult for us in the 1980's to visualise and understand the lifestyle of those six men from Dorset. There was no instant lighting or heating to comfort them before setting off for work, on that eventful morning of their arrest and imprisonment, on February 24th 1834. They were simple men, with simple ways, and with a strong devotion towards their Methodist beliefs, which no doubt inspired their determination for the recognition of their Friendly Society of Agricultural Labourers, which they had founded in Tolpuddle.

From these six men, I learn that the need for change, and to challenge injustice, at all times, and not when it is just comfortable for us to do so, should be in the forefront of all our struggles. I learn also from these men, that they were conscious of selling their labour, and that their subservience to their masters and the

wealthy few was no doubt in question.

I learn, that the sentence of transportation for these men was significant in bringing many people together in denouncing the law, and therefore, through struggle, changing it. It is with these kinds of thoughts, together with the spirit of the Tolpuddle men, which drives me to have faith in those in our trade unions who are willing to fight and struggle for change in the interests of all working people.

Finally, how many of us trade unionists, I wonder, are conscious of what we are about? If we work in our unions for selfish reasons, and solve our many problems in pursuance of a quiet life, then we have accomplished nothing but isolation.

In this year of celebration and 150th anniversary of the Tolpuddle Martyrs, let us strive to emulate the very spirit of those men, and go forward to change those who are self-interested, and unite with all who can be united, to struggle for a better and peaceful world.

It is not just what the Tolpuddle Martyrs mean to me, but, more readily, what they should mean to us!!

Yeovil reader.

## TOLPUDDLE ANNIVERSARY

THE ANNUAL TOLPUDDLE RALLY  
Sunday, 1st July.

11.00 a.m. to 5 p.m.  
TOLPUDDLE  
near Dorchester, Dorset.

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Write to: "Class Struggle",

c/o New Era Books, 203 Seven Sisters Rd., London, N.4 3NG.

Dear Editor,

The very full article on education in the May issue of CS brings out into the open several matters which are normally ignored or glossed over by other writers on the state of the education system, and its purpose and direction. While not agreeing with all of the criticisms and analyses made, the writer must be congratulated for such a wide ranging and honest look at aspects which are usually avoided.

However, the introduction to the article mentioned "the main issue", and defined this as "What is the essential character of the education system in Britain, and what are the real politics that lie behind the various political issues?"

My main criticism must be that no attempt was made - and it need only have been brief, - to look at the total class relationships in the total area of education in Britain, - because only in this way can the essential character of the education system be understood. Namely, that the ruling class have their own completely separate education system in the 'public' fee-paying schools, Eton, Harrow, Winchester, Rugby, etc. etc. and it is from these 'elite' establishments that the scions of the ruling class will succeed their fathers as top judges, armed forces officers, civil servants, 'captains of industry', government officials, etc. - all the paraphernalia of where the real sources of State power lie.

It's true that a small section of middle class, and an even smaller section of working class children, proceed from grammar, comprehensive, secondary etc. schools to eventually fill one or two little niches in the state apparatus. The chances are that such examples will have become complete mercenary accomplices of the ruling class by the time they get promoted to positions of 'influence'. In fact it will be precisely their degree of betrayal of their class origins which will decide how quickly and how far they 'progress' up the ladder of 'promotion'.

We must have this vital point always in front of our eyes, - the ruling class have their education system, - the rest of us have something completely separate. Whilst we are right to fight for all improvements within the 'state' system, the essential character of the total education system is that it is based on and reflects the class structure of society as a whole. Fight for reforms - of course. Only 'ultra-left' pseudos desert all kinds of battle. But let there be no illusions. Not until we have smashed the capitalist state will we be able to institute an education system which the mass of people are entitled. Only then will we have the power to shovel the Etons and Harrows and Winchesters into the dustbins of history, and develop our own new state apparatus run by our people, educated in our class needs, - a state controlled by the working people for the benefit of the mass of citizens.

# Communities Fight Back



WOMEN'S ACTION GROUPS

"You've got one hell of a fight on your hands. That's our message. Because if this government thinks the fight is just with the miners, they're

WOMEN'S ROLE

The first group of 'Women Against Pit Closures' was set up at the beginning of the strike in South Yorkshire. Now there are women's action

The work that these groups are taking on includes the basic day-by-day survival of their families. After eleven weeks with no wage coming in and a long overtime ban before that, money is short. Women have been organising money and food collections and distribution in the villages. They are also getting trained in welfare rights to advise other women. In many areas in South Yorkshire, a local hall has been taken over to organise food and general support for families. They are mainly financed by donations and the meals provided there are often the only cooked food families get. In one Nottinghamshire village women had to occupy a hall overnight before they got permission to use it. In another area, women marched to the local Electricity Board to stop a family having their power cut off.

role of support but have organised themselves in separate groups and taken independent initiatives, like the Barnsley march.

a long tradition of class struggle. But they also talked about the need to overcome contradictions within the class between men and women, to fight for the right of women to an equal part in the struggle.



mistaken. The fight is with the men and the women and their families ... We are united and we will not be defeated. Not now, or ever again!"

groups in most of the mining areas. A group recently set up in Cortonwood, South Yorkshire already has one hundred members. No-one had expected 10,000 to respond when the Barnsley group first organised their march.

In addition women are travelling round speaking at meetings and generally rallying support for their struggle.

It is a significant step that women have not limited themselves to their more traditional

Speakers at the rally in Barnsley stressed that their place was on the picket line, too. Anne Hunter, one of the founder members of the Barnsley group, explained: "We want to mobilise support and give everyone the heart to carry on. That does mean that some women are coming into conflict with their men over whose turn it is to picket, and who will stay at home with the kids.

There is no doubt that both men and women in the mining communities are prepared for a protracted struggle if necessary. They are fully aware of the hardships this will entail but are determined to continue. Not only will the support of women be essential but their participation could also bring a new broader element into that struggle.

The speaker was a founder member of the Barnsley Women's Action Group who organised and led a 10,000-strong march through Barnsley on Saturday May 12th. Most of the marchers were women and they had come from all the mining communities of England and Wales. There were banners from Durham, Kent, Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire and Wales.



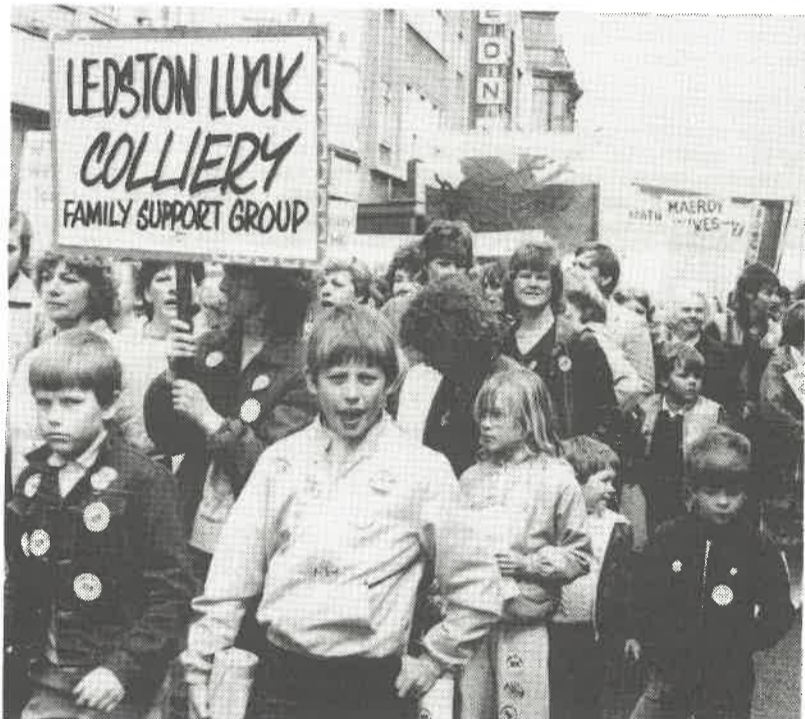
For many, it is their first political involvement."

