

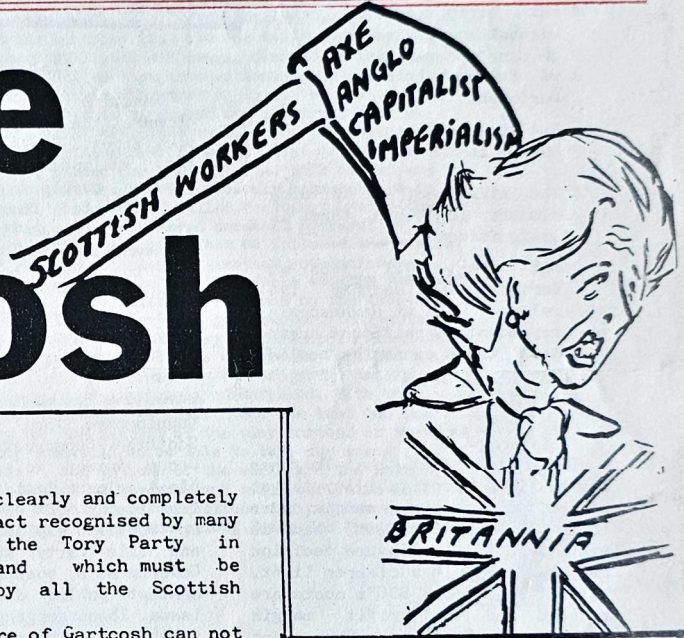
SCOTTISH WORKERS REPUBLIC

25p

SCOTTISH REPUBLICAN SOCIALIST PARTY

Poblachail Soisealach Partidh Na H Alba

Save Gartcosh



Once more the British Tory Government is forced, by continuing economic disaster, to review the internal structure of the British Steel Corporation.

In an effort to bring BSC's profitability up to a level at which the state-owned corporation can be handed back to the big business entrepreneurs of the private sector, it has been decided to close plant. And where in Britain does expendable steel processing plant exist? Where else but in the heartland of industrial Scotland. And so on March 31st next year, BSC's cold strip mill at Gartcosh will close and with it the threat to Scotland's only integrated steel plant at Ravenscraig increases.

BSC have put forward their justifications for the closure and patiently explain how ridiculous it is to believe that this will have any adverse affect on Ravenscraig in either the short or long term.

This is clearly and completely false. A fact recognised by many members of the Tory Party in Scotland and which must be recognised by all the Scottish people.

The closure of Gartcosh can not be considered in isolation. With its demise Ravenscraig's closure at the end of the Government's 3 year "period of grace" becomes inevitable. With no major steel making capacity in Scotland the industrial and manufacturing heart of this country will be torn out. Scotland will be completely emasculated: tied completely to England's apron strings without even the potential to rise and stand with other independent industrial nations when that day comes.

British Steel present their arguments for closing the plant in what they consider to be sensible economic terms.....

Continued Page2.

Dare to struggle, dare to win!

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Save Gartcosh/contd.

They make the following claims;

- * Gartcosh; is remote from its markets.

Not true. Its closer to over 40% of the markets than BSC's other cold mills.

- * Gartcosh's distance from Ravenscraig incurs excessive transport costs. Not true. Ravenscraig is 9 miles from Gartcosh but 200 miles from Shotton; the mill in England which will take over from Gartcosh.

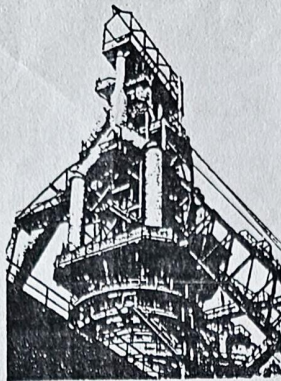
- * Hot strip mills exist without associated cold mills in many industrial countries so Ravenscraig doesn't need Gartcosh.

Not true. Only one such mill exists in the world.

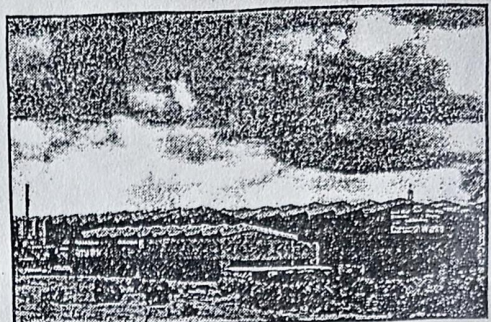
- * The effect of the Gartcosh closure in human terms is insignificant.

Not true. 711 jobs at Gartcosh and another 136 related jobs at Ravenscraig represents significant human loss which cannot be healed by empty promises of job relocation.

Given the fact that Thatcher has set BSC a profitability target of £300 million per annum in order that the corporation can be privatised, the closure decision can be seen in a clearer light. Without Gartcosh BSC's costs are reduced and the profit margin increases. Yet the Government maintain they can't interfere with BSC's internal management decisions.



A blast furnace at the threatened Ravenscraig plant. How long until it closes for good?



Gartcosh:

OPPOSITION

Reaction to the proposed closure has been loud and vociferous. Scottish Labour Party MPs, who appealed to the Scottish working people to vote Labour and be protected from Thatcherism, stand powerless in their futile condemnation of the decision. The SNP too, have responded to the closure. And significant noises have come from the ranks of the Tory Party itself.

The catalogue of dissent is extensive and revealing: the executive committees of South Cunningshame Tory Party and the Scottish Conservative Trade Union Group intend to resign if the plant closes. Letters have been frantically sent by leading Tories in Scotland explaining to rank and file Party members the Government's position and warning against public discussion of the issue. These gagging attempts were further exposed when the Government in the shape of Sir James Gould, stepped in to prevent the broadcasting of the first

edition of BBC Scotland's political programme "Left, Right and Centre" in which leading Tory dissident, Ian Lawson, produced extensive documentary evidence of both the fallacy of the Government's position and the extent to which it is opposed by Scots Tories.

THE FIGHT MUST GO ON

Despite growing opposition the closure is going ahead. Her Majesty's loyal opposition Labour Party are incapable of organising or leading any effectual protest to the continuing destruction of Scotland's industrial infrastructure. The SNP's broad political base which ignores the relevance of the Class Question prevents them from throwing the full support of their Party behind any issue. Consequently, the ironical situation exists where the most voluble protest comes from the dissenting elements of the very body which created the situation in the first place.

This issue must be fought by all the Scottish Working Class. Gartcosh and Ravenscraig must be saved.



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An English tribute to the French Commune addressed to the workers of both towns - 18

IRELAND'S BIGGEST SELLING POLITICAL WEEKLY

AN **PHOBLAGHT**

Republican News



Now's the day Now's the hour !!

Today, we in Scotland, face a direct attack from a centralised English Tory Government an attack unprecedented in scale and ferocity. No Government before has made the people of Scotland so much aware of the need for some form of Self-Government which would allow us to control our economic, political and cultural development. This awareness is growing daily in Scotland and can be gauged when even Capitalist newspapers like the 'Evening Times' are prepared, as they did in an edition, to devote eight pages to the grim conditions existing in Scotland today. It is interesting to quote the last paragraph of the editorial in that issue:- 'In Scots Wha Hae', Burns wrote the stirring lines: 'NOW'S THE DAY AND NOW'S THE HOUR; SEE THE FRONT O' BATTLE LOUR, now is the hour when we in Scotland are battling for our very survival. We need the same guts and determination as our fathers always found in times of crisis.'

As always, during periods of crisis, Scotland is made to bear a greater part of the burden than England in order to bolster their crumbling Capitalist Economy. Our basic industries are being killed off one by one, the dole queues lengthen and poverty flourishes throughout our land. And now we are faced with the most savage attack on us to date namely the destruction of our Education system. It appears that our English Imperial masters are not content to destroy us economically kill off our basic industries and skills, starve us physically but now they intend to cripple us intellectually. These attacks are ranging throughout the whole spectrum of our education system, from pre-school to university level. Universities are being forced into rationalisation with whole departments being merged or closed and the financial grants to them are reducing the number of students accepted. Student grants remain miserable with the threat of bank loans replacing grants still in the sideline. Primary schools and

On observing the situation existent in Scotland today, the overseas visitor or independent enquirer must ask themselves the question "WHAT MAKE OF MAN IS THE SCOT WHO SITS BACK IN APATHY WHILE HIS NATIVE LAND IS PLUNDERED AND TURNED INTO A DESERT BY A FOREIGN POWER BASED IN LONDON?? ARE WE SIMPLY A MASS OF MINDLESS MORONS, LACKING GUTS OR ANY VESTIGE OF MORAL COURAGE?"

