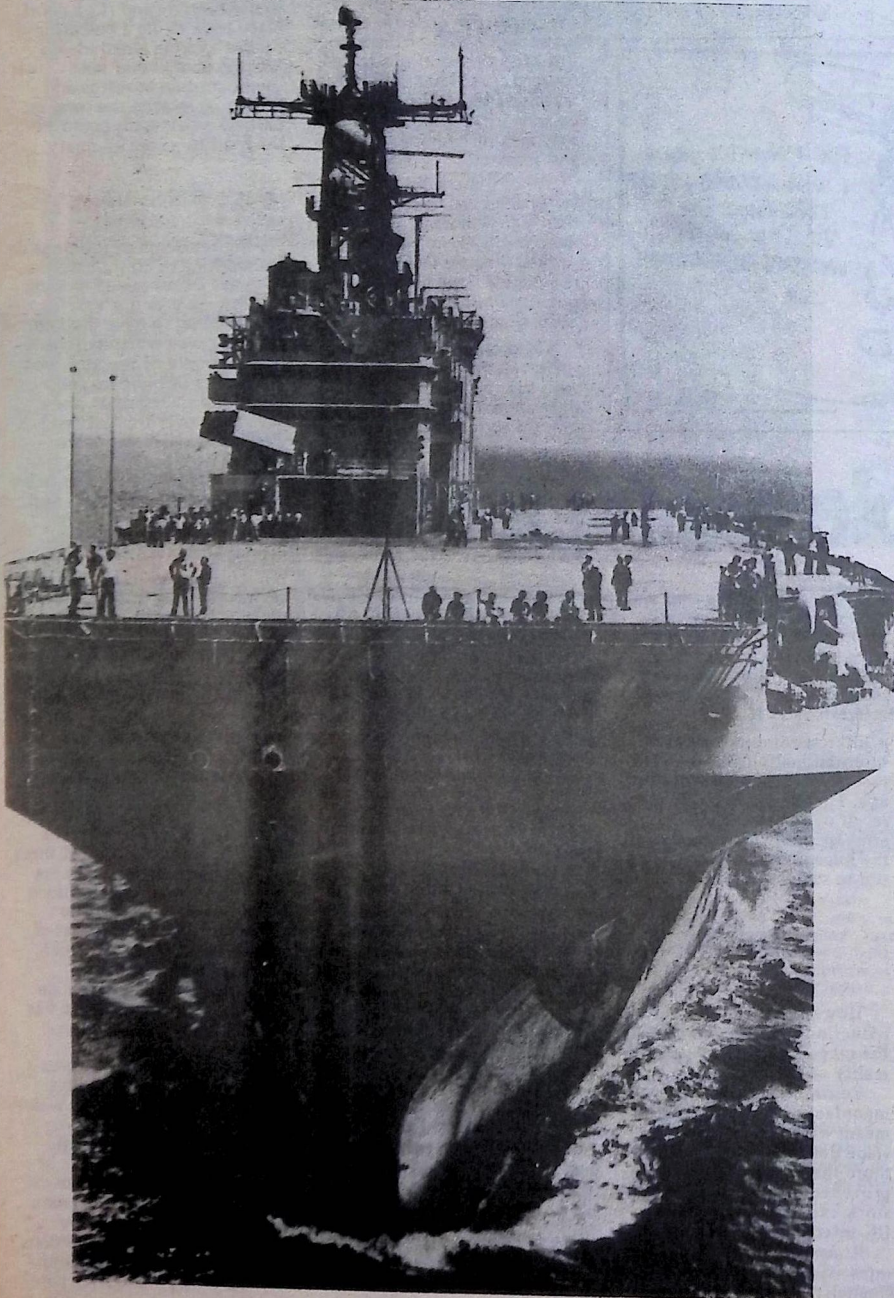


Socialist Worker

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism

Reagan is a warmonger!



REAGAN, Thatcher, Chirac and Gorbachev have, since the end of July been gambling with the possibility of turning the Gulf War, which has already killed more than a million Iraqis and Iranians, into an international slaughter.

Reagan has made it clear that if Iran attacks the American-flagged Kuwaiti tankers, the biggest naval convoy since the Second World War will use all its force to retaliate.

In a poor attempt to disguise the extent of their warmongering, the superpowers passed a resolution in the UN on the 20 July calling for peace. Two days later the first of the American protected Kuwaiti tankers entered the Gulf accompanied by US warships and bomber planes.

Such hypocrisy is not new. For years now, America, Russia, France and Britain have been selling arms to both sides in the Gulf War. Now they're calling on them to stop using those very weapons! Significantly the UN resolution didn't call for an arms embargo.

The real purpose of the UN resolution and of the massive US naval presence in the Gulf is not to try and stop the war, but to isolate the Iranians, making them appear the aggressors.

The Iranian revolution of 1979 deprived the US and other Western powers of their loyal policeman and military watchdog in the Gulf. The Shah had allowed Iran to become the Middle Eastern headquarters of the CIA. American military "advisors" in Tehran numbered 24,000, projected to rise to 60,000 in 1980. The Shah's own military budget was worth

\$183 million a year.

The multinational oil companies made massive profits from the ruthless oppression and exploitation of Iranian workers, enforced by the Shah brutal army and hated secret police, the SAVAK.

When the Iranian revolution, which had been spearheaded by the oil workers, fell into the hands of the Ayatollahs, the Americans were not alone in fearing that the doctrines of Islamic fundamentalism might destabilise their allies in the

region and threaten Israel, the US' only remaining watchdog in the Middle East. Russia too, feared the same thing, not only in Afghanistan but also among the Muslim population within its own borders.

So the outbreak of the Iran-Iraq war was, in fact, a godsend for the superpowers.

Reagan has a special reason for wanting to "show Iran who is the boss".

Since the Iran-Contra arms deal became public, Reagan has been desperate to show that he is still capable of protecting the interests of Ameri-



continued on page 3

EAMONN McCANN

The club hits back

THE ROW over the suspension of IDATU from the Irish Congress of Trade Unions and the expulsion of its general secretary, John Mitchell, from the congress executive has created a great deal of dangerous confusion among socialists and among active trade unionists generally.

The ICTU took disciplinary action because Mitchell in an interview last January with the "Andersonstown News" had attacked the unions in the North for having a too-cosy relationship with employers and government authorities. He specifically referred to the shop-workers' union USDAW as a "British-based Uncle Tom union . . . reactionary . . . and useless".

The main reason the leaders of the other unions were enraged had little to do with the merits of what Mitchell had said. What upset them was that Mitchell had broken the most rigid of trade union officialdom's unwritten rules: he had challenged the performance of other members of the "club".

In expelling IDATU and Mitchell the bureaucracy was defending itself by silencing a critic, not asserting any fundamental union principle.

Mitchell's attack on the unions in the North generally was perfectly justified. Their performance has been a disgrace.

The litany of shame is much too long for inclusion here. But for example: The Northern Committee of the ICTU never condemned internment. The furthest it ever went was to ask that union officials should be allowed to visit interned members (nobody was stopping them) and that internees' pension rights should be protected!

The Northern Committee never condemned Bloody Sunday. Instead, meeting two days after the event, it called for a "Bill of Rights" and "a revolution in government thinking on economic planning" as the best response to the killings. Not a single syllable about the thirteen bodies being buried that day.

The individual unions and the Northern Committee have never campaigned seriously against discrimination. Indeed, in the engineering and shipbuilding and aircraft industries particularly the unions have connived at discrimination. The Boilermakers' Union was convicted by the Fair Employment Agency in 1983 of organising anti-Catholic discrimination at Belfast shipyard.

This is the main point that should have been made by all socialists about the IDATU/Mitchell controversy — that union leadership in the North has been a scandal. But many on the broad Left, including supporters of the Workers Party, of Militant and of the Communist Party, backed the ICTU bosses. Their excuse was that Mitchell had been "divisive" and even "sectarian".

One of the reasons they were able to avoid the main issue and do this is that Mitchell himself had dragged in a question which was indeed divisive and which had the potential to become sectarian. That is, he hinted that USDAW was an "Uncle Tom" union because it was British-based.

In the past, crude nationalist campaigns against British-based unions have had an extremely damaging effect. In the 30s, 40s and 50s the ITGWU in particular tried to split the movement on nationalist lines. This involved officially instructing members to cross the picketlines of British-based unions, direct appeals to Catholics to resign from "non-Catholic" unions, urging Fianna Fail to pass laws to cripple British-based unions, "red-scares" and smears of all sorts.

In the North in the 50s — in Derry, for example — workers fought one another in the streets as the ITGWU tried to smash the Tailor and Garment Workers' Union.

In bringing up the fact that USDAW is British-based Mitchell was risking a revival of that kind of destructive bigotry. The fact that IDATU is in competition with USDAW for Northern shop-worker members raises the suspicion, to put it mildly, that he intended to appeal to nationalist workers to join IDATU for nationalist reasons.

But it's the politics of the unions in the North which is wrong, not the location of their head offices. Indeed, it is commonly the Belfast-based Irish officials, more than London-based executives, who have backed away from confronting Loyalist bigotry.

The SWM, as a Marxist organisation, believes that the working class has no country of its own, that it owes its ultimate allegiance to the working class everywhere, not to the ruling class anywhere.

The trade union movement should not show loyalty to the Northern state. Neither should it show loyalty to the Southern state — such as is being shown by the ICTU leaders currently hugging-mugging with Charlie Haughey in devising a new "national plan".

Mitchell was right about the union leaderships in the North. But the remedy he seemed to be proposing would be disastrous.

Nurses must apply again

ALMOST 6,000 young people who applied for a job as student nurses will have to start all over again. The Central Admissions Board which was to control all entries to training hospitals has been scrapped.

It is another victory for the Bishops and the religious orders. The religious-controlled hospitals — particularly those at St. Vincents and the Mater in Dublin objected to the very idea of a Central Admissions Board. They want full control over who they recruit.

It is not hard to see why. They can now continue the practice of deciding who gets a place by asking who your father is or "Have you ever been a member of the Legion of Mary?"

Student nurses will now have to apply individually to 30 or so hospitals. But that doesn't bother the nuns at St. Vincents and the Mater. They want a better class of student nurse than could be guaranteed by a Central Board — they need them to look after their wealthy private patients.



Derry: poison risk cover up

DERRY CITY Council and the Dept. of Economic Development are trying to cover up a major health hazard in the Bogside area of Derry..

The old gasyard site — now vacant since the closure of the Gas industry in the Six Counties — is known to be full of poisonous chemicals and toxic

materials. But the Council and the DED insist that there is no danger to the health of those living in the area.

The British government set up a special committee to look into the condition of vacated gasyard sites. That committee revealed that the kinds of poisons to be found on all such sites include cyanides, coaltars and asbestos.