Many mining families are already desperately short of money. The 1980 Social Security Act takes away £15 from the dependants' entitlement as assumed "strike pay". Since the NUM does not pay strike pay, many miners' families with one or two children are trying to live on £10-15 per week. In addition, the DHSS is now threatening to deduct more because of the food and money donations the families may receive.

Donations should be sent to: Women Against Pit Closures, 5 Pack Horse Green, Silkstone, Barnsley, South Yorks.

MINING COMMUNITIES

The NCB's plan to close pits threatens the whole community, and its way of life and it is whole communities that are fighting back - men, women and children. The confrontations between pickets and ranks of police are the most dramatic and sharp edge of the conflict. But behind these scenes the mining communities are organising to resist the state's attack. And women have increasingly come forward to play a key role.



JOB-SHARING

Another speaker said: "Over the last few weeks, the arguments in our house have all been over whose turn to baby-sit and whose to picket. Talk about job-sharing! The last nine weeks have been job-sharing at its best!"

On the whole, the women stressed the support they were getting for their activities. They saw their struggle arising from

# Moles Among the Miners

'Class Struggle' correspondent.

In the article 'The Police and The Miners' last month, we referred to the fact that the 'Guardian' had printed the results of an investigation into the structure and role of MI5 and the Special Branch. This appeared in a three-part series called 'The Watchers', only eleven days after the Home Secretary, Leon Brittan, had denied that there was any undercover police operation against the miners and also on the day after a former MI5 man, Michael Bettaney had been convicted of spying for the Soviet Union.

In the first report, it was stated that state monitoring of political activity has been on the increase for a long time. At the centre of this operation is the headquarters of the Security Service in Curzon Street House in Mayfair. This is described as an extremely secretive organisation with a staff of two thousand who work within the conventional

Civil Service structure, but without any scrutiny or accountability of their activities. It is closely linked through the Home Office, with the Special Branch which has around 1,800 officers spread throughout every police force in the country.

F BRANCH

The two authors of the investigation, Nick Davies and Ian Black, give a useful insight into the six branches that make up this key element in the British state machine. Of particular concern to all those people who are active within the trade union movement, in political groups and broader organisations such as CND, Anti-Apartheid and even children's organisations like the Woodcraft Folk, is F Branch which is responsible for all political surveillance in Britain.

It is divided into at least 8 sections: F1 investigates the revisionist Communist Party;

F7 investigates all other left-wing groups and it would also appear to have responsibility for keeping tabs on right-wing extremists, and on MP's, teachers, lawyers and journalists. F2 is responsible for watching the unions and is required to play a key role during major industrial disputes, such as the current miners' strike. At such times it cooperates closely with the Civil Contingencies Unit in the Cabinet Office. Along with F7 it is helped by FX which has the job of organising long-term infiltration into the various organisations that the department as a whole considers necessary.

POWER AND SECRECY

From what Davies and Black discovered, the immense power of MI5 comes mainly from its freedom to decide who and what are the principal enemy. It makes its own decisions with the minimum interference from

Parliament and Downing Street and preserves its independence by insisting on the necessity for absolute secrecy. As a result any local authority police committee trying to get information about Special Branch activity in their area invariably gets rebuffed and they also suggest that even some Chief Constables are not totally aware of what some of their officers are doing.

METHODS AND TARGETS OF SURVEILLANCE

In the second report they explain some of the methods used by the state to eavesdrop on the unsuspecting public. Phone-tapping, opening mail, use of agents, scrutiny by computer and access to so-called confidential information are all given as examples. In the third report, they describe who are the actual targets for surveillance and point out how many trade unionists are becoming increasingly concerned by the extent of Security Service

and Special Branch monitoring of their activities. They note that the local government workers' union, NALGO has compiled an extensive dossier on government surveillance of unions and will be calling for an enquiry into the Special Branch and aspects of MI5 work at its annual conference this summer.

IS THERE A MOLE?

In the first few weeks of the miners' strike, the familiar face of the British state, in the shape of the uniformed police was very soon apparent. As the strike developed some of its lesser-known features began to emerge. In early April the Chief Constable of South Wales denied allegations of phone-tapping and in reply said that perhaps the Derbyshire police have got a mole in the NUM. After reading this 'Guardian' report, one can only conclude that he was telling the truth and that F7 is doing its work well.

# HERE TO STAY!

# HERE TO FIGHT!



Josie Thomas, Halimat Babamba and Esther Ankeli together in Leeds. Halimat successfully fought against deportation last year, and is now active with Leeds Women Against Deportations in support of Esther and Josie.

At the end of March, the Tory Party issued a press release in which Leon Brittan, Home Secretary, made clear the intention to take a hard line against black people fighting campaigns for their right to stay in this country. In the weeks that followed, Mr Hasbudak was tracked down and quickly deported. His wife and children

year, were also caught and deported in a glare of publicity.

David Waddington, the Minister with responsibility for immigration, gave interviews on radio and television, justifying the Home Office's actions and again picking out for attack particularly the campaigns.

## VICTORIES

There have been victories too, in the last two months. Both Malika Benkhelefa and Dora Amoaka had active campaigns in London and won the right to stay. The Pereira family too, who won massive support from the people of Bishop's Waltham where they live, were finally given leave to stay.

But it is clear that the Home Office sees the campaigns as a threat and wants to stop them.

## 1971 IMMIGRATION ACT

The individual campaigns developed as a response by black people to the attack on them by the state, in particular through the 1971 Immigration Act. Since that Act, the number of deportations has increased each year. The laws themselves, and the way they have been administered and interpreted,

has gradually grown stricter under both Labour and Tory governments. (The rule under which Vinod Chauhan was deported was passed by Labour.)

## NATIONAL MINORITIES FIGHT BACK

The national minority communities were not slow to fight back. The different national minority organisations, both the workers' associations and the temples, mosques and gurdwaras (Sikh temples) mobilised their people in their thousands on national demonstrations.

But a different form of resistance grew up as well, first in the cities in the north of England. Campaigns were fought to defend individuals under threat of deportation. Some of the first people who won their right to stay this way were Sayeed Rahman in Bradford and Abdul Azad in Oldham.

time her children arrived at Manchester Airport in April 1981, there was already an alliance of four individual campaigns to defend black women from deportation. Jaswinder Kaur in Leeds, Nasira Begum and Cynthia Gordon in Manchester and Nazreen Akhtar in Rochdale all won their right to stay by relying on mass support rather than the official tribunals or procedures.

## GROWING TREND

Inspired by the early campaigns, others have successfully fought for their right to stay. In terms of numbers, the campaigns have not significantly decreased the numbers deported. But it has been a growing trend and has exposed the phoney "justice" of the various immigration procedures. More and more black people have looked to this way of fighting and have drawn in



The campaign continues to bring Afia Begum and her daughter Asma back to this country. As we go to press, their deportation is due to be debated in the European Parliament.

## RACIST LAWS

Generally the campaigns have been locally based although there has been some national coordination. More importantly, almost all the campaigns have seen the fight to defend an individual's right to stay within the context of the racist immigration laws which attack all black people.

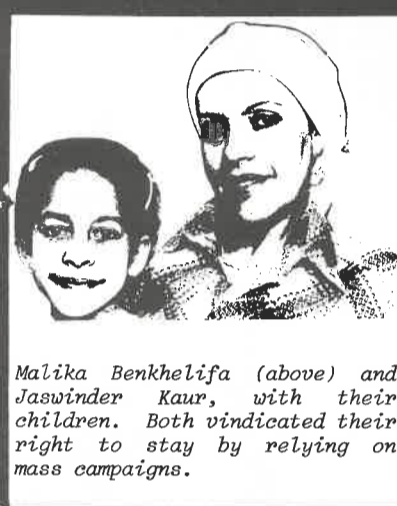
## DEFEND RIGHTS OF BLACK PEOPLE

It is hardly surprising that the Home Office sees this as a threat. If the state is intensifying its attack, we must intensify our defence. The campaigns have the broad aim of defending an individual or family. As communists we defend the right of all black people to be here with their families, and are opposed to all racist immigration laws. While making clear our general views, we must continue to work within the limited aims of the campaigns in defence of individuals.