The Scottish Republican Socialist Party emphatically rejects such a view of the Scottish people. We believe that there is abundant evidence which would show to the contrary that the Scottish people are a vigorous, intelligent and courageous people whenever history has called them into action. The question must then be asked "Why then do we see no real action being taken at this time when our country and it's people are being exploited to a greater degree than ever before? The answer is simply that the we have for to long placed our hopes in the 'fair minded and democratic gentlemen' who supposedly represent us in that great 'gas chamber' called Westminster with the result that we have suffered constant betrayal of our interests. It is high time that we followed the advice of JOHN MACLEAN, Scotland's greatest revolutionary leader, and stand up and declare for a WORKERS REPUBLIC of SCOTLAND. Throw aside our reliance on the tame and treacherous Labour Party and give support to genuine tested and tried revolutionary leadership in Scotland.

It would be the job of the workers in Scotland to see that such a government carried out a policy to meet the needs of the people of Scotland. With the demand for a Republic we shall claim the land and run industry for the benefit of the many instead of the few. Only then will we be able to take our stand alongside the Nations of the world and the International socialist movement and raise our voice in the cause of all oppressed nations and peoples and the cause of Freedom, Socialism, Peace and Progress.



their feeder nurseries are being closed and composite classes, some with numbers over the accepted 25 pupils, are now the norm rather than the exception. Secondary School teachers are being expected to develop a whole new system without adequate assistance in either money time or materials. This Tory Government expect secondary teachers to build without tools, to play magicians!

Scottish teachers are being denied the right to an independent pay review body which would revalue their financial worth to society but because the value on which the Tory Government puts on teachers is far below what any independent review body will, such a review body will be continually refused.

The SRSP see all these points from closures to the undervaluation of teachers as attacks on Scottish Education and calls on the Scottish workers to fight against any attacks. The right to attain the best possible education belongs to the Scottish people but under the English Tory Imperial Government the education system will allow the best possible education only for those who can afford it. Education is ours by right! Support the fight against Tory Education cuts! Support the teachers!

**Dare to struggle,
dare to win!**

The Scottish Constitutional Convention



It is now over 6 years since the infamous debacle of the devolution referendum and the demise of the Labour Party's Scotland Bill. Yet throughout this time the support for some form of a devolved assembly, a support which had its basis in the 51.6% "yes" vote in 1979, has grown.

The CAMPAIGN FOR A SCOTTISH ASSEMBLY, founded 12 months after the referendum with a proposed ultimate objective of a full Scottish Assembly, has been the focus around which support for an Assembly has been aroused and concentrated.

Since their inception CSA have built up nominal support for an Assembly from various political organisations, Trade Unions and prominent British parliamentarians who for one reason or another support the campaign to some degree.

ASSEMBLY

As the next Westminster election draws nearer, the issue of the constitutional convention has drawn more to the fore in the campaign, and it is this strategy which CSA see as the key to the whole issue.

The questions which should concern us here are; will the installation of a devolved assembly represent a progressive step for the Scottish working class, and how successful is the constitutional convention likely to be in bringing such an assembly about?

The many shortcomings of the Scotland Bill were glaringly obvious. As an instrument for establishing any measure of self-determination it fell lamentably short of the mark and indeed the bill was considered by many Scots to be insulting in its paucity.

The assembly which CSA is campaigning for will have marginally greater powers: with limited control over the Scottish economy, the health and education services, local Government etc. However, full economic control, all international relations including trade, and the social security system will remain in the hands of the British Parliament at Westminster. Self-determination it isn't. Not by a long way.

The people of Scotland must control their political destiny completely. Furthermore the SRSP believes that the question of National Self-Determination is not merely linked to the class struggle but is an integral part

of it. Only in an independent Scotland, free from the shackles of the United Kingdom can we establish Socialism. While the proposed assembly hardly begins to answer the needs of the people of Scotland it is nonetheless a small step in the right direction.

CONVENTION

And what of the constitutional convention? This body would be the task of drafting detailed proposals for the assembly and would deal with the question of powers, procedure and jurisdiction. Necessary tasks indeed. Such a body would require the participation of all spheres of Scottish life; political parties, local authorities, cultural bodies and particularly Scottish Trade Union bodies. The SRSP call on all those interested in keeping Scotland alive to support the convening of the constitutional convention and to demand that the Trade Unions, the STUC and all Scottish political Parties support this move.

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The SRSP urges all readers of "SCOTTISH WORKERS REPUBLIC" to send cards or letters of support to its imprisoned comrades.

Tommy Kelly, 2332, HMP Saughton, Edinburgh.

Peter Wardlaw, 6/81, HMP Peterhead, Aberdeenshire AB4.

See the article in this issue outlining the reasons for Tommy's imprisonment. A similar article in the next issue will deal with Peter's case.



This cartoon by Gordon Petrie comes from Midlothian CA's newspaper 'Symbol'.

I wish to join the Scottish Republican Socialist Party and enclose membership fee of £3/£2 (unemployed).

I would like more information regarding the aims and objectives of the SRSP.

I wish to join the Young Scottish Republicans and enclose membership fee of £1/£1 (unemployed).

I would like more information about the YSR.

Name _____

Address _____

Tick one and send to SRSP. c/o P.O. Box 221, G43 2RQ.

NO MORE TO BE SAID

In the first edition of "Scottish Workers Republic" we published an article entitled "The Truth will Out", in which the SRSP condemned both the formation of the Scottish Communist Republican Party and the divisive actions of its associated organisation the Glasgow Irish Freedom Action Committee (GIFAC).

In response to this GIFAC/SCRP printed a similarly titled article in their newspaper.

Both the Republican Bands Alliance Scotland and Scottish Republican Socialist prisoner Peter Wardlaw have asked to use these columns to put forward their views concerning the GIFAC and to expose the falsehoods in their article.

SRSP

Political Prisoner Peter Wardlaw Writes

Regular readers of "Ireland's War" (IW) will have read an article in IW 14 titled: "The Truth Will Out", this a reply to a similarly titled article in "Scottish Workers Republic" (SWR), the organ of the SRSP. At my request the Party has allowed me to reply to the latest outpouring from GIFAC / IW. This is the purpose of the present article as follows:

GIFAC inform IW readers that it came as a great surprise to them to read a "two-page attack" on them in SWR. At the start then we find that, contrary to the title of the article, the truth has become a casualty. For the GIFACers are well aware of the hostility their behaviour has generated, and that particularly since they gave themselves a Scottish title (SCRP) they have been banned from all SRSP / Band Alliance events. So whatever their real reaction at the instance, surprise was not it.

The author of the article (KC) goes on to make great play of the fact that I made an error of expression when I 'accused' GIFAC of making repeated attacks on the SRSP in IW. KC does this by the Thatcher-like technique of quoting statistics of favourable coverage given to the SRSP. But like Thatcher KC uses this diversionary method of argument to avoid the issue of what the GIFAC are doing now - this is the point, not what they did prior to becoming a 'Scottish' party too.

There was no error of fact when I used the words "repeated attacks" since the main attack I refer to was printed in IW and repeated in the GIFACers "Scottish" paper (albeit slightly diluted). More over KC misrepresents my statement making one part of it central to the "two page attack", whereas it was separate and tagged on after the 'offending' article.

In a similar manner KC misrepresents the S.R.S.P. criticism of the GIFACers frontist methods of giving themselves other names i.e. (SCRP, SPSC, PRISM), and does this by facetiously claiming the SRSP is opposed to the work done or the principles involved. This is a crude slander, and just for the record the SRSP isn't opposed to anyone, even GIFAC people, carrying out work in solidarity with Palestinians, Chileans or any other oppressed people. We aren't even opposed to the GIFACers showing solidarity with the Scottish people, should they ever get round to it. It's just that we are dubious about their real intentions!'