All of these substances are very dangerous. Swallowing them can kill and contact with them can lead, in the long term to fatal illnesses like asbestosis and cancer. Skin contact with some coaltars is enough to cause cancer.

Children in particular are at risk since they, naturally, play with the soil and often put dirty fingers etc. in their mouths so they can actually

swallow the poisons. Everyday of the week, there are children playing in the gasyard site — there aren't many open spaces in the Bogside and it's a good place for kicking a ball around.

But kicking a ball means kicking up dirt and dust which might contain asbestos and breathing in even the smallest particle of asbestos could be the road to a painful death.

BENEFIT

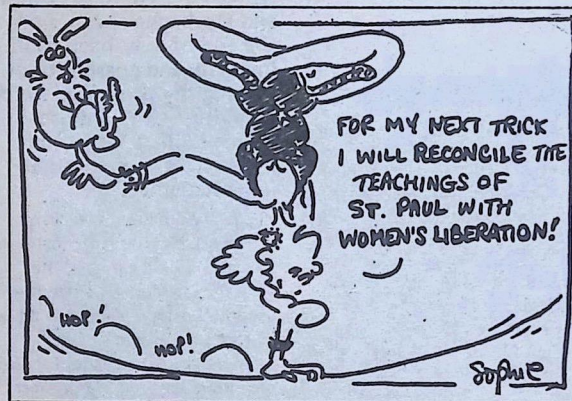
The residents of the Bogside are working in conjunction with the Alternative Planning Project — a group which is campaigning to have the site used in a way which will benefit the people of the area, not the profits of builders and speculators. Together, they have tried over the last few weeks to expose the health hazards of the site.

The sale of the site has been advertised in local papers and the owners claim that it is perfectly safe and that they have planning permission to build houses on it. No planning permission has, in fact, been granted. All the indications are that the site will never be safe for houses. No matter how much work is done to clear up the site, there will always be a danger of the poisonous chemicals getting into the water supply of a housing scheme.

There are already worries that, because of the fact that the Bogside is built literally on a bog, the poisons may have moved beyond the site. If there has been movement, then the water supply, the foundations of houses and any gardens nearby may be contaminated.

The concerns of the residents have been met by a combination of stony silence and flat denials. No action has been taken to protect their health.

People who live in the area are reminded of the dangers every morning when they wake up to the horrible, sickening smell which comes from the site. But then the planners of the DED and the City Council, the public health officers who assure us that it's perfectly safe don't live in Dove Gardens Rossville Street or the Brandywell. So why should they care?



Black hole unplugged

THE SOUTH'S "black hole" — through which capitalists pour millions of pounds in expectation of high rates of return abroad — has NOT been plugged.

This is now officially admitted following last month's publication by the Central Bank of figures showing an estimated £259 million of private funds moving out of the country for the three months of April, May and June.

We had been assured a month or two ago that the massive £63 million cuts in health spending would provide a climate in which bosses would once again return their money to Ireland and invest again.

We were also told that falling interest rates would encourage productive investment as it would be less costly for capitalists to borrow money for capital projects.

This would mean more jobs, it was said, if we would just take our medicine of "getting the public finances in order" — ie cuts.

It was a phoney. Here's how: #The predictions of funds returning to the South were based on millions sloshing

about on the Dublin wholesale money market. It now turns out that the Central Bank has been pumping an estimated £400 million onto the money market in an effort to keep interest rates low.

* Interest rates have relaxed internationally from the near-record levels of a year or two ago. Those high levels were the result of Reagan's massive arms spending programme and the huge budget deficits being run to sustain it.

DASHED

However, hopes of a further reduction have been dashed by the morning-after, post-election reality of Britain.

Continuing crisis in the UK's manufacturing capacity has meant a massive balance of trade deficit — Britain imports more than it exports. This has provoked jitters on the London stock exchange and a rise in UK interest rates.

Rises in London interest rates attract funds from financiers in Dublin, so market

pressures push up rates here too. News of the unplugged black hole sent capitalist scurrying around in a desperate attempt to sell back to the Central Bank government stocks in order to have their money ready to chase the expected rising interest rates abroad.

This is the backdrop to the government's reported plans to attempt a further ten per cent across-the-board cut in public spending.

However, it is certain that this will not have the effect of reviving productive investment.

Few bourgeois economists now believe that a downturn in the US economy can be postponed beyond next year. Such a slump will still further depress world trade and drag other, weaker economies down with it.

Notwithstanding the relatively buoyant performance of 26 County exports, the South's economic difficulties can only be intensified by this development.

The lesson is that there is no sacrifice that Irish workers can make to put Irish capitalism back on its feet.

—KEVIN WINGFIELD

WE THINK

Union chiefs dance to Fianna Fail's tune

THE GOVERNMENT has gone off on its 16-week holiday. But not before they gave us a fair idea of what's in store for us when they get back. The children's allowance will, they hint, be cut.

Continuing to pick on those a lot smaller than them, Fianna Fail are going to make new cuts in education. Children already in over-crowded classrooms will be forced to sit in even larger classes and get even less attention. Part-time teachers are being cut out of schools and any vacant posts frozen - leaving even fewer teachers to cover the huge classes.

And what will they do with the money they save at the expense of working class children? A Financial Services Zone will be set up on the quays of Dublin. Within this Zone, Haughey's banker and financier friends will be able to move money around freely with none of the currency restrictions which normally operate. Profits made on such deals will not be subject to capital gains tax. In fact, the only tax that will have to be paid within the Zone will be Corporation Tax at a special rate of 10 percent - which compares favourably with PAYE rates of tax!

The response of the trade union leadership, both to the massive cut backs already seen in the Health Service and to the proposed new attacks on working class living standards, has been worse than pathetic. They have, of course, condemned the cuts and denounced Fianna Fail - but at the same time as sitting across the table from Government ministers working out a new "National Plan".

At the recent ICTU Conference, Carroll, Nevin, Attlee and Co. all made it clear that they saw it as their patriotic duty to be "realistic" about the need for cuts in the public sector and to "take responsibility" for the

economy by participating in the decision-making about where the cuts should be made.

Workers Party leader Pat Rabbitte agreed with this view.

This is exactly what they have done - when Fianna Fail said that they wanted 10,000 jobs cut in the Health Service, the ICTU leadership didn't say "NO - no job losses". Instead they said "Okay, we'll give you the 10,000 jobs but across the entire public service". They thought that in this way all the redundancies could be voluntary.

The effect, of course, was to give Fianna Fail even more confidence for more cuts. They could see that the "realism" of the trade union leaders is just another way of saying they won't fight to defend jobs and living standards.



The ICTU idea of agreeing a "national plan" between the representatives of capitalism - the government - and the representatives of the working class - the unions - is in any case an utter nonsense. The inevitable conclusion of such negotiations will be to subordinate the interests of the working class to the interests of capital.

Indeed, the fruits of such subordination are already being reaped - in the hospital closures, the redundancy of the hospital charges and the larger classes. And ruling class confidence increases with every sign of such subordination.

The possible strikes in CIE and RTE are very simply because the workers in those organisations have their backs against the wall. Manage-

ment in RTE - a company which made £3 million profit last year after a series of vicious cutbacks - have refused to honour a Labour Court award of a 4% pay rise. Instead they want a three month pay pause and a 3% rise.

This kind of confidence in the unwillingness of the Union leaders to fight, which is demonstrated by such contempt even for Labour Court recommendations, is a direct result of the manner in which the ICTU leaders have been willing to negotiate the details of the attacks on the working class.

However there has been, and is, a willingness among rank-and-file workers to fight back. Health workers did NOT want to collect the £10 outpatients charge. Phil Flynn and the LGPSU leadership told them they must.

The Irish Nurses Organisation voted two to one in favour of industrial action against the cuts. Gen. Sec. P.J. Madden refused to call them out.

As we go to press, the results of the ballots in RTE and CIE are unknown, but the anger of the workers in those organisations is well-known. The fightback may begin in one of them - provided the trade union leaders don't step in again to counsel "realism".

The reality is that the living standards of Irish workers are being attacked and that those who are supposed to represent them are collaborating with the very people who are mounting the attack.

It's time the trade union leaders realise whose side they're supposed to be on, break off the talks and start the fightback.

continued from page 1

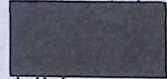


can capitalism.

Those "interests" are oil. Last year, one US company - Exxon - on its own made \$5.4 billion profit from Gulf Oil. Iran is not just itself rich with oil fields, its coast also runs the length of the Persian Gulf through which 60 percent of the West's oil passes.

In fact, it was Iraq who started the "tanker war" - all Iran's oil exports go out by sea. But the Iranians have no similar target because Iraq's oil goes out by pipeline. Instead they retaliated against the ships of Iraq's ally, Kuwait.

Russia was the first to offer the protection of its flag to Kuwaiti tankers. US naval presence is partly there to outbid the Russians.



It is the common fear of Iran's Islamic fundamentalism and a common love of the profits from oil that are responsible for the unusual sight of this band of cut-throats combining to send their navies into the Gulf.

It is an act designed to provoke Iran.

This doesn't mean that the Iranians are correct simply that they are more interested in the land war with Iraq.

Reagan and the others are banking on that to give them a cheap, bloodless propaganda victory at sea.

But this game of bluff could easily end in international war. It came near to disaster when the very first convoy hit a mine which blew a hole in the re-flagged supertanker *The Bridgetown*. Reagan tried to up the ante after this by asking for the help of British and French mine-sweepers. Fortunately, both Britain and France pulled back from such an escalation of their involvement.

However, there is no guarantee that another mine won't kill a lot of people or that Iran won't react to US and Iraqi provocation in the Gulf. If that happens every major power will be drawn into the whirlpool of the Gulf War.

Nor is it clear that the US can keep the Iraqis from continuing the tanker war, precipitating widespread fighting.

The US and the other naval forces should get out of the Gulf now, before the shooting starts. If the superpowers are serious about stopping the war, they should stop arming both sides and they should tell their ally, Iraq, to stop the tanker war.

Leatrom Na hEaglaise Sa tSraith Saileach

IS CUIS UAFÁIS do shóisfálaigh an fheachtas leanúnach atá á reachtáil i gcoinne Bríd Nic Dhomhnaill, Príomhoide Scoil Náisiúnta sa tSraith Saileach, i gConamara, ag an sagart paróiste agus an Eaglais agus an chléir i gcoitinne.