Muhammed Idrish. The High Court hearing of his case in May was adjourned and will now be heard in the first week of July.

gave themselves up and were promptly deported - but with considerable publicity. Vinod Chauhan was whisked away in secret to avoid such publicity. Afia Begum and her daughter Asma, in hiding for the last



Malika Benkhelefa (above) and Jaswinder Kaur, with their children. Both vindicated their right to stay by relying on mass campaigns.



Militant street campaigns were built based in the national minority communities where these people lived and led by the youth movements. The Home Office was forced to back down.

## ANWAR DITTA

Other campaigns followed. Anwar Ditta's campaign to bring her children home marked a watershed in the struggle. By the

wider sections of people in their support. Black women's groups have taken up the defence of black women and sections of the women's movement as a whole have given consistent support. Black people have sometimes won support from the national majority community where they live - as did the Darr family in Leeds and Sarah Jabaar in Newport, South Wales.

## STATE ATTACKS CAMPAIGNS

By a member of the Vinod Chauhan Defence Campaign.

As we reported in the last issue of 'Class Struggle', Vinod Chauhan from Tameside, was deported to India on 12 April. Within a few weeks, Vinod Chauhan, the Hasbudak family and Afia Begum and her young daughter were all deported, in spite of the campaigns to defend their right to stay in this country.

Until recently, it was generally true that those who fought vigorous campaigns against their threatened deportation were likely to succeed - usually with the proviso about their "case" being an "exception" or for "compassionate" reasons, so that the fabric of the law remained intact, and no precedents could be claimed.

Clearly the recent spate of deportations is not accidental. Equally clearly, the motivation for this change comes right from the top. The first real sign of this came in Leon Brittan's speech to the Monday Club on 28 March 1984, where he characterised as "pernicious" "the attempt by unscrupulous politicians and others to erode the basis of our present immigration controls through agitation and allegations based on highly selective and biased accounts of individual cases."

## HOME OFFICE TAKES ON ANTI-DEPORTATION CAMPAIGNS

So, it is clear that the Home Office intends to take on the

anti-deportation campaigns in an all-round way. This amounts to a sharpening of the contradiction between the racist state and the national minorities, by the government. Less and less will there be any point in pursuing the institutional struggle against deportation through tribunals, etc. etc.

Why has the Home Office changed tactics in this way? It will take some time to be fully clear about this, but there are some points we can make now.

First, it obviously is not mainly because they need to deport these few extra people. In one sense, their system has always worked very well for them: they were able to bundle thousands of people out of the country quietly, while apparently being prepared to be "reasonable" regarding the few who had organised campaigns and were in the public eye. An extra few black people being thrown out is neither here nor there to the bourgeoisie.

Secondly, it is more likely that the bourgeoisie realised that those involved in the campaigns were learning the "wrong" lessons. Instead of mainly creating illusions that their system could be made to work, the campaigns were rather basic arenas for people to learn about the systematic state attacks on national minority people, to develop their opposition to this. Therefore, the "compassionate" approach was no longer of any value.

Thirdly, there was a definite trend among the campaigns to develop solidarity with each other, and thus start to overcome one of the major drawbacks of anti-deportation campaigns - namely, their concentration on the strengths or weaknesses of individuals. Much more, there was a developing tendency to generalise the anti-deportation struggle and see it as part of the struggle against state racism.

Fourthly, it is in line with a general clampdown on grass roots levels of organisation that are outside the control of bourgeois politicians and the traditional institutional set-up. Such grass roots organisations have been recognised by the bourgeoisie as a potential threat, and so they have tried to stamp on them now while they are relatively weak and uncoordinated.

Fifthly, it is part of the move towards increasingly overt racism by the bourgeoisie, who now feel it possible or necessary to talk straight and not wrap up their imperialism in fine democratic words and gestures.

## CHANGE IN TACTICS

What all this boils down to is a significant change in the way the bourgeoisie fights. It does not in any way represent a change in basic attitude, or mean the bourgeois parties are more racist or more imperialist than they were.



## JOSIE FIGHTS ON NEW APPEAL HEARD



Josie Thomas with her four British-born children, Richard, David, Stephen and Georgette.

On 24 March, supporters of Josephine Thomas packed the courtroom and picketed outside, when her appeal against deportation was heard in London. No decision was given on that day and as we go to press, Josephine Thomas is waiting for the result through the post.

Esther Ankeli, who herself had a tribunal to appeal against deportation in the same week at Manchester, was among the many present. Other supporters came from Huddersfield where Josie lives, Leeds, Sheffield, London and elsewhere.

Josie was appealing the decision of the last tribunal held in Leeds in December 1983 and January 1984. She lost

that appeal but there was a recommendation that the Home Secretary reconsider.

## FIVE YEARS' FIGHT

Josie has been fighting for her right to stay here with her family since 1979. The campaign started in 1982. (For the background see interview in 'Class Struggle' October 1983.) At that time she talked about the pressure on her: "I have to keep brave courage. But sometime it's not easy. To cope with it inside isn't easy."

Since then she has had to face another tribunal in December,

(Cont. p.5.)

# Waddington muzzled

Home Office Minister Waddington made a cosmetic trip to Bristol on May 14th in an attempt to improve his government's image on race relations. As a guest of the Bristol C.R.E. (Council for Racial Equality), he visited various projects, schools and businesses involving black people, in the hope that he would forget his responsibility for 2,000 deportations a year and division of families under the racist Immigration Laws and Nationality Act.

With only 48 hours warning of the visit, many individuals and organisations, especially the Bristol Campaign Against Racist Laws, the Bristol Black Women's Group, and Muhammad Idrish Defence Campaign, provided a stinging rebuff to his plans. After pickets had dogged his progress throughout the day, over 200 people turned up to a public meeting organised by the C.R.E. in the evening.

The intention of the organisers of the meeting was that Waddington would lecture us for a while, and then would condescend to answer our questions. However, before he could start, and in spite of his pro-

tests, a motion was put to the meeting, and overwhelmingly carried, that he should neither make a speech nor answer questions, but should instead sit and listen to the grievances of black people in Bristol. So for three quarters of an hour speaker after speaker, both men and women, vividly exposed the racist record of this and previous governments.

Many highlighted the use of the "primary purpose rule" to prevent fiances coming to Britain to marry - by claiming that their "primary purpose" is to settle here, and marriage is only a "secondary" motive. The case of Muhammad Idrish, threatened with deportation since he became separated from his wife, was mentioned. Several speakers also used the occasion to express the disgust of many people at the invitation to South African Prime Minister Botha to visit this country.

Finally, when Waddington got up to reply to this damning indictment, virtually everyone walked out. Nobody was going to be impressed by his fine sounding words when every day they were suffering from his deeds.

fought a campaign and won her right to stay last year. Josie was saddened and angry to see the reports of Afia Begum's deportation on television and defends the right to stay of those like Muhammad Idrish whose marriage has broken down. "It's these people in the Home Office that's doing wrong. They use their brains the wrong way round."

Josie sees so many things that the government could usefully spend time and energy on. She herself has problems with housing and severe health problems caused by one of the dirty jobs she did when she first came to Huddersfield in 1962.

She is hoping for success in the tribunal this time. She said afterwards that she thought her case was put more clearly this time: "The truth came out plainly, slowly and correctly."

"I'm looking for a happy ending so that my family can be as it should be," she said. More and more people know about Josie now and are supporting her. It is time that the Home Office put an end to Josie's ordeal and leave her to live in peace with her family.

## Josie Fights On

(contd. from p. 4)

adjourned to January and a period of waiting for that decision. Now she must wait again. She is determined to go on fighting. "I hope this one will be the last. But if it doesn't settle it, there'll be another. I shall never sink, while I have God in me. No man will destroy me. I intend to make a happy home with my children and no man will stop me."

### DIVIDED FAMILY

Josie's four British-born children all live with her in Huddersfield. Richard, the oldest, is now working. David and Stephen are at school. Georgette, the youngest, has been in and out of hospital with a serious chest condition. Josie wants to be re-united with Samuel who was born in Grenada and still lives there with his grandmother.

### COMMON STRUGGLE

Josie identifies with other black people fighting state racism. She has worked with Halimat Babamba, in Leeds, who

# Fighting N.H.S. Racism

The qualifications of Mark Pannampalam (MBBS (Lond), FRCS, FRCS, FRCS, FRCS, FICS) should enable him to obtain a job in the NHS; he is, after all, one of the most highly qualified surgeons in Britain. However, he has been kept unemployed by the institutional racism of the NHS.

There have been many reports in the past of black patients being kept waiting for treatment, black doctors kept in junior positions, and it is no accident that a large proportion of the over-worked and badly-paid nursing staff in most urban areas of Britain are black women. In October 1982, the NHS changed its regulations to require that people wanting NHS treatment would first have to prove that they were "ordinarily resident" in the U.K. - something which would clearly discriminate against black people, as English-speaking white people simply aren't asked to prove such a thing. Clearly the NHS is a racist institution.

### LEGAL ACTION

Mark Pannampalam is taking legal action against five local

authorities in order to expose and combat NHS racism. He is in the process of taking the Trent, North Western, Leicester, East Anglian and South-East Thames Health Authorities to industrial tribunals over their refusal to consider his application for a permanent post as a Consultant in General Surgery. They are having to try to publicly justify their stand, which is no easy task for them. They can hardly claim that Mr Pannampalam is under-qualified, after all.

Until recently, Mr Pannampalam's challenge to the NHS was from an employment angle, but he has now started a campaign against the brutalisation of black patients.

His next appearances before industrial tribunals will be in London on June 13 and 27. A Mark Pannampalam Support Campaign has been formed, and can be contacted for more information and with offers of support at: Hackney Asian Centre, 17-18 Dalston Lane, London E8 3DF.

## Azania Solidarity

A new organization has been formed to work in solidarity with Azania's people. At a May Day meeting in central London, a speaker for Azanian Workers Solidarity spoke about the conditions faced by black workers under the racist system in South Africa, and called for support for the work of this organization.

### AIMS

Azanian Workers Solidarity aims to mobilize support for the various struggles of Azanian workers. It aims to educate workers in Britain on the situation of black workers in Azania, to forge links between unions and progressive unions here and the Azanian workers and people, and to give practical solidarity to Azania through boycotts and demonstrations and by raising funds to send to Azanian unions.

The meeting was organized by an alliance of organizations which included Pan Africanist Congress, Asian Collective of

East London, Black People's Socialist League and the RCL. There was also a speaker from Sinn Fein. All the speakers pledged solidarity with the Azanian people's struggle.

### PATU

The previous month, the Black Consciousness Movement and RCL held a joint showing of the film "PATU," made by a black woman activist from New Zealand, Merata Mita.

"PATU" shows how the anti-rugby tour movement took off in New Zealand a few years ago. It was a great success with the more than 80 people who attended. A collection covered expenses and left £50 to be donated to an AZAPO project inside Azania.

The Azanian Workers Solidarity Committee can be contacted at:

11, Rosebank Avenue, Sudbury Hill, Wembley, MIDDX HA0 2TL

## Kashmiris Stand in Elections



In last month's 'Class Struggle' we reported that the Kashmiris Defence Campaign was standing candidates in the local elections in Birmingham.

Janghir Akhter Mirza, who stood in Nechells Ward, came third out of five candidates with 650 votes. Mohammed Siddique, who stood in Small Heath Ward, also came third out of five, with 705 votes.

Over 1300 votes for the two candidates represents a significant success for the campaign. They had only had three weeks to organise in and were up against the major bourgeois political parties, with the years of experience and vast resources. In each ward the SDP/Liberal Alliance was beaten into fourth place.

The votes at the election show the deep support that exists within the Kashmiri community for the freedom struggle of their country and for the basic stand of the defence campaign that Kashmiri people are not criminals. The support in the community is, of course, much wider than shown in the votes as a significant section of the people do not vote at all.

### FREE THE FIVE

Meanwhile the campaign goes on to free the five who are still in jail. Bail applications for two have been refused recently. And two of the conspiracy charges have been changed to murder charges by the state. The campaign expects that the committal hearings will take place in about one month.

The Kashmiris Defence Campaign will continue its campaign to protest against harassment of the Kashmiri people and in particular to free the five still in jail.

## Scotland:

### Police Conspiracy Exposed

On 19 December of last year, in a series of raids Glasgow police arrested several members and supporters of the Scottish Republican Socialist Party (SRSP). Two members, Donald Anderson and Creag Browning, were charged with "conspiracy to further the aims of the SRSP or other associates unknown by criminal means."

While on remand Creag Browning, 16 years old, admitted the possession of explosives but refused to implicate his comrade Donald Anderson, despite prolonged questioning and intimidation. This forced the police to drop the original charges to simple charges of possession of explosives. The case finally came to full trial on April 2nd, nearly a month after it should have been heard under the 110-day rule which applies in Scots law. The

flimsy nature of the evidence was soon revealed. It was apparent that the explosives, themselves stolen, had been supplied by two Special Branch agents, who had deliberately set out to frame the two defendants.

A strong campaign had been launched on behalf of the defendants, and the publicity this achieved undoubtedly helped expose the nature of the prosecution's evidence. Donald Anderson walked free at the end of the trial while Creag Browning received the minimum sentence of one year's detention. This, along with the attempted frame-up of Welsh Republican Socialists last year, shows the increasing willingness of the British state to suppress those who are most vocal in their opposition to it, wherever they might be.

## Campaign to Close H-Wing

The campaign to close down H-wing in Durham Prison, continues. The women on this unit staged a 35 hour day hunger strike to protest at their conditions. At one time 23 out of the total of 35 women on the unit joined in this hunger strike protest. Solidarity on the unit was strong and determined. However family and friends outside were very worried that the women had been driven to use this double-edged sword as their only means of drawing attention to their plight, and urged them to stop the strike. Many of the women had already been on this condemned unit for many years and the conditions have already taken their toll on the women's health. The likelihood of having some very, very sick and even dead women on the unit was a great danger. Ex-inmates from the wing report that the physical and psychological effects are considerable, loss of hair, loss of memory, withdrawing into solitary confine-

ment more frequently, loss of energy, eyesight problems from the fluorescent lights, skin changes in colour and texture, the list is endless. Judith Ward who has spent 10 years on the unit has deteriorated in health gradually so that she is hardly recognisable from the young strong woman of 10 years ago. She weighs less than seven stone and has frequent and increasingly severe attacks of bronchitis and collapse. Lorraine Greenwood lost nearly five stones in weight and was hospitalised in the punishment cell on 'H' unit. We do not as yet have reports from the other women involved.

### TREMENDOUS RESPONSE

However the campaign has produced a tremendous response from all round the country. There have been hundreds of letters of support to the campaign and to women in 'H' unit, from both individuals

and organisations. Durham women's groups and the Durham University Students' Union organised a demonstration outside 'H' wing which included a band which was heard by the women inside.

Other work around the campaign has included work with journalists and other media workers and with MP's to get them to ask questions in the House of Commons. Solicitors have been consulted about the rights of the women inside.

Information from: Women in Prison, 25 Horseall Road, London N5 1XL. Tel: 01-609-3198.

You can write direct to women on the unit by writing to Judith Ward or Lorraine Greenwood. The campaign is still asking for people to send white flowers as a symbol of solidarity through Interflora.