POLEMIC

This brings me to the most serious aspect of KC's polemic. In their "two page attack" the SRSP "accuses" GIFAC of trying to divide SRSP prisoners from the Party. In what is apparently an attempt to repudiate this claim, KC for GIFAC, informs IW readers that contrary to the SRSP allegation, GIFAC actually tirelessly worked to unite a Scottish Republican prisoner with the SRSP, and equally tirelessly worked to put an end to "totally unfounded and thoroughly malicious rumours" about this prisoner made by, among others, members of the SRSP.

What struck me quite forcibly about this "revelation" is that it achieves the very thing it is revealing. For, ostensibly, the purpose of replying to the SRSP's "accusation". I.e. KC, with an air of indignation no less, spreads a "totally unfounded and thoroughly malicious rumour" about a Scottish Republican prisoner. And does, in the process, smear the Scottish Republican Socialist Party. After all an excellent way of spreading a rumour is to publish it in a paper, and that's what GIFAC - and not any SRSP member - have just done.

Further, no names are given, so it could be any prisoner or any SRSP member that is being tainted. It is for this reason, among others, that I have requested to write this reply.



Clearly prisoners are being used by GIFAC to further the aims of their organisation, which in relation to Scotland now appear to be little more than slandering Scottish Republican Socialists. IW readers can take it from me that no Scottish Republican prisoner has ever been consulted by any tirelessly working GIFAC member about how tirelessly they were working to unite him with the SRSP.

Scottish Republicans, whether in prison or outside have always been united against the likes of GIFAC. Nor has any prisoner been informed by GIFAC of the malicious rumour GIFAC are now spreading, or for that matter no prisoner was consulted about this "revelation". This last aspect is not surprising because GIFAC would have been sent packing. What is surprising though is that while this rumour was supposed to be abroad not a syllable about it, and only favourable coverage of the SRSP, was being made. And it is only now that the SRSP is being attacked, that GIFAC are "exposing" the apparent revelation.

ISOLATED

They would be well advised to stop purveying this filth now, before they start wallowing in it, though perhaps it is too late for that. Whatever, its certainly too late for the pious, if not audacious, wish KC ends her article with. There is no danger of the SRSP working in the future with GIFAC or any of their other names. For apart from this latest, malicious attack by the GIFAC, this would be dangerous for our cause - as has now become abundantly clear.

THE SCAB

It was a grim, disastrous day,
The day of the Scab's birth;
Reptiles flew, and at high noon,
The darkness covered the earth;
Mean and vicious all through life,
He takes what he can grab -
A lower creature never breathed,
Than that foul skunk the - Scab!

He is the sort that would take delight
In drowning little pups;
Or even stealing pennies from
Blind men's begging cups;
God may have made the worm to crawl
Beneath the stoney slab -
It wasn't God, 'twas Satan made
That slithery beast the - Scab!

Newspapers praise him to the sky,
Because he serves the Boss;
Betrays his fellow workers
And sells himself for dress;
Scabs are never heroes,
They're cowards, dull and drab,
An insult to the human race,
describes the dirty - Scab!

Should e'er a Scab grow penitent,
I think good folk agree,
That he should hang his rotten self
Upon the Judas tree;
This epitaph then written
upon his low, grave slab;
"The worms here all were poisoned
When feeding on The Scab!
By Freddie Anderson

BAND ALLIANCE NEWS



THE SPIRIT OF WALLACE
SCOTTISH REPUBLICAN SOCIALIST
FLUTE BAND, MARCHING AT THE
RECENT WALLACE DAY
COMMEMORATION.



"IRSP" PROTEST

At a recent march and rally organised by the Republican Bands Alliance (Scotland), which was supported by Scottish Republicans and the Clydeside Troops Out Movement, a member of the IRSP Support Group in Glasgow approached the platform and asked if speaking rights were being extended to the IRSP Support Group.

When informed that this would not be the case by the chairman and that he could not offer a reason at that moment while he was fully engaged in chairing the rally, the reaction of the IRSP supporter was: "You are just sectarian bastards."

MANDATED

The RBAS wish to make it clear that the sub-committee which organised the rally and who were mandated to choose the speakers had decided that the platform would be limited in view of the weather and the fact that they wished to ensure that the limited time available was used by representatives of Sinn Fein (Ireland) and the relative of a victim of the Show Trials. Both the SRSP and CTOM were limited to a brief statement.

NO SLIGHT

The fact that the IRSP were not invited was in no way intended as

a slight on that body. It is regrettable that the IRSP representative should indulge in such divisive behaviour.

WARM THANKS

We take this opportunity to extend our warm thanks to all those supporters who braved the weather to support the just cause of exposing the Show Trials in Ireland.

RBAS Committee.

"CROSSMAGLEN PATRIOTS" and "JOHN MACLEAN" Irish and Scottish Flute Bands.

Congratulations and long life to the "SCOTTISH WORKERS REPUBLIC".

In recent months we have been suffering a bad patch due to most of our members leaving to form their own bands in other areas of Lanarkshire.

Despite this, we wish to say through the SWR's Band News column that we have not split up and are still recruiting new members. Anyone wishing to join can contact us through the paper's Box No. SRSP (BN), P. O. Box 221, Glasgow, G43 2RQ.

Greetings and solidarity to all SRSP prisoners. You are in our hearts and our music.

To the Secretariat and members of the Scottish Republican Socialist Party.

A chara,

on behalf of the committee and members of the Spirit of Wallace/Govan Shamrock Flute Band, I would like to express our thanks to the SRSP for the splendid organisation of the Republican contingent at the Wallace Day rally in August. We would also like to thank your organiser for providing food and refreshments for the band after the rally:

We shall be taking a report to the next Band Alliance meeting pointing out the consideration shown by the SRSP in providing food etc. It was a credit to your organisation.

As a result, we now extend an open invitation to your Party to send speakers to our Band practice in order to educate our members in Scotland's history and the policies of your Party with the hope you may recruit from the band.

Yours in Republicanism;

PRO (Spirit of Wallace)

BAND ALLIANCE CONDEMNS GIFAC/SCRP

The Republican Band Alliance Scotland (RBAS), condemns the activities of the "Glasgow Irish Freedom Action Committee (GIFAC) in their role as so-called supporters of the Republican movement in Scotland and Ireland. This group have consistently refused to conform to any kind of collective discipline and have from the outset attempted to set band against band and organisation against organisation.

To put the activities of this group into perspective it is essential that we look at their record of political work within Scotland over the past few years.

SPLITTISTS

The present elitist clique organising GIFAC originated in the late seventies from the Revolutionary Communist Group, and having broken from that group they then set themselves up as the Glasgow H-Block/Armagh Committee.

It was this group which played a prominent part in organising the "Troops Out" march in April '79 from Queens Park, Glasgow which ended in a fiasco as a result of

continued page

RBAS condemns GIFAC/SCRIP Contd.

bad organisation. During the historic Hunger Strikes 1980-1981 by Republican Volunteers this group succeeded in sowing the seeds of division amongst Republican supporters in Scotland, making the movement incapable of mounting a successful campaign of solidarity with the Republican movement.

Out of the confusion of that time, instigated by the Glasgow H-Block armagh Committee, came the resolve to form the Republican Bands Alliance Scotland, outwith the influence of pseudo-Socialist groups. After the Hunger Strikes this group renamed themselves G.I.F.A.C. and, not content with creating confusion amongst Republican supporters in Scotland, they then mounted an attack on the SRSP by slanderously stating that they had forbidden the Irish flags to be flown at the JOHN MACLEAN rally when in fact it was the Bands Alliance which had decided themselves not to fly the Irish colours on that particular occasion.

Such an unwarranted attack on the SRSP, (accepted by all as the legitimate voice of Scottish Republicanism and who, more than any other group in Scotland have suffered at the hands of British State forces, for their un-apologetic stance to Anglo Capitalist-Imperialism) can only be described as TREACHERY.

The latest ploy of 'GIFAC' is seen quite clearly in their audacity in forming a so-called 'Scottish Communist Republican Party' when in fact their only contribution to Scottish politics in the past had been to deny the right of the Scottish nation and people to Self-Determination. Their line being that the political situation in Scotland could only be considered in a 'British' context.

The support offered by 'GIFAC' to Scottish Political Prisoners is now shown as a ruse to ultimately divide the solidarity that exists between the prisoners and their comrades in the S.R.S.P.

The R.B.A.S. realise that their intervention into Scottish politics was a convenient ploy to ingratiate themselves with the Republican movement in Scotland, as they had been isolated politically for their divisive activities.

The R.B.A.S. will take this opportunity to remind its supporters that sloganising in papers is all very well, but political progress will only come through political education which the Band Alliance are in the process of organising, Out-with the influence of middle-class pseudo-socialists,

who only succeed in weakening the entire solidarity movement in Scotland.

The Republican Bands Alliance Scotland will continue to work hand-in-hand with the S.R.S.P., to further the ultimate aims of the Republican movement in Scotland and Ireland outwith the influence of the supposed socialist 'GIFAC'.

Tiocfaidh-ar-la.

JOHN MACLEAN COMMEMORATION

The annual John MacLean commemorative march and rally organised by the SRSP, will take place on Saturday 30th November: the 62nd anniversary of MacLean's death and St. Andrew's Day.

The life of MacLean and his work in establishing Socialism and Republicanism in Scotland must not be forgotten. We urge all Scots workers to participate in this event.

The march starts in Helensvale Street, Parkhead Cross, Glasgow at 9:00 am
9:00 A.M.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS TO 'LALKAR'

Handsworth

The fury of the oppressed

On the afternoon and evening of Monday 9 September, a major riot, resulting in two deaths, much looting and burning of property, took place in the Handsworth district of Birmingham. In the time-honoured traditions of bourgeois journalism, the media have done their best to present this riot as, and to convert it into, an Afro-Caribbean versus Asian issue. Douglas Hurd, the Home Secretary, and the rest of the Thatcher administration, apart from making observations of the type designed to turn one section (Asian) of the oppressed black community against another (Afro-Caribbean), have presented the Handsworth events as simply a law and order problem. Enoch Powell has made these events the occasion for yet another of his sickening racist outbursts - adding smugly: 'I told you so'. The Daily Express has rushed to congratulate Powell on the latter's far-sightedness.

The thrust of the pontifications of the bourgeois media and of bourgeois politicians on the question of the Handsworth disturbances has been to imply, first, that such disturbances are a peculiarly immigrant - especially black immigrant - phenomenon, and, second, that people of different colours, races if you please, cannot live together. The facts, however, tell a different and opposite story, which cannot be hidden by any amount of bourgeois lying, deliberate or otherwise.

The most important fact is that Handsworth is an extremely deprived and underprivileged district, with a heavy concentration of black, i.e. Afro-Caribbean AND Asian, population and a high degree of unemployment, particularly among the black youth. The youth have thus little to do except roam round the streets idly and hang around street corners. With nearly 4 million unemployed, these youngsters are not only out of work, but have no hope of ever getting a job; they have become unemployed even before they have entered the labour market. In short, bourgeois society has discarded them and dumped them on the scrap heap, and nobody seems to be bothered

about them apart from disgusting, hypocritical and sanctimonious speeches aimed at the electorate by politicians belonging to the various bourgeois parties - Tories, Liberals, Social-Democrats and Labour. The unemployed, the underprivileged and the oppressed have thus no voice and no one to represent their interests. Add to this racial discrimination and harassment by the police, and we have got a pretty explosive mix, which can be triggered off by a seemingly trivial incident, thus providing the bourgeois press with an excuse for explanations which concentrate on trivia but ignore the underlying deep causes which alone are capable of furnishing an explanation of what can conveniently be called the Handsworth phenomenon.

A very simple question arises: why don't riots of the kind that occurred in Handsworth, and some years back in Bristol (St Paul's), Liverpool (Toxteth), London (Brixton and Southall), ever take place in Belgravia or 'the leafy lanes of Witney'? To borrow an apt expression from Mr Gerald Kaufman, the shadow Home Secretary? One has only to pose this question to get an answer. No such riots take place in these areas because their occupiers are well heeled, well fed, very comfortable and doing very nicely. The bourgeoisie and its executive committee, to wit, the government, know very well the nature of the question as indeed the answer to it. They are aware of the seriousness of the present situation. They know that capitalist recession and the resultant misery represent a great danger to the stability of capitalist rule. That is why they have strengthened the machinery of repression, spent huge sums of money on the police and the army and awarded hefty pay awards to the police and army personnel. But, true to their class interests, and in the service of these self-same interests, they will never pose, let alone answer, this not very difficult to answer question. Instead, avoiding posing this question just as a thief avoids the place of his crime, they offer all kinds of irrelevant 'explanations', which only serve to emphasise their evasions. But

the petty-bourgeois hangers-on, forever taking their cue from and dancing to the tune of the bourgeoisie, repeat the bourgeois lie in a thousand refrains with the sole aim of dividing the oppressed and underprivileged and covering up the true causes of the unrest under discussion. For as repression alone can never secure bourgeois rule, it must be supplemented by division among the ranks of the oppressed and exploited. This and this alone explains the attempts of 'our' 'free' press and other media to set the Asians and Afro-Caribbeans on each other's throats.

In pursuit of the above aim, a number of blatant lies, which must be refuted, have been propagated.

Lie number one: that only the Afro-Caribbean youth were involved in the disturbances. That is not so. The fact is that youth from all communities, white, Asian and Afro-Caribbean - were involved in the disturbances. The figures of arrests testify to this. Our information is that so far the number of those arrested is as follows: 200 Afro-Caribbeans, 36 Asians and 42 whites. Clearly, if only Afro-Caribbean youth were involved in the riot, as is being alleged by the press, there would be no need to arrest Asian and white youth. And if the Afro-Caribbean youth figure prominently among those arrested, then that merely is indicative of the composition of the Handsworth population, not to speak of the racial discrimination and deprivation to which the Afro-Caribbean community is subjected more than any other ethnic minority in this country.

Lie number two: that only Asian businesses and shops were the target of arson and looting. This is not so. A shop owned by an Afro Caribbean was also burnt down. But of course no one has been known to burn many Afro Caribbean shops in a district that possesses hardly any such establishments, any more than anyone has been known to catch fish in waters that

25p

LALKAR

Organ of the INDIAN WORKERS ASSOCIATION (GREAT BRITAIN)
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OCTOBER 1985

possess none. Riots are not planned. They are spontaneous outbursts and expressions of anger and frustration that have been building up unnoticed, underground as it were, over a long period of time and generated by deeply profound socio-economic causes. The fact that most businesses looted and burned down were Asian owned, is to be explained by the concentration of Asian-owned shops in the district of Handsworth, and not either by jealousy or feelings of hostility on the part of the Afro-Caribbeans against their Asian brethren. When riots take place in Azanian (South African), black townships, for instance, it is but natural that property belonging to the Blacks would suffer most loss. But not even a most dim Noddy would explain such events in terms of being anti-black. And yet in regard to Handsworth there are any number of dim Noddies and countless simpletons who wish to be taken seriously when they explain the events of Handsworth as the product of Afro-Caribbean jealousy of the 'hardworking and enterprising' Asians.

Lie number three: that the Afro-Caribbean youth peddle drugs and staged the riot in protest against the enforcement of drug laws by the police. Of course there are Afro-Caribbeans who peddle drugs, and in no way do we support either drug peddling or drug addiction. But three observations must be made in this regard. The Afro-Caribbean drug peddlers are minor cogs in a highly-organised, efficient and illicit international drugs machine, which is connected by thousands of threads with, and controlled by, international imperialism. The real culprits, the real enemies of humanity, who make hundreds of millions of dollars every year by condemning thousands of young people all over the world to premature death through drug addiction, are never caught. The dictators of Bolivia, Pakistan, Turkey, the Philippines, Thailand and such other havens of heroin and cocaine production, rule with the support of western imperialism, which has a tremendous stake in illicit drug trafficking. After all, huge profits are made out of this trade. Just as nature abhors a vacuum, capital eschews no profit. Wherever it can smell a profit, capital cannot but poke its snout in. In the 19th century, Britain waged opium wars against China in order to force opium addiction on the Chinese people. In the evening of its existence, capitalism no longer has the audacity, the brazenness, the confidence of days; it no longer can openly and explicitly impose drug addiction on the masses of people. But the same dirty trade is carried on and fortunes made by imperialism, while its political leaders shed hypocritical tears over drug addiction and issue seemingly blood-curdling threats against these merchants of death - the drug traffickers.

Secondly, in order to reach their market, indeed to create such a market, the large drug traffickers must make contact with the youth at street level. And this they are able to do, through an intricate network of agents and middlemen, by enlisting in their service some sections of the unemployed, deprived, down-trodden and degraded youth, for whom it is seemingly a way out of their poor and miserable existence. Thus capitalism subjects these unfortunates to a triple humiliation. First it discards them on the scrap heap, then turns them into lumpen elements, and finally punishes them as criminals. Thus, if one digs deep into the causes that lead youth into drug consumption and illicit trafficking, one finds the same culprit, monopoly capitalism. Whichever way we turn, we find that behind every petty street peddler of this merchandise of death lurks a very well organised and well connected monopoly capitalist, who is beyond the arm of the law because he is one of a class which makes laws in its own class interests. To this class drug trafficking is as good a source of making fat profits as producing nutritious food. Hence the existence of the military-industrial complex in the leading imperialist countries. Hence the two world wars, which claimed together more than 50 million slaughtered lives, in order to decide which group of slave holders was to have what proportion of the slaves, as Lenin aptly remarked apropos the first world war. Making armaments and waging war are regarded as just another way of making profits.

Thirdly, the Afro-Caribbeans are not alone in drug trafficking. The whites as

well as the Asians are also involved in this grisly business. Almost at the same time as the Handsworth riot was in progress, the Birmingham police arrested two Asians who were in possession of heroin with a street value of half a million pounds. But the police deliberately suppressed the news and the harpies of Fleet Street and other 'humble seekers of truth' from the media collaborated in this scandalous act of suppression. In an attempt to portray the Afro-Caribbean youth as being the only drug traffickers and cause of bad blood between them and the Asians. This point can never be over-emphasised because some Asian small businessmen have allowed themselves to be duped by the media into repeating this base and baseless lie. They need never look beyond their own little circle and count the number of their own acquaintances who have been arrested in connection with illegal import of drugs to realise the untruth of the malicious assertion which pins the drug-trafficking label solely on the lapels of Afro-Caribbean youth.

In the wake of the Handsworth riots, petty shopkeepers of Asian origin, instigated and duped by malicious British imperialist propaganda, have swung into action in an anti-Afro Caribbean crusade. This gentry, who have not been heard or seen in any protest movement against the murder of approximately 30 black persons by racist and fascist thugs during the past decade, have suddenly woken up because a few shops - which incidentally happened to have Asian owners - have been burnt down by angry youth, the majority of whom happened to be of Afro-Caribbean origin. They have an unerring knack for being mobilised into reactionary service on the side of the retrogressive forces of this society. If the Handsworth Asian Traders Association, through Mr Jaswant Sohal, has fallen for the imperialist trick of divide and rule, the Asian small shopkeepers of Southall and other towns with a concentration of Asian-owned businesses cannot claim to be unaffected by this poisonous anti-Afro Caribbean slander campaign. Meetings have been held with the aim of preventing a repetition of the events of Handsworth. Contacts have been made with the police and demands made for greater police protection of the Asian against Afro-Caribbean "rioters and muggers".

We in the Indian Workers Association, loyal as ever to the cause of the entire working class, Indian proletarians included, have refused to swim with this anti-Afro Caribbean tide and have stood up for the unity of the working people of all colours, all religions and all national origins in the common fight against unemployment, poverty, misery, degradation, racial discrimination, fascist violence and imperialist exploitation and plunder. In this context, the role played by our Birmingham branch in mobilising the Indian workers in Handsworth in the fight against the divisive tactics of the British ruling class, the successful efforts made by our Birmingham comrades in strengthening the bonds of fraternal solidarity between Indian, Afro-Caribbean and other sections of the British proletariat, are not only in the finest traditions of proletarian internationalism, but have also spiked the guns of the Asian Traders Association and prevented the realisation of a dangerous chasm between Asian and Afro-Caribbean workers that had so painfully been prepared by the powers that be.

We have but this to say to the Indian workers: British imperialism is engulfed by a deep and incurable economic crisis, which is laying waste the British manufacturing industry and causing unprecedented unemployment and the resultant misery, under the conditions of which disturbances of the Handsworth type are inevitable. The response of the ruling class, in view of its class interests, is repression and deception. It has strengthened, as said above, its machinery of repression. We saw this during the coal strike, if we had not already realised it from the goings on in Ulster during the last 15 years. Having failed to succeed in emasculating the trade union, the government is making a determined attempt to break up the unity of different communities, for it realises the dangers that threaten the stability of bourgeois government in these difficult days if the communities are not fragmented along racial lines. In these circumstances, the best guarantee, indeed the only guarantee, for the safety and security of the lives and property of Asian workers

lies in the unity of ALL workers, and not in police protection. Frankly speaking, the police are a part of the problem and not a solution to it. If the police had any interest in protecting the lives and property of Asians, fascists would never be in a position to burn innocent Asian men, women and children in their houses in East London and elsewhere. More than that: any attempt on our part to organise our defence has only brought us arrests, beatings and conspiracy charges from the police and hefty sentences from a compliant judiciary. On the other hand our Afro-Caribbean brothers and sisters have fought shoulder to shoulder with us against racists and fascists. Let the Indian workers, and indeed the shopkeepers, remember with gratitude the day when the Afro-Caribbean youth of Southall fought in the front line when a few dozen fascists marched through the streets of Southall smashing Asian shops, spitting at old Asian men and assaulting Asian women and children. While these outrages were taking place the Southall community conveniently made themselves unavailable, only to surface after the youth of Southall had comeled the fascists. Thanks to police help, the fascists were able to save their skin. Let Asian shopkeepers also remember that their money cannot guarantee their safety. The Jews in Germany were not only rich but also white. In the conditions of fascism 6 million Jews perished in the lands across Europe that had been overrun by the Hitlerite beasts. Learning from history, we must never fail to drive home the lesson that the unity of working people is the only reliable guarantee for the safety and security of the lives and well-being of black workers in this country. This being so, we in the Indian Workers Association shall fight with might and main any attempt to split us from the Afro-Caribbean workers, just as we fought only the other day against attempts by religious obscurantists, Khalistani fascists and Congressites to divide Hindu and Sikh workers.

To conclude, what happened at Handsworth cannot be prevented under the conditions of capitalism with its recurring crises of overproduction. Handsworth exploded in the face of the Thatcher government and by so doing sent an important message to the government which runs like this: don't think you can get away with imposing misery, deprivation, discrimination and unemployment on us without provoking a violent response on our part. There is nothing surprising in this message, for the language of disturbances, riots and uprisings is the only language that the governments of the exploiting classes the world over ever take any notice of. The surprising thing is that there are so few Handsworths, not that there are any of them at all. Whereas philistines see in disturbances like those in Handsworth nothing but mindless violence, death and destruction, we detect in them a forceful regenerative current which, if properly channelled and directed, has within its grasp the ability to reshape society. We therefore refuse to bemoan, parson fashion, the events of Handsworth; we refuse also to assume the role of social pacifiers, which properly belongs to the representatives of the decrepit bourgeoisie and not to those of the socialist proletariat. Moreover, those who are against eruptions of the Handsworth type, those who are in earnest in the fight against violence and crime, let them remember the following never-to-be-forgotten lines of Georgi Plekhanov: "If man draws all his knowledge, sensations, etc., from the world of the senses and the experience gained from it, as was taught by the eighteenth-century materialists, then the empirical world must be arranged so that in it man experiences and gets used to what is really human and that he becomes aware of himself as man".

Applied to places such as Handsworth, it simply means that those who want the unfortunate youth of that dump of a place to behave in a truly human manner must first arrange Handsworth so that everyone there experiences and gets used to what is really human and becomes aware of himself/herself as a human being. Such a rearrangement requires the elimination of unemployment, poverty, deprivation and other ills of capitalism. In short, it requires the elimination of that very system which ever reproduces these ills. This then is the task that every progressive, every class-conscious worker, and everyone desirous of ridding society of crime, violence and destruction, must attend to instead of delivering insipid homilies on the 'unfortunate' events of Handsworth.

Kailyard of Culture

Edinburgh has once again experienced its annual cultural extravaganza, when the city becomes the cultural capital of the world. How many realise, however, that Edinburgh is the capital city of a country whose culture is being systematically destroyed: wrenched away from the native Scot by England's imperialistic designs? It is further hidden when the Edinburgh Festival will produce such plays as "The Wallace" and "The Three Estates". Productions such as these are like limited editions of a rarely read classic. They are produced for the Festival and will then be put back to sleep again once the Festival has ended.

They allow rarely seen glimpses into Scottish literary heritage for both Scots and the Festival's international audiences. Such rare glimpses cannot reconstitute the cultural heritage which Scotland has lost to the cosmetic British heritage, forcibly grafted onto Scottish life to enforce a de-politicisation and de-culturalisation of the Scottish people.

To many Scots this de-culturalisation has led to a loss of awareness of their literary, historical and social heritage. Many Scots know who William Shakespeare and Harold Pinter are, while very few could tell you who wrote the above mentioned plays.

"NORTH BRITONS"

The medieval battles of Hastings and Agincourt are better known than Falkirk and Preston. The language and past social behaviour has been superseded by those of England ensuring that the Anglicisation of Scotland moves rapidly forward with very little opposition.

Since the 18th Century the Scottish people have been educated to accept themselves as North Britons. This was a pre-requisite of capitalism's growth in Scotland. The Scots lackeys of English imperialism were so fervent in their attempts to fulfill the ambitions of English imperialism in Scotland that by the 19th Century they were not only eradicating any radicalism amongst the workers to create a submissive class, but also any spirit of nationalism, thereby creating a subject people. Scottish capitalism was totally dependent on English imperialism, therefore, Scots capitalists gladly attempted to eradicate their own heritage, and that of the Scottish people.



What has been left by this emasculation of Scotland's culture is a sanitised version which can easily be assimilated into the Anglicised British culture. Such an easy assimilation has made it possible to relegate the Scottish part of this British culture to backwaters and to positions of insignificance.

REGENERATION

The assimilation cannot, however, destroy the most important barrier that it faces: the fact that most Scots see themselves as Scottish and not North British. The flame of Scottish being, Scottish history, Scottish literature, flickers low but it does flicker and can once again blaze!

To bring about a regeneration of Scottish culture, the educational process of the Scottish people by the education service and the mass media must be revised. Without a cultural identity there cannot be a Scottish people nor a Scottish nation. Part of the cultural regeneration must be to rediscover what has been neatly forgotten by our Anglicisation, and to re-evaluate all of what has not been forgotten or hidden from us.

Our education system must take a large role in this, in the historical and literary education of children. It is no good providing only such education in Universities when the majority of children do not progress to that stage.

They have as much right to discover Hogg, Lindsay, Dunbar, Munro and Gunn as undergraduate students have. The literary heritage is not a specialised subject. It was written for the people therefore should be freely

history of a people is theirs to own. The history of Scotland cannot be divided into acceptable and unacceptable sections. The Glasgow Rent Strikes, Red Clydeside and the 1820 Rebellion are as important as Flodden, Bannockburn and the Union of 1707, yet Scots are likely to know nothing of the former. The media must also play its part. Newspapers and television must provide a substantial rather than, as at present, a small platform for Scottish culture. The education can then be carried on outwith the standard educational system.

Societies and organisations do exist to retain the culture of Scotland. They are however small and in certain cases elitist. As James Connolly wrote in 1897 on similar organisations in Ireland; the Scottish Republican Socialist Party believes:

"...there is a danger that by too strict an adherence to their present methods of propaganda, and consequent neglect of vital living issues, they may only succeed in stereotyping our historical studies into a worship of the past or crystallising nationalism into a tradition - - - glorious and heroic indeed, but only a tradition."

Again we agree with Connolly when he speaks of his nationalism:

"It must demonstrate to the people...that our nationalism is not merely a morbid idealising of the past, but also capable of formulating a distinct and definite answer to the problems of the present, and a political and economic creed capable of adjustment to the wants of the future."

That creed is Socialism. Only by the creation of a Workers Republic can we hope for the full regeneration of Scottish culture. With the unification of cultural nationalism, the right of self-determination of peoples and the internationalism of socialism can the political and cultural life of Scotland evade its present condition of destruction by English imperialism. The Scottish Republican Socialist Party is intent on achieving this. Only when the Scottish people have freed themselves from English political domination and capitalism's economic domination can they be free to determine their own culture, heritage and future. If not, it may be that the only vestige of Scottish culture in future Edinburgh Festivals will be the kilt and bagpipes of the British Army parading across the Castle esplanade at the tattoo.

On the Duty of Civil Disobedience

H. D. THOREAU

Note to this Edition

THOREAU wrote his famous essay, *On the Duty of Civil Disobedience*, as a protest against an unjust but popular war and the immoral but popular institution of slave-owning. He did more than write—he declined to pay his taxes, and was hauled off to gaol in consequence. Who can say how much this refusal of his hastened the end of the war and of slavery?

At the present day, intellectual detachment from the State, and individual defiance of its behests when these are opposed to conscience, are more difficult, and apparently more futile, than in Thoreau's time. The unit seems of less importance in the mass. It is all the more imperative, therefore, that the facts that the mass is composed of units and the conscience of the mass is the aggregate conscience of the units, and that the individual is still the sole responsible guardian of his own conscience and the co-guardian of the public conscience, should be fully recognized.

The constant circulation of this essay of Thoreau in which the matter is probed to its bottom with the clearness of sight given to a man when he cares nothing for personal "consequences," cannot, therefore, but be of service, and of increasing service with the increasing dominance of the State, to the whole body politic. "Those few who serve the State with their consciences as well as with their bodies, cannot but resist it for the most part, and are commonly termed its enemies."

A. C. F.

On the Duty of Civil Disobedience

I HEARTILY accept the motto—"That government is best which governs least"; and I should like to see it acted up to more rapidly and systematically. Carried out, it finally amounts to this, which also I believe—"That government is best which governs not at all"; and when men are prepared for it, that will be the kind of government which they will have. Government is at best but an expedient; but most governments are usually, and all governments are sometimes, inexpedient.

The objections which have been brought against a standing army, and they are many and weighty, and deserve to prevail, may also at last be brought against a standing government. The standing army is only an arm of the standing government. The government itself, which is only the mod which the people have chosen to execute their will, is equally liable to be abused and perverted before the people can act through it. Witness this present Mexican war (1849), the work of comparatively a few individuals using the standing government as their tool; for, in the outset, the people would not have consented to this measure.

This American government—what is it but a tradition, though a recent one, endeavouring to transmit itself unimpaired to posterity, but each instant losing some of its integrity? It has not the vitality and force of a single living man; for a single man can bend it to his will. It is a sort of wooden gun to the people themselves. But it is not the less necessary for this; for the people must have some complicated machinery or other, and hear its din, to satisfy that idea of government which they have.

Governments show thus how successfully men can be imposed on, even impose on themselves, for their own advantage. It is excellent, we must all allow. Yet this government never of itself furthered any enterprise, but by the alacrity with which it got out of its way. It does not keep the country free. It does not settle the West. It does not educate. The character inherent in the American people has done all that has been accomplished; and it would have done somewhat more, if the government had not sometimes got in its way. For government is an expedient by which men would fain succeed in getting one another

The fear o' Hell's a hangman's whip
Tae haud the wretch in order;
But when ye feel your honour grip
Let that aye be your border".

Robert Burns.

"All our liberties are due to men who, when their conscience has compelled them, have broken the laws of the land."

Dr. Clifford

alone; and, as has been said, when it is most expedient, the governed are most let alone by it.

Trade and commerce, if they were not made of india-rubber, would never manage to bounce over the obstacles which legislators are continually putting in their way; and, if one were to judge these men wholly by the effects of their actions and not partly by their intentions, they would deserve to be classed and punished with those mischievous persons who put obstructions on the railroads.

But, to speak practically and as a citizen, unlike those who call themselves no-government men, I ask for, not at once no government, but at once a better government. Let every man make known what kind of government would command his respect, and that will be one step toward obtaining it.

After all, the practical reason why, when the power is once in the hands of the people, a majority are permitted, and for a long period continue, to rule, is not because they are most likely to be in the right, nor because this seems fairest to the minority, but because they are physically the strongest. But a government in which the majority rule in all cases cannot be based on justice, even as far as men understand it.

Can there not be a government in which majorities do not virtually decide right and wrong, but conscience?—in which majorities decide only those questions to which the rule of expediency is applicable? Must the citizen ever for a moment, or in the least degree, resign his conscience to the legislator? Why has every man a conscience, then? I think that we should be men first, and subjects afterwards. It is not desirable to cultivate a respect for the law, so much as for the right. The only obligation which I have a right to assume is to do at any time what I think right. It is truly enough said, that a corporation has no conscience; but a corporation of conscientious men is a corporation with a conscience.

Law never made men a whit more just; and, by means of their respect for it, even the well-disposed are daily made the agents of injustice. A common and natural result of an undue respect for law is that you may see a file of soldiers, colonel, captain, corporal, privates, powder-monkeys, and all, marching in admirable order over hill and dale to the wars, against their wills, ay, against their common sense and consciences, which makes it very steep marching indeed, and produces a palpitation of the heart. They have no doubt that it is a damnable business in which they are concerned; they are all peaceably inclined. Now, what are they? Men at all? or small movable forts and magazines, at the service of some unscrupulous man in power?

Visit the Navy-yard, and behold a marine, such a man as an American government can make, or such as it can make a man with its black arts—a mere shadow and reminiscence of humanity, a man laid out alive and standing, and already, as one may say, buried under arms with funeral accompaniments, though it may be—

Not a drum was heard, not a funeral note,
As his corse to the rampart we hurried;
Not a soldier discharged his farewell shot
O'er the grave where our hero we buried.

The mass of men serve the State thus, not as men mainly, but as machines, with their bodies. They are the standing army, and the militia, gaolers, constables, posse comitatus, etc. In most cases there is no free exercise whatever of the judgment or of the moral sense; but they put themselves on a level with wood and earth and stones; and wooden men can perhaps be manufactured that will serve the purpose as well. Such command no more respect than men of straw or a lump of dirt. They have the same sort of worth only as horses and dogs. Yet such as these even are commonly esteemed good citizens.

Others—as most legislators, politicians, lawyers, ministers, and office-holders—serve the State chiefly with their heads; and, as they rarely make any moral distinctions, they are as likely to serve the devil, without intending it, as God.

A very few, as heroes, patriots, martyrs, reformers in the great sense, and men, serve the State with their consciences also, and so necessarily resist it for the most part; and they are commonly treated as enemies by it.

A wise man will only be useful as a man, and will not submit to be "clay," and "stop a hole to keep the wind away," but leave that office to his dust at least:—

I am too high-born to be propertied,
To be a secondary at control,
Or useful serving-man and instrument
To any sovereign state throughout the world.

He who gives himself entirely to his fellow-men appears to them useless and selfish; but he who gives himself partially to them is pronounced a benefactor and philanthropist.

How does it become a man to behave toward this American government to-day? I answer, that he cannot without disgrace be associated with it. I cannot for an instant recognize that political organization as my government which is the slave's government also.

All men recognize the right of revolution; that is, the right to refuse allegiance to, and to resist, the government, when its tyranny or its inefficiency are great and unendurable. But almost all say that such is not the case now. But such was the case, they think, in the Revolution of '75.

If one were to tell me that this was a bad government because it taxed certain foreign commodities brought to its ports, it is most probable that I should not make an ado about it, for I can do without them. All machines have their friction; and possibly this does enough good to counter-balance the evil. At any rate, it is a great evil to make a stir about it. But when the friction comes to have its machine, and oppression and robbery are organized, I say, let us not have such a machine any longer. In other words, when a sixth of the population of a nation which has undertaken to be the refuge of liberty are slaves, and a whole country is unjustly overrun and conquered by a foreign army, and subjected to military law, I think that it is not too soon for honest men to rebel and revolutionize. What makes this duty the more urgent is the fact that the country so overrun is not our own, but ours is the invading army.

Paley, a common authority with many on moral questions, in his chapter on the "Duty of Submission to Civil Government," resolves all civil obligation into expediency; and he proceeds to say, "that so long as the interest of the whole society requires it, that is, so long as the established government cannot be resisted or changed without public inconvenience, it is the will of God that the established government be obeyed, and no longer. . . . This principle being admitted, the justice of every particular case of resistance is reduced to a computation of the quality of the danger and grievance on the one side, and of the probability and expense of redressing it on the other." Of this, he says, every man shall judge for himself.

But Paley appears never to have contemplated those cases to which the rule of expediency does not apply, in which a people, as well as an individual, must do justice, cost what it may. If I have unjustly wrested a plank from a drowning man, I must restore it to him though I drown myself. This, according to Paley, would be inconvenient. But he that would save his life, in such a case, shall lose it. This people must cease to hold slaves, and to make war on Mexico, though it cost them their existence as a people.

In their practice, nations agree with Paley;

Continued page

A Yank's Eye View

(The writer of this piece is the North American Coordinator of the Irish Republican Socialist Committee, who recently visited Scotland with his wife, the Western US regional coordinator of the IRSC, and met with comrades of the SRSP.)

A movement can often benefit from outside observation of its work and organization, and it is my great pleasure to share with my Scottish Republican Socialist comrades some observations from my recent stay in Scotland. It must first be said that the comrades of the SRSP met in Glasgow showed us solidarity and hospitality that was unmatched in prior experience. The depth of integration in the community, shown by the excellent working relations with the Republican Bands Alliance and the comradeship demonstrated in local working class pubs, demonstrates the Republican Socialist tendency in the Scottish working class, of which the SRSP is a manifestation. Comrade Matt Lygate demonstrates fully that he has made his years of imprisonment the "university of the revolution" which it should be and clearly lends important ideological direction to the younger comrades of the movement, and has the attitude of a true comrade, never speaking down to less knowledgeable party members. Comrade Donald Anderson, proved himself to be a tireless worker, seemingly engaged in everything at once. In addition to Donald, we send our thanks to Tom and Linda who ensured that we saw the history of the Glasgow working class, and made our stay more pleasant.

But, what of Scotland as a whole? What is the potential for the growth and development of the SRSP? In our brief passage throughout Scotland, we found a strong potential for the Party, and sensed an importance to the SRSP proceeding with organization throughout Scotland. Seemingly, every man and woman in Scotland is imbued with a deep, though often romantic, sense of nationalism, yet side-by-side with this exists the Royalism of the more conservative sections, and the false internationalism promoted within the reformist Labour Party and the Trade Union Movement. Thus the Scottish worker leads a dual life—that of Scots nationalist and British proletarian. The images of Wallace and The Bruce which seem to live in the minds of so many Scottish workers need to be drawn forward to modern conclusions, romantic nationalism must yield to socialist republicanism, but clearly the SRSP has an excellent starting point here. At the same time, Scottish labour must be reminded of its particularly radical tradition in contrast to English workers, realizing as Maclean did, that revolutionary politics have a much greater potential among Scottish workers than among the island's working class as a whole. The experience of the railworkers' strike is but one recent example, when the workers of Glasgow were abandoned by the English workers in their trade.

Community issues provide a number of avenues, and we were interested to hear of SRSP actions in defense of a woman on Mull beset by "white settlers" as one example of this. The people of Orkney, who not long ago fought a long and successful battle against uranium mining on the island are now engaged in a struggle against the dumping of radioactive wastes around the islands, and the SRSP would do well to spend a weekend leafletting there, but this is only one small example of the potential presented by the callous placement by English capitalists of nuclear waste and power generating facilities, as well as weapons depots, in Scottish territory. The North Sea oil, though all but abandoned by the SNP as an issue, remains as a tremendous theft from the Scottish people by imperialism, and the additional pollution of Scotland's coastal waters by oil tankers is a continuing problem.

The number of Gaelic speakers encountered in the Western mainland and Hebrides suggests that cultural preservation is another area open to action, and here a tip of the hat to young ex-prisoner Craig Browning, whose kilt on the streets of Glasgow spoke volumes on the traditions of the Scottish nation.

In short, we send our deepest solidarity to the comrades of the SRSP and wish them all the best in organizing throughout Scotland. We join with them in saying to the Scottish proletariat: "All Hail the Scottish Workers' Republic!"

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Conto. On the Duty of Civil Disobedience

but does any one think that Massachusetts does exactly what is right at the present crisis?

A drab of state, a cloth-of-silver suit, To have her train borne up, and her soul trail in the dirt

Practically speaking, the opponents to a reform in Massachusetts are not a hundred thousand politicians at the South, but a hundred thousand merchants and farmers here, who are more interested in commerce and agriculture than they are in humanity, and are not prepared to do justice to the slave and to Mexico, cost what it may. I quarrel not with far-off foes, but with those who, near at home, co-operate with, and do the bidding of, those far away, and without whom the latter would be harmless.

We are accustomed to say that the mass of men are unprepared; but improvement is slow, because the few are not materially wiser or better than the many. It is not so important that many should be as good as you, as that there be some absolute goodness somewhere, for that will leaven the whole lump.

There are thousands who are *in opinion* opposed to slavery and to the war, who yet in effect do nothing to put an end to them; who, esteeming themselves children of Washington and Franklin [Cromwell and Gladstone?] sit down with their hands in their pockets, and say that they know not what to do, and do nothing; who even postpone the question of freedom to the question of free-trade, and quietly read the prices-current along with the latest advices from Mexico, after dinner, and, it may be, fall asleep over them both.

What is the price-current of an honest man and patriot to-day? They hesitate, and they regret, and sometimes they petition; but they do nothing in earnest and with effect. They will wait, well disposed, for others to remedy the evil, that they may no longer have to regret. At most, they give only a cheap vote, and a feeble countenance and God-speed, to the right, as it goes by them.

There are nine hundred and ninety-nine patrons of virtue to one virtuous man. But it is easier to deal with the real possessor of a thing than with the temporary guardian of it.

All voting is a sort of gaming, like checkers or backgammon with a slight moral tinge to it, a playing with right and wrong, with moral questions: and betting naturally accompanies it.

The character of the voters is not staked. I cast my vote, perchance, as I think right; but I am not vitally concerned that that right should prevail. I am willing to leave it to the majority. Its obligation, therefore, never exceeds that of expediency.

Even voting for the right is doing nothing for it. It is only expressing to men feebly your desire that it should prevail. A wise man will not leave the right to the mercy of chance, nor wish it to prevail through the power of the majority. There is but little virtue in the action of masses of men. When the majority shall at length vote for the abolition of slavery, it will be because they are indifferent to slavery, or because there is but little slavery left to be abolished by their vote. They will then be the only slaves. Only his vote can hasten the abolition of slavery who asserts his own freedom by his vote.

TO BE CONTINUED IN NEXT ISSUE. Editor.

Wave of protest at Moloise hanging

AN UPSURGE of anti-racist protest has been the answer of the people of South Africa and of the world to the latest crime of the Pretoria regime - the hanging on October 18 of Benjamin Moloise, a prominent South African poet and fighter against apartheid.

"Legalised murder" was how the World Peace Council described the execution in a statement which called on all states to sever diplomatic relations with South Africa and impose mandatory sanctions.

The crime of the Pretoria racists shows that they are bent on intimidating the fighters for freedom in South Africa and on relying on terror, a statement by the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee points out.

Strong condemnation has come from UN secretary-general Perez de Cuellar who issued a statement denouncing the execution and demanding that the South African government immediately do away with the disgraceful apartheid system and get down to negotiating a political settlement of the explosive situation in the country.

Tass reports from Oslo that the foreign ministers of five northern European countries have sent a protest to the racist leadership pointing out that this barbarous action will lead to the growth of political tension in South Africa.

The execution emphasised the need for an early liquidation of the disgraceful apartheid system, their document says.

The Greek government, too, has expressed its indignation and the Yugoslav government called the execution another inhuman and insane repressive act.

Meanwhile, fierce clashes between police, troops and anti-racist demonstrators continue in Athlone, Crossroads, and other localities in the Cape Province.

According to reports from Capetown, over 35,000 people took part in a funeral procession to mark the killings last week of three youths by the security forces.

At the service, clergyman accused the government of creating the atmosphere of terror and violence and called for its overthrow.

SRSP Political Prisoners

2 members of the SRSP are serving jail sentences for political offences; Tommy Kelly and Peter Wardlaw.

In this issue of SWR, we highlight Tommy's case and expose the events and State involvement which led to his imprisonment.

Tommy Kelly, a 28 year old former shipyard worker, is currently serving a ten year sentence in Saughton prison, Edinburgh. He was convicted amid some controversy in January 1984 of sending a letter bomb to Norman Tabbitt, then Trade and Industry Secretary in Margeret Thatcher's Cabinet.

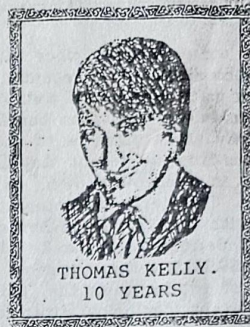
The Crown's case centred on the evidence of one Bernard Goodwin, a former policeman, and at the time of the alleged offence, a member also of the SRSP. This shadowy character of uncertain origins has since been re-housed by the Special Branch somewhere in England and his involvement in the entire case is a prime example of the State's use of an agent-provocateur in attempting to bring about the destruction of potentially threatening revolutionary organisations.

AGENT'S EVIDENCE

According to Goodwin's own evidence he joined the SNP in 1976 but left shortly after to join the police. He left that institution after a year and undertook a succession of jobs. In early 1983 he re-joined the SNP and was drawn into the Siol nan Gaidheal, a somewhat right-of-centre faction.

Apparently distressed by the militancy of this organisation he went to the police who asked him to remain within Siol nan Gaidheal and inform on their activities. This Mr. Goodwin was happy to do in return for what he modestly described as "expenses". In May 1983, under the orders of Detective Sergeant McNeill of the Strathclyde Special Branch, Goodwin joined the SRSP.

Capitalising on a mood of frustration, Goodwin drew Tommy into the letter-bombing scheme. In September Goodwin's wife and child were temporarily re-housed by the police who bugged the empty house. Using materials purchased with his 'expenses', the bomb was constructed in the house and posted. Immediately Goodwin and Tommy were arrested. Goodwin was released within 48 hours and Tommy was remanded in custody, charged with the offence.



AGENT'S MOTIVATION

During the trial, Goodwin maintained that his motivation arose purely from "...wishing to stop those people who were harming Scotland's cause...". Tommy's defense was lamentably presented by Mr. William Dunn, a police-appointed lawyer and his chosen Q.C.

On the third day of the trial, dismayed by the Court's apparent acceptance of Goodwin's evidence, Tommy was ill-advised by his counsel to plead guilty and hope for leniency. Such hope was clearly demonstrated to be unfounded when his 10 years sentence was pronounced.

Goodwin was hailed by the media as a hero yet now has to live in secrecy, venturing back to Drumchapel only once since the trial.

WHOSE CONSPIRACY?

The SRSP completely condemn the use of Goodwin by the police as an agent-provocateur. Furthermore we accuse his counsel and the entire Scottish judiciary and media complying with the State against the interests of justice. We urge all readers of SCOTTISH WORKERS REPUBLIC to support Tommy with letters and cards during his imprisonment.

WHILE THERE IS A LOWER CLASS I AM IN IT.....
WHILE THERE IS A CRIMINAL ELEMENT.....I AM OF IT.....
AND WHILE THERE IS A SOUL IN PRISON...I AM NOT FREE.....
EUGENE DEBS



HANDSWORTH

INDIAN WORKERS ASSOCIATION CALLS FOR UNITY

"The IWA is for the unity of the West Indian and Asian communities"
"West Indians are not to blame for the riot. It was caused by social deprivation and police harassment"
"This was an eruption against the whole social order"



AVTAR JOUHL
General Secretary, IWA (GB)

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