

# CLASS STRUGGLE



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# BOYCOTT APARTHEID



At the end of June, the British government once again blocked EEC sanctions against South Africa. This time, it said that it wanted to give persuasion another try, so it needed to wait another three months while Geoffrey Howe went off to Southern Africa for discussions with leaders of African states, South Africa and of the oppressed black people themselves. But the popular leaders of Azania spurned Howe: none would meet him and he came back to Britain empty-handed and humiliated, both by the Azanian leadership, who had no wish to aid their tormentor and by Thatcher, who sent him on a mission which he knew to be hopeless in the first place.

The reasons for the obstinacy of the British government were underlined in "Profiting from Apartheid", a pamphlet published recently by the Labour Research Department. It pointed out that 38% of foreign investment in South Africa is British, and between 1979 and 1983, 16% of all the foreign profits of British firms came from South Africa. While some firms pay their workers as little as £10 for a 45 hour week, £150 million was paid annually to shareholders from the profits made in South Africa until the present crisis hit the profitability of these firms.

It is likely that the British government will eventually be forced to accept sanctions of some kind. But it will try to limit them, and it will allow British companies to get around them, just as Labour and Conservative governments made no real effort to prevent oil getting through to the Smith regime in Rhodesia, despite their supposed sanctions against it.

#### BOYCOTT SOUTH AFRICA

Sanctions can only be imposed by continued pressure being put on the government here, and by working and oppressed people

in Britain taking part in a growing "Boycott South Africa" campaign which both cuts the sales of South African produce here and prevents the export of British goods to the racist colonial state.

There is already a strong boycott movement here. But it could get a big boost if the trade union movement as a whole seriously threw its weight behind the effort. Major unions such as the TGWU and AUEW are affiliated to the Anti-Apartheid Movement, but so far, it has mainly been left to local union activists to object to production of goods for South Africa, or to argue for boycotts of South African produce, and they have not known how much backing they would receive from their leadership.

#### RAMAPHOSA CALLS FOR RE-THINK

In calling for solidarity from workers in Britain earlier this year, Cyril Ramaphosa of the National Union of Mineworkers (SA), had this to say to the conference of the British miners:

"The British people as a nation have done nothing to assist us in achieving our liberation.

"The British working class should take a decision to impose sanctions on South Africa. That way, the British working class will be assisting us to achieve our liberation ..."

"The message for the British trade union movement is that we don't only mean verbal statements, not words only, we mean action. We would like to believe that, seeing we are operating under these adverse conditions, it should not be difficult for the British working class to give us this support.

"When it comes to South Africa, we have seen the British TUC vacillate and unable to take a right decision, holding back and not sticking out, and going many steps backwards.

Ramaphosa called for a "major re-think" by the labour movement in Britain. His speech received a standing ovation from NUM delegates, and it would deserve the same from any other trade union body.

Without giving up all the initiatives against racist South Africa already going on, internationalist trade unionists must step up their efforts to make their unions at all levels heed the call of Ramaphosa and the trade union movement and people of Azania for a complete block on economic dealings with South Africa.

## MAO ZEDONG (1893 -



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## UNEMPLOYMENT...



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# UNEMPLOYMENT NO HIDING THE TRUTH

There are lies, damned lies and statistics. One set of statistics that has particularly concerned the present government are those on unemployment. The figures are real and inescapable. How they are presented is another matter.

Even the official unemployment figure in July, of 3,229,372 could not hide the continuing rise of unemployment. This figure itself represents the growing misery of the working class. But the reality is even worse than that.

Married women have long been excluded from the official statistics. More recently, the government has made even more people vanish from the official figures.

The campaigning group, Unemployment Unit, estimates the real unemployment figure to be one and a quarter million higher than the official one. That is over four and a half million out of work.

According to the unit, three quarters of a million of unemployment workers vanished from the official figures through 16 different changes to the method of calculating the unemployed.

Those hidden away include:

100,000 school leavers - not to be included until the end of the summer.

221,000 in Community Programme Schemes.

155,000 on the Business Enterprise Scheme.

124,000 men over 60.

280,000 young people on Youth Training Schemes.

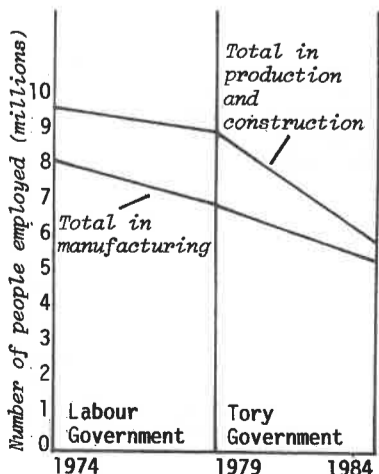
However, the unemployed, their families and their friends know the truth. It is not statistics but the misery of their lives that exists in reality.

## THE DECLINE OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM

The Tories claim that as well as looking at job losses, we should also look at jobs created. After all, they say, the population has gone up. Well, we try to be objective. So, 'Class Struggle' has looked up the facts in the latest available official statistics annual which gives detailed figures up to 1984.

## THE INDUSTRIAL SLIDE

Britain is supposed to be a manufacturing country. So we checked up on the number of people employed in manufacturing industry. The graph below shows the picture. At the beginning of the last Labour government in 1974, there were 7,900,000 working in manufacturing. By the time the Tories got in (in 1979) nearly 700,000 jobs had gone. The 7,258,000 employed at the time dropped a further 1,541,000 down to 5,517,000.



The above graph also shows the



Labour conference, 1978, just before electoral defeat.

figures for the total employed in production and construction. The 9,894,000 working in 1974 had fallen to 6,147,000 ten years later.

Well, so far the Tories are not bearing up too well. But to give them cheer, it must be said that the Labour Party is not exactly shining either! The decline in manufacturing and production in general, clearly did not start with Thatcher!

"The problem is population growth"

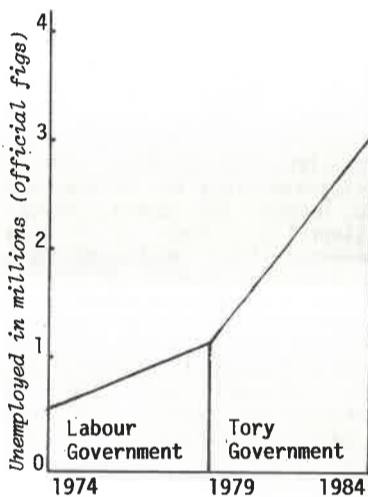
To put the lie to another claim. The Tories say: "But there are more adults now. That is why there is more unemployment."

Indeed, between 1974 and 1984 the number of people available for work did rise from 25,658,000 to 27,002,000. Up nearly 1½ million. Unfortunately the total actually working dropped - from 25,130,000 to 23,972,000. Down 1,158,000.

One bit of cheer for the middle class - the self-employed have risen from 1,996,000 to 2,494,000 in the same decade. Unfortunately many of the self-employed are worse off now than when they had working class

1980, and the last figures refer to 1984.)

The second home truth is reserved for those who still believe that Labour will solve all problems. The decline of British capitalism did not begin when Thatcher rose to power in 1979. In fact, the situation was already so bad that central to her election campaign was the pledge to "put Britain back to work". She did not, of



## UNEMPLOYMENT AND NATIONAL OPPRESSION

As we all know, unemployment rates are uneven. The political question is where and why. To introduce the issue, 'Class Struggle' presents the following figures giving the percentage unemployment rates for the different nations comprising the UK:

	1974	1979	1984
UK as a whole	2.5	5.2	12.9
Scotland	3.8	7.4	15.1
Wales	3.7	7.3	16.3
North of Ireland	5.4	10.7	20.9

jobs. Still, it's better than being on the dole.

The figures - even the official ones - give two important home truths.

Firstly, whatever is happening in terms of Community Programmes, service trades, etc. the wealth producing manufacturing industry is in real decay. The loss of jobs is mirrored in the fall in production. 'Class Struggle' checked to see what had been happening in certain key industries.

During the last Labour government the production of machine tools (central to engineering), fell by 25%. Under the Tories, it fell a further 34%. Motor vehicles production fell by 13% (Labour) and then another 39% (Tory). Ship-building dropped 23% then another 14%.

The concern of the state at the effect this might have on Britain may be seen in the fact that during the Labour government small arms production rose by 19% and then by a further 10% under Thatcher's care.

(Note all percentages are given as proportions of output in

course. We have merely seen an acceleration of a crisis which was already developing under Labour's caring hands.

Labour claims to have changed its spots. Some of us remember the similar claims and promises of 1974. Some of us even remember identical claims in 1964. The claims are not new. Neither is the lesson. Why do so many on the 'left' still fall for it?



Corby steelworkers fight closure under a Labour government.

# Deathly Silence

'Class Struggle' correspondent.

Yet another example of the government suppressing statistics which do not suit, is the new report by the Registrar General on Occupational Mortality.

Every ten years this report is published. Usually, it analyses deaths by occupation, cause of death, sex and age. But the new one, just published, has drastically cut down on information relating deaths to social class. It is also six times the price and only half the length of previous copies. It contains only five pages (as against 60 in the last report) devoted to discussing social class differences in death rates

Various excuses have been put forward. But all these are discounted by the British Medical Journal which concludes that not only are working class men still more likely to die younger than the top dogs, but that the differences are widening.

## SOME EXAMPLES

Death rates among young semi-skilled and unskilled workers aged 25-44 are more than twice as high as those for professional men and managers of the same age.

Women married to men in "social classes 4 and 5" are up to 70% more likely to die young than wives of men in "classes 1 & 2".

Women's risk of cervical cancer may be linked with their husbands' jobs. Those at greatest risk are married to welders, scaffolders, bus, coach and lorry drivers, servicemen and ships' crews.

Electricians working in power plants run up to twice the risk of contracting leukaemia: the report does not say how many of the men worked in nuclear plants.

## POVERTY FIGURES

Another government trick has been to release unfavourable figures at a time when they are unlikely to be debated in Parliament and thus gain some publicity.

Following this policy, the government released the most recent figures for those living on or just above the official poverty line which were released on the Friday that MP's broke up. These figures showed that

Nearly one in three of the entire population are living on or just above the poverty line: the huge figure of 16 million people.

The number jumped from 11.5 million in 1979 to 16.3 million in 1983. They are the worst poverty figures of the century.

## NEW SICK PAY SCHEME

An investigation by the Disability Alliance (a federation of 90 organisations for the disabled), estimated that the new Sick Pay scheme has slashed sick pay payments by £155 million.

Using figures from the National Audit Office, the report finds that the government has saved itself £90 million and "failed to protect the low paid".

In small firms, 70% of sick payments have been wrongly calculated and even big firms are regularly getting the payment wrong in 15% of claims.

# Want Not, Waste Not!

'Class Struggle' correspondent. More and more communities are being drawn into direct action against the dangers of nuclear technology.



The long-term effects of leakage of radioactive waste into local fields, gardens and water supplies are the main worry. Women are concerned particularly for their children, and their children's children. Farmers are concerned for their future crops.

## FIGHTING THE NUCLEAR THREAT FROM THE PACIFIC TO BRITAIN

These protests illustrate how an increasing number of ordinary people are reacting to the undemocratic, militaristic and dangerous threat of the nuclear industry: from bases for nuclear weapons, nuclear power stations and now disposal sites.

Greenham Common, Faslane, Dounreay etc. continue to be the focus for continuing and unrelenting protest actions. But the struggle is spreading to include wider numbers of people: as, for example, the recent disruptive protests in Carmarthen aimed at stopping the building of the nuclear bunker. More and more people are gaining experience of direct action.

These actions give people an understanding of their own organised power, promote ideas of taking things into their own hands, and expose the nature of the state and its machinery of police, media and courts.

Agitation round radioactive dumping also links struggles here to the much more desperate and urgent struggles of people elsewhere in the world, especially the Pacific islanders.

Support groups are increasing their activity here and succeeding in raising the issue of the Pacific Islanders in the peace and anti-nuclear movement here. In encouraging people here to recognise the importance of Third World people's struggles, it is necessary firstly to build on their own experience of nuclear dangers and support the direct action they take.

The morning of August 18th dawned to new protests at three villages chosen for testing for radioactive nuclear waste dumps.

NIREX - Nuclear Industry Radioactive Waste Executive - sent in contractors to the villages of Fulbeck in Lincolnshire, Elstow in Bedfordshire and Killingholme on Humberside. In all three areas, they were met by a solid wall of protestors who prevented access to the sites.

The people pointed out that there had been no democratic discussion, no enquiries and no planning permission because it, the dumping, is Ministry of Defence business. Non-violent direct action is their only alternative and some protestors pledged themselves to continue even if an injunction is taken out, arrest and imprisonment threatened.

The protestors are people from ordinary communities, who have not been convinced by vague assurances on safety. The more they have enquired into the matter, the more worried they have become.



# CHANGING THE WORLD

## THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF MAO

# PART 1



Mao Zedong died ten years ago. He was an extraordinary figure in world history. His life was intertwined with the experience of one of the most important events ever, the Chinese revolution. Born in 1893, Mao became a leading figure in the Communist Party of China (CPC) after its foundation in 1921.

The CPC had a heavy task in leading the Chinese people to liberate themselves from the terrible exploitation of imperialists and domestic reactionaries. China was ripe for revolution. But what was needed was a correct political line to guide the people in making one. In its early days, the CPC made many mistakes, either relying too much on what it thought were progressive elements in the bourgeoisie, or going to the opposite extreme and neglecting to build alliances. Mao struggled for the lines which were later proved correct. He worked out a class analysis which stressed the mighty revolutionary force represented by the poor peasantry: hence he was confident in the long term.

### MAO'S LEADERSHIP

The CPC suffered the massacre of a large proportion of its members in 1927, and had to abandon its rural base areas in South China in 1935, because of its errors. But just after that, Mao Zedong was elected Chairman of the CPC. He led the Red Army on the 6,000 mile Long March at the end of which they reached Yanan in the north.

Under Mao's leadership, the CPC fought the Japanese forces, invading China and made the reactionaries led by Chiang Kai-shek join a united front against Japan. When Chiang, supported by US imperialism, turned against the CPC after the Second World War, it was Mao's political and military policies which guided the Chinese masses to victory and the foundation of the People's Republic of China.

After Liberation, the CPC led the Chinese people in ending their exploitation and building an economy independent of imperialism, which guaranteed the people a decent and improving living standard, despite a US and, later, a US-Soviet blockade. Externally, China assisted Korea against the US intervention straight after Liberation and broke the cold war blockade against it.

During a period when the rising national liberation movements - from Algeria to Vietnam, from Palestine to Azania - were facing a vicious onslaught from imperialism, when the established communist movement was degenerating and selling out to the enemy - through all this Mao's China stood firm, siding the

revolutionary movements and battling against the revisionist counter-current.

### ROLE OF GREAT REVOLUTIONARY LEADERS IN HISTORY

All these struggles were led collectively by the whole party, but Mao, because of his farsightedness and readiness to respond to the initiatives of the masses, played a crucial role.

Marx said: "The philosophers have interpreted the world, the point however is to change it." No single event confirmed this saying more than the Chinese revolution. Revolutions are possible because of objective causes: imperialist oppression creates both the necessity of change, and at the same time, its possibility.

But no revolution happens 'automatically'. In China in the twenties, the conditions were right: the masses were ready to rise against the oppression of imperialism and, at the same time, no single imperialist power was strong enough to control China directly on its own. But a lasting change could only be brought about if these elements were concentrated together in a form which could give the movement conscious direction.

This could only be done, and can only be done in any revolution, by a communist party which works out a line to guide the masses forward on the basis of the reality of their situation, and feeds this back to the masses in the form of concrete leadership. The guiding politics and ideology of the CPC is summed up in a system of ideas generally known as Mao Zedong Thought; its source was the reality of the revolutionary movement as well as a distillation of the correct subjective ideas of the masses and it developed precisely in the course of changing reality. Under its guidance, the Chinese people accomplished the extraordinary task of throwing off centuries of oppression by domestic and foreign exploiters, and began the construction of a new society with many important new features.

### MAOISM: THE PROPERTY OF THE WHOLE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT

It would be absolutely wrong to view Maoism as a purely Chinese phenomenon. Precisely because it was so closely integrated with Chinese reality, it produced lessons - overwhelmingly positive but with some negative ones as well - which all revolutionaries have a duty to learn. Of course, revolutionaries have ultimate responsibility for the movement in their own country where they alone deeply know the conditions. But it is necessary to view communism as an international movement, identify what the trends are, and if necessary, polemicise about them. Marx and Engels did this. Lenin did this, and so did Mao. We have a duty to do the same with regard to the Chinese revolution.

At this point, we certainly cannot attempt a full summing up of Mao Zedong's contribution, but it will be useful to list a few areas in which we think this was particularly important.

### FIRM CLASS STAND

Mao held to a firm class stand, always upholding the interests of the labouring people. He understood very clearly that the proletariat and poor peasantry was the only class force capable of regenerating China and thus contributing to the world revolutionary movement. He resisted any tendencies to make communism dependent upon the movement of the local bourgeoisie, while at the same time resisting any sectarianism towards the different currents making up what is necessarily a complex and multi-faceted movement for the resurgence of an oppressed nation.

Mao consistently applied his method of "seeking truth from facts", and in doing so, he arrived at a view of reality which contradicted some deeply-held received ideas within the communist movement of his time. There was a predominant view that the industrialised countries, where the level of productive forces was higher and the proletariat more numerous, would inevitably be the force pushing the revolutionary movement forward at a world level, while the colonial and semi-colonial countries would have to be pulled along behind this process. (Lenin had many insights which showed the contrary, but these tended to get forgotten after his death.)

### REVOLUTIONARY ROLE OF THE POOR PEASANTRY

Mao discovered that the peasantry, especially the poor peasantry, can be profoundly revolutionary, whereas the national bourgeoisie will always be incapable on its own of striking out in a direction really independent of imperialism.

### HISTORICAL DYNAMIC OF THE NON-EUROPEAN WORLD

Mao criticised those in China who only knew about the history of ancient Greece and not that of their own country. The Chinese revolutionary movement re-established the history of trade and cultural interchange between China and other Asian and African countries which had made an essential contribution to the dynamic of human history before it was disrupted by colonialism.

These lessons played an important role in raising the consciousness of the peoples of the oppressed nations. But it is no less important that revolutionaries of European origin should learn them to help liberate themselves from the cultural chauvinism which is strongly embedded in the left movement and which ties it to the ruling class.

importance of the policies they propose, they are brilliant examples of the dialectical and historical materialist method which can teach us the way to approach any problem.

### ROLE OF POLITICS AND IDEOLOGY

As we have already pointed out, Mao broke with the mechanistic misconception of the social and economic processes of world history, and of the imperialist era in particular. A truly dialectical conception of modes of production, social formations and relations of production, to which Mao Zedong's work opened the way, can help us to understand the deepest causes of historical events.

At the same time, however, Mao also repudiated another error within the communist movement which consisted in overestimating the importance of so-called economic laws, at the expense of politics and ideology. Mao stressed the role of consciousness in promoting change. Not all aspects of ideology were adequately dealt with: the Chinese revolution made inadequate progress in assessing the significance of racism on a world scale, for example. But Mao did accurately appraise the importance of revolutionary culture. He stressed the need for a culture



### STRATEGY OF PEOPLE'S WAR

Mao's theories which guided the Chinese revolution to victory in 1949, particularly his theory of people's war, represent a fusion of many aspects of his thought: his confidence in the fundamental revolutionary strength of the peasantry, his grasp of the dialectical philosophy, his complete freedom from the kind of philistinism which invests excuses to condemn the armed struggle of the oppressed nations. He wrote: "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" and stressed the need for a people's army of an entirely new type as the fundamental guarantee of the revolutionary cause. He worked out a strategy for guerrilla warfare in which the fighters move among the people like a fish in water.

Most important of all was his theory that the Chinese revolution could win victory by encircling the cities from the countryside. Practice proved it to be correct. Works of Mao Zedong like 'On Protracted War' and 'The Situation and Our Policy after Victory in the War of Resistance against Japan' rank alongside the greatest writings of Marx and Lenin; in addition to the practical imp-

which permeates the broad labouring masses and reflects their aspirations, while also appreciating the role of a genius like the writer Lu Xun.

### BUILDING THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Mao attached great importance to building the Communist Party along the correct lines. He said that it was necessary to have faith in the masses and have faith in the party. He put forward the concept of "serving the people" and the leadership style of "from the masses to the masses", arguing that communists must concentrate the correct ideas of the masses as the basis for the leadership they give to the mass movement. Communists, he said, do not seek political posts for themselves, they seek revolution.

The different aspects of the Maoist perspective which were forged during the years of struggle prior to the victory of the Chinese revolution, were further developed by Chairman Mao after 1949 in relation to the nature of socialist society and the tasks it faces, and also to the new international tasks which emerged in the post-World War Two period.

(Part Two will follow in the next issue of 'Class Struggle').



# The Israel-South Africa Connection

'Class Struggle' correspondent.

In August, while much of the world was considering or implementing sanctions against South Africa, and the British government was making pathetic objections to imposing them, a high level Israeli trade team was in South Africa for talks.

Afterwards, a South African government statement was issued, saying that the talks had produced a "mutual understanding of each other's economic problems and priorities". The statement added that the talks also dealt with the renewal of the two states' "long standing ties of friendship and economic co-operation".

Israeli officials denied that Israel was trying to help the South African regime avoid sanctions which might be imposed by other states in the future. But this can hardly be believed. Israel is already helping South Africa to overcome trade restrictions imposed by other states or foreign companies, whether for political or economic reasons.

In 1985, for example, the US Motorola company announced that it was to stop selling its two-way radios to the South African police. But it has a subsidiary company in Israel (Motorola Israel), which also produces military communications equipment, and distributes it through another firm, in South Africa, so that supplies of the two-way radios to the police will not be affected at all. It is also suspected that US nuclear technology, the export of which to South Africa is banned, still finds its way there via Israel.

## SPRINGBOARDING

The practice of "springboarding" promises to ease South Africa's economic problems and bring extra profits to Israel in years to come.

Under internationally accepted agreements, a product may be described as coming from a certain country if over 30% of its content is produced there. This means that sometimes 50%-60% plus of a product might be made in one country or more, but the finished produce is described as "made" somewhere else because the last 30% or so of its contents was produced there. Workers in the motor car industry will be very familiar with this: a "British" Ford car will have a large amount of overseas produced parts in it. It is a typical result of capitalism operating internationally.

Springboarding involves making use of the 30% provision to get around trade barriers by part producing goods in a third country friendly both to the original producer and the ultimate buyers. This is something which South Africa is doing with Israel.

Israel has a special position with the EEC and USA. 90% of Israeli products already enter the USA duty-free, and eventually all of them will be under a 1975 free trade agreement. Israeli industrial exports enter the EEC on favourable terms, and by 1989, tariff barriers against these goods are to be completely removed. When Spain and Portugal were in the process of joining the EEC, Israel complained that Spanish fruit and vegetable produce might push Israeli products out of West European markets. But the EEC hastened to agree to ease the way for future Israeli exports.

Such favours do not extend to South Africa, and the mood of the public in most Western countries is such that South African exports to the EEC and USA are likely to be increasingly restricted in the future. But because of the close relationship between Israel and South Africa, it is possible for South African produce to enter these restricted markets with Israel's co-operation.

Anticipating the present situation, in 1978, the Israeli-South African Chamber of Commerce launched a feasibility study to identify in which industries springboarding might most profitably take place. Details of specific projects were investigated by the univ-

ersities of Tel Aviv and Stellenbosch.

One of the main springboard enterprises is Iskoor, which is a joint Israeli-South African steel company established in 1973. 49% of the company is owned by Iscor, the South African government-owned iron and steel corporation, while the controlling 51% interest is owned by Koor, a giant Israeli company owned by the Israeli "trade union" federation the Histadrut, (which in turn has always been dominated by the Israeli Labour Party). Iskoor imports semi-processed iron and steel from South Africa, to Israel, where it is finished and then shipped abroad either as refined steel or completed products. Canned goods from Israel are also quite likely to contain Iskoor's South African iron as part of their packaging.

Other goods which are exported in this way to the EEC and USA as "Made in Israel", include chemicals, fertilisers, electronic and computer equipment, some food products, mattresses and surgical gloves.

Supporters of the Palestinian cause in the West hope that the day will come when sanctions are applied by Western countries against Israel, because of its policies towards the Palestinian people. (Those Palestinians who still live within their land have been placed in a position similar to that of black people in South Africa.) But the springboarding operations of Israel and South Africa mean that activists in the movement to boycott South African produce now need to consider seriously boycotting Israeli produce too, - irrespective of their feelings about the Palestine conflict - if the boycott of South Africa is to be really effective.

## THE SOUTH AFRICAN BOMB

The co-operation between Israel and South Africa is far-reaching. There is growing evidence that Israel has helped South Africa to develop nuclear weapons as part of the military co-operation between the two states and that the two states conducted a nuclear test in the southern Indian Ocean on September 22nd, 1979. A US spy satellite spotted the nuclear explosion, but the Carter administration rejected a series of expert reports which identified it as such, knowing that admitting the truth about the test would raise too many awkward questions about US relations with Israel in view of that state's nuclear co-operation with South Africa.

Israel's supplies of uranium come from South Africa and in return, Israel has helped South Africa develop a nuclear power industry, for which it lacked the know-how on its own. That industry produces material for South Africa's nuclear weapon programme.

Military co-operation has included sales of Israeli weapons to South Africa such as Reshef patrol boats, and South African co-operation in developing an advanced steel armour for Israel's Merkava tank, used for the first time in battle during the 1982 invasion of Lebanon. South Africa has benefited from Israel's experience in counter-guerrilla

operations: the border between Namibia and Angola is defended by a security fence and electronic gadgetry of Israeli design.

Military technology has also been transferred to South Africa by Israel: the latter's Kfir fighter was developed from the French Mirage, and the Kfir has, in turn, been taken as the basis for a South African plane.

bloody existence further - quite apart from denying the Palestinian people and anti-Zionist Jews the solidarity to which they are entitled.

The liberation movements of Palestine and South Africa/Azania recognise the common interests of the two oppressed peoples. Over the coming months, those who stand in soli-

arity with both peoples need to do their best to convince others to take the same view and act upon it.

Most of the above information is contained in James Adams: "The Unnatural Alliance" and Jane Hunter's: "Undercutting Sanctions: Israel, the US and South Africa".



West Bank Palestinians raise their banned flag: Azanians celebrating the victory of FRELIMO in Mozambique. The struggles of each people directly assist the other, because of their increasingly interdependent relationship.



## OPEN AND SECRET TRADE

Official trade between Israel and South Africa is relatively small. But that does not include important items like Israel's arms exports to South Africa, and South Africa's exports of diamonds and uranium to Israel. If these are taken into the reckoning, Israel may be South Africa's biggest trading partner.

The bantustans which South Africa created as "homelands" for its black population are recognised throughout the world as nothing but creations of the apartheid system, and nowhere are they treated as credible independent states. Yet Israel maintains warm links with them. In 1983 and 1984, "President" Mangope of Bophuthatswana visited Israel, while in October 1984 "President" Sebe of the Ciskei bantustan attended ceremonies in Israel for the twinning of the West Bank Israeli settlement of Ariel with Ciskei's "capital", Bisho. Israeli businessmen have invested in bantustan industries and construction, while Israeli security firms have trained soldiers for the Ciskei bantustan and provided protection for its "president".

## NATURAL PARTNERS

Israel and South Africa have had friendly relations since Israel was created, and those relations have grown closer over the years, especially after South African Prime Minister Vorster signed a series of secret agreements with Israel during his state visit in April 1976: that marked the beginning of a period of strategic collaboration. They are natural partners: colonial states left isolated by the ending of direct European colonial rule in a Third World which demands a total end to colonialism: states in which settler populations have seized the great majority of the land from the original inhabitants and denied them their right to self-determination.

Their relationship is so close that what weakens one, weakens the other, while the failure of many opponents of the South African racist system to oppose a similar order in Israel (sometimes out of lack of knowledge, sometimes out of a fear of being called "anti-semitic") allows South Africa a source of strength which can help the racist order to drag out its

## Women's Union Under Attack

'Class Struggle' correspondent.

Na'ama al-Hilu, an activist in the Union of Women's Work Committees (UWWC), has been charged with possessing forbidden literature by the Israeli authorities following a raid on her home earlier this year.

The charge carries a possible 18 month prison sentence. It has been used before against Palestinians in the Gaza and West Bank areas, who have had PLO literature or Marxist publications. But what is new about Na'ama's case is that the "forbidden literature" she is accused of possessing consists solely of UWWC's material - a diary and a copy of its annual magazine.

This is the first time that publications of a women's organisations in the '67 occupied territories have been deemed "prohibited" by the Israeli authorities. Women activists are concerned that this move may herald a new clampdown on the growing women's committees. (There are four main national organisations of women activists in the West Bank and Gaza, all of which have emerged since 1979.)

Na'ama herself is in poor health, having been badly injured and served one prison sentence already. Palestinian women's organisations and some Israeli ones have campaigned for the charges to be dropped. Her trial before a military court, was due to start on August 10th. No news is available of the outcome as yet.

Another woman activist who has fallen foul of the Israeli occupiers is Siham Barghouti, who has devoted her life in recent years to building women's committees in the towns and villages of the West Bank. Her husband has been deported to Jordan by the Israeli authorities, and she has been refused permission to visit him in Amman: they will only permit her to leave the West Bank, not to return. They clearly hope that she will give up her work with the women's committees to be with her husband.

Protests about both cases can be sent to Defence Minister, Itzhak Rabin, the Knesset, Jerusalem, or to the Israeli Embassy in London.

## Locust Outbreak in Eritrea

We print below a press release of 13th August, 1986, from the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF):

### Call for International Help

The Eritrean People's Liberation Front has called upon all international organisations to assist in the control of desert locusts in the Red Sea coastal territory which is one of their primary breeding places. Aerial spraying and other locust control measures by international organisations is welcomed by the EPLF.

The outbreak in Eritrea threatens virtually all crops and endangers all of East Africa and nearby areas of the Middle East. Further crop damage by pests in Eritrea would be a catastrophe given the many years of drought and famine the region has suffered.

Recent alarms about the regional locust outbreak have largely overlooked the problem in Eritrea, where the 25-year-old armed struggle severely complicates prevention and control measures. For instance, before any aerial spraying is undertaken, the agreement of the Ethiopian government is necessary for the operation to be conducted successfully.

In late 1984, during the height of the famine which swept Eritrea and Ethiopia, the EPLF offered to negotiate a ceasefire so that relief supplies could pass to areas in need. This offer was rejected outright by the Ethiopian military regime. Thus, thousands of people who could have been saved perished as a result. To date, the Dergue has done nothing to control locusts in Eritrea.

The EPLF, which controls 85% of the Eritrean countryside, has persistently taken numerous measures against the locusts in cooperation with the Eritrean Relief Association. Spraying is currently being conducted even up to the outskirts of Ethiopian-held towns using knapsack and truck-mounted sprayers. These methods and the quantity of equipment and chemicals available are grossly inadequate given the unexpected severity of the infestation. All concerned international organisations therefore, are being urgently called to take the necessary measures.



# Respectable Rebel

"Working class women must put a greater value on their lives," said Selina Cooper to an audience in Burnley in 1926. "We should think of our collective value ... I think the time is fast approaching when the present social order breaks down ..."

"We are quite as good as the duchesses. It is foolish to think that one class has a monopoly of any quality. It is only the distribution of the wealth of the country that is wrong. It is because we are continually thinking that we are inferior that we are driven lower and lower ..."

From the age of 12, when her family moved from Cornwall in 1876, Selina Coombe (later Cooper) lived and worked among the cotton workers of Lancashire. From her early days as a mill worker in the late nineteenth century through to her death in 1946, she played an active part in the great political and social movements of the time.

In her book 'The Life and Times of a Respectable Rebel', Jill Liddington has documented Selina's life and work. Her only formal education consisted of being taught at home by her mother and a brief period when she went to school half-time. She did not write long letters or diaries. Jill Liddington has pieced together this fascinating book from newspaper accounts, local government records, other contemporary sources and, in particular, from the memories of Selina's daughter, Mary Cooper.

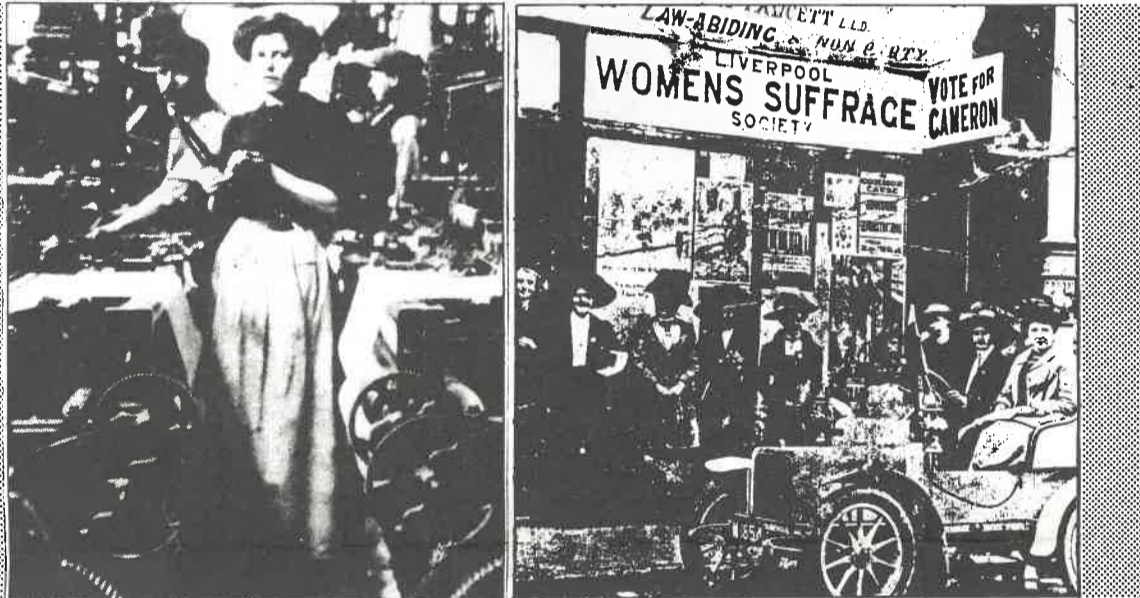
The result is an important work of history. It brings alive,

solidarity took place. In Nelson, local workers' and soldiers councils were set up. At the same time, during the course of the war, Selina was active on the issues of immediate concern to workers in the hard-hit cotton industry - relief work and maternal and child welfare issues.

After the end of the war, Selina supported the 'Hands Off Russia' campaign to stop British intervention against the revolutionary regime there. In the following years, she continued to work to support the Labour Party but grew increasingly disillusioned with the Labour governments of the 20's and 30's.

During the 20's and 30's, Nelson was known as 'Red Nelson' and 'Little Moscow'. Selina worked at the level of local government for example of the Board of Guardians, responsible for 'Poor Relief'. It was at this time that we can see the beginnings of the welfare state and Selina

Selina took part in a wide range of self-education and discussion groups, from studying medicine and hygiene, to the Women's Cooperative Guild and the Marxist Social Democratic Federation and the Independent Labour Party, who were both active in the area.



A Lancashire woman mill worker: women campaigning for the vote in Liverpool. Selina Cooper (far right) worked with them.

through Selina's story, the social and political movements she was involved in. If women, in general have been hidden from history, working class women have been completely buried. Jill Liddington has brought alive this record of the life of Selina Cooper, who devoted her long and active life to serving the working class, particularly working class women.

## A LIFE OF SERVING THE PEOPLE

From the age of twelve, Selina worked in the mills, starting as a "half-timer" and going on to full-time work at the age of thirteen. Her work in the mills was interrupted by family responsibilities: nursing her sick mother and looking after her working brothers; looking after her own babies after her marriage to Robert Cooper in 1896.

The Lancashire cotton towns, particularly Nelson where the Cooper family settled, were at that time the scene of much radical and socialist activity.

Although in the course of her long life, Selina took up many different issues and causes, from votes for women, supporting Labour candidates in local and parliamentary elections and anti-war work, she remained close to the working class women of Lancashire. Her early years of work in the cotton mills, her activities in recruiting for the union and acting as a spokeswoman for other women workers provided the basis for her life's work.

## SELF-EDUCATION AND WORKING CLASS POLITICS

Apart from her work with the union, in which as a woman, she could take no official part,

In the early years of the twentieth century, Selina became involved with the issue that would take up most of her time up until the First World War - votes for women.

## VOTES FOR WOMEN

Jill Liddington gives a detailed account of the different trends within the movement for votes for women, bringing out particularly the role of working class women and the debates and conflicts with other progressive organisations, the SDF, the ILP, the unions and others.

In 1906, Selina became a full-time organiser for the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies and travelled the country speaking and campaigning for votes for women. The NUWSS differed from the Women's Social and Political Union in its approach to the campaign and succeeded in drawing in women of many different backgrounds.

It was a hard struggle to win support among the labour organisations. However, the work reached its highpoint in 1913 at a time when Asquith's Liberal government came under attack from three great movements: the national struggle in Ireland, the women's struggle for the vote and the miners'.

## INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

With the outbreak of the First World War, international questions came to the fore and the various movements split into those who supported and opposed the war. Selina consistently took an anti-war position, supporting the No Conscription Fellowship and the work of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. When the Russian Revolution took place, a great movement of

was involved with setting up maternity clinics, the struggle for birth control information and facilities and in debates round questions like family allowances, pensions and protective legislation for women workers.

In the 1930's, as the slump in the cotton industry grew worse, she supported the struggle against the 'more looms' system which was throwing men and women out of work, but which hit women particularly hard as the union and bosses combined to restrict the work to married men. With a Labour government in power, Selina found herself in this period, working closely with the Communist Party, who were the main political force defending the interests of the women cotton workers.

Selina also found herself working with women from the Communist Party and the Independent Labour Party on international questions. Throughout the 30's, she took an anti-fascist stand and visited Germany in 1934 with an anti-fascist delegation. On international issues, she was on the left of the Labour Party and was finally expelled in 1940 for refusing to break off links with the People's Convention. While taking a strong stand against fascism in Germany, Selina always saw the hypocrisy of those who condemned Hitler's Germany without condemning the capitalist system at home.

## HALF WAY THROUGH MY MEMORIES

Mary Cooper, Selina's daughter, recounts how near her death in 1946, Selina would sit at home with fading sight. Mary asked her if she was not bored. Her reply was: "I'm about half way through my memories." Jill Liddington has made it possible for us to share some of these memories.

The 'Respectable Rebel' is not simply useful as an interesting historical account. Although conditions now are different, many of the questions underlying Selina's work are as relevant now as they were at that time. The theme that the book explores in most detail is, of course, the relation between the struggle for women's liberation and the struggle of the working class.

Selina believed in the need to fight on both fronts and for the unity of the two. As a working class woman, she understood that working class women are oppressed both as women and as workers. She also understood, from bitter experience, that women have to fight hard to win the support of working class organisations.

She worked around issues that specifically affected women both at work and in general: against sexual harassment and for basic hygiene at work; for women's right to work in general and for their representation in the union; for better health care for both women and children; for birth-control, family allowances and pensions and the struggle for the vote.

Particularly in the struggle for the vote, Selina worked with women from different class backgrounds. Although the movement split over the question of the First World War, those who took an internationalist position on the war and on the Russian Revolution cut across class lines.

The other side of this contradiction is also a familiar one today. For many years, many of the working class organisations - from the SDF to the unions - saw the women's struggle as being diversionary and divisive. The miners, for example, with their tradition of militancy in their own struggle, were the last of the big unions to give their support to the struggle of women for equality round the vote.

The general lesson, brought out by Selina's life and work, is the need to link the women's struggle to the class struggle but for it not to be made subordinate to it.

## THE LABOUR PARTY, THE WELFARE STATE AND IMPERIALISM

Another equally complex question is the relationship between these struggles, the Labour Party and imperialism. There is a basic problem, implied in the title of the book, Respectable Rebel. Much of Selina's work was orientated round parliamentary politics, or local government politics. But because she remained close to the people and took a good stand on many basic issues, there was a revolutionary side to all her work.

Linked to this is the development in the 20's and 30's of the germs of the 'welfare state'. At the time when Selina's own baby son died in 1897, the infant mortality rate in Lancashire was worse than that of India or Mexico (according to this book). By the 20's and 30's, Selina was deeply involved in the struggle for maternity clinics, birth control etc. While these steps were important reforms, much of the ideology surrounding their introduction and the reasons they came about, were reactionary. For example, the beginnings of decent child and maternity care, came at a time when the government was concerned that enough children were produced to fight its imperialist wars and maintain the "British race". The early proponents of birth control such as Marie Stopes, were also deeply implicated in eugenicist theories: birth control was necessary to ensure that the "lower classes" did not produce too many children.

Selina fought around these

issues from the stand of a working class woman and in general, disagreed with such pro-imperialist ideas. In general, she grew increasingly disillusioned with the Labour governments in the 20's and 30's and on specific issues, such as the First World War and on the Russian Revolution she took a good stand.

At the time of the debate about affiliation to the Second or Third Internationals, following the end of the First World War, Selina seems to have taken a stand specifically rejecting a revolutionary road. However her loyalties seem to have lain with the working class women she was so close to, rather than to any organisation in particular, as was shown by her work with Communist Party women in their defence of the right of married women to work in the cotton industry. She did not allow her disappointment with specific organisations to weaken her determination to go on fighting.

## NATIONAL STRUGGLES AND CLASS STRUGGLES

Another important question that is not explored in detail in the book is the relation between class and women's struggles within Britain and those of the people of Ireland, and in particular the countries of what we would now call the Third World.

It is clear that the Russian Revolution won strong support among substantial sections of the working class, leading to an effective mass campaign 'Hands Off Russia'. Selina was also part of an unpopular but strong minority that took a stand against the First World War as an imperialist war, and in many ways she saw the Second World War in a similar way, although she did support the unity of Britain and the Soviet Union against fascism.

However the book does not explore the question of Ireland or Third World countries. In fact, support for the Irish national struggle was a question that split the women's movement for the vote with, for example, Sylvia Pankhurst giving her support in opposition to both her sister and mother. Selina Cooper was friendly with Eva Gore-Booth, whose sister Constance Markievicz was imprisoned for her part in the Easter Uprising and was the first woman MP elected (although she never took her seat). This latter fact is mentioned in the book but the theme is not developed. Another brief mention is made of the fact that when attending a Labour Party conference in Belfast, Selina specially wore an emerald green dress and a shamrock.

There is some discussion in the book of the fact that there was a substantial Irish national minority in Nelson. Selina faced opposition in her campaigning for birth control from Catholic opinion in the area. Other aspects of this question, such as relation with the Irish national struggle are not dealt with.

Similarly, the question of cotton imports from India must have been an important issue in the Lancashire of the 1930's. The book mentions the call made by Mosley's fascists for import controls and Selina's opposition to their movement. The wider question, or the stand of the unions etc is not discussed.

It seems likely that these weaknesses are those of the revolutionary organisations of the day, reflected in Selina's standpoint. They should not stop us studying this book and learning many important lessons from it.

'The Life and Times of a Respectable Rebel': Selina Cooper, 1864-1946 by Jill Liddington, is published by Virago Press at £8.95.



# Racist Attacks and Anti-Fascist Action

'Class Struggle' correspondents.

London:

July 27th saw Islington Anti-Fascist Action's successful mobilisation against a group of skinhead fascists who live in the Arsenal area of London, in a boarded-up house protected by a close circuit camera. Since they moved into 35 Avenall Road (as reported in the last issue of 'Class Struggle'), racist attacks on women, children and property have increased. Islington Anti-Fascist Action (AFA) called a protest march against racist attacks in the borough. Thousands of leaflets were distributed throughout the area warning of the threat of racist attacks and calling on people to "be prepared to intervene and stop racial attacks on black people - on the street and in their homes."

The route took the march past Highbury Quadrant Primary School where Bangladeshi children are being escorted to and from classes because of attacks on them. About 300 people demonstrated outside the house in Avenall Road - just yards from Arsenal football ground. Local anti-racist activists fear that Avenall Road is becoming a new centre attracting British and European fascists, with National Front (NF) thugs re-creating the reign of racist terror that they inflicted upon the Kings Cross area of London, when based at the notorious Ferndale hotel.

Chief Inspector Wilkinson, community liaison officer at Islington, said that Islington AFA was over-dramatising the situation "because it causes unnecessary alarm". This is at a time when the council's own crime survey points out that black people are 68% more likely to be assaulted than white people in the borough. Quite clearly, racist attacks are of little concern to a police force riddled with racism.

Islington AFA also organised a 50-strong picket of the local council at the end of July, to protest at the inactivity of the Labour majority in implementing its stated anti-racist policy. The campaign continues: anyone wanting to contact Islington AFA can write to: c/o Red Rose Labour Club, 129 Seven Sisters Road, London N4.

OLDHAM AND BRADFORD:

The following information is from an AFA leaflet:

"On the 19th July, an anti-fascist rally was called in Oldham to protest against a proposed demonstration by the NF. The NF demonstration was banned but the fascists did mobilise. The Front previously stated their intention to attack black areas within the town and over the last few months attacks on mainly Asian families have risen by 50%. Prominent members of the local NF are on bail pending charges for these attacks.

"Anti-fascists from all over the area met in the Oldham Bangladeshi community centre. Shortly after the rally started, it was announced that fascists were in the vicinity attacking people. A group of anti-fascists moved off to check what was happening - including a number of people from Bradford. On the way, about 15 fascists attacked the Bradford minibus. When they tried to defend themselves, several police vans arrived and arrested all those on the bus. Those arrested now face serious charges, including malicious wounding, affray and breach of the peace. Some of those charged, face life imprisonment."

Anti-Fascist Action is organising a defence campaign for the Oldham Nine. They are demanding that all charges are dropped and calling on anti-racists to organise support committees in different areas.

Anti-Fascist Action can be contacted at the following addresses:

c/o Bradford Resource Centre, Manor Row, Bradford 1.

PO Box 4, South Manchester, PDO Manchester M20 9EG.

PO Box 273, Forest Gate, London E7.

Box AFA, 59 Cookridge Street, Leeds LS2 3AW.

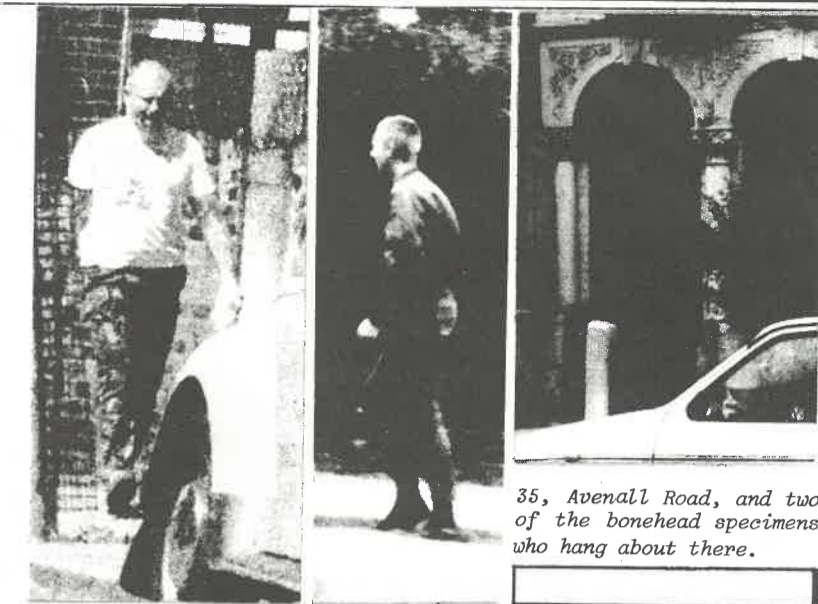
...STOP PRESS!!!!!!

As "Class Struggle" was going to press, we heard that the charges of malicious wounding and affray against the anti-fascists arrested in Oldham had been dropped.

equivalent of the Masons, the Catini, and may be less than usually sympathetic to alleged RUC crimes against the Catholic population, are a slander totally unconnected with his removal.

4. We confidently expect that leaks concerning Stalker's investigation into the RUC, which appear to show that the RUC did indeed murder unarmed civilians suspected of being Republicans, are mistaken. Sampson's brilliant brain will almost certainly demonstrate that these allegations, as well as those that claim that the RUC committed perjury, forged documents and bribed an informer to the tune of £30,000 merely refer to minor bureaucratic mistakes that have been blown out of proportion.

5. It follows logically that if the RUC have committed no crimes, if the RUC are non-sectarian guardians of law and order and if the RUC have no political axe to grind, then Stalker could not have been removed to avoid an exposure. There is nothing to expose!



35, Avenall Road, and two of the bonehead specimens who hang about there.

## BROADWATER FARM - Plead Guilty or Get Five Years

The campaign has issued a leaflet calling for a Mass Picket of the Old Bailey, on September 15th, at the trials of those arrested after the uprising of 6th October, 1985:

SUPPORT THE MASS PICKET

\* Over 60 people are going to be on trial at the Old Baily charged with affray, despite the fact that the only evidence against them is confessions made under duress.

\* They all face sentences of 8 years for having refused to plead guilty. (2 people who pleaded guilty in June got FIVE years!! In an unprecedented speech before the proceedings began, those charged were encouraged to plead guilty with the inducement of having one third knocked off their sentences if they did so.

\* Each case will be tried individually. The Defence Campaign sees this as a deliberate tactic to isolate the defendants from each other. It continues the process by which individuals in police custody were broken down by being held in isolation and threatened until they made confessions.

\* We also say that by trying the cases separately, the prosecution (i.e. the police) are hoping to disguise the nature of what occurred on October 6th. They are trying to make it seem that each case

is an example of random criminal violence, not a case based solely on confessions extorted by the police after the community had justifiably defended itself.

The leaflet goes on:

We need a really massive presence outside the Old Bailey:

\* To show our anger at the fact that these trials are taking place at all.

\* To show that we stand behind the defendants.

\* To show that we will not be silenced in the face of assaults on our communities.

To show that we won't stand by whilst people's rights are being smashed.

\* To show that we won't stand for such transgressions of the law as:

Routine denial of access to solicitors.

Prolonged isolation.

The use of force, threats and bribes to extract confessions.

STOP THE FRAME-UP TRIALS!

DROP ALL CHARGES NOW!

For more information, contact: Broadwater Farm Defence Campaign c/o Broadwater Farm Youth Association, 12-16 Tangmere, Willan Road, London N17.

## BOOK NEWS

ONE HAND TIED BEHIND US  
Jill Liddington & Jill Norris

- an account of the rise of the women's suffrage movement amongst the mills and homes of the north of England? Using unpublished material and interviews it vividly portrays the struggle for the personal and political rights of women.  
£4.95 + 40p P&P.

MADAME SUN YAT-SEN  
Chang Juan

- the extraordinary life of Soong Chingling, widow of the founding father of modern China, who herself became Honorary President of the People's Republic of China.  
£2.95 + 22p P&P.

MEMOIRS FROM THE WOMEN'S PRISON  
Nawal el Sa'adawi

- arrested in 1981, together with some thousands others - some political radicals like herself, others veiled Islamic conservatives - for alleged "crimes against the state", this account from one of Egypt's leading feminists contains the hallmark of sympathy and directness of her novels.  
£3.95 + 34p P&P.

PROPAGANDA AND EMPIRE  
The manipulation of British public opinion 1880-1960  
J.M. Mackenzie

- the idea of empire has been so powerful and pervasive that it has outlived the passing of the formal empire. But this study explores the manifestations of the imperial idea packaged and bottled like a sediment in the consciousness of the British people".  
£6.95 + 59p P&P.

SQUATTERS HANDBOOK  
Advisory Service for Squatters

- a comprehensive guide providing information on how to go about squatting fully explaining the law on squatting, and your rights as a householder.  
£0.50p + 12p P&P.

IN TIME OF WAR  
Ireland, Ulster and the price of neutrality 1939-1945  
Robert Fisk

- Churchill's attempt to induce the Irish into the Second World War with the offer of Irish unity, while planning an invasion from the Six Counties, are just two of the minutely documented options uncovered by Fisk's fascinating narrative.  
£4.95 + 98p P&P.

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"Class Struggle" is published by the Revolutionary Communist League, c/o 203, Seven Sisters Road, London N4.

## STALKER CONT'D



which make normal procedures unnecessary.

SOME OBVIOUS POINTS

1. The fact that a subordinate of Stalker, who was helping the investigation into the RUC, was withdrawn and secretly given the task of investigating Taylor and his links with Stalker is an irrelevance.

2. The known connections between this same subordinate and members of the RUC are completely beside the point.

3. Allegations that Stalker is a member of the Catholic

6. This means that further allegations of a state of war existing within the establishment between factions vying for power within Manchester, aligning themselves with competing groups of imperialists are mere inventions.

The conclusion is inescapable. Sampson is simply doing his job as a loyal servant of the Crown, defending the normal standards of police behaviour. We may rest assured that the police in Manchester and the RUC will continue to do their job as they see fit.



## HUNGER STRIKES CONT'D

The final speaker was Sinn Fein councillor, Francie Molloy. The 1981 Hunger Strike had forced the British to re-evaluate their policies in

Ireland. Before then, the IRA had been partially isolated. Now they were no longer just a military campaign; they now enjoyed popular support. Hunger strikes had always been a tactic used by the struggle. Michael Gaughan and Frank Stagg had to die because they refused to be criminalised or be held as political hostages. The Anglo-Irish Accord was an attempt to stabilise British interests both south and north of the border. The accord was bound to fail because it did not confront the main issue: British occupation of Ireland. The rise of Sinn Fein in the north would be followed by a similar rise in the south.

Messages of solidarity were also received from the Irish in Britain Representation Group, the Pakistani Workers Association (Britain), Troops Out Movement, the RCL(B) and the RCPB(ML).

The organisers of the rally are producing a regular newsletter and intend to make the commemoration an annual event.



# FREEDOM FOR IRELAND



## REPUBLICANS FIGHT ON .....

# UNIONISTS IN A FIX

The reality behind the television images of the struggle in the north of Ireland became clear in August for those who want to see.

The shift in strategy by British imperialism towards greater alliance with the Irish ruling class and a reduction of reliance on Orange bigotry, was emphasised at the end of July by a special meeting, under the 'Anglo-Irish Agreement', between Tom King, British Northern Ireland Secretary and the Irish Foreign Affairs Minister, Peter Barry.

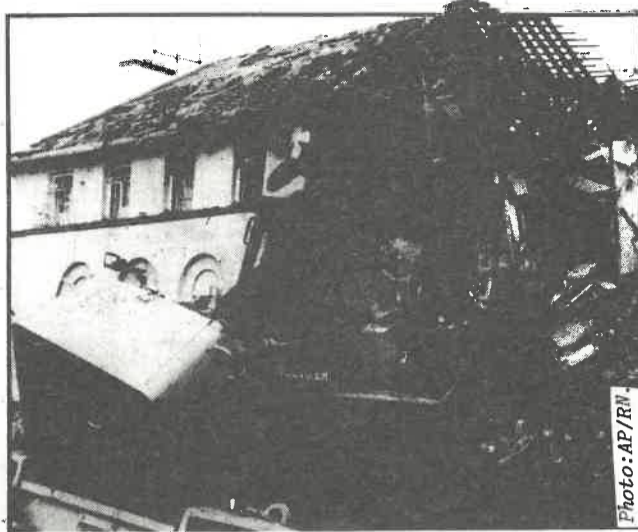
The focus of the meeting was the 'pact to fight terrorism'. The pact has included a sizeable build-up of Irish Gardai and troops along the border. Its continued failure to defeat Irish liberation forces had been highlighted by a successful IRA operation in Newry in which three members of the RUC had been killed the previous weekend.

### LOYALIST REACTION

Obviously the Loyalists of the

north are themselves bitter at this shift. In August, they set out to show their power and to attempt to gain wider support by showing up the failure of Britain's new strategy. Indiscriminate murder and attempted murder of Catholics at random provided the background to Loyalist attempts to show the lack of 'cross-border security'. The bigoted Peter Robinson, MP, led a band of 150 Loyalist thugs across the border into the south of Ireland on August 7th. They smashed up the village of Cloutonnet before Gardai arrived. Robinson was arrested. A repeat attempt, when Robinson appeared in court some days later, was crushed and driven out of the south not by the police but by Republicans.

Meanwhile the fundamentally anti-Catholic sectarian charac-



Demolished police station.

ter of Orange loyalism was further highlighted by threats from the 'Ulster Freedom Fighters' to Catholics working in 'Protestant areas'. This attack was rebuffed by thousands of staff in social security and housing executive offices, who went on strike demanding that the threats be lifted. Even at Short Brothers, which has long been criticised for anti-Catholic employment practices, the management has been forced to instruct loyalists to take down their banners and end their intimidation campaign. Behind the management's move is their fear of losing their vital US export market which accounts

for two thirds of their business.

Through all this, the Republican movement has continued its struggle for freedom. In contrast to Orange-sectarian terror, their target has been clear - the armed forces of the British state and those who help them.

The media has continued to paint Loyalist terror as a reaction to the liberation struggle. The reality is that Orange sectarianism is built in to the division of Ireland. It is the liberation struggle that seeks to end partition, sectarianism and imperialism.

# EVENTS

SATURDAY 13th SEPTEMBER

\* \* \* \* \*

London

PROTEST

Against War Atrocities and US Intervention in El Salvador

FOR A PEOPLE'S RIGHT TO LIVE EL SALVADOR WILL WIN!

Assemble 12 Noon US Embassy Grosvenor Sq. (Bond St tube)

MULTICULTURAL BENEFIT CONCERT at Alexandra Pavilion, Wood Green, London N22.

Mayor of Haringey's Clarendon (Jamaica) Flood Relief Fund

2.00 p.m. - 2.00 a.m.

\* \* \* \* \*

LEEDS

Save Rose and Brian! Stop the Deportations!

National Demonstration and Rally

Assemble Potternewton Park Chapelton, Leeds 7, 10 a.m.

\* \* \* \* \*

## STALKER INQUIRY

The following article was written before Stalker was reinstated to his post - but not, of course, to his job as investigating the RUC 'shoot-to-kill' campaign. We are amazed that Sampson's recommendations were ignored. We cannot think how his brilliant expose even got described by a Labour councillor as 'Mickey Mouse'. We are not in the slightest surprised that his report can, at the same time be praised to the skies by the same motion passed at the same meeting, which ignored it. Labour councillors have shown yet again - you can have your cake and eat it.

### In Defence of Law and Order

by Pinnocchio

At last the report is out. Now we know for sure the dastardly crimes of Deputy Chief Constable Stalker. The report's conclusions prove that he did indeed use an official car to attend five civic functions. What is more, he was indeed a friend of rich businessman and leading Tory, Kevin Taylor.

Stalker's puritanical reputation on the Greater Manchester police force, as a critic of senior officers who abuse their perks, is nothing but a smokescreen behind which he pursued his sinister use of a police car for the purpose of transport.

Such serious allegations clearly warranted his removal from the relatively unimportant investigation of the RUC's shoot-to-kill policy.

We may rest assured that Colin Sampson, Chief Constable of West Yorkshire, will pursue the RUC investigation with the same vigour with which he investigated Stalker, and the circumstances of Stalker's suspension.

### THE MASONS AND THE RUC

Sampson proved that the Masons were not involved with the suspension. After all, they held a press conference and said so. We may add that the late Chairman of the Manchester Police Authority who was responsible for Stalker's suspension, was also not a Mason. His family have said as much. Therefore, it is an unchallengeable fact. The similarities between the white Protestant RUC and the white Protestant Masons are an irrelevant coincidence, and allegations of connections between them are a vicious smear on the integrity of both.

Sampson has also demonstrated that Kevin Taylor, Stalker's friend, could be a member of the Quality Street Gang, allegedly responsible for a number of unsolved crimes. The fact that Taylor has, at no time been interviewed by the police, merely shows the skill of Sampson's deductive powers

### CONT'D ON P.7

### JORDAN APPEAL TURNED DOWN

On July 28th, Peter Jordan was refused leave to appeal against a 14 year sentence, given for his alleged role in a plan to attack a former leading SAS officer. The three Appeal Court judges took the view that the sentence was justified, which means that the earliest date of release Peter Jordan can expect, if nothing changes, is May 5th, 1994, soon after his 70th birthday.

However, neither Peter nor his family and friends, have given up hope of making a further appeal against this heavy sentence, and they will still be looking for support for him.

## HUNGER STRIKERS REMEMBERED

### MESSAGE FROM POWS

In a message from the Irish Republican POWs held in Long Lartin prison, the record of the Labour Party was attacked. They pointed out that Michael Gaughan and Frank Stagg were killed during a Labour government. The British state was the enemy not just particular political parties. Since the 1981 hunger strike, the Labour Party had opportunisticly tried to convince people that it was changing its policy on Ireland. This was a sham to try and keep the Irish vote. Labour hoped that Irish people had short memories. But nothing could erase 800 years of oppression. The POWs quoted Gerry Adams: "If they won't listen to the force of the arguments, then they must listen to the argument of force."

From the Irish POWs held in Gartree prison came a message attacking the Anglo-Irish Agreement. This was seen as an attempt to try and isolate the Republican movement. The nationalist people were not interested in a reform of the six counties or power-sharing; they wanted the right to determine their own future without outside interference.

### "STAND FIRM AND STAND TOGETHER"

The meeting was privileged to be addressed by Ali Lynch, brother of hungerstriker, Kevin Lynch. He told how he had visited Kevin, first during the blanket protest and then again during the hunger strike. Kevin's determination and sense of humour remained to the end. Near to death, he gave his brother a message: "People must stand firm and stand together. We have them on their knees. It's just a matter of giving them a push."

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### 'Class Struggle' correspondent.

On 21st June, approximately 150 people came together in Birmingham to pay tribute to twelve Republicans who died on hunger strike during the present phase of the Irish liberation struggle. In 1981, the sacrifices of Bobby Sands and his nine comrades were a focus of worldwide protests against the British occupation of Ireland. It was equally important to remember the two Republican POWs who gave their lives on hunger strike in English prisons. Michael Gaughan died in June 1974, in Parkhurst prison, while being forcefed on hunger strike. Frank Stagg died in February 1976, in Wakefield prison, while on his third hunger strike. All twelve had refused to be criminalised. They were political prisoners, committed to the liberation of their homeland.

The militant rally was addressed by speakers from the Kashmiri Liberation Front, the All African People's Socialist Revolutionary Party (AAPSRRP), Sinn Fein and the Irish POW Campaign in Britain.

Messages of solidarity were read from the Irish Republican Socialist Party, the Palestine Liberation Organisation and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania who, because of other commitments, could not attend.

### FREEDOM, JUSTICE AND PEACE

All the speakers expressed their full support for the Irish national liberation struggle. The spirit of the twelve martyrs and sacrifices would never die and they were an inspiration to all those struggling for freedom. Until the oppressed peoples had control of their own lands, there could never be freedom, justice and peace.

The spokeswoman from the AAPSRRP highlighted the problem of racism which weakens the progressive forces. Racism had been created, she said, by the white European imperialists to justify their oppression of the colonies. Black people were suspicious of white people in struggle because of this racism. Racism weakened the Irish people's support for black liberation struggles. This weakness had to be overcome so that all anti-imperialist forces could be strengthened.