Is i m' Meán Fomhar seo caite a thosaigh an eachtra seo go léir, nuair nár fhill na 40 paistí ar an scoil náisiúnta, i ndiaidh na laethanta saoire. Ba léir go raibh baghat á agru i gcoinne an Príomhoide sa chaoi is gur fágadh léi féin ina seomra í. Ba léir do chuile dhuine 'neamhspleách' go raibh an sagart paróiste Gabriel Charles agus an seiplíneach nuachumtha John O'Gorman, taobh thiar den bhaghat. Ceapadh múinteoir príomhaideach neamhchálithe sa scoil tamall ina dhiaidh sin, agus sin mar atá an scéal beag nó mór, go dtí seo. Ní raibh an 'múinteoir' seo sasta labhairt le h-éinne, an cheard chumann, lucht teilifíse ná na nuachtáin. Ní raibh aon phoiblíocht ag teastáil ón sagart paróiste, agus deineadh iarrachtaí leanúnacha muintir na h-áite agus gach éinne eile a bhí páirteach san scéal a chur ina dtost.

Ba léir freisin gur tosaíodh ar an bhfeachtas seo mar fhreagra ar iarrachtaí Bhrid Nic Dhomhnaill aifreann as Gaeilge a fháil do phoblach Bhun na gCnoc, is gConamara. Tá

chuid den cheantar, Bun na gCnoc agus Doire Mor lata srl, ina fionn-ghaeltacht, agus bhí muintir na h-áite, Bríd Nic Dhomhnaill ina measc, ag éileamh aifreann lán-Ghaelach. Bhíodh an t-aifreann á cheiliúradh i nGaeilge san cheantar Gaeltachta i mbliainta tosaigh Bhrid Nic Dhomhnaill i Sraith Salach. Ach tháinig athrú ar an scéal nuair a cheapadh an t-Athair John O'Gorman ina sheiplíneach i Sraith Salach. Ní raibh agus ní an t-Athair O'Gorman tuillteanach ach aifreann dhá-theangach a léamh. Chuir Bríd Nic Dhomhnaill agus daoine eile in aghaidh an nós seán-bhunaithe seo i nDoire Mhor lata agus chuir sí an méid sin in iúl go poiblí.

TABHAIRT

Ar ndóigh níor thaitinn sé seo leis an sagart paróiste Gabriel Charles, agus chuir se litir chuig Bhrid ar an 28 Iúil 1986 ag cur fainge uirthi muna n-éireadh sí as bheith ag cur ladar isteach i gcur-saí liotúirge agus ag tabhairt droch-shámpla do pháistí Sraith Salach, go gcaithfeadh sé iarraidh ar an Roinn Oideachais í a bhriseadh as bheith ina Príomhoide ar an Scoil Náisiúnta.

San tréimhse céanna scríobh Árd-Easpag na Deoise, an Dr.

Seosamh Ó Cuijneain, chuici a mbagairt agus a rá, i measc rudaí eile nach raibí duine de chigirí na Roinne Oideachais ar labhairt leis, sásta léi ach oiread. Is é fírinne an scéal ar ndóigh, go raibh tuairisc na gcigirí faoi mhúinteoireacht Bríd Nic Dhomhnaill sásúil i gcoinaí. Bhí Bríd Nic Dhomhnaill ag múineadh dhá bhliain déag sula ceapadh í mar Príomhoide i Scoil Náisiúnta Shraith Salach sé bliana ó shin.

Tacaíonn sóisialaigh i gcoinaí le lucht fúlaingthe, is cuma cén tuairimí atá acu. Sa Bhreatain, mar shampla, chosain sóisialaigh cearta na Sikhs a chuid turbanas chaith-eamh nuair a bhí ciníochaithe ag déanamh tréan iarracht iachall a chur orthu gan iad a chaitheamh. Ba chuma mar gheall ar an turban féin, cos ar bolg a bhí i gceist agus mar sin prionsabal. Sin é an rud a bhí i gceist ag V.I. Lenin nuair a dúirt sé bheith mar 'ardáin na ndaoine'.

S'éard atá i gceist anseo ná ceart múinteora atá ag nochtadh a tuairimí féin. Is cuma cad iad no tuairimí atá i gceist, agus sa chás seo is tuairimí reiligiúnda atá á léiriú aici.

Má tá an Eaglais chun leanúint leis an sampla seo, sa chás seo i gcoinne Caitliceach chrífeach, ina dhiaidh sin beidh siad ag déanamh ionsaí ar mhúinteoirí a ghlac páirt san fheachtas le linn an Reifreann ar cholscairadh srl. Is é an chnamh

spairne ná an cead ba chóir a bheith ag múinteoirí, ról phoiblí a bheith acu san sóchái.

Is scanall é gur chabhraigh an Roinn Oideachais leis an chléir sa chás airithe seo. Chuireadh cigirí chun scéala a dhéanamh uirthi. Ligeadar do mhúinteoir neamhchálithe áit múinteoir cáilithe a ghlacadh san fhoirgneamh scoile.

Tá iarrachtaí deanta ag an INTO gan páirt dáiríre a ghlacadh san troid - toisc eagla a bheith orthu roimh cumhacht an Eaglais. Ní h-aon chomhréiteach é múinteoir nua a chur san scoil anois. Masla atá ann. Tugann sé an deis do na sagairt leanúint leis an bhaghat agus brú a chur ar na tuismiteoirí glacadh leis an múinteoir is rogha leo féin (na sagairt).

In ainneoin na rudaí seo go léir, ba chóir don Choiste Tacaíochta leanúint leis an troid taobh istigh den cheard cumann.

- Ba chóir dóibh:
* bileóg a sholáthar le fíricí an scéil agus iad a sheoladh amach chuig ionadaithe na múinteoirí i ngach scoil i mBaile Átha Cliath.
* rún a chur chuig na mBránsi éagsúla den INTO mar ábhar díospóireachta;
* iarracht a dhéanamh úrabraithe a chur chuig mBránsi den cheard chumainn agus cruinnithe de chóistí scoile, chun an scéal a mhíniú.

JOE O BRUADAIR

JOIN US!

I would like more details about the Socialist Workers Movement

NAME

ADDRESS

Send to SWM, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8.

INTERNATIONAL

South Africa:

The struggle continues

DESPITE intensified repression, the struggle of black workers in South Africa continues.

Last year saw the greatest number of strikes in South Africa's history.

But even in the face of Botha's imposition of the State of Emergency last year, the first four months of 1987 saw more strikes than in the whole of last year.

Earlier this year, newly-organised black railway workers won a three-month strike to establish parity with white railwaymen.

Six strikers were shot dead and 33 members of the union negotiating team were still in detention when the strike ended.

The headquarters of the main black trade union federation, COSATU, was twice invaded by police and then "mysteriously" blown up.

But despite this repression, the railworkers won and the 16,000 strikers who were sacked during the strike were reinstated.

And Botha's racist regime continues to pile up the repression.

Last month in pre-dawn swoops more figures from the oppositional United Democratic Front were arrested.

Others went into hiding leaving the UDF's ageing joint presidents, Archie Gumede and Albertina Sisulu the only top officials of that movement still at liberty.

Meanwhile the first national congress of COSATU, representing over 700,000 workers resolved that "mandatory sanctions and disinvestment are the only remaining means which could assist in bringing about a non-violent, truly democratic and non-racial South Africa".

This is an authoritative rebuttal of western politicians' claims that sanctions "only hurt black workers" and "are not wanted by South Africa's blacks".

COSATU general secretary Jay Naidoo recognised that up to now disinvestment "amounts to nothing more than corporate camouflage, which often allows companies to

increase their support for the regime".

In future unions would insist on being consulted on the timing and manner of a withdrawal.

COSATU also rejected sops like having black workers on the board.

However, the left suffered a serious blow with the adoption of the African National Congress's Freedom Charter as the ideological basis of the federation.

Already this year a host of unions have accepted the Charter.

The Freedom Charter says nothing about workers' rights. It is not a socialist document but proposes, in line with ANC thinking, a "stages" strategy in which the first stage would involve all classes of blacks and liberal-minded whites uniting to achieve a capitalist, non-racial South Africa.

Recent talks between leaders of white business, white bourgeois political parties and exiled ANC leaders have as

their aim — at least as far as the ANC is concerned — the cementing of this cross-class alliance.

By limiting the struggle to a fight for "democratic" reforms at a pace acceptable to black businessmen and their white allies, this approach threatens to diffuse the fighting enthusiasm of the black workers which has provided the impetus for the growth of the struggle over the last few years and black trade unionism in particular.

SETBACK

Unless the black masses see they are fighting for real social change, and not just a reorganisation of South African capitalism, the movement risks demoralisation and defeat.

This setback for the left in the black workers' movement is a result of its failure to create a revolutionary socialist current which could struggle

against the populism of those influenced by the ANC's strategy.

By not organising in this way the left has been unable to come up with a coherent alternative to populism, but it have been forced to make concessions to it.

The result is that the talk of fighting for socialism that attended the founding of COSATU in 1985 is now muted.

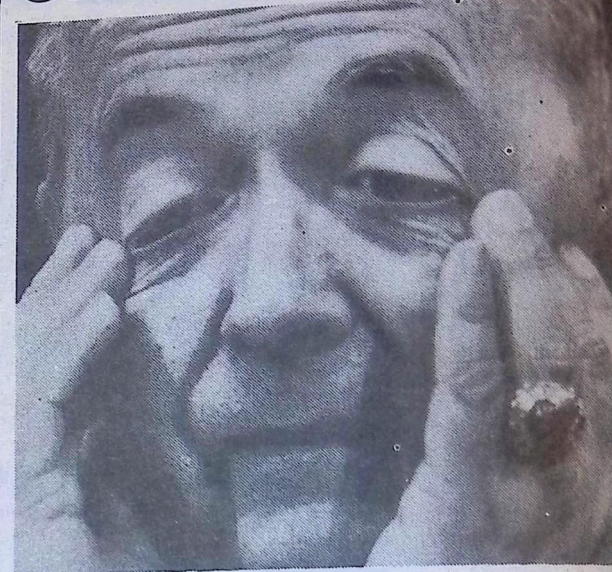
THIS MONTH, Moses Mayekiso, general secretary of the National Union of Metal Workers of South Africa faces, with others, high treason charges and the death penalty if convicted.

The charges are of course trumped up in line with Botha's repressive response to the growth of the black trade union movement.

Many trade unionists have already sponsored the Free Moses Mayekiso Campaign.

Raise the matter in your trade union organisation.

Contact Free Moses Mayekiso Campaign, c/o 47 Synge Street, Dublin 8; Telephone 783503

United States of America
Democrats
pull punches
on Conragate

Admiral Poindexter giving testimony

THE "STAR witnesses" of the Conragate hearings have come and gone — and the far-right wingers are crawling out from beneath the rocks.

Forced to quit their posts in the Reagan administration when news of the scandal broke, right wingers such as former White House communications director Pat Buchanan have used Lt Col Oliver North's new popularity to assert the President's right to crush the Nicaraguan revolution despite the wishes of Congress or the voters who elected them.

North was able to turn the tables because the joint Congressional committee never disputed the substance of Reagan's policy in Central America — only the way in which it was carried out.

Thus North was able to portray himself as a wounded soldier doing his best to deliver what the politicians wanted but were afraid to do themselves.

By fingering Congress as a group of self-serving opportunists, North was able to invoke a kind of right-wing populism against Washington "establishment" — an old theme of American conservatives.

Unwilling to attack the suddenly popular North, Congressional Democrats grilled his former boss, ex-National Security Adviser Adm John Poindexter.

Poindexter, who also proclaimed the President's right to ignore Congress in foreign policy, lacked North's television appeal and is likely to become the principal scapegoat of the scandal.

That of course means Reagan gets off the hook. According to Sen Daniel Inouye, who chairs the investigative committee, Reagan "might have been more prudent, but I don't think we will say he was guilty of malfeasance or nonfeasance ...".

There are two reasons for the Democrats' reluctance to push the issue of Reagan's involvement.

If they were to force him to resign, he would be succeeded

by vice-president George Bush, the leading contender for the 1988 presidential elections.

Since the collapse of Gary Hart's candidacy, Jesse Jackson has been the top contender for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Until an acceptable (ie, white) candidate emerges, the Democrat want Conragate to simmer, but not boil over.

The second — and far more important — reason for the Democrats' toothless criticism is their fear that the nation's "security" will be damaged.

After the Watergate scandal of the 1970s, the CIA was scaled back to the point that the US was unable to deliver its customary aid to counterrevolutionaries in Southern Africa and elsewhere.

The Democrats, who have held the presidency each time the US has gone to war in this century, agree with Reagan on the need for military intervention.

Indeed, the Conragate hearings can be viewed as a complaint by the Democrats that they weren't in on the deal from the beginning.

But Republicans and Democrats alike face a problem: the legacy of the Vietnam War.

Their hands are still tied by the fact that the majority of Americans will not tolerate the use of US troops abroad in a prolonged conflict.

Because of this, the Conragate scandal has created some small openings for the left.

People who are disgusted with the Democrats' kid glove treatment of Reagan may be more open to socialist ideas.

The April march on Washington to protest at US policy in Southern Africa and Central America was the largest such demonstration in several years.

Still, there has been no massive shift to the left, and anti-intervention activity has not noticeably increased.

But the conservative climate that has dominated the US since the late 1970s has finally begun to crack.

— LEE SUSTAR.

Philippines

Aquino plans to crush left



AQUINO'S riot police do battle with the left earlier this year

PHILIPPINES President Cory Aquino used her last moments of executive power to try and crush the 18 year old revolt led by the Communist New Peoples Army.

Aquino signed 43 executive orders last Monday. She has been signing ten a day in recent weeks, before the newly elected Congress opens.

Aquino is relying on both the stick and the carrot. The stick is the legalisation of the Citizen's Army and renewal of the ban on the Communist Party.

The Citizens Army is a militia that will do most of the fighting against the NPA. In effect, Aquino has renamed the 65,000 strong civilian defence force which Marcos used to terrorise his opponents and maintain his power in the rural areas.

Changing the name of the death squads won't change their activities.

The carrot is land reform, the central issue facing

Aquino. Eighty percent of the Philippines' 55 million people live in extreme poverty, and over ten million rural workers have no choice but to survive on poverty wages paid by the huge estates.

The 25,000 strong NPA, which is most powerful in the country's poorest rural areas, has used the issue of land reform to gain support among the rural labourers.

Aquino's decree will do little to solve the problem. She has simply dropped the issue in the lap of the new Congress. It is to decide how much land the land owners can keep.

Congress is dominated by the rich and members of the landed families who will refuse any real change.

Aquino demonstrated last week how desperate she is to quell increasing opposition and to what lengths she will go to crush the Communist rebels.

1917: Dual Power

When the Russian revolution broke out in February 1917, Lenin was in Switzerland, his home in exile of many years. It took him five weeks to get back into Russia. Over that five weeks, he formulated an analysis of the revolution that was to prove the guide to action for the Bolshevik Party. In the second of our Series on the Russian revolution 70 years on, Paul D'Amato looks at Lenin's argument that workers' power was possible even in backward Russia and what it means today.

INITIALLY, LENIN'S "Letters from Afar" remained unpublished by the Bolshevik Party leadership inside Russia, who considered them to be the ravings of a man too long out of touch with Russian affairs.

It was only after Lenin's return on April 3, and then four days later the publication of his "April Theses," that his controversial views became known to a wider audience inside and outside the Party.

Lenin's arguments, that despite Russia's economic backwardness, the revolution should proceed to workers' power and overthrow capitalism, represented a sharp break with past orthodoxy—an acceptance of Trotsky's theory of "permanent revolution."

Two Revolutions

THE RUSSIAN revolution is often referred to as one single event which ended Tsarism and created a workers' government. In reality, there were two phases to the revolution: the February revolution, which brought down the Tsar, and the October revolution, in which the workers and soldiers of Russia, through the instrument of soviets (workers' councils), seized power.

In the February revolution, spontaneous mass strikes and street demonstrations over a period of about five days were sufficient to bring down the tsarist state. While the rank and file of the Bolshevik Party played a decisive role in the course of the revolution, no party led it.

Out of the vacuums of power left by the collapse of tsarism there arose a situation that came to be called "dual power." Two governments were formed, one official and one unofficial.

The working class immediately established soviets, or councils of workers' and soldiers' delegates throughout Russia, which began to take up issues from food distribution to workplace control and relations between soldiers and officers. It was, in effect, an alternative, workers' government.

Alongside the soviets another government was formed—the Provisional Government—backed by Russia's capitalist class. This new, "official" government was hastily formed in order to contain the revolution, by simultaneously claiming the mantle of the revolution and continuing to pursue aims contrary to the interests of the Russian masses—a continuation of the imperialist war (which had gone on for four years), a postponement indefinitely of peasant land reform, and a reassertion of management control in the factories. In short, a restoration of order.

The bourgeoisie was helped in this endeavor by the reformist socialist organizations, the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries, who believed that the revolution needed only to overthrow the Tsar and so should be limited to handing power

back over to the capitalists.

Ironically, the Provisional Government existed only through the blessing of the workers' soviets. While workers' actions were revolutionary, their ideas were still reformist.

Thus, the soviet was dominated by Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries who were the prime movers in urging the Russian bourgeoisie—who had initially recoiled in horror from the revolution—to assume power.

Two governments

MANY BOLSHEVIK leaders, such as Kamenev and Stalin, took a position which attempted to straddle between the soviets and Provisional Government, calling for critical support of the latter.

More led by events than leading them, they tended to rely on old, outdated formulas which no longer applied to the reality before them.

From exile Lenin cut through the fog, and outlined clearly the nature of the revolution. In his first "Letter from Afar," he pointed to the situation of "dual power," and argued that the only way for the Russian workers and peasants to achieve "bread, peace and land" and an end to the war was to place all power in the hands of the soviets. He wrote:

"Side by side with this [Provisional] government—which as regards the present war is but the agent of the billion-dollar 'firm' 'England and France'—there has arisen the



chief, unofficial, as yet undeveloped and comparatively weak workers' government, which expressed the interests of the proletariat and of the entire poor section of the urban and rural population.

"This is the soviet of workers' deputies. . . He who says the workers must support the new [Provisional] government is a traitor to the cause of the proletariat. . .

The editors of *Pravda* sat on these letters when they reached Russia and did not publish them.

When Lenin returned to Petrograd, he was greeted by thousands of workers and soldiers. After a speech, the moderate Menshevik leader, Chkheidze, appealed to Lenin to join the "democratic ranks." Lenin dropped his first bombshell, delivering a speech in which he denounced the imperialist war (which the new government was continuing) and hailing the Russian revolution as the beginning of the "worldwide

socialist revolution."

Four days later, his "April Theses," outlining his views on the revolution, were published in *Pravda*. In them, he called for all power to be concentrated in the hands of the soviets, for the confiscation of all landed estates, the abolition of the police, the army and the bureaucracy and the creation of armed workers' militias.

"The specific feature of the present situation in Russia," he wrote, "is that the country is passing from the first stage of the revolution—which, owing to the insufficient class consciousness and organization of the proletariat, placed power in the hands of the bourgeoisie—to its second stage, which must place power in the hands of the proletariat and the poorest sections of the peasantry."

These words were greeted with outrage, not only from Mensheviks, but from many leading Bolsheviks in the party. It was understandable that the Menshevik Bogdanov would denounce Lenin as a "raving madman." But why did the Bolsheviks, who for years had painstakingly built an organization of worker-militants, and who had always focused on the central role of the working class in the struggle against tsarism, opt for critical support of a capitalist government?

Lenin's New Position

THE ANSWER lies in the ambiguities of Bolshevik theory—theory that had mainly been worked out by Lenin himself.

Lenin's new position was both a break with the past and a continuation of it. The Bolshevik Party had distinguished itself since its formation in 1903 by rejecting the idea that Russia could have a "bourgeois" revolution led by the bourgeoisie. A great deal of Lenin's writings were devoted to demonstrating that the liberals in Russia were both unwilling and incapable of assuming the leadership of the revolution against tsarism.

While material conditions of scarcity and backwardness in Russia, Lenin argued, rendered socialism off the immediate agenda, capitalism was nevertheless too developed and the Russian working class too centralized and threatening, for the capitalist class to lead—much less support—a revolution against the

Tsar. Thus, the task of overthrowing tsarism fell to the working class, augmented by a rebellious peasantry.

Insofar as this view focused on the central role of the working class, it applied perfectly to events in 1917. Insofar as it emphasized the bourgeois limitations of the revolution, it could not sort out the relations between the soviets—the organs of workers' power—and the new capitalist provisional government.

Whereas Lenin cut right to the heart of the matter—that the revolution could openly move forward on the basis of soviet power—the rest of the Bolshevik leaders emphasized that, since the revolution was bourgeois, critical support must be lent to the Provisional Government, and in no way could the workers take power through the soviets.

Permanent Revolution

LENIN HAD, in all important respects, come around to Trotsky's theory of "permanent revolution." Since 1905, Trotsky had argued that a revolution led by the working class cannot stop halfway but must proceed to fight for a workers' republic.

Lenin's view, like Trotsky's, proceeded from an internationalist perspective: that a revolution in backward Russia would be a detonator to world revolution.

Objectively, political and social conditions in Russia had effectively placed real power into the hands of workers, not the capitalists. On a world scale, Lenin argued, the revolution in Russia could be completed. In particular, he looked to the revolutionary ferment in Germany.

The difference between Lenin and Trotsky with respect to permanent revolution, however, was significant. Whereas Trotsky's theory, outlined in 1906, reads as a prognosis of events, Lenin's April Theses was a call to action. Lenin understood much better than any other revolutionary at the time that while one can characterize the limitations and possibilities of a given historical situation, it is the active intervention of conscious revolutionaries that would be decisive in determining whether the leadership of the reformists could be successfully challenged, and workers' power achieved in Russia. □



Lenin with Trotsky (top). April 1917: a million march in Petrograd (above).

SOCIALISM AND RELIGION

by
**Eamonn
McCann**

SOCIALISM and religion are incompatible.

This is not to say that every religious person is an enemy of socialism, nor that socialists wish to see religion persecuted.

On the contrary, many people in history with strong religious beliefs have taken part in, and even led, movements which socialists would regard as progressive.

And socialists stand firm against attempts anywhere to oppress or discriminate against people on account of their religion.

Nevertheless, there is a fundamental contradiction between religious faith and socialist conviction.

At its most basic and simple it's the contradiction between faith in a liberation to be achieved in another world and a commitment to achieving the liberation of humanity here in this world.

To the rich in their castles and the poor in their huts, religious leaders the world over say: We are all equal in the sight of god — the implication being that the massive inequalities experienced in the here-and-now are of no ultimate importance: indeed can be borne the more lightly for the expectation of eternal happiness.

Joe Hill put it more succinctly in his ballad: "There'll be pie in the sky when you die".

Religion makes people passive. It is a common characteristic of all organised religion that authority comes from above, from the top down, never from the bottom up.

And the authority, being "divine" is not open to challenge by mere mortals. It is quite impossible to be a member of an organised religion and to attempt to take your life and the shaping of it into your own hands.

ASSUMPTION

At the heart of religious belief is an assumption that life and the shaping of it is not in human hands, or at least not entirely.

Whereas, at the heart of scientific socialism is the notion that human beings can take hold of and shape reshape their own existence, and indeed must, if they are ever to be free.

Scientific socialists — Marxists — hold that the ideas in people's heads do not come from "outside", but that they reflect and are rooted in the material world around us.

God did not make human beings in "his" own likeness. Rather do human beings make god, the particular image of god which they make being determined by the material circumstances of the human beings involved.

All religions ultimately reflect some material — class — interest.

Therefore, arguments between the Marxist view of the world and the religious view of the world are not abstract disputations such as university dons might engage in for a pastime.

For Marxists, religion is not a "private" matter. It is a public, political matter.

This is an approach to religion which Irish revolutionaries have, almost without exception, shied away from. And with disastrous results.

What about Connolly?

BUT WHAT about Connolly?

Connolly openly described himself as a Marxist, devoted his life to destroying capitalism, not just ending British rule, and wrote splendid polemics against reactionary churchmen of which "Labour Nationality and Religion" is much the best known.

But Connolly did not have a Marxist view of religion.

It is not easy to work out what Connolly's private religious views were. He never publicly renounced the Catholic faith he'd been born into although he privately described himself as an agnostic.

All his attacks on the Catholic Church were on the policies of the Church, never on religion itself. He wanted to outlaw discussion of religion within the socialist movement on the ground that religion was a "private matter". He was against the socialist movement taking a pro-divorce stand, rejecting



James Connolly

"any attempt to identify socialism with any theory of marriage or sexual relations".

Connolly's view was that the Church should stay out of political matters and socialists out of moral matters.

But this attempt to abstain on fundamental questions meant that Connolly himself and his followers

later were unable to stand firm against religious influence.

Connolly's belief in the immediate possibility of socialist revolution was seriously weakened by the betrayals of the European socialists who collapsed into pro-imperialism at the outbreak of World War One.

To the extent that he then threw his lot in with the Republicans, his limited opposition to Church power was diluted.

He was fully reconciled with the Church before he died.

Connolly didn't leave any socialist party behind him. Because of this, even the memory of his spirited assaults on the Church for interfering where he thought it had no business left little lasting trace.

Connolly was the greatest leader the Irish working class has ever produced. Yet even he didn't confront the power of the Catholic Church squarely.

In Connolly's case it clearly wasn't because of a faint heart.

The failure had to do with the fact that he didn't have a materialist view of history, nor had he built a party based on a materialist view.



Cardinal O Fiach, Dean Victor Griffin and others.

Republicanism has never been a secular

THE CATHOLIC Church and Republicanism have frequently been in conflict and still are.

Bishop Moriarty declared that "hell is not hot enough nor eternity long enough" for the Fenians.

The bishops disapproved of the 1916 Rising. The Bishop of Cork, Cohalan, excommunicated Tom Barry's men during the War of Independence. And so on.

Despite all this the Republicans fought on and frequently gave as good as they got in public controversy.

This is commonly cited in evidence that Irish Republicanism has traditionally stood out against Catholic Church intrusion into politics: that Republicanism is inherently secular and that the fight for secularism in our own day can,

therefore, be fought from within the Republican tradition.

This is not true. Any honest examination of the record will show that it was precisely because the Republican tradition was steeped in Catholicism that the Catholic Church found it so easy to impose social control over the State created in 1922 on the back of Republican struggle.

The movement which gave rise to the 26 County State can be traced back directly, organisationally, to the Fenians of the 1860s. The Fenians did engage in forthright argument with the bishops. But this argument was strictly confined to whether the bishops had the right to dictate the form of struggle against British rule.

No Fenian leader is on record as having challenged the right of the bishops to dictate social and moral values or, by extension, the social and moral content of the Ireland they were fighting for.

Indeed the Fenians complained bitterly against the bishops for implying that they were not "good Catholics".

John Devoy wrote that the bishops' condemnations "tested the faith" of the Fenian movement, and he rejoiced in the fact that Fenians passed the test.

The same was true of the IRB leadership which prepared and led the 1916 rising. They, too, disputed the right of the bishops to determine the what forms of struggle were "legitimate", but they were careful not to challenge the prerogatives of the Church generally.

In early April 1916 the IRB Military Council dispatched a Papal Count, George Plunkett, to Rome to beg for the blessing of Pope Benedict XV on the enterprise. This was not the action of an organisation or of people who thought of themselves as opposed to or outside the ambit of Catholic influence.

All eye-witness accounts attest to

the religious fervour of the 1916 fighters — reciting rosaries, for example, during lulls in the fighting.

All the executed leaders, including James Connolly, received the last rites of the Church.

To make this point is not to ape Unionist bigotry in scorning the attachment of the Republican leaders to the Catholic Church. It is to point to the plain fact that there was nothing secular about the rising they led.

The Catholic Church played a prominent and powerful role in the mobilisation behind Sinn Fein which followed 1916. The decisive 1917 Sinn Fein convention was summoned in the name of Count Plunkett. One in every ten delegates was a priest. A priest, Michael Flanagan, was elected Sinn Fein vice-president, two other priests were elected onto the executive committee. There was no opposition to this development.

In the 1918 general election, which broke the Home Rule party and left Sinn Fein as the authoritative voice of nationalist Ireland, the Church, on balance, backed Sinn Fein. In Ulster Cardinal Logue allocated four seats each to Sinn Fein and the Home Rule party in order to avoid a split Catholic vote, and then organised the campaigns. The ageing, conservative archbishop of Dublin, Dr Walsh, let it be known publicly that he had voted Sinn Fein. A majority of priests in the countryside openly supported Sinn Fein.

The Church did continue to oppose IRA military actions. But it condemned British violence in even stronger terms. (A formal meeting of the hierarchy at Maynooth in October 1920 denounced the British forces "which for murdering the innocent and destroying their property has a parallel only in the horrors of Turkish atrocities or in the outrages of the Red Army of Bolshevik Russia".)

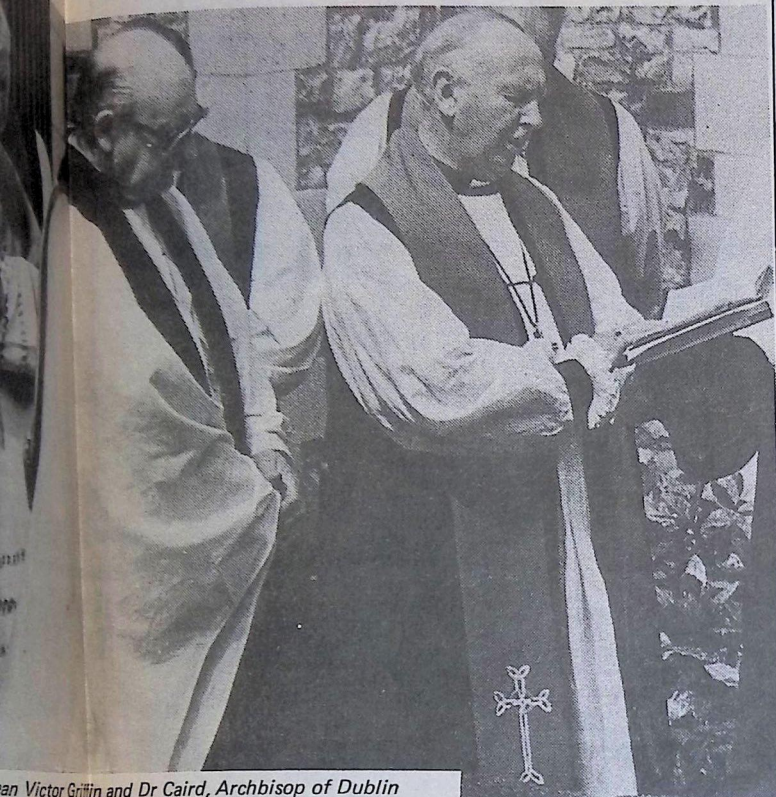
When Terence Mac Swiney's body was brought back from Brixton in 1920 at the height of the war his funeral procession was led through Cork by eight bishops and 350 priests.

There was no objection or com-



De Valera, Archbishop McQuaid and Reverend Mother M Angelina

RELIGION



Victor Griffin and Dr Caird, Archbishop of Dublin

Secular tradition

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THE CRUEL effects of the Catholic Church's domination of social life in the South are widely recognised.

Tens of thousands locked into loveless marriages; as many stigmatised as "illegitimate"; women denied the means to control their own bodies; rigid, reactionary control of the health service; brainwashing in the schools; a general suspicion of free thought and a climate of intellectual fear; the encouragement of irrationality and superstition; reverence for authority and distrust of revolt against authority.

Over the last twenty years opposition to Church power has grown. Ten years ago many people believed that the Church's power was inexorably being weakened by social changes and that a "pluralist" society was just a matter of time. But it hasn't worked out like that.

Last year's divorce referendum showed that when the Church flexes its muscles it can still shape events. Liberals, feminists and others were shaken by the result.

What they had failed to take into account was that the Church's power does not exist independently of society generally. It's not a mist hovering over the land which can be dispersed if enough people huff and puff. The interests of the Church and the interests of the ruling class are still intertwined.

Thus, even those ruling class politicians — FitzGerald, for example — who want to see the South become a more "progressive" and "European" sort of state, are hopelessly equivocal in their approach. Opposing, then supporting, then half-heartedly opposing the abortion amendment. Or begging the Church not to oppose a timid divorce measure and, when that fails, arguing pathetically that the measure would not lessen the Church's influence.

ELECTORATE

What no ruling class politician in Southern Ireland has ever done is to oppose Church power directly, to appeal to the electorate in straightforward terms to reject the Church's influence.

Although the context has changed since the twenties and the pressures are different, it remains the case that the Catholic Church is the most powerful advocate of social discipline in the South. Free State capitalism needs it still, knows that it could one day need it desperately. In a revolutionary situation it is to the Catholic church that the ruling class would turn for ideological support and moral condemnation of the revolutionary movement.

The struggle against Church influence and the struggle for socialism are not two separate struggles, but two sides of the same struggle.

The process by which Southern Ireland becomes secular will be the same process by which it becomes socialist. That, too, will be the process by which Ireland is united.

Unless these struggles are seen as one struggle no one of them will ever succeed.

The strategic necessity is to build a revolutionary Marxist party which can lead this struggle. It is to create such a party that the Socialist Workers Movement exists.

plaint from any Republican faction or leader to the Catholic Church identifying the struggle as Catholic. The few Republicans (mainly in America) who expressed reservations had little impact and gained no influence.

The relevant political point is this: that the confessional Catholic character of the 26 County State did not of itself represent a break with or betrayal of the struggle for national independence. It was a natural and valid culmination of that struggle, given the ideology that had been dominant within it.

These things don't happen by accident. It wasn't that the Fenians in the last century or the Republican leaders at the beginning of this just happened to be Catholics so devout as to withstand the Church's disapproval of their methods. Class was the key factor.

During the last century, certainly after Catholic emancipation in 1829, the RC Church came to represent the interests of a specific layer of the population — the larger Catholic farmers and the developing Catholic middle class in the towns. It was these sections from which the overwhelming majority of priests came and which provided the Church with much of its income.

For its part, the Church provided a moral framework vital for keeping the discontented Catholic lower orders in check.

DISRUPTION

Until after 1916 the Church was for constitutional nationalism and limited home rule because this was what suited the class interest it represented. The big farmers and the urban middle class wanted a measure of independence, certainly. They did not want any violent disruption of society as a whole.

The conundrum of the Fenians' fierce conflict with the Church over methods while remaining obedient members of the Church in all other matters is explained by the fact that, although the middle class feared that

the Fenian struggle might ignite the mass of the peasants, landless labourers and urban poor, the Fenians themselves never broke from the idea of an all-class alliance against Britain. The Fenians didn't want to break with the middle classes.

This failure to break with middle-class nationalism was reflected in an inability to break from the Church.

This is not to argue simplistically that, had the Fenians advocated, say, the nationalisation of all land and urged social war against all big farmers, they would automatically have become ardent secularists. Nor is it to suggest that had they all been secularists in the first place they would automatically have been in favour of land nationalisation.

It's to say that it is impossible to understand the way the Church managed to maintain its dominance in the face of an ostensibly revolutionary challenge without focusing on the fact that the challenge was not to the class nature of Irish society.

Similarly with the Republican leadership in the early years of this century.

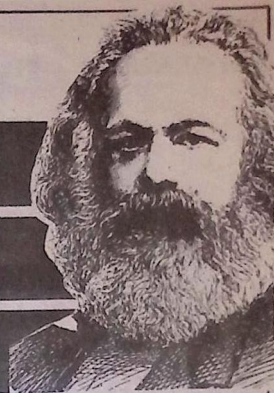
The Church broadly disapproved of the tactic of insurrection. But when the dominant classes in Catholic Ireland realised that the game was up for the Home Rule party and moved over to Sinn Fein, the Church wasn't far behind. Indeed some elements of the Church were among the early arrivals.

And why not? Sinn Fein believed passionately that "Labour must wait" that the Ireland which followed independence would be a capitalist Ireland in which existing property relations would continue to prevail.

On this basis, the Church was reconciled to Sinn Fein and vice versa. And the confessional nature of the State to be created by the parties which grew out of Sinn Fein was assured.

The absence of a serious challenge to the power of the Church and the absence of a party organising for the overthrow of capitalism as well as an end to British rule are two aspects of the same problem. And the problem is still with us.

Teach yourself Marxism



Rape - 'Law and Order' no solution

THE QUESTION of rape has featured increasingly in our newspapers over recent months: the recent attempts by the arch-Catholic "Responsible Society" to deny the Dublin Rape Crisis Centre its measly £18,500 a year grant from the Eastern Health Board; the horrific case of the Cavan woman who was raped, bugged and assaulted with a kitchen knife and then treated like a criminal in court; the steady rise in reported rapes, etc.

When two Derry men were sentenced to five years imprisonment for attempted rape, the remnants of the IRSP in Derry issued a statement calling for higher sentences for rapists.

This is a common call among some feminists and even among those who describe themselves as socialists.

But Marxists must be clear that we do not join in or endorse such calls, just as we don't join the hue and cry for tougher sentences for muggers, pick-pockets or murderers for that matter.

First of all it should be said that incarcerating people in prison for long periods of time, even when they have committed horrible crimes, is an extreme form of state violence and oppression to which we are in general opposed.

Of course it will require the complete transformation of society before this general aim can be realised. Nevertheless, in the here and now, we must reject any notions of individual or collective revenge against the criminal who, nine times out of ten, is also a victim of our oppressive alienating and exploitative society.

Secondly we must insist that longer sentences offer no solution at all to the problem of rape. Rape, like any other form of crime, is not a product of natural instincts which must be held in check by fear of punishment (that is the right-wing theory of crime) rather it has deep social roots.

In particular rape is the extreme acted out manifestation of the general attitude to women in our society, an attitude which is the product of the oppression of women under capitalism.

Really tackling the problem of rape at source requires, not longer sentences, but the liberation of women through the overthrow of capitalism.

Thirdly there is the fact, whether feminists or those on the left like it or not, that the call for longer sentences as a whole, is essentially a demand of the right.

The call for higher prison sentences is supported enthusiastically by Fianna Fail and Fine Gael, the PDs, the "Sunday World" and the rest of the gutter press who don't give a damn about women's rights but are motivated only by their own class interests.

Since these reactionaries deny that there is anything fundamentally wrong with the social structure (except perhaps for lack of discipline) it suits them perfectly to focus on the individual evil of the criminal and on tougher penalties as an appropriate response.

They know also, and this is the most crucial point of all, that strengthening the power of the state to deal with rapists strengthens the repressive power of the state as a whole and at the same time legitimises that power in the eyes of working people.

Tougher sentences for rape become part of a "law and order" package including tougher action against Republicans, more police and a crackdown on pickets and demonstrators.

Here Marxists have a duty to point out that the state that is being turned to for solutions, the state whose repressive powers are being increased, is not even our state but the state of the ruling class.

Its principle function is not the safeguarding of people's rights, but the safeguarding of the capitalist system and capitalist class rule. That is it defends the economic and social order which oppresses women and generates the problem of rape in the first place.

Thus longer sentences for rape is a self-defeating demand which plays into the hands of the most bitter enemies of women's liberation, of working class women and of the working class as a whole.

"What you are saying is that women must wait for the socialist revolution before anything is done about rape." This will be the immediate response of some people to the argument presented here. But in fact, this is not what we are saying.

There are many demands relating to rape which Marxists do support, which can be fought for and achieved now and which do not aid the right wing.

We fight against all those attitudes and practices (especially those entrenched in the legal system) which make the rape victim somehow responsible for the assault and which expose her to a different kind of assault in the court room.

We support for example, the demand that a woman be allowed her own lawyer to protect her interests during the court case.

We are in favour of improved facilities and services (rape crisis centres etc) to help victims in the aftermath of their experience.

We believe such centres should be funded totally by the Health Boards and naturally defend them against the insidious attacks of the likes of the "Responsible Society".

We would support programmes of psycho-therapeutic re-education for rapists which had some success in parts of America. We demand better street lighting and transport to make the streets safer.

Of course, it is true that all of these measures are only partial reforms, limited palliatives, not a real solution to the problem. But that is also true of longer sentences.

Unfortunately there are many terrible and urgent problems for which there is no solution under capitalism — starvation in the Third World, poverty, exploitation, racism, war and so on — but that is precisely why we are revolutionaries.



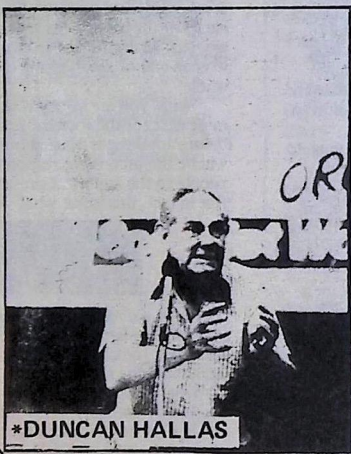
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Ages

by KIERAN ALLEN

THE LARGEST concentration of car factories in the world is now in Brazil.

The country with the second largest capacity for ship building in the world is Korea.

Today, a quarter of a million Mexican workers are employed in manufacturing industries on a 23 kilometer strip on the frontiers of the USA

In the last decade there has been a major expansion of world capitalism. Yet countries such as Brazil, Korea or Mexico are still regarded as part of the "Third World"

The term "Third World" is highly political, originally coined in 1955 at a conference in Bandung, Indonesia, it referred to a large group of "non-aligned, poor countries" who stood aside from the Cold War being conducted between the First World (America and allies) and the Second World (Russia and allies). Today the term summons an image of a mass of poorer countries being exploited by the wealthy nations.

A number of theoreticians and some sections of the left have argued that the division between the Third World and the advanced capitalist countries is now more important than any world class divisions.

In this view, the Third World is predominantly a source of raw materials to the advanced countries. Because of the monopoly position of these countries they can force an "unequal exchange" onto the poorer countries.

In other words, raw materials are artificially undervalued whereas industrial goods are over-priced. They go on to say that the Third World nations are now the real proletariat of the world and are exploited by all the peoples of the advanced countries.

Important political conclusions follow from this view. The working class of the advanced countries are written off as agencies for change.

They have been corrupted and made middle class.

A more sophisticated version of the same argument claims that their only hope is that they take part in a new alliance with, for example, the women's, black or gay movement.

Only such an alliance, it is said, can restore any revolutionary fervour to an otherwise privileged class.

In the poorer countries, it is argued that the only hope is to withdraw from the world economy and take the road of national economic development.

Here Stalin's Russia — despite its barbarism — can exert an attraction.

For here was a country that succeeded in using the state to mobilise resources towards heavy industry and developed by cutting itself off from the rest of the world.

Nigel Harris's book "The End of the Third World" is a devastating blow aimed at this politics. It is at times a difficult book in its concentration on the details of economic development in a number of countries.

It is also "an attempt to evaluate part of world capitalism by the criteria of the system itself."

Left out of the account is the story of the revolts and rebellions against the system.

Some may find this too scientific an approach — but it is an attempt to look at how the motor of the system works.

What are the arguments against Third Worldism?

Firstly, there has always been rich and poor in the Third World itself.

A factory owner in Lagos, Nigeria will earn ten times more than a low grade civil servant in, say, Dublin.

Even in countries where a revolutionary-nationalist regime has come to power, you find the same attacks on workers' rights to organise and fight for better living standards.

The 'Third World'

A review of Nigel Harris's new book "The End of the Third World" published by Penguin



Municipal Buildings in Addis Ababa, a hoarding commemorates the 1974 revolution

In Zimbabwe, for example, the post-revolutionary government has used the emergency laws of Ian Smith to attack striking miners and teachers.

There is therefore a class struggle inside Third World countries, including those whose rulers use left-wing rhetoric, as well as in other parts of the world.

Secondly, the claim that the main role of the Third World is to act as a supplier of raw materials to the advanced capitalist countries simply does not fit.

By the end of the seventies, the less developed countries were exporting more manufactured goods than raw materials. By 1980, the more developed countries exported more than thirty per cent more primary goods or raw materials than the less developed.

EMERGED

Thirdly, major differences have emerged between countries which are supposed to belong to the Third World.

Countries such as Brazil, Korea and Mexico and other Newly Industrialising Countries have very little in common with say Ethiopia or Afghanistan.

Harris shows in the case of South Korea that the growth that has occurred is neither a fake development based on borrowing nor is it the result of manipulation by the multi-nationals.

The multi-nationals only arrived in South Korea after the industrialisation programme was under way.

Instead, he points out, there has developed in South Korea a native ruling class with its own interests to defend.

In many African countries on the other hand, income has fallen below the levels of 1960 and whole areas

are slipping into famine conditions.

Why did some of these Newly Industrialising Countries emerge?

Here Harris challenges the myth that they are part of some free enterprise miracle. He showed that the state played a crucial role in the early industrialisation programme.

When a capitalist class began to grow this often led to a conflict with the local state. Nevertheless, the state played a crucial role in putting the show on the road.

In Korea, the state directly provided 40 per cent of investment and controlled another 25 per cent; it nationalised the five main banks; it issued export licences and controlled credit and supplies.

Countries such as South Korea exhibited as many features of state capitalism as many of their counterparts in Eastern Europe.

However, internal policies alone could not bring the change. The other factor was the emergence of a global manufacturing system since the sixties.

Capitalism — and not just capital — was exported outwards. When Marx wrote *Das Kapital*, he described a system that was confined to Western Europe and parts of USA.

Today the system is proudly international. Computers, for example are rarely produced in one country.

The chips may be made in Mexico for American companies. These, in turn, sell shares on the New York stock exchange and many of these will be bought up by Japanese concerns.

The components may be assembled in Ireland and marketed inside the EEC. Thus there exists a rather long and complicated change of production and finance.

The Newly Industrialising Countries were those most open to the world economy. As they expanded, capitalism came into increasing conflict with the state that

first fostered it. Thus in Korea we find in recent revolts parallels with older revolts in Europe. This year, the student movement with the passive support of workers and the moral support of private capital fought the dictatorship in the country.

Important political conclusions follow from Harris's analysis.

One of the results of capitalist expansion has been the growth of the class which will act as its gravedigger. The world's working class has grown enormously. It is now possible to talk in terms of a working class-led revolution in countries such as the Philippines whereas this was a fantasy some fifty years ago.

This expansion of the system has not led to "de-industrialisation" in the West. It has been the continuing recession in the system which has forced up unemployment rather than simply competition from the less developed countries.

The shifting of production has led to a certain "restructuring" of the working class in these countries.

But the crucial problem has been that the internationalisation of capital has shaken the pillars of the older social democratic tradition in the working class.

CONTROL

This tried to use the national state to control capital. In every country where it has come to power — in Greece, Spain and France, for example — it has been forced to retreat disastrously. But this only means that the politics of revolutionary internationalism have a far deeper relevance.

But in the poorer countries the political conclusions are even more important. For Decades the left in these countries — and here we include Ireland — has been dominated by a

version of stalinist politics.

The goal was national independence based on an independent national economy.

This meant a withdrawal from the world system by means of import controls and tariffs and a reproduction in miniature of the main sections of the world economy inside the borders of the nation. The state was to play a key role in this.

The left, then, became subverted by nationalism and a love for the state.

Thus in Ireland, it has been argued that we needed to nationalise the mines in order to set up a smelter from which downstream industry would develop; we needed to use the "natural resources" of the country to set up new industries; we needed to stop imports to give these new local industries a chance. The aim was the creation of a fully rounded "natural" economy rather than an artificial segment of the world economy.

This is not just a utopian pipe dream. It is also profoundly reactionary. It would mean a retreat from the far higher levels of productivity that come with participation in the world economy.

Instead it would lead to the super-exploitation of the Irish working class so that the resources might be gotten up to set up the new industries.

The Workers Party in a rare display of honesty once admitted that the working class would need decades of lower incomes in order to achieve state capitalism in Ireland.

The alternative lies in accepting the reality of the world economy and with it a world working class.

Socialists therefore work for revolution in their own countries as a first step towards changing the world. What Nigel Harris's book does is provide a powerful argument for internationalism in the socialist movement.

REVIEWS

Is the Future Female?

"Is the Future Female?" by Lynne Segal, Virago IR£5.95

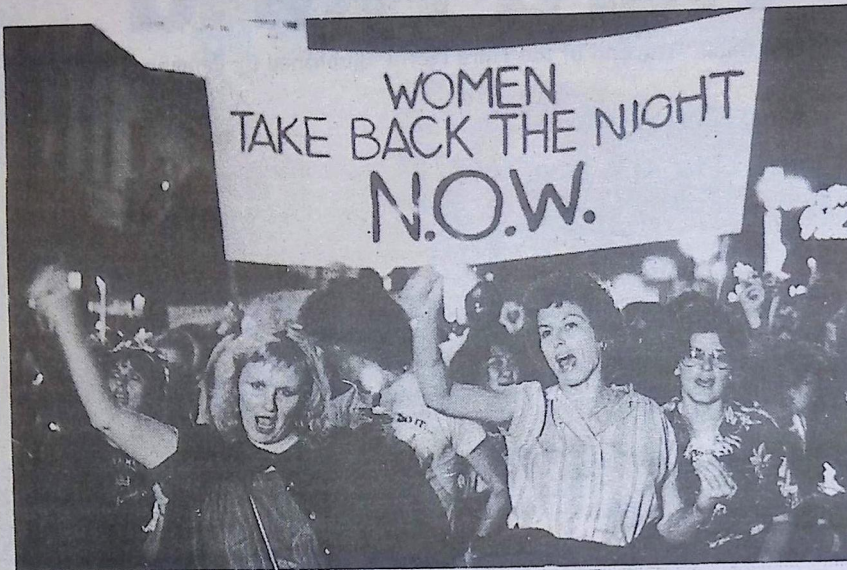
LYNNE SEGAL's book is a very good read. It asks all the questions about feminism and gives some answers. It doesn't shy away from raising what divides feminists, and thus gives us one of the most revealing criticisms of radical feminism.

Segal's theme is that there is a popular feminism about, that stresses only women's differences with men. This popular feminism, represented by people like Mary Daly in the States or Dale Spender, says there is such a thing as inherent, biological, female virtues and they must be reclaimed from the polluted male world. This view, Segal well demonstrates, leads to the cul de sac of separatism.

A typical example of Mary Daly's writing is: "Breaking the bonds/bars of phallogocry requires breaking through the radiant power of words so that . . . we can release our Selves". It is elitist language, hardly even making any sense from a comfortable (female) University Chair, let alone anywhere else.

Dale Spender, for all her talk of freeing women from male values, offers no more practical solutions either. Strategies for winning this emancipation are out, because "winning" is a male concept derived from patriarchal domination!

Segal demolishes the radical (or "cultural") feminist standpoint. She shows, in good Marxist tradition, that male values emerge not from a static position of women determined by their sex, but from social institutions in specific conditions. She shows that the role of women has changed at different times in history and that they have not simply been victims of their



biology from the year dot. Radical feminists, unless they recognise historical changes, remained trapped in biological determinism with no way out.

She puts across this argument simply and convincingly. And it is important to do so. Many socialists instinctively feel these radical feminists arguments to be wrong. But because they are couched in terms like "patriarchy", and on the other side of the coin, "sisterhood", bits of radical feminist politics may seem attractive.

Segal clearly puts the record straight. Radical feminists who insist on the virtues of motherhood can easily find themselves in the same camp as "moral majorities" who may praise these virtues too. Or again, radical feminists can easily

lump all women together when there are real class and political differences between them.

In the US, abortion clinics have been fire-bombed by WOMEN. In other words, radical feminism is not just slightly excessive, it carries within it the excuse for all sorts of right wing ideas.

GREENHAM

Segal is less clear when it comes to the Greenham Common issue. She is reluctant to say that Greenham, however courageous the women involved, was actually a defeat. And a defeat precisely because it contained some of the radical feminist orientation that she decries so much earlier in the book.

and local authorities generally are forced to tackle the problem of women's continuing disadvantage".

Surely Lynne Segal cannot have forgotten that in 1975, with a Labour government in power, there was an attack on abortion rights by one Labour MP James White? Can she have forgotten that the Labour Party stood idly by on that issue and said it was a question of individual conscience? Can she have forgotten that, in spite of the Labour Party's position, trade unionists managed to get over 50,000 people onto the streets on that occasion?

She can't have forgotten that, because she was there herself helping to mobilise for that demonstration.

How is it then that Lynne Segal can write so well about the conservative implications of some strand of feminism and yet end up in the Labour Party. (Lynne Segal describes herself as a socialist feminist) The truth is that like many socialist feminists who have tried to add the theory of patriarchy to marxism, both their feminism and their socialism end up losing out. If patriarchy is the problem, then how does class fit in? What does a united women's movement mean when there are class and political divides between women, as Lynne herself points out?

Unfortunately, it's the Labour Party (in Britain and Ireland) that can accommodate such an ambiguity. The Labour Party is a "Broad Church" that will welcome feminists as much as it will welcome the yuppies to whom Yuppier-par excellence Brian Gould tries so hard to appeal. In fact it will welcome everyone, Lord Sainsbury included.

And that is precisely why it cannot fight for women's liberation no more than it can fight for socialism.—MARNIE HOLBORROW

FILM:
She's
Gotta
Have It

SEXISM is one of the biggest problems that women have to face. Waiting at a bus stop, walking along the street, sat in the pub can all be occasions of sexual abuse. To be a woman and to be black is even more of a problem. And to be a black woman and poor, poorly paid or unemployed would be the bottom of the barrel.

The film "She's gotta Have It" is about a black woman, Nola, living in New York. She's got problems. She is having affairs with three different black men who represent different types, one a rapper; one apparently an office worker; and the other a conceited type who has apparently a middle class style of life and hates the other two for their commonness.

The film is able to show up in a series of sequences the stupidity of the sexist attitudes of men. It pokes fun at the silliness of some of their values. And in doing this it manages to be very funny. In particular, Spike Lee, who also wrote and directed the film, is very funny as the "rapper" who cannot stop repeating himself

It is interesting to note that the film was made on \$150,000, which is unusual in a business where the stakes have become bigger and the profits even larger. It is also unusual in that it is a film made by a black and starring only blacks. And in many ways Spike Lee seems to be black New York's answer to Woody Allen. There are many similarities and I think the failings of the film are similar to some of the failings of Woody Allen films.

The central character of the film, Nola, is a designer. Nothing wrong with that. But that places the story of the film outside the main concern of many blacks. She doesn't have to deal with poverty. The creation of a completely black setting means the problem of racial discrimination is also excluded. Nola goes at one point to a psychiatrist. Problems are psychological, people are neurotic. This is something we are familiar with from the films of Woody Allen. It's great for a laugh.

The world created by Spike Lee is an ideal world. It doesn't deal with the problems of the real world, except of course for sexism, but it does this even in a very tongue in cheek fashion. And this makes the film quite boring. Woody Allen, in his latest film "Radio Days" can save the triviality of his subject matter by his brilliant humour, but Spike Lee is not quite that good (at least not yet).

The film is, however, worth seeing in that it is quite entertaining at times.

—JOE O'BYRNE

Sectarianism and socialism

"Belfast in the Thirties — An Oral History" by Ronnie Munck and Bill Rolston, Blackstaff £9.95

TODAY the Six Counties seem to be caught in the grip of a sectarianism which cannot be defeated. The ideas of workers' unity seem remote. The strike in Shorts around the 12th July and the spate of sectarian killings in North Belfast seem to confirm Belfast as the stronghold of sectarianism in a sectarian state.

Belfast in the Thirties is a just-published oral history of a period when things were very different — where there was still sectarianism, yes, but when that sectarianism was overshadowed and, at times, overpowered by class politics.

In the 30s unemployed agitation spread throughout Belfast city as unemployment rocketed. But unemployment Benefit was only payable for six months; after that another six months "transitional benefit" was available but at the end of the transitional benefit as one man said "as far as the state was concerned, he could live on grass or whatever he liked".

With workers living always on the edge of poverty, unemployment especially long-term unemployment, was a catastrophe. In the 30s unemployment rose to 48 per cent in Belfast. In shipbuilding it stood at 57 per cent in 1932. In that year and in 1933 not one ship was built in the massive Harland and Wolff shipyard.

The major theme of Belfast in the Thirties is the way in which sectarian ideas could, and did, co-exist alongside socialist ideas. Different sections of the working class were influenced at different times by one or other set of ideas. Unfortunately sectarianism usually

won out, due to lack of socialist organisation.

Thus, throughout the 20s there were protests against unemployment. The unemployed had to sign on daily. Once their unemployment and "transitional" benefit had run out, the choice was the workhouse or "outdoor relief". For that, the unemployed had to work for two and a half days a week on heavy manual work — digging roads, etc.

Eight shillings was the rule for a married couple, twelve shillings if they had one child. By contrast, a couple with one child in Liverpool would have got 23/-, in Glasgow 25/3, in Bradford 26/-

COMMUNIST

Throughout 1932 the Revolutionary Workers Groups (later to become the Communist Party of Ireland, CPI) held marches and daily street meetings. It had branches all over Belfast (although the book points out that the CPI usually exaggerates its size in Belfast at this time. The CPI usually put it at hundreds, the authors estimate it closer to 50).

A proposed cut in the already miserly rates led to a strike of outdoor relief workers in October '32. The strike was mainly organised by the RWG and lasted almost two weeks. Demonstrations were smashed up by police and rioting spread from the Falls Road to the Shankill, with workers from the Falls going to the Shankill and vice-versa because the police in their own area would know them.

The government didn't just back down on the cuts — the rates were actually increased to 24/- a week for a married couple with one or

two children. It was a major victory for the unemployed.

A sizeable number of Protestant workers had dropped their sectarianism against the Catholic fellow-workers and had broken from the Unionist government. The problem was that the left did not take the opportunity to ensure that class politics continued to dominate and sectarianism soon reared its ugly, divisive head again.

The Communist Party isolated itself by denouncing the N.I. Labour Party and the trade union leaders as "social fascists". The majority of workers saw this for the stupid policy it was.

The NILP was no better since it accepted partition and backed down from challenging sectarianism for fear of losing votes.

The book exposes the nature and limitations of Republicanism even at a time of social upheaval and open class warfare. It includes a long interview with Liam Mulholland, who was active in the IRA throughout the 30s.

Mulholland nails the lie that Republicanism is the sectarian mirror-image of Loyalism, telling of their pride in the Protestant members of the IRA who were generally "not the corner-boy types . . . very serious young men".

But the politics of the IRA was purely nationalist with an anti-socialist bent. Despite the myths about the IRA going onto the Shankill to help fight the police, the Belfast IRA did not participate as an organisation in the unemployed agitation and riots. Individual Republicans, like Liam Mulholland, did get involved — just as individual Republicans in recent years joined the Anti-Amendment Campaign and the Divorce Campaign.



The Shankill Road contingent attending the Wolfe Tone Commemoration at Bodinstown in 1934. The slogan on the banner reads: "Break the Connection with Capitalism"

But another Republican Jack Brady explained:

"The one overriding principle was the end of British occupation of the Six Counties. Everything else — even something as momentous as the 1932 strike — was seen as a possible diversion of energy from this aim . . . If the importance of social and economic issues was recognised — as presumably was the case for the Republicans who participated in 1932 — this was usually seen as something which could destabilise British rule and

not important in its own right."

Belfast in the Thirties has its faults. The main problem is that it underestimates the way in which socialist ideas can challenge sectarianism, given an organised left which can relate to workers' struggles. It is a very easy book to read and well worth getting out of your local library. But it is seriously lacking in analysis and if you want to know and understand the politics of Belfast in the thirties, Mike Milotte's book *Communism in Modern Ireland* is still much, much better. —GORETTI HORGAN

Socialist Worker

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism

Extradition Bill

can be stopped!

AN EXTRADITION Bill — which could affect up to 600 people living in the South — is due to come into effect on December 1st.

Northern Secretary Tom King, had demanded that the Haughey government carry through the measure as a test of their commitment to the Anglo-Irish Agreement.

* The Bill is *retrospective*. This means that many political activists who fled the North since the first days of internment can now be handed back to the RUC.

* It allows the RUC to switch charges against its suspects. They can appear in the Southern Court and demand extradition on a murder charge to impress the judges. But once in the North they can add lesser charges with more chance of conviction.

EVIDENCE

* The Bill does not require that the RUC have to present any preliminary evidence in a Southern court. It is enough to get the warrants signed and in order for the case to go through.

* Those who are extradited to the North will face long periods of remand. At the moment the average is between a year and eighteen months.

* The Extradition Bill allows the RUC to interrogate their suspects. They can extradite on a trumped up charge and then try to find evidence by their own special form of "interrogation".

Both the Coalition and Fainna Fail have claimed that the Extradition Bill is necessary because the South has signed the European Convention on terrorism.

Yet four other countries who have signed the convention have refused to go ahead with extradition procedures.

At a public meeting in

Dublin last month, ex-prisoner Ann Gillespie argued that an Irish person accused of terrorism in a British court does not stand a chance. She called on the Anti-Extradition Campaign to ensure that there was no trade-off between accepting extradition and freeing the Birmingham Six.

However the strategy of the campaign could lead precisely in that direction. Michael Farrell, author of a book on extradition called on the campaign to direct its energies to the grassroots of Fianna Fail. This, he claimed, was the way to put pressure on Haughey in the run-up to an election next year.

This would be a refusal to face the experience of the last seven years. It was precisely to the grassroots of Fianna Fail that the H Block Campaign turned — and it got it nowhere. It was to these same grassroots that Gerry Adams was appealing when he called on Haughey to set up a united campaign against the Anglo-Irish Agreement. Every campaign, ranging from Section 31 to Strip-Searching, has sought out the "grassroots of Fianna Fail" and got nowhere.

RHETORIC

The simple fact is that FF is a ruling class party. Its members may indulge in nationalist rhetoric but their position depends on the gravy train of the Southern state.

There has never been a substantial break from FF by any of its cumman despite the countless turns of its leadership.

And it will be precisely to appease the grassroots of FF that Haughey will present the trade-off of the freedom of the Birmingham Six for accepting extradition.

He knows that his "grassroots" will accept it as another



example of cuteness and statesmanship. They will not put the slightest pressure on him to stand up" any further.

CAMPAIGN

That is why it is so important to look elsewhere. At the recent ICTU conference, forty per cent of the delegates voted for a resolution calling for a campaign against extradition as an "anti-working class measure".

SWM member and Derry Trades Council delegate Goretti Horgan had moved the resolution which won the support of the ITGWU and LGPSU delegation.

This now gives us a start for taking up the issue in the labour movement. That will prove a far more fruitful arena than appealing to the grassroots of a party that silently cheers Haughey's efforts to slash our living standards.

● Dominic McGlinchey being handed over to the RUC by gardai in October 1985

TORIES PLAN FORCED LABOUR FOR JOBLESS

THATCHER HAS another trick up her sleeve to help bring down the numbers of jobless in the Six Counties. The Tories are now planning to give young people who are unemployed a choice: go on a Youth Training Scheme or be cut off the dole!

This forced labour scheme is already informally at work — dole offices do their best to intimidate young people into going on to YTP. As it is, there are over 14,000 on some kind of YTP in the North at the moment.

4,000 of them are allegedly being trained on the job. In fact, they are doing full-time jobs for a measly £26 a week. Many employers actually sack workers in order to take on YTP workers to whom they don't have to pay any wages.

DISMISSAL

One solicitor's office in Derry fired a secretary at the end of last month: "I'm taking on two YTPs", he told her. She had been working there less than the two years necessary to take an unfair dismissal case but a campaign to fight the sacking is being planned.

The conscription of young people in the North into YTP schemes can only be fought by employed and unemployed together. The unions must immediately stop co-operating in the operation of the YTP. Every hint of workers being sacked to make way for the super-exploitation of a YTP worker must be resisted. Job Centres and dole offices should be picketed and occupied to make the plan inoperable.

Young people have a right to decent jobs with decent wages. YTP schemes provide them with neither. YTP conscription must be fought!