# The Palestine Question

## Part 3: Zionist Colonialism British Repression Palestinian Resistance



By David Evans

With the war's end in 1918, Palestine lived under British military administration until its fate was formally decided. The Versailles Peace Conference was convened in January 1919. Chaim Weitzmann attended as representative of the World Zionist Organization, which submitted a memorandum setting out its proposals for Palestine. Its draft resolution called for:

1. Recognition of the historic right of the Jews to Palestine and the right of all Jews to reconstitute their National Home in Palestine.
2. The establishment of boundaries for Palestine which would include what is today Palestine, western Jordan, south-western Syria, and south Lebanon.
3. Establishment of a British mandate in Palestine.
4. Eventual realisation of the Balfour Declaration.
5. Promotion of Jewish colonisation in Palestine.
6. Creation of a Jewish representative council in Palestine.

When asked to explain what was meant by "a Jewish National Home", Weitzmann said. "I define the Jewish National Home to mean the creation of an administration which would arise out of the natural conditions of the country, always safeguarding the interests of non-Jews of the country - with the hope that by Jewish immigration, Palestine would ultimately become as Jewish as England is English."

The Zionist organisation did not get the borders it wanted, but it got the rest. Palestine became a British Mandate. Technically, a mandate was meant to be a territory held in trust while it was prepared for independence; in reality, the mandate system was simply a disguised way of partitioning the foreign territories of the defeated German and Ottoman Empires between the victorious powers.

The Balfour Declaration was included in the terms of the British Mandate, which came into effect on 28 September 1922.

The Zionists created the "representative council" they had demanded at Versailles, in the shape of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, which had official British recognition. To all intents and purposes, the Jewish Agency was simply another name for the Zionist organisation in Palestine.

### THE BORDER QUESTION

But the border question still caused problems. Herzl, the founder of modern political Zionism, had identified the land of Israel as the land "between the Nile and the Euphrates." The Zionist claim at Versailles has already been mentioned. But France was insistent on holding present-day southern Lebanon and south-west Syria, so they were not included in the British Mandate. But then, the territory which many Zionists have called "Palestine" since (when it suited them) was further divided into

Transjordan and Palestine, with the former excluded from the area of Jewish colonisation.

There were divisions among Zionist activists over what attitude to take towards this. Most did not like the arrangement, but thought that they should worry about colonising Palestine proper for the foreseeable future. Others, led by Vladimir Jabotinsky, called for the Mandate to be revised to include Transjordan in Palestine, and they therefore came to be known as Revisionists. Revisionist Zionism represented a small minority at that time - moreover, a minority often seen as extreme and rather eccentric, yet today, Revisionism is the dominant trend in Zionism, represented by Begin and the present Israeli Premier, Yitzhak Shamir.

### PALESTINIAN RESISTANCE GROWS

As far back as the 1880's, there are reports of Palestinian peasants attacking colonies of European Jews who were settling on their land - land which they had farmed for centuries, but which absentee landlords sold from under their feet. Prior to the First World War, petitions had been addressed to the Ottoman Sultan for an end to Zionist colonisation, and the Palestinians had made their views towards the Zionist movement known in no uncertain way - through the press, meetings, protests and occasionally through violence.

After the British army occupied Palestine, the officers charged with its administration were not slow to realise how the Palestinians felt towards the Zionist movement. All three Chief Administrators during the period of military government recognised the depth of Palestinian opposition. In a characteristic bit of understatement, the first Chief Political Officer in Palestine, Major-General Gilbert Clayton, noted in June 1918, that: "Any real development of the ideas which Zionists hold to be at the root of the declaration made by His Majesty's Government (i.e. the Balfour Declaration - D.E.) entails a measure of preferential treatment to Jews in Palestine. This is bound to lead to some feeling on the part of other interested communities, especially the local Arabs."

Clayton's prediction was correct, although it hardly required any insight to foresee what must inevitably happen.

There was a succession of riots and uprisings by the Palestinians - in April 1920, May 1921, August 1929 and March 1933. Each time, the British appointed commissions of inquiry; each time, they pointed to Zionist activity and objectives as the root cause of Palestinian unrest, and each time, the findings made little or no difference to British policy. Jewish immigration and land acquisition continued.

### IMPERIAL INTERESTS

Some supporters of the Palestinian cause argue to this day that British policy towards Palestine was pro-Zionist because of the "Zionist lobby".

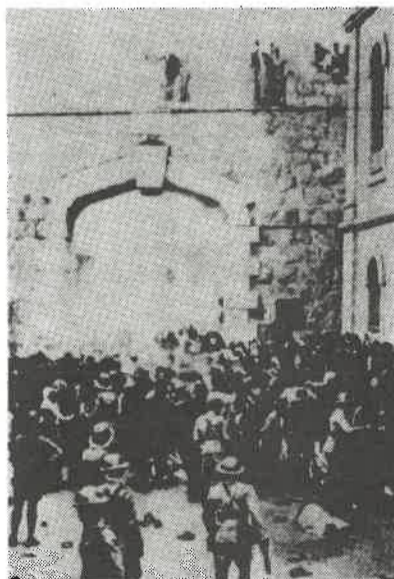
In fact, British imperialism backed Zionism because it was in its interests to do so. Some imperialists saw the "Jewish National Home" as a future protector of the Suez Canal for Britain. Sir Ronald Storrs, Military Governor of Jerusalem before the Mandate came into force, was simply making an honest statement of British imperialist hopes, when he said: "A Jewish state... could be for England 'a little loyal Jewish Ulster' in a sea of potentially hostile Arabism."

The comparison is highly appropriate; Britain has guaranteed loyalist privileges in the north of Ireland and has thereby maintained a bloc of Ireland's people who are committed to being part of the United Kingdom and who, by their opposition to Irish unity, help Britain dominate the whole of Ireland. In the Middle East, when "Israel" was founded in 1948 it was subsidised more and more heavily by imperialism, especially by the US, because of the role it played as a watchdog and in consciously weakening and dividing the Arab world.

This is not to deny that there has been a strong and effective Zionist lobby, but imperialists have ridden roughshod over critics and pressure groups so often in history that it should scarcely need arguing that the primary reason for Britain's (and now the US') stand on Palestine is self-interest.

### THE PASSFIELD WHITE PAPER

In 1929, following an incident at the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem, fighting spread throughout Palestine, resulting in the deaths of 133 Jews and 116 Arabs. Two successive commissions of inquiry appointed by Ramsey MacDonald's Labour Government reported on Palestinian demands, and recommended that Jewish immigration should be controlled.



1929 rebellion suppressed by the British army.

The government responded with a statement of policy known as the Passfield White Paper (after the Colonial Secretary Passfield, better known as the Fabian, Sydney Webb). This stated that a final quota of 75,000 more immigrants should be allowed into Palestine over the next five years, and then Jewish immigration should stop, and self-governing institutions should be set up.

The Zionists were furious: they opposed a halt to immigration because it would leave them without the necessary strength to establish a Jewish state; they opposed any form of "self-governing institution" for the whole of Palestine because if it was at all democratic, it would have an Arab majority, which would oppose Zionist plans

at every turn. They mobilised against it. Ramsey MacDonald rapidly capitulated and effectively repudiated the White Paper in a letter to Weitzmann which he read out in the House of Commons.

Not only did MacDonald affirm that Britain had "the obligation to facilitate Jewish immigration and to encourage close settlement by Jews on the land" he also gave a seal of approval to Zionist racist employment policies: "It is necessary also to have regard to the declared policy of the Jewish Agency to the effect that 'in all the works or undertakings carried out or furthered by the Agency it shall be deemed to be a matter of principle that Jewish labour shall be employed.'"

The Zionist lobby was effective in this case, but it cannot be seriously maintained that MacDonald was acting against his will or that of British imperialism when he overturned the policies put forward in the White Paper. What British imperialism conceded as a result of intense Palestinian pressure it readily withdrew when its natural colonial allies in the Zionist movement grumbled.

### ZIONIST ENTERPRISE GROWS

Jewish immigration to Palestine reached new levels following MacDonald's letter and the rise of Nazism in Germany. Between 1917 and 1929, the Jewish population had trebled to reach 156,000. In 1933, Jewish immigration reached the figure of 30,327; in 1934, 42,000; in 1935, 61,000 - equivalent to 4.7% of the population of Palestine. Altogether, despite a higher Arab birthrate, the Jewish population of Palestine grew from 8% in 1917 to around 33% in 1948, when the British Mandate ended.

Most of the immigrants had to settle in towns, because the Palestinian peasants refused to sell their lands, even when British taxation drove them to the brink of ruin. In the towns, Jewish capitalists set up industries which only employed Jewish workers and competed with the generally very small scale Arab firms. They were assisted by the Histadrut, the Zionist "trade union."

The Histadrut was one of the key instruments of the Zionist colonisation of Palestine - and still is. It was founded in 1920 as an exclusively Jewish organisation. (It's full title was the "General Confederation of Hebrew Workers in the Land of Israel" - the word "Hebrew" was only dropped in 1966.) A year later, it established a public works company - Solel Boneh - and the "Workers' Bank", the latter in cooperation with the World Zionist Organisation. Of course, they only employed Jews.

The Histadrut organised Jewish workers in Jewish-owned industries and ensured that "national" interests were consistently put before any class conflict with the employers. If a private employer took on Arabs hoping to gain by using them as cheap labour, the Histadrut organised strikes, boycotts and pickets to force him to fire the Palestinians. Among the Histadrut's other illustrious activities were destroying Arab-produced fruit and vegetables marketed by Jewish stallholders, harassing Jewish housewives who bought goods at Arab shops and replacing striking Arab workers in the public sector by Jews. To this day, it remains the fraternal body of the British TUC

in Palestine.

Most Jewish land purchase was carried out by the Jewish National Fund. The JNF was founded in 1901 as "a trust for the Jewish people" for the purpose of buying land. By 1948, it owned 54% of the Jewish-owned land in Palestine, on which were 85% of Jewish settlements or establishments. Land purchased by the JNF was to be "the inalienable property of the Jewish people" forever. It leased out land to various Jewish bodies and individuals, under various conditions, the most important and inflexible of which were that the lessee had to be Jewish, and the lease could not be transferred in any way to a non-Jew. The JNF lease stated: "The lessee undertakes to execute all works connected with the cultivation of the holding only with Jewish labour." This racist body continues to enjoy charitable status in Britain and the USA.

### KIBBUTZIM

Much of the JNF's land was leased to kibbutzim (plural of kibbutz). The kibbutz looms large in the mythology of an "enlightened", "progressive" Israel, even though less than 4% of the population of present day Israel live in kibbutzim.

Presented as a socialist collective farm, it was in fact primarily the most effective means of colonising the land of Palestine. Farms owned by an individual or family could only absorb a few Jewish immigrants and experience of the first attempts to colonise Palestine by Jews during the 19th century, suggested that private farmers would tend to employ Arab labour and to become part of Palestinian Arab economic life. That, and the fact that new Zionist settlers inevitably faced the hostility of the peasants they had displaced, meant that the political, social and security arguments for collective farming outweighed any others from the Zionist point of view.

### CORPORATE UNITY

The whole Zionist enterprise was thus highly organised and efficient. Workers, capitalists, farmers and intellectuals were united by their Zionist ideals in a common front against the Palestinian Arab people. The whole network of Zionist institutions was geared to excluding Palestinians and expanding the numbers and strength of Zionist Jews. The unity of this corporate entity was cemented by a steady flow of overseas funding from the World Zionist Organisation, and after the Second World War, from foreign states. This enabled the whole Zionist Jewish community to enjoy a much higher standard of living than it could have had through its own labours; it enabled unprofitable enterprises like the kibbutzim to go on from year to year growing in prosperity while rarely balancing their accounts from their own resources and production.

The Palestinians found themselves gradually being impoverished, pushed off their land, forced out of work and deprived of outlets for their produce, while a movement dedicated to establishing the "National Home" of another people in their land grew in strength under the protective arm of Britain.

In 1935 came the spark which ignited the Great Revolt of 1936-1939 in Palestine.

(Part 4 follows next month.)

# Philippines Elections:

The May 14th elections in the Philippines have turned into a fiasco for the government. According to a statement issued by the main opposition movement, the National Democratic Front, a week and a half after the voting took place, the Marcos regime was overwhelmingly rejected by the Filipino people. Nine million people boycotted the elections, and the opposition parties which did take part made a strong showing.

## REGIME'S AIMS

The Marcos regime had a number of aims in mind when it called the elections.

It had been discredited by its own record over the years, and its blatant assassination of the popular opposition leader Benigno Aquino last August had only worsened its reputation. It hoped that the elections would enable it to claim a "fresh mandate" from the people and repair its tattered "democratic" image abroad.

The Marcos regime and the US government hope that the elections will help the US to justify increased military and economic aid to the regime, in the face of growing opposition from certain sections of public opinion in the USA. For Reagan, they are in fact serving much the same purpose as the recent El Salvador elections in legitimising US backing for a hated right-wing regime.

By throwing a few concessions to some of the opposition, Marcos hoped to split the anti-dictatorship front and draw the "moderate" elements back from their increasing alignment with the underground National Democratic Front.

Finally, with its "fresh mandate", increased US support and, it hoped - splits in the opposition, the regime would be in a stronger position to launch a wave of intense repression against both the legal mass movement and the revolutionary underground opposition.

## BOYCOTT MOVEMENT

From the moment the elections were announced, a massive boycott movement developed. In January, the major legal opposition groups laid down six conditions for their participation in the elections, which included measures to curb presidential powers and the release of all political prisoners. The demands were not met, and so a campaign of civil disobedience and protest was launched.

There were many marches and protests. 100,000 participated in a rally in Manila, the Philippines' capital, on March 7th. 10,000 took part in a 20 mile march in the regional centre of Cebu on March 18th. Shortly before the election, nearly a million took part in a March for Freedom. These were only a few of the many protest actions.

## RESULTS

During the campaign, there were widespread acts of violence by the state forces against the popular opposition.

What are called "death squad killings" in El Salvador are called "salvagings" in the Philippines. Four participants in one March on Manila disappeared at the end of it and were later found murdered; nine people were "salvaged" on Negros island during the elections themselves. The number of "salvagings" in the past few years has climbed into the thousands.

Against such a background, how could people vote freely in any real democratic way?

# NINE MILLION BOYCOTT

Early results showed strong opposition gains; some commentators projected an opposition win in 90 of the 183 contested seats. Then the count was slowed down, and results more favourable to the government began to appear: estimates of opposition gains have been sharply reduced to around 50 seats. The participating opposition groups accused the government of widespread ballot rigging and announced that they would not take their seats in parliament unless 21 specific cases of rigging were investigated.



Meanwhile, the government gave yet another indication of its respect for democratic norms when its forces opened fire on a demonstration in Cebu against ballot rigging, killing four people and wounding over 20.

The National Democratic Front said that the increased opposition

ment unless 21 specific cases of rigging were investigated.

The Philippines consists of a group of islands in South-East Asia; there are over 7,000 islands altogether, but only about 10 major ones. The population numbers around 42 million, of which about 6½ million belong to various national minorities. About 100 languages are spoken there, but there are 8 main ones, the most widely spoken being Tagalog.

The Philippines was colonised by Spain in the 16th century. Spain imposed a feudal system on the country. There were over 200 revolts by the people against Spanish rule, until in 1896, a revolution erupted which resulted in the liberation of nearly the whole country. Then the United States intervened, and under a treaty signed in Paris in 1898, Spain ceded the Philippines to the US for 20 million dollars.

Although independence was formally conceded in 1946, in fact, the US has dominated the Philippines politically and economically ever since 1898.

The majority of the Filipino people are Catholics. The Moro people of the south are Muslims, and in the interior of a number of islands, there are national minorities with their own religions.

Representation in parliament will be used by the Reagan administration as "evidence" of how "democratic" the elections were, in order to justify increased support to Marcos.

The NDF predicted that the Filipino people will respond with increased mass protests and expansion of the armed struggle. It renewed its call for the establishment of a democratic coalition government in the Philippines.

The alternative held out by the Marcos regime is a grim one. It has already run up a balance of payments deficit of over 2.7 million dollars, and has an external debt of 25 billion dollars. Because of devaluation and inflation, the value of the Philippine currency fell 52% in 1983. The government's attempts to deal with this situation consist of increasing the wealth of the transnationals and of the Marcos family and a few rich

Filipinos by tax concessions or exemptions, and robbing the poor. A whole range of tax increases affecting basic necessities was introduced last year, and the regime even had the audacity to then ask office workers to voluntarily give up 10% of their salaries!

In the face of the broadest popular opposition, which now even includes sections of big business, the US and the Marcos regime are preparing for the possibility of direct US intervention in the Philippines. The Marcos regime has already signed an agreement with the US to allow American forces to operate in areas around Subic Bay naval base and Clark Field Air Base, and a recent joint US-Philippines military exercise provides a scenario for possible US intervention.

According to the 1951 US-Philippines defence treaty, the US can only intervene in the event of the Philippines being attacked by a third power. The exercise involved a hypothetical landing by an invading force in the northern Philippines, followed by US intervention to prevent it linking up with internal "subversives" further south. There are already 16,000 US armed forces personnel based in the Philippines.

## NEW PEOPLE'S ARMY

The revolutionary opposition is preparing for all eventualities. It has grown rapidly in strength in the past few years. The National Democratic Front is now made up of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP-not to be confused with the old pro-Soviet PKP, which surrendered to the government in 1974, and has since taken a pro-Marcos line), New People's Army (NPA-sometimes known locally as "Nice People Around!"), Christians for National Liberation (CNL), and organizations of youth, workers, peasants, teachers and health workers, as well as hundreds of local sectoral groups (There isn't a national women's organization in the NDF-women's organizations in the Philippines are generally local, and at that level, many have affiliated to the NDF.).

Membership of the CPP, founded in 1968, had grown to around

30,000 by the end of 1983, in all areas of the country. The NPA, which was originally founded by the Party, has grown from a force of 60 women and men with 35 firearms in 1969 to a 20,000 strong army at the end of 1983, with 43 guerilla fronts in 53 of the Philippines' 71 provinces. A US intelligence report has identified it as the fastest growing "insurgent" army in the world.

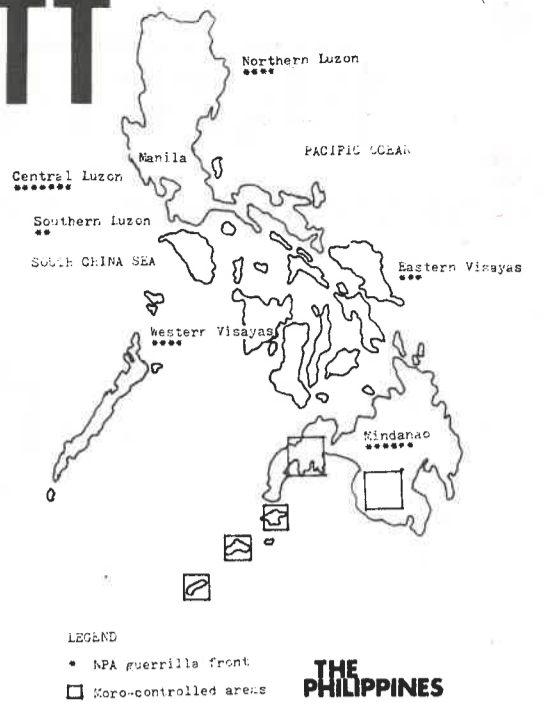
The CNL represents a very important

force in a strongly Catholic country like the Philippines, having several thousand of the clergy as members and perhaps half the Church as supporters. Like other NDF affiliates, CNL subscribes to the common NDF programme while maintaining its own independent role and aims.

The CPP became strong by following its own independent revolutionary path and working self-reliantly to make revolution according to the real conditions of the Philippines. It has worked with others in the NDF to build a mighty alliance against the Marcos regime. The CPP and NPA also co-operate with the Moro National Liberation Front and the Bangsa Moro Army in the southern Philippines (They are organizations of the Muslim minority who are demanding an independent state; the CPP supports their right to self-determination and endorses their demand for independence if it can be realized while the Marcos regime still exists, otherwise favouring full national rights in a democratic Philippines.).

## NDF AIMS

At a conference organized by the Philippines Support Group in London on May 5th, an NDF speaker outlined the Front's aims for the future. He said it would be necessary to inflict a series of major defeats on the government forces and establish large liberated zones. A strong political network had to be built up. On the eve of victory, a national consultative conference will be held, representing



THE PHILIPPINES

enting all classes and groups, to form an interim administration. A people's democratic government will be established, and a new constitution worked out. Only then can genuinely free elections be held.

The NDF speaker appealed for people in Britain to support the NDF and the Filipino people, and to oppose US bases in the Philippines, and British private investment and military sales there.

There is much that can be done in Britain to support the Filipino people's struggle. Many British firms have interests in the Philippines, and the Commonwealth Development Corporation is investing nearly £6½ million in an oil palm plantation project on Mindanao. The company which runs the project has forced 3,000 peasants off their land to make way for the plantation, and is working with a gang of murderers called the "Lost Command" to ensure that the plantation workers don't unionise. Pay for the workers is the equivalent of less than £2 per day.

Anyone wishing to know more about how they can campaign against such things and support the Filipino people can get advice from:

Philippines Support Group,  
BM Box 758,  
London,  
WC1N 3XX.

Readers can subscribe to the PSG's bi-monthly newsletter, "Kasama," for £3.00 per annum at the above address too.

## Backdoor Internment

(Cont. from back page.)

Some of the women prisoners are on remand and are there on the word of paid perjurers. There are some women coming up in the next big trial: the Gilmour trial.

For women on the outside, of course, the whole situation puts a great burden on them. There's organising visits and food parcels. Apart from the time, there's the financial side of it. Unemployment is terrible there and things like the price of gas and electricity are even worse there than here in England. As English women we have a responsibility to work round these issues in solidarity with Irish women. We have to take their requests seriously. It's women who are mainly active in the organisations outside - just as it was women who were the backbone of the 'Relatives Action Groups' which led up to the Hunger Strike Committees. In all these groups, it is women who primarily have been doing the work.

## POLICY OF CRIMINALISATION

People there have no illusions about the British state. The

British state could quite easily devise another strategy if the use of paid perjurers is exposed and discredited enough. But every small victory is of vital importance and anything that makes it harder for the British state to keep people in prison, is worth fighting for.

In the longer term, people see the use of paid perjurers as part of the policy of criminalisation adopted by the British state after the failure of its policy of internment. This strategy is aimed at suppressing the fact that these people are political prisoners, that they are being incarcerated because there's a war going on in Ireland. Instead the British state is trying to make these people into criminals. Of course, it won't work in the long term but in the meantime the state has succeeded in getting people sent down for long periods of time - sometimes for life. It's a useful tactic for the British state and one that we must expose until it's totally discredited.

# FREEDOM FOR IRELAND



## Show trials

# Backdoor internment

We print below extracts from an interview with Sue Clegg, a member of Leeds Women and Ireland Group, who visited the north of Ireland in April of this year.

People are very concerned with the trials that are going on and the use of 'paid perjurers'. The sheer numbers of people involved and the importance

is no corroborating evidence in these no-jury courts. The use of paid perjurers to get people put away has been going on for some time now. There are people inside now who have been there for two years on remand on the word of one of these perjurers. It is being used as a form of internment through the back door. It's clearly a case of the end justifies the means.

up again and wait. Then you go into the room where they search you. You have to have a body search and they check your shoes and everything. Then you go through to the waiting room and wait around again. It all takes an incredible amount of time. And there's all these women with young children. Visiting is three times a week so you can imagine how much time and energy it takes up just organising the visiting and food parcels etc.

### POLITICAL STRUGGLE

When you do finally get your visit, it's for half an hour. There's these little booths and you sit there. There's a screw sat there on a dias smoking a cigarette and overseeing it all. It's incredible. The impression I had was that morale inside is really good. The visits are extremely important both for personal reasons and for communication with those outside. There's an incredible amount of thought goes into a half hour visit. They are a means of asking about the situation outside, in my case in England and explaining what things the prisoners want us to do. Jimmy Brown is only allowed to write four letters a week - two sides only. He is the only prisoner to whom this applies since he's been writing extensively telling people about the use of paid perjurers. I was really impressed by the level of political awareness and ways in which the political struggle is being directed.



(Photo: AP/RN)

Supporters of the Stop the Show Trials Committee picket Crumlin Road Courthouse

of organisations outside, the importance of organising visits and food parcels, particularly for the women, came across very strongly. The people I talked to, both those inside on remand and those outside said very strongly that we should take up this issue. I've had the feeling that people here think that it's not such an important issue now. That because the judiciary's had a couple of setbacks - judges have thrown out cases and refused to accept the evidence of certain informers (that is paid perjurers), it's not so important. But that is not so. The trials are still going on and there are people inside who've been on remand for two years. There's no bail. They're just rotting away in Crumlin Road. Gifford recently did a couple of bail applications to try and get people out on bail but they didn't allow it. At the same time, when I was there, I read in the newspapers about a member of the UDR who was given bail so that he could attend a UDR regimental commemoration. When you're there in Ireland, there's such a mass of information and the charade of the legal system comes across very strongly.

### DEMANDS

One of the demands that people there are putting is that the law there should be in line with the English law. That the Director of Public Prosecutions should be instructed not to proceed in cases where there is no corroborating evidence.

The other thing is that in English law, there are some statutory exceptions where people cannot be convicted on uncorroborated evidence. Another demand that's being raised is that Diplock courts should be made another statutory exception i.e. that there should be no cases heard where there

And the end is just to get people out of the way, to attempt to stop them being politically active.

### PRISONERS ON REMAND

I had two visits to see Jimmy Brown, who's been a prisoner on remand since just after Easter last year, in Crumlin Road Jail. The arraignment proceedings are going on now - that is the pre-trial proceedings are just starting. The paid perjurer in this trial is Kirkpatrick and it's not expected that the trial will start till next year.

The thing that struck me was all the women and lots of young children. We all had to queue up for a long time outside and there's lots of procedures to go through and lots of waiting round. You have to have a named pass to go on a visit. I had planned to visit another man on remand, for example, but they wouldn't change the name on his visiting pass so I never got to make that visit. There's all sorts of petty harassment goes on. You have to wait around and then they check your food parcels. They write down everything - two apples etc, etc, and it's important. Because otherwise things just get lost and the prisoner never gets them. Then you have to queue

It's quite clear what is being asked. We are being asked to take up the issue of the paid perjurers, to let people know what's going on in the courts - the nitty gritty of it, the details.

### WOMEN ORGANISE

There are two organisations set up round these trials. 'Relatives For Justice' was set up in February 1982 and has recently been working jointly with 'Stop The Show Trials' set up in October 1983. They organised a joint delegation to London recently. They've been very active in just letting people know the details of what's going on and details of practical help and information. They are strongly looking to us to take up this side of the campaign, to make sure people understand that the trials are still going on. Another point made to me was about the importance of the women prisoners' struggles in Armagh. The strip searches are still going on and the medical situation there is bad.

CONTINUED ON P.7

## Irish solidarity

(Contributed).

At the Irish Centre, Camden Town, London, on Thursday 3rd May, over 100 people attended a commemoration in honour of Bobby Sands. The speakers told of their recognition of the role of state terrorism, which had led to the myth of a depression of fear afflicting the working class. We could look to the revolutionary struggle by the oppressed

nationalists of the Six Counties as the refutation of that myth and the courage of the women in Armagh Jail as an inspiration. Sean McKnight, Sinn Fein Belfast City Councillor, echoed everyone's sentiments when he closed by saying: "Our Day Shall Come."

Solidarity was expressed by Tony Gifford, Jeremy Corbyn of North Islington Labour Party, Troops Out Movement, a miner from Kent NUM and the Pan Africanist Congress.

# Black activists in Belfast

For us as black activists, the last few years have brought a new urgency to reach out to those involved in the Republican struggle - the technical and legislative mechanisms of control developed by the British state in the Six Counties are being steadily adopted here on the mainland, and the increasing militarisation of the police force is only one aspect of this trend. The Police and Criminal Evidence Bill, which is currently under debate in Parliament, will provide the legal framework for the operation of 'social control' and as such, it simply reflects the political and military manipulation of the judicial system - a manipulation known only too well to the Republican people through the show trials involving paid perjurers, juryless Diplock courts, internment without trial, and the whole series of special and emergency legislation.

Indeed, the British rulers themselves have never shown any doubts about the wider significance of its current war in Ireland - the significance for the working class struggle in Britain as a whole, and more immediately, for the struggle of our black communities. As early as 1973, a leading Tory MP, John Biggs-Davidson emphasized the relevance of "what happens in Londonderry" to "what happens in London": "If we lost in Belfast, we may have to fight in Brixton or Birmingham ... just as Spain in the 1930's was a rehearsal for a wider European conflict, so perhaps what is happening in Northern Ireland is a rehearsal for Great Britain."

### LIFE IN BELFAST

Our hosts and their families, whose generosity accommodated us without any unease, were to provide us with an immediate and vivid insight into the reality of war and life under occupation: innumerable stories of sons, daughters, sisters or brothers in Long Kesh or Armagh; of cousins or friends murdered by troops on this or that street corner; of parents or relatives tortured in Castlereagh during internment ... and, of course, as we saw for ourselves the next day, the constant presence of armed troops and armoured vehicles on the streets and hovering helicopters overhead. We were shaken by the extent and the intensity of such military surveillance and harassment ... And yet, what has remained with us is a sense of the strength of a people for whom life goes on through the struggle against oppressors who have brought military occupation, poverty and violence - through the celebration of a determination to win freedom from British imperialism. "Our day shall come", we heard, again and again, in word and deed, in song and music ... and lest

we might not hear, the same defiant message leapt out from bold graffiti and colourful murals on every available wall and every available corner.

The extent of the poverty forced onto this community in terms of economic and social deprivation was a revelation in itself. In comparison, our own ghettos back in England stand out in almost good light. What interested us most was the manner in which the Republican movement has come to incorporate the struggle on this front within the overall revolutionary struggle against the British occupation.

### WOMEN

Such a perspective within the Republican movement strikes a vibrant parallel to our own priorities and the possibilities open to us as black activists in the struggle of our own communities. As women and men, we found the parallel strengthened further in the course of our meeting with the Relatives For Justice Group. The basis of the resistance and the maturity of the political struggle which demands such accountability is due in a large part to the crucial role played by women in particular throughout the history of the Republican movement, and especially at key moments such as the present one: the fight-back against the so-called supergrass show trials, as that against internment ten years ago, has been built and led by women in the community and at the grass roots. In a very real sense, the struggle of women on the ground in the Republican movement has held it together, at the same time as leading its transformation by posing a constant challenge to their subordination within it.

Our short stay in Ballymurphy made a tremendous impact on all the members of our delegation - and the three of us have attempted here to draw an outline of what it meant to us. We have tried to avoid romanticising the bitter harshness of the day-to-day struggle of the people we met. Undoubtedly, it faces major problems, both within and without - but we do not believe that it is for us here and now to go into these questions, nor into the difficulties facing any solidarity movement in Britain. What we do declare unreservedly, however, is our unconditional solidarity with the struggle of the Republican people in the Six Counties - and our heartfelt thanks to the people of Ballymurphy for their hospitality. 'Our day shall come.'

TROOPS OUT NOW!  
SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE  
IRISH PEOPLE AS A WHOLE!

(This article is a shortened version of an article in the paper of the Troops Out Movement May 1984, by members of Southall Rights Group.)