

Socialist Worker

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism

As sectarian savagery grips the North

Socialism the only solution

EVERY SOCIALIST in Ireland must have been tempted towards despair over the past month as a result of what has been happening in the North.

The Catholic and Protestant communities are more sharply divided than at any time in recent history.

Loyalist mobs fight with the RUC for their "right" to swagger through Nationalist areas and intimidate the local Catholics. On occasion, as in Portadown, they are permitted by the RUC to do just that.

In Lisburn, North Belfast, the Waterside in Derry and elsewhere a savage and highly organised campaign is under way to terrorise Catholics from their homes.

Already this year, Loyalist murder gangs have killed six Catholics and a Protestant woman married to a Catholic, for no other reason than religion. The UDA, using its cover name the "Ulster Freedom Fighters", has determined on a massive escalation of sectarian killing, declaring that it will murder any Catholic working in a Protestant area. In Belfast's biggest workplace, Shorts, the tiny minority of Catholic workers is under constant deadly threat.

On the Catholic side there is an increasingly fatalistic acceptance of the sectarian shape of things. That more than ever it's "us" against "them". And that if all the rules of conflict have been abandoned, anything goes. Which is part of the background to the IRA threat to

kill anyone, including ordinary workers, involved in servicing security force installations. (For the SWM's attitude to this, see the editorial on page three.)

The idea of workers of all religions and none uniting together to fight for their own interests as a class seems farther away than ever. Even militant trade unionists and former members of socialist organisations are retreating, politically, into their "own" communities.

And yet despair is an absolutely inappropriate response. It has *never* been more important that the case for class politics should be argued loud and clear. Because *only* class politics can raise us up above the sectarian filth and give workers a clear sight of a different future to be fought for.

Class politics does not mean "splitting the difference" between Loyalism and Nationalism and urging "both sides" to compromise. Much less does it mean ignoring the political differences between Loyalism and Nationalism as meaningless or irrational and urging exclusive concentration on bread-and-butter issues. This is dodging the problem, not dealing with it.

The SWM is a socialist, and therefore anti-imperialist organisation. We stand foursquare with those fighting against imperialism and are unalterably opposed to those fighting in support of imperialism.

But precisely because we are socialists, because our opposition to imperialism has nothing to do with nationalist emotion but everything to do with our belief in a society controlled by the majority working class, because of this we argue that only a movement based openly and unequivocally on working class interests can carry the anti-imperialist struggle forward without being trapped within a religiously-defined community.

It is not in the interests of Catholic workers to ally themselves with Catholics of the "upper" classes. Middle-class Catholics, and the few green capitalists around, don't live in vulnerable areas, indeed don't live vulnerable lives in any respect. Their interests are in stability at any price and if they can—reaching an accommodation with their Protestant equivalents which will keep the working class generally "in its place".

It is not in the interests of Protestant workers to enter an all-class Protestant alliance either. It is not in their interests to support the attacks on Catholics which the sectarian consciousness engendered by Loyalism makes inevitable. You can't advance your interests as a worker while you have your boot on another worker's neck.

Sectarianism, and the sectarian State which imperialism has created, cannot be fought successfully by moral appeals or good intentions. It can only be fought on the basis that sectarianism is directly opposed



to the economic interests of the working class, and therefore by a movement which appeals directly and without fudging to that class interest.

To misquote Margaret Thatcher, there is just no other way.

But where in the North, through the smoke and sulphur of gathering strife, is this working class anti-imperialist position being argued?

The Republicans, consistent with their own ideology, appeal to the "nationalist people", while groups like the WP and Militant try to find space between pro- and anti-imperialism to preach a Left version of Alliance-style "moderation".

The SWM is a tiny organisation. But the ideas which we fight for are not tiny at all. There are many in the North, ex-activists from

various organisations and some who are uninvolved because their class instincts repel from the main options available, many who know that sectarianism is the most horrible disease which can inflict the working class, that the North is ravaged by it, and that socialism is the only possible cure.

The fight for the Marxist ideas which the SWM represents needs all the help that such people can give.

Buttering up the killers

EEC FARM price talks are usually set-piece negotiating sessions—the Germans and British wanting no rise in prices and Ireland, France and Italy wanting the biggest increases possible; the outcome is always a compromise between the two sides.

This year's talks were somewhat different. There was an additional problem—that of New Zealand butter.

Despite the huge butter mountain in Europe, the EEC agrees to import a certain amount of butter from New Zealand each year. Historically this was because of the close links between Britain and NZ and these guaranteed imports are being gradually phased out.

Each year Britain has to fight to keep the quota as high as possible while Denmark and Ireland fight to keep it as low as they can so as to keep the price of butter high.

This year, though, the argument about NZ butter was very different. This year the French were on the British side. Why? Because New Zealand had offered to release the two french spies who had blown up the Greenpeace ship "Rainbow Warrior" and killed one of the crew in return



for continued access to the EEC butter market. If France swings a deal for NZ in the farm talks, they said, we will release your two agents, they will be flown to a tropical island where they will spend two year "in exile" before being allowed to quietly disappear and go back about their murdering work.

French president—the so-called socialist—Mitterand

agreed. The Irish and Danish delegations were put under extreme pressure and in the end, ruling class solidarity won out. None of the governments of the EEC used their veto to stop the swap—New Zealand butter for French government murderers.

Funnily enough, the release of these two mercenaries comes at a time when the ruling class all over the world

have agreed that "terrorism" can be stamped out if they all pull together to ensure that any fugitive from his/her own country will be extradited post-haste.

The old notion of asylum for those whose acts were politically motivated has gone out the window as Thatcher, Reagan and Co, join hands across the world in their fight against those who want freedom and justice. IRA fugitives are no longer safe in the US—they can be extradited to Britain under the new treaty. Holland and France have adopted a similar approach. It's embarrassing the eagerness with which the Free State government hands republicans over to the tender mercies of the Diplock Courts.

And the IRA is not the only target—all national liberation movements are under the same threat, as was demonstrated recently when France extradited a Basque ETA leader to Spain without even the pretence of a hearing.

But the ruling class have really exposed their hypocrisy with the Greenpeace affair. All their indignant talk of "terrorism" goes out the window when the reality of their own state-sponsored terrorism is exposed. The British secret service, for example, knew about the planned killing of the Greenpeace activists for two months before it happened. Yet they did nothing about it.

The "Rainbow Warrior" blowing up and the murder of the Greenpeace activist were just the latest in the French secret service's record of arranging assassinations, coups and counter-coups, defended by governments of both the right and the left. But it is a record like that of the CIA, KGB and MI5 which we will never see screamed across the pages of the *Indo* or the *Mirror*. It is a record for which no-one is ever punished.

No government ever tries to catch these state terrorists. And when, occasionally, they have to be seen to be doing something—as they had to in New Zealand, because of the outcry after the "Rainbow Warrior" murder—their agents can be assured that they won't spend their lives in the H Blocks or its equivalent. More likely, they'll end up the subject of farm price talks and the lucky winners of a two year holiday on a tropical island.

Backing a loser....

GOOD NEWS for anyone living in Mulhuddart, Ballymun or Tallaght who wants to get out of substandard flats and aouses and move into better, more central housing!

Fine Gael TD and Dublin City councillor Gay Mitchell is confident that the Council is getting near the situation where "if somebody asked for a house in Clyde Road with a racehorse they would get it".

Clyde Road is in that salubrious part of Dublin, near the American Embassy in Ballsbridge, where there's lots of green space and trees and big comfortable houses. There are lots of shops, schools and hospitals nearby and it's within walking distance of the city centre.

The racehorse apart (we'd know better how to keep greyhounds), Socialist Worker thinks that this would represent a massive breakthrough in council housing and hopes that Councillor Mitchell will do everything in his power to make sure that the time when we can live in such places comes sooner rather than later.

While all of us here will be writing to Cllr Mitchell asking him to pull a few strings for us to make sure we get some of the Clyde Road housing (even if it means having to look after the racehorse), we won't give notice yet on our present flats.

Because Mitchell's remarks were made by way of complaining about the "easy" availability of Council housing in Dublin. The Council, he moaned, was giving houses to couples who were not even married! Unmarried mothers with one child were getting three-bedroomed houses!

The fact that unmarried mothers, or couples or individuals are offered houses only in areas where no-one else wants to live—miles out in Tallaght, Blanchardstown or Mulhuddart or on the top floors of tower flats in Ballymun—was conveniently



ignored by Cllr Mitchell who has an estimated annual income of around £30,000.

Also ignored were the hundreds of homeless Dubliners who the Simon Community and similar organisations deal with each

night. Funnily enough those women, men and often even children are forced to sleep on the streets, winter and summer, because Dublin City Council will neither house them nor build hostels to give them shelter.

THE TITANIC

	NUMBER ON BOARD	NUMBER SAVED	% SAVED
FIRST CLASS	173	58	34
Men	144	139	97
Women	5	5	100
Children			
SECOND CLASS	160	13	8
Men	93	78	84
Women	24	24	100
Children			
THIRD CLASS	454	55	12
Men	179	98	55
Women	76	23	30
Children			
TOTAL PASSENGERS	1308	493	38
CREW	898	210	23

(From the report of the British Board of Trade Inquiry)

...the real story

"WOMEN AND children first" was always said to be the rule boarding lifeboats. A look about the truth behind the Titanic however, tells a very different story.

The report of the British Board of Trade Inquiry reveals that out of the 2,206 people on board the first voyage of the Titanic in April 1912, only 703 were saved when it sank.

Out of 144 women first class passengers only five died. At least two of these made the decision to stay on board.

In spite of all the "women and children first" talk, the working class women did not have a choice—or a chance. Out of 179 women third class passengers only 98 survived. While all of the children travelling first or second class were saved, only 23 of the 76 kids travelling third class survived.

The ship and its survival equipment were made for the rich. Your chances of living depended first on class, then on age and sex. Stewardesses, for example, were turned away from the lifeboats.

There were not nearly enough lifeboats. In fact, there were only enough for 1,000 people. Extra lifeboats would have taken up deck space used for the gardened walkways and promenades of the millionaires and spoil the view!

"If there had been less opportunity for first class passengers to swim on board, there would be less need for third class passengers to swim overboard" said one reporter for the Daily Herald.

Competition among shipping lines meant that the fastest and most luxurious would get the trade. The Titanic was aiming to break the Atlantic record. So it went through an icefield rather than taking longer.

Twice there were warnings from other ships. Lookouts warned of icebergs three times—and again just half an hour before the collision. But to no avail. The captain of a french liner Le Bretagne, said that the Titanic must have sailed full speed into a fleet of icebergs, many "equal in size to New York skyscrapers".

After the collision with the iceberg the third class passengers were told by officers that there was "no danger". Stairs were roped off and guarded in order to stop them reaching the decks with the lifeboats. One first class survivor fired his revolver to stop a group of Italians from the lower decks reaching his lifeboat as it descended to the water.

All in all, further proof that in death as in life the monied class will see working class men, women and children die rather than sacrifice any of their precious privileges.

SWM Public Meeting

South Africa: The Road to Revolution

Speaker: John Lindsay, SWP, Britain (White South African)

BELFAST: Monday September 8th. Conway Mill

DERRY: Tuesday September 9th Gweedore Bar, Waterloo Street.

DUBLIN: Wednesday September 10th CIE Hall

WATERFORD: Thursday September 11th Venue to be announced.

Hypocrisy over IRA threat

THERE HAS been uproar in the media about the IRA threats against anybody working to service the British Army, the UDR or the RUC. Most of it is sheer hypocrisy.

The indignation of the Southern Irish media is particularly hypocritical. The threats issued by the IRA are well in line with the Republican tradition. Between 1919 and 1921 the "Old" IRA made ruthless war on anyone suspected of collaborating in any way with the security forces. Scores of people, many of them almost certainly innocent were shot and dumped on lonely roads or in ditches. This was the "good" IRA which the same Southern Irish media hold up as an example to all.

Describing the IRA threat as "sectarian" and equating it with the UFF threat to kill any Catholic working in a Protestant area is equally hypocritical. The Workers

Party and the Militant are among those on the "Left" who have joined the ruling class press in this abject dishonesty. The IRA threat was not directed against a group of people defined by their religious affiliation. The UFF threat was. Politically, that is clearly an important difference.

The SWM, as a socialist and anti-imperialist organisation, agrees with the Republican Movement that workers should not collaborate with the forces of imperialism. It is not in the interests of any worker to support imperialism, in Ireland or anywhere else.

Moreover, we recognise the strength of the Republicans' argument that those who assist the imperialist war machine by supplying goods and services are thereby freeing members of the British Army, the UDR or the RUC to go into action against anti-imperialists. And, after all, the

British and Irish ruling classes themselves understand well the importance of collaborators in a war situation. That's why those who provide "safe houses" or food and shelter for IRA units, or who help store arms or provide information, are jailed if they are caught.

For these reasons the IRA are absolutely right when they say that workers should refuse to provide any service for the North's "security forces". But as Marxists, the SWM believes that the way the IRA has gone about it says a lot about the way the Republican Movement relates to the working class.

RHETORIC

For a number of years the Republicans have been moving steadily leftwards. Their rhetoric has become openly socialist and there is much talk of the need to base the struggle on the working class and even of the necessity to build a Workers' Republic as opposed to a 32-County version of the 26 Counties.

For as many years the SWM has applauded the leftward move—while at the same time pointing out its

strict limitations. The recent threats are an example of these limitations in practice.

Republicanism is an ideology which, because it puts nationality above class interest, allows the Movement to look for support wherever it can find it. A right-wing business man can be accepted alongside a genuine socialist—as long as both commit themselves to "Irish Freedom".

Precisely because of this, the Republican Movement can never appeal to workers clearly and cleanly on the basis of their interests as workers.

Certainly, the composition of the Movement is now overwhelmingly working class.

Very many of the preoccupations and activities of Sinn Fein are centred on working class issues.

Nonetheless, the approach of the IRA to the question of collaboration with Britain's security forces shows that it is not a socialist organisation in any revolutionary sense.

A revolutionary socialist organisation would have called on the workers to stop the collaboration because it is in their own interest to stop it. Of course such an appeal would have fallen on many deaf ears. But a start could have been made through those workers who were willing to listen, and certainly there would have been some: in some areas very sizable numbers.

Such a campaign would have involved leaflets, workplace gate meetings, patient argument. It would likely have involved demanding assurances of official trade union backing for any worker disciplined or threatened with the sack for refusing to contribute his or her labour to the imperialist war effort.

UNDERSTANDING

Moreover, such an approach would have given workers themselves a taste of their own power and an understanding that the working class, as a class, can play a vital role in the struggle against imperialism.

Such an approach, vigorously pursued, would have had a real chance of success in areas like Derry, Strabane, Downpatrick,

Newry and many other areas. Action by even a minority of workers in such areas would have provided an example for others to follow until only hardened Loyalists remained to do such work—who are not going to respond to the death threats anyway.

This isn't pie-in-the-sky talk. It's happened before. For example, the British campaign in the War of Independence was hard hit by the refusal of ITGWU train and tram drivers to transport British forces or war materials. That is the example which ought now to be followed and not the example of the "old" IRA, whose campaign, after all, ended only in the creation of the State which is in very close collaboration with the very British imperialism the Provos are fighting.

PUNT DOWN THE RIVER

EVERYTIME SOMEONE starts to talk about the recent devaluation of the punt, most people turn off and go to sleep—it's just too complicated.

The latest Northern Bank Group market review however,

PINKO BEARS

Right wingers in America are up in arms against the school authorities. In some of the Southern states they have brought them to court on a charge of corrupting the young. The cause for complaint is that books like Goldilocks and the three bears are read to children.

Goldilocks is a real subversive. She broke into the bear's house and ate their porridge—and got away with it. In other words she sinned and was not punished.

Rumour has it that the bishops in Ireland are keeping a close eye on developments. They run the schools here—so they don't need any court cases to ban Goldilocks.

makes it all very simple. In short, they inform us, the devaluation will mean higher profits for exporting companies, higher inflation for the rest of us and an increase in the size of the national debt.

In fact, the value of exports from the 26 Counties will now increase by £800 million which will line the pockets of the likes of Michael Smurfit and Tony O'Reilly. On the other hand, inflation is likely to rise by 2-2½ per cent which will take any remaining lining out of the pockets of working class people.

The PAYE taxpayer is likely to bear an additional burden as well as that of inflation. The Northern Bank Group say that the devaluation will add an extra 8% to the amount of punts needed to fund the existing foreign debt of £10.8 billion. And guess who'll be expected to pay for that? Socialist Worker is willing to wager 50p that it won't be those who are profiting on the exports.

Fr. Molloy man kept quiet

THAT THERE is "one law for the rich and another for the poor" is a well-established fact. In spite of this, any republican or socialist who has ever been the subject of a visit by the Garda Síochána had to be amazed by some of the facts that emerged from the inquest into the death of Fr. Molloy in Clara Co. Offaly.

The amazing revelations were that Mr Flynn had been allowed by Gardai to exercise his right not to talk with them until after he had been charged with the manslaughter of the priest. The Gardai had called to Kílcoursey House, the mansion-like home of the Flynns a few days after Fr. Molloy's death. Mr Flynn declined to speak to them without the presence of his solicitor.

APPOINTMENT

The Gardai called again to the house on July 23rd, 1985 by appointment with the Flynns and their solicitor. On this occasion Mrs Flynn did speak to the Gardai about her business relationship with Fr. Molloy—in the presence of Liam Lysaght, her solicitor. Mr Flynn continued to decline to speak to the Gardai.

The Flynns were well within their legal rights on both occasions. But it does have to be said that the Gardai do not always show such respect for the rights of suspects, nor such consideration for the privacy of their homes. Indeed many readers of Socialist Worker, had we not pointed this case out to them, would have said that the Gardai never show much respect.

Republicans, socialists and working class people generally would expect to be dragged off to the nearest Garda Station for questioning whether they like it or not.

DRUGS

This trampling on our rights is usually legalised by the application of Section 30 of the Offences Against the State Act—as in the case of the ESB strikers in Cork last winter. The Misuse of Drugs Act is often similarly used as a way of frightening young people into "co-operating" with the Gardai.

Often, as happened with Joanne Hayes and her family, just being asked to "accompany us to the station" sounds like an actual arrest and working class people who



Richard and Teresa Flynn

are unsure of their rights don't realise that they can leave anytime they want to.

Yes, There's no doubt about it. A big house, a big car, race

horses and lots of money are not supposed to affect the way you're treated before the law but sometimes the old sayings know better.

Millions die needlessly

tetanus, polio, whooping cough, diphtheria, tuberculosis—kill 3.5 million. That's nearly 10,000 every day.

But the biggest killer of all is diarrhoea.

It kills by dehydration. Drinking salt and sugar in water prevents death.

The United Nations organisation, Unicef, calculates to have saved 500,000 children's lives last year by distributing sachets of

salt and sugar to make up "oral rehydration solution".

What's really needed, of course, is clean water, adequate food and so on. Unicef simply hasn't the resources to provide these.

★ AROUND the world, between 12 and 13 million children die each year for no reason but poverty. Diseases for which there

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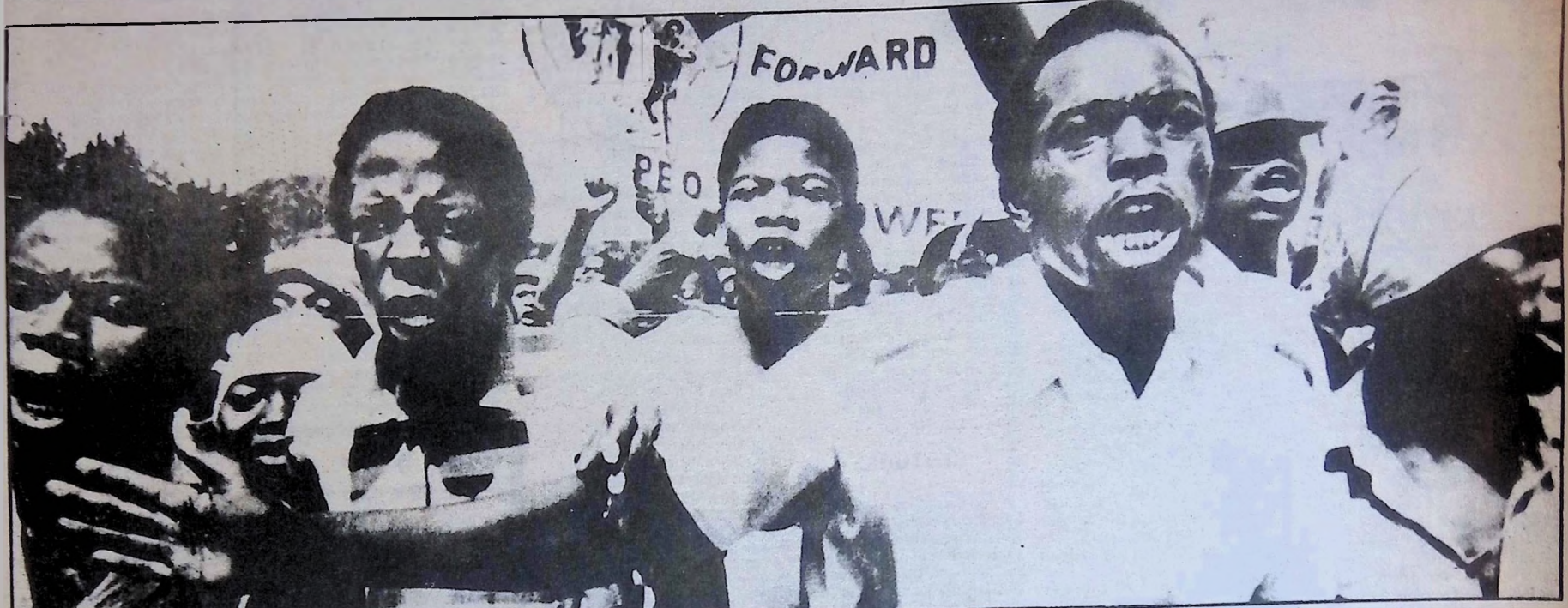
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INTERNATIONAL

Nelson Mandela and the



IT IS impossible to talk about the struggle against apartheid in South Africa without mentioning Nelson Mandela.

Here, EAMONN McCANN examines the politics of Nelson Mandela and that of the ANC and looks at the kind of South Africa for which they are fighting.

NELSON MANDELA is a truly remarkable man. Although he has been locked up in prison for the last 24 years he still commands more affection and loyalty among the militant fighters in the townships of South Africa than any other single leader.

And from the South African whites and western governments he commands more fear.

It is a striking tribute to his personal qualities that he towers above South African politics in this way despite the fact for more than two decades he has been unable to attend any meetings, make any speeches, talk to the media, lead any demonstrations or do any of the other things usually associated with "political leadership".

And there is more to him than this. Political greatness does not consist only of personal characteristics or "charisma". If the man didn't match the needs and moods of the masses his great personal qualities would shine out of sight of the masses—even if he were free. The fact that, unfree, he lights up the minds of the masses is proof positive that the ideas which he embodies are those which the great bulk of black people believe will lead on towards a free future.

It is because of this—because of what he represents—that Sir Geoffrey Howe was desperately anxious to see him during his fumble around South Africa for the EEC last month. And why even the Thatcher government has now coined in calls for Mandela to be released. If they want a deal which will lead to South Africa being pacified they now that it will have to include Nelson Mandela.

The question is this: can the ideas which Mandela represents be accommodated within a settlement which might also be acceptable to South African whites (some or all of them) and western capitalism?

It is clear at a glance that there can be no coming together between the basic motivation of Nelson Mandela on the one hand and the dominant ideas and attitudes of South Africa's whites on the other. To the whites, the apartheid system provides the vast reservoir of cheap labour on which their industrial prosperity depends. The attitudes which they derive from this are expressed in the foul ideology which holds that black people are inherently inferior and contemptible.

However, an important section of the white South African business community and of western capitalism, believes that an accommodation can be reached.

This was expressed in the visit by a delegation from the South African Chamber of Commerce to Lusaka in Zambia last year for talks with ANC leaders including ANC president Oliver Tambo. It also lay behind the report of the so-called Eminent Persons Group, led by former Conservative Prime Minister of Australia Malcolm Fraser, which, in defiance of Margaret Thatcher, called for punitive sanctions against the Pretoria regime to force it to move towards negotiations with the ANC and eventual majority rule. It was reflected, too, in the vote for sanctions by a majority of members of the US congress.

To understand all this it is necessary to look in some detail at the politics of the ANC.

The ANC was founded in 1912 as the "South African Native National Congress". The impetus for its formation came from the establishment of the Union of South Africa as a fully independent state within the British Empire and from the extension of repressive racist laws which

the new state enacted. Its first president was a headmaster, its secretary a newspaper editor, its treasurer a London-based lawyer. Many of its leaders had close connections with the African aristocracy and tribal chieftains. By present-day standards it was a very "moderate" organisation indeed. It relied on propaganda and peaceful protest to achieve "the upliftment of the race" and, in the words of its president, John Dube, placed hopeful reliance in the sense of common justice and love of freedom so innate in the British character". Naturally enough, it got nowhere.

MILITANCY

A wave of militancy affected South African blacks after the First World War. Both the Russian Revolution and the black nationalism of the American black leader Marcus Garvey had an impact on the thinking of black leaders. Moreover, the development of the South African economy was creating a significant, relatively urbanised, black working class. This was reflected in the change of name to the ANC in 1923 and in the election in 1927 of a new president Josiah Gumede. Gumede was among those who wanted to build a militant mass movement rather than a moderate lobby-group.

However, the ANC was still unable to sustain a long struggle and campaigned in fits and starts through the thirties. By the 1940s it was again a small organisation and had little active involvement in the day-to-day struggles of the black people.

Nelson Mandela made his first significant appearance on the political scene in 1943 when he was one of three key figures involved in the formation of an ANC Youth League. The others were Oliver Tambo, now president of the ANC, and Walter Sisulu, later ANC general secretary, currently in detention in

South Africa. Again, a new generation argued for a more militant approach and stressed "black pride" against the line of the old guard which, the Youth Leaguers claimed, had become too "white".

An important factor in the emergence of this more militant leadership was the rise among whites of the Afrikaner Nationalist Party, which represented the Afrikaner-speaking Boers rather than the British-rooted English-speakers. Many of the Boers supported Hitler during the Second World War. They had fewer direct connections with the City of London and British big-business generally. The Nationalist Party was to come to power in 1948 and formally to institute the apartheid system. One result of this was to block off the road to black middle class self-improvement and to make it harshly clear that blacks would have to break down the system rather than campaign for its reform if they were ever to achieve human dignity.

In these circumstances the Youth League made spectacular progress and, by 1949, had won political control of the ANC. Initially it was suspicious of socialist ideas and particularly of the South African Communist Party, which was dominated by white intellectuals. The class orientation of the communists was—or at least it seemed—out of line with the ANC perspective of mobilising against the racially-defined system of apartheid. However, the South African CP was, and remains, highly Stalinist and the Stalinist theory of revolution by "stages" dovetailed neatly enough with the ideas of the ANC. The CP anticipated a "national" revolution first—that is, the elimination of apartheid—after which the class struggle would come onto the agenda.

The ANC leadership, including Mandela, was to move close to the thinking of the CP, which continues to have a major influence on the Congress leadership.

Under Mandela and Tambo the ANC involved itself in a number of mass campaigns in the fifties, particularly against the "pass" laws which required blacks to carry official papers and which regulated their movements and the places they were permitted to work and live. During this period the ANC, working amid fierce repression and with tremendous courage, built up a mass base. By 1955 42 ANC leaders had been banned.

The thinking of the ANC leadership was expressed in the Freedom Charter, which set out a programme which was well to the left of previous Congress politics but which still was far from full-bloodedly socialist. For example, Mandela himself explained that "the charter strikes a fatal blow at the financial and gold-mining monopolies". But, he added, "The breaking up of these monopolies will open up fresh fields for the development of a non-European bourgeois class. Factories and trade and private enterprise will flourish as never before".

IDEAS

Contained in that are the seeds of the ideas which allow right-wing White Commonwealth leaders and a majority of the US Congress to believe that a deal can be struck with the ANC which would usher in black majority rule in South Africa while preserving the capitalist system. It would be capitalism under black rule, of course, but capitalism nonetheless.

The Congress was to split again in the late fifties, when the Pan Africanist Congress broke away, making some of the arguments which Mandela, Tambo and Sisulu had themselves advanced in the early forties, stressing black consciousness and denouncing communist influence on the ANC for allegedly diluting its "blackness". The ANC and the PAC were both involved in the campaign of resistance which

led up to the savagery of Sharpsville when 69 people were gunned down during a peaceful protest.

The ANC was banned shortly afterwards and, in 1964, Mandela was imprisoned for life under the Suppression of Communism Act. Before being jailed Mandela had personally supervised the setting up of an ANC military wing, Umknoto we Sizwe (MK).

Repression and imprisonments in the early 60s severely disrupted ANC activity and it wasn't until the early '70s that mass activity, mainly inspired by black consciousness activists like Steve Biko, resumed. The response of the state this time was more repression, more murder. In 1976 alone 600 school-children were killed or wounded in Soweto. In the course of this phase of the struggle the ANC built its organisation more effectively than ever before. Hundreds of activists recruited from the fighters in the townships were sent into Botswana for both military and political training, and a highly-effective "diplomatic" effort won acceptance for the ANC around the world as the legitimate voice of the South African majority.

Today the ANC is involved in both guerrilla and diplomatic activity, and it has a mass base inside the country. It is still led, as it always has been, by middle-class blacks. Mandela, a lawyer by training, has described how apartheid affects the black middle class:

"We were constantly aware that no matter how well, how correctly we pursued our careers, we could not become a prosecutor or a magistrate or a judge". It is the deep-seated resentment resulting from that which has driven middle-class people to ally themselves with workers and peasants in a movement out to overthrow the regime.

This is not to say that Mandela's concerns, or those of his associates in the ANC leadership, have been narrow or self-serving. If he'd only wanted a good life it was there

ANC

for the taking: thousands of middle-class blacks have found a comfortable enough niche for themselves within the apartheid system. Mandela didn't take that soft option. He took the hard road which led to endless harassment, torture and imprisonment for life.

Nelson Mandela's and the ANC's politics have not always coincided with the level of struggle in the last few years. In particular, the rise of the black trade unions has posed problems for the ANC leadership.

Traditionally, black trade unionism in South Africa has steered clear of direct involvement in politics, preferring instead to concentrate on bread-and-butter issues and on rights in the workplace rather than rights in society generally. Over the past decade, however, trade union organisation, particularly in mining, has gathered new strength. South Africa has now the biggest and strongest black trade union movement on the continent. And, increasingly, it has been entering the political arena, using the strike weapon in political and not just economic battles.

The entry into the fray of a highly-organised class force has obvious complications for a strategy based on the belief that class differentiation, and class struggle, does not come onto the political agenda until after apartheid is destroyed.

The existence of the black working class battalions in the struggle against apartheid has played a major role in convincing white business and some western leaders that they

should seek terms with the ANC now rather than see the struggle develop and deepen.

Some strategists for capitalism inside and outside South Africa believe that they could shortly be faced with a stark choice: accept a black government which will leave the capitalist system intact—or risk losing everything. Because if the working class were to take the leadership of the struggle against apartheid it might not stop short at ending racial oppression. It might have the momentum to push on further towards the end of economic exploitation, too.

That is what the dispute over South Africa between the "liberal" capitalists and the "reactionary" capitalists is all about. It has nothing whatever to do with political morality. Fear of the working class is, as always, everywhere, the most powerful motivation in the capitalist mind.

Today Nelson Mandela and the ANC are the clearly-acknowledged leaders of the struggle against apartheid, and have borne the brunt of the suffering. They are entitled to the unstinted admiration and the unconditional support of every socialist. But to Marxists, the possibility of destroying capitalism in South Africa—which apartheid was designed to serve—lies not with the ANC's alliances of all classes and its belief in guerilla tactics but in the building of a movement in the factories and mines committed to using the economic power of the black working class for the revolutionary overthrow of the system which breeds apartheid.

Fifty years since the greatest frame-up of all — THE — MOSCOW TRIALS

FIFTY YEARS ago in August 1936, the Moscow show-trials took place. On trial were some of the greatest names of the Russian Revolution. Kamenev and Zinoviev, second only to Lenin and Trotsky, who had been leaders of the Soviet state since 1917 and life-long revolutionaries, were accused of trying to overthrow the state with the help of the Nazis! All informed observers knew that the charges were as untrue as they were bizarre, and yet the accused actually confessed to the crimes, which they knew would mean execution. How could this happen?

All sixteen of those on trial had devoted their whole lives to the revolutionary movement.

Zinoviev had been a member of the Bolshevik central committee since 1907 and on Lenin's insistence had been the first chairman of the Communist International.

Kamenev had been a Bolshevik since 1903—the very beginning.

The others had equally distinguished records as revolutionaries—they included Smirnov who had organised the 1917 Revolution in Eastern Russia, Rykov who had been a member of the Bolshevik central committee for almost 30 years and Karl Radek, the Polish revolutionary who had played a vital part in building the Communist International.

However, the real target of the trials, Trotsky, wasn't in the dock. Stalin had sent him into exile in 1928 after the political opposition inside Russia had been crushed.

But Trotsky had maintained a withering critique of Stalin's disastrous policies. Almost single-handed he kept alive the ideas of revolutionary socialism. Yet the irony was that in the Moscow Trials, Stalin ensured that everyone who stood in the dock confessed to being an agent of Trotsky—and not of revolutionary socialism—but of fascism!

When the Russian Revolution took place in 1917, it was the start of a revolutionary wave which swept Europe. Sick of the first World War, workers and soldiers revolted and set up revolutionary councils known by the Russian word "soviet".

Because peasant Russia was so backward, the Russian leaders knew they couldn't sustain workers' power without help from a revolutionary

Europe. When the revolution in Europe waned, they tried to hold power and industrialise soviet Russia hoping for help at some future date.

After Lenin's death in 1924, two main views emerged in the Bolshevik party. The Left Opposition, led by Trotsky, called for "Permanent Revolution" meaning a spreading of the world revolution most importantly to the West. This was to be done through the Communist Parties. This view represented the interests of the revolutionary working class, which after nearly a decade of sacrifice needed the material help of the advanced countries in order to maintain its power in a largely peasant country.

Opposed to this view was that part of the party led by Kamenev, Zinoviev and Stalin, which called for the building of "Socialism in One Country". This meant everything was subordinate to the survival of the ruling soviet regime. This suited the peasants and middle classes who were in the process of establishing their position in the ruling bureaucracy.

Stalin stayed in the background while Zinoviev and Kamenev did the work of defeating the Left Opposition. Once this was done, he turned on his previous allies and proceeded with his own plan. With paranoid ruthlessness, Stalin put into effect the Left Opposition's plan of industrialisation while continuing to wipe out anyone who was a threat to his power. He set wildly unrealistic targets for the pace of industrialisation, and when anything went wrong, he had innocent people tried as saboteurs.

The Moscow Trials were Stalin's way of saying to the ruling classes of the world and to the working class of Russia that the idea of world revolution was dead in Russia and the society that the Bolsheviks had tried to build in 1917 was destroyed.

Many who were tried were accused of being wreckers in league with Trotsky.

In all the trials the only evidence offered was confessions. They had been thought up by Stalin's secret police and the victims made to

rehearse them in his torture chambers.

The confessions were all lies and shot full of contradictions—but that didn't stop Communist Parties and their "fellow travellers" all over the world welcoming the trials and their verdicts.

Some supported the trials in a stupid "my party, right or wrong" way. Others believed that an alliance between Russia and western capitalist powers was the best way to defeat Hitler's Germany, and so were prepared to turn a blind eye.

No-one but Trotsky and his followers were willing to consider that the best way to defeat fascism was to advance socialist revolution. Most of them feared independent, working class action and found Stalin's new centrally-directed Russia far more acceptable than the workers' councils of 1917 which Trotsky still talked about.

Quite simply then, what Stalin was doing was drowning the Russian Revolution in blood. The Moscow Trials merely put the final seal on the counter-revolution that had begun a decade earlier.

The USSR is heir to the legacy of the Moscow show trials. In essence the bureaucratic class that controls the USSR now is little different from that which helped to destroy the old revolutionaries. Any dissent is crushed. Nowadays, show trials and forced labour camps are considered crude and instead dissidents are locked up in mental hospitals. Gorbachev's attempt to change the USSR's image by out-dressing Reagan only goes to prove that you can smile and smile and be a villain.

—JOHN STITT



NELSON MANDELA poses a serious dilemma for the South African government.



Stalin signs the death warrant

Fighting Ireland's moral majority

THE DIVORCE referendum in June was in many ways like a bolt of lightning. It sent a shock wave through those of us fighting for a secular, non-sectarian Ireland and it illuminated the political landscape within which we fight, allowing us to see just how strong the "moral majority" has grown and how ineffectual the liberals.

The Right's rampage is not new. It is just three years now since, in September 1983, the anti-abortion referendum placed in the Constitution of the 26 Counties the notion that the life of a fully grown, independent woman is equal to that of a fertilised egg. Since then, the Supreme Court has upheld the sacking of Eileen Flynn, a New Ross school teacher, for having a baby outside of marriage. Had she had an abortion—and kept quiet about it—her job would have been safe.

The tribunal which had been set up to investigate how Joanne Hayes and her family had confessed to a crime which they could not have committed ended up finding Joanne guilty of being a scarlet woman who had seduced an innocent married man and had an "illegitimate" child by him. She was said Justice Kevin Lynch, "lying through her teeth"; the Gardai—who had clearly harrassed the Hayes family and perjured themselves in a number of instances were just "gilding the lily".

And this state of affairs is not just in the "holy roman catholic

republic" of the 26 Counties. Ian Paisley's "Save Ulster from Sodomy campaign"—setup in the late 70s to stop the legalisation of homosexuality— sounds like a sick joke but was all too successful in whipping up anti-gay feeling in the Six Counties. Nor are unmarried pregnant school teachers secure in their jobs in the North; the plight of such women may not receive the publicity which Eileen Flynn's did but their dismissal is just as easily effected.

North and South, pregnant schoolgirls need not expect to finish their education unless they return to a different school when the tell-tale bump has gone.

REACTION

Sadly, such wide scale reaction is not unique to Ireland. All over the world, women's rights are being pushed back; in the USA it is now virtually impossible to get an abortion on Medicare (the health service equivalent) and millions of single parents and their children are living below the poverty line. Meanwhile abortion clinics are regularly bombed by right-wing groups. And the AIDS scare has been used to push many gays back into "the closet" since the media hype has tended to make gays somehow "responsible" for the disease.

Similarly in Britain, women have been the first to suffer from

cuts in health, social welfare, education and housing. These cuts combined with attacks on temporary and part-time workers (mainly women) have forced many women back into the home; homes they fought so hard to get out of.

While there has been no attempt recently to limit the British abortion law, it is now

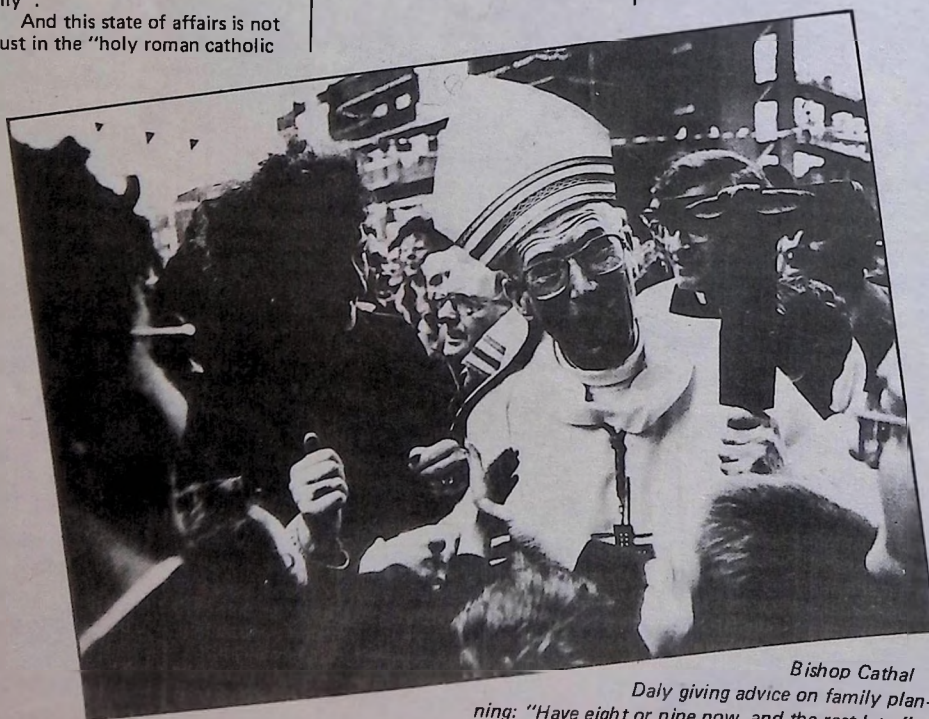
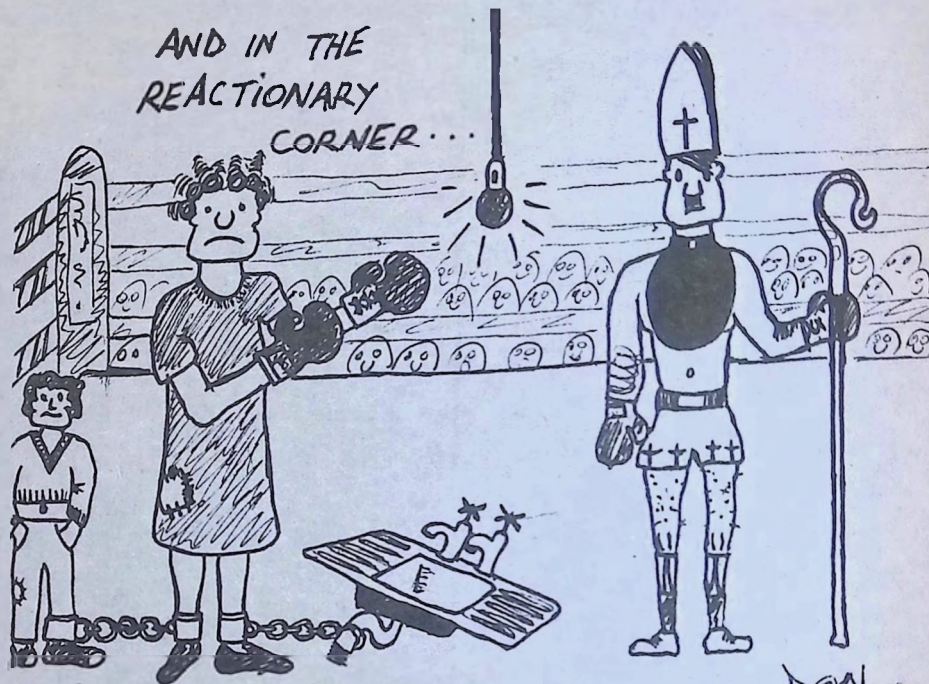
very difficult to get an abortion on the NHS. And although Victoria Gillick was unable to make it illegal for under 16-year olds to get contraceptives, so many family planning clinics have been closed by the cuts that the argument is a bit academic.

Small wonder that many look back to the days when rights were being won, not lost.

In the late 60s early 70s, capitalism was in boom and workers knew it. It was possible to leave one job and get another without any hassle. Wage increases were easily won and working and living conditions improved steadily. As a result, workers got a taste of power. There was no need then to go into detailed explanations about the potential power of the working class because everywhere you looked it was obvious—by the lack of electricity when power workers were on strike, by the regular loss of one type or other of goods or services, through one strike or other, for some demand or other.

At a time like that, it was both easy and necessary for the ruling class to allow change. Easy because it suited the needs of expanding industry to have more women available for work. Necessary because they feared that if they didn't allow ordered change, the working class might take things into their own hands.

But today things are very different. The world economy is in deep crisis, faced with one of the worst and longest slumps in



Bishop Cathal Daly giving advice on family planning: "Have eight or nine now, and the rest later".

the defeats being offered by the working class have made the liberals and reformers unable to win a major victory. Working class confidence has been broken back by the demands of the reformers to stop their demands. The function is to meet the demands of the ruling class and to promote palatable reforms to the class.

However, with the argument for the reformers have been a compromise, move to the right they was. Fitzgerald kept in mind about "a most reactive measure". Barrymore that divorce would "strengthen the family" whereas the Bishops that divorce not change the Church's in Irish society. Most divorce speeches are a practising Catholic woman...

BACKGROUN

Without the strength of the working class, the liberals showed every turn and moral with their Bishops reform for the kill. In seven might have been even ten years ago it was always accompanied demoralisation.

If we look at the working class, we see that the advances for the working class are universal. The defeat of the working class has always been the majority of the field day.

It is at times that the revolution that is most clearly seen in the "Revolutions" of the festivals of the ways. And so they have to be for women, for example, greater independence for women in the areas during the revolution. What we in Russia in 1917 best see the major defeat of the working class was linked to the Russian social backward under the feudal Czar. The Russian Orthodox

recent history. The boss class has gone on the offensive determined to break working class confidence, push down wages and axe jobs. Unfortunately the bosses have had some success in what they set out to do.

The result has been that all over the world as working class struggle has declined and as what few strikes there are seem to end time and time again in defeat, so too have women been pushed back into the home and hard-fought-for rights been lost.

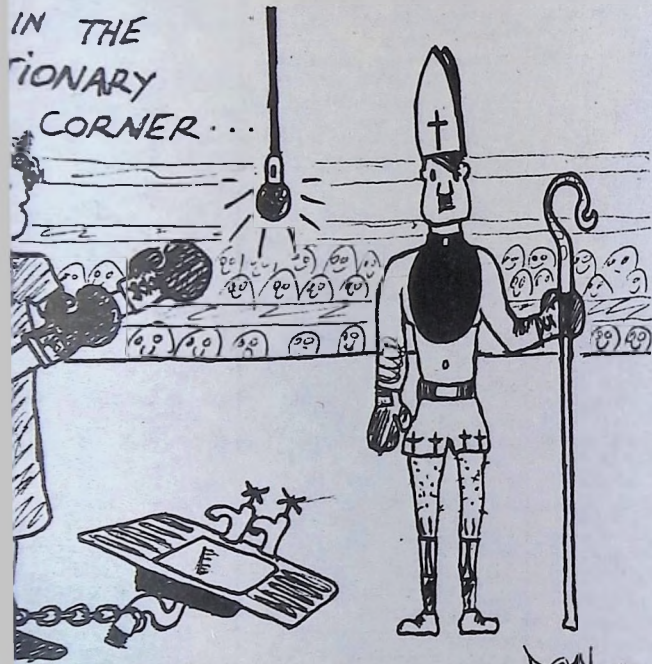
The reason for this is very simple: as working class people lose confidence in their own ability to fight and win, the ideas of the ruling class seem more credible. After all, if you think it's not possible to do anything about mass unemployment, low wages, bad working conditions, poor housing, health and safety at work—then why should it be possible to do anything about jobs for women, equal pay or safe contraception or abortion? And even if divorce were available, what difference would it make when couples can't afford to split up anyway?

With unemployment growing, many young women see marriage and children as a way of getting some kind of status and independence—accepting the idea that "a woman's place is in the home" instead of fighting for the jobs that ten years ago would have been regarded as their right.

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Ireland's majority

IN THE
TIONARY
CORNER...



the defeats being suffered by the working class have taken from the the liberals and reformers the ability to win any major reforms. Working class confidence is the back bone which allows liberal reformers to stand up and make their demands, since their main function is to modify the demands of the militant working class and to present more palatable reforms to the ruling class.

However, without the spectre of working class militancy as an argument for reform, liberal reformers have no backbone. Because their instinct is to compromise, they move quickly to the right themselves. Thus, the divorce debate was, Garrett Fitzgerald kept reminding us, about "a most restrictive measure". Barry Desmond claimed that divorce would "strengthen the family" while others reassured the Bishops that divorce would not change the Church's position in Irish society and most pro-divorce speeches began with "as a practising Catholic..." or "As a happily married man/woman..."

BACKBONE

Without the strength of their working class backbone, the liberals showed their weakness at every turn and the moral majority with their Bishop backers went in for the kill. Thus, a reform which might have been won seven or even ten years ago, was lost in the rapid move to the right which always accompanies working class demoralisation.

If we look at history, we can see that the interlinking of working class militancy with advances for the rights of women is universal. Similarly, we see that the defeat of the working class has always brought with it a wave of reaction in which the "moral majority" of the time have a field day.

It is at times of working class revolution that this relationship is most clearly seen. "Revolutions" said Lenin, "are the festivals of the oppressed". And so they have always proved to be for women. There were, for example, great strides forward for women in the anarchist-held areas during the Spanish revolution/Civil War. But it was in Russia in 1917 that we can best see the full extent to which the defeat of the "moral majority" is linked to working class victory.

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very difficult to get an abortion on the NHS. And although Victoria Gillick was unable to make it illegal for under 16-year olds to get contraceptives, so many family planning clinics have been closed by the cuts that the argument is a bit academic.

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the peasant nature of much of the country made it even more conservative. Yet, within weeks of the October revolution, divorce was introduced. Not limited divorce after years of separation but as the decree stated: "a marriage is to be dissolved when either both parties or one at least appeals for its dissolution". If the divorce were by mutual consent, it was granted on the spot. If only one person requested it, there was a brief court hearing but no contest was allowed and no "grounds" required.

Over the following months, homosexuality was legalised, the status of illegitimacy abolished, universal paid maternity introduced, workplace creches established and equal pay became a reality. In November 1920, the workers' state of Russia became the first country in the world to legalise abortion and it was decreed that abortion should be "performed freely and without any charge in Soviet hospitals". Free abortion on demand! In 1920 and in a country that had just three years before been one of the most oppressive in the world of women!

Unfortunately, the defeat of the working class always brings with it defeat for women's rights and so it was in Russia. Once Stalin had completed the counter-revolution and taken all control of society from the hands of the working class and into the hands of the emerging bureaucratic ruling class, they began to dismantle the fantastic advances of the revolution.

In 1934, homosexuality once again became a criminal offence, as it still is in Russia today. In 1936, abortion too was made illegal. In 1944, a new law made divorce almost impossible to get, the law that children born outside

of marriage did not have the same rights as the child of married parents was re-established and "motherhood medals" were introduced to encourage women to "fulfil their natural function" by having lots of children. So, tragically, the defeat of the working class meant also the end of the greatest advances ever made for sexual liberation and the emancipation of women.

It is clear then that the "moral majority" will be defeated in Ireland, as elsewhere, only when the working class regains its fighting confidence. But this does not mean that we should all sit back and do nothing until there's an upsurge in workers' struggles and victories. Of course not. What we need, as the marxist writer Gramsci said, is "pessimism of the intellect, optimism of the will". In other words, while we know in our intellects that we need a confident working class to be sure of winning, we must always be optimistic in fighting in the here and now for what we might win.

RIGHTS

We should organise now in our unions, for example, to ensure that gay workers will have the full backing of the trade union movement should the "moral majority" do what they have threatened and try to put an anti-gay rights clause in the Constitution.

We must argue for a clear pro-choice stand against SPUC's attempts to stop the Well Woman and Open Line from providing non-directive pregnancy counselling and abortion referral. The case will be hitting the headlines again soon as the High Court case is to be heard at the start of October. Anyone who is committed to real liberation for

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It must be said however, that any advances that we do win can be taken away again when it suits the ruling class. What we need is a new kind of society where everyone, women and men, gay or straight, can choose what kind of life they want to lead, whether they want children, who they want to have sex with and who they want to live with. A society which the working class controls, in which we make the decisions.

In the end, real women's liberation, real sexual liberation, requires more than a fighting confident working class. It needs a workers' revolution to smash the rotten system that spawns and encourages right-wing sexist ideas and to replace it with a society where the majority class and not the "moral majority" rules.

GORETTI HORGAN

Teach yourself MARXISM

Soul food?

WHEN THE Catholic Church opposed the divorce referendum, it was once more proving itself to be a staunch ally of the Right and an enemy of the left. Throughout the world, in fact, religious leaders have consistently been on the side of reaction.

In this country, the Catholic Church has a long tradition of condemning any fightback against oppression and exploitation. Since 1798, at the time of the United Irishmen—when the majority of bishops and clergy urged the people to submit to foreign rule rather than fight against the oppressor—through their condemnation of the Fenians and the IRB, to their taking the pro-treaty side in the Civil War right down to today, the Church has always condemned republican military campaigns.

Similarly, from the days of Fr. Kane's sermons against James Connolly, through its "red menace" condemnation of Saor Eire and its flirtation with fascism and support for Franco in the 30s and its vicious anti-communism in the 40s, down to today when Catholic organisations like Opus Dei and the Knights of Columbanus provide an "old boy" network for wealthy businessmen, the Church has always stayed firmly on the side of the rich and powerful.

The ideas which they preach have proved very useful in preserving the power and wealth of the privileged classes. If the oppressed classes believe that there is a heaven awaiting them when they die, they are less likely to try and change their conditions here on earth.

Belief in God, and in the after-life, stems from despair on the part of the oppressed. As Karl Marx put it: "Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world and the soul of soulless circumstances. It is the opium of the People".

In other words, because they can see no way of changing things, the oppressed look to a supreme being for salvation.

But having explained the attraction of religion should we then ignore the question of atheism? Or should we openly discuss our position, as marxists, on the question of the afterlife?

James Connolly's Socialist Party of Ireland prohibited the discussion of religious beliefs within the party. Connolly wrote: "They as a party neither affirm or deny those things, but leave it to the individual conscience of each member to determine what beliefs on such questions they should hold". Connolly was wrong on this question.

DISCUSSED

In Russia, Lenin and the Bolshevik Party took a different view. If the question of religious beliefs were raised in the Party it was discussed openly. Lenin's position was correct because political clarity depended on an open discussion of *all* questions that are raised.

It was important to argue the question of whether or not a god exists because there are, in fact, contradictions between Marxism and any religion.

Marxists reject the idea that the Earth was made by God in seven days. Instead we opt for the

scientific version of events. We are Darwinists. Instead of believing that we are all descended from Adam and Eve we adhere to Darwin's Theory of Evolution, which holds that human beings are descended from early ape-like creatures. The brain power, which human beings possess, was not god-given but developed out of material necessity.

But does this mean the revolutionary organisations only allow atheists to join? Are church-goers automatically excluded from the Socialist Workers Movement?

The answer to both questions is no. We recruit on the basis of certain political ideas. These are outlined in the "What We Stand For" column of Socialist Worker. The central idea is that "the emancipation of the working class is the act of the working class". All our theories follow from this.

Anyone who agrees with these basic ideas is welcome to join the SWM. We do not demand that you sign a pledge saying, "I do not believe in God or the afterlife".

However, we do not shy away from discussing religion or the reactionary influence of the Church. If the question of religious beliefs is raised we answer the arguments in a comradely fashion.

OVERTHROW

Finally, we must ask whether the hold which religion seems to have on workers mean that they will never overthrow the system?

In order to answer this, we must go back to the question of where religious beliefs come from in the first place.

In earlier class societies, the oppressed classes—from the ancient slaves to the medieval serfs and peasants—did not have the power to run society for themselves. Scarcity meant that class rule by a tiny minority was inevitable. The masses looked to heaven for salvation and saw no earthly way out.

Capitalism, however, created vast amounts of wealth which made class society unnecessary. It also created its own gravedigger, the working class, with the power to usher in a truly equal society.

When workers challenge the system—as they have done in every decade for over a hundred years—their religious ideas need not hold them back. And just as other ideas begin to change in struggle, so belief in the spiritual world may also be challenged.

This challenge is not, of course, automatic. In any situation where working class power is on the agenda a revolutionary party is required to argue with workers the need to break with the old ideas that encourage acceptance of their lot. In Poland, the Church *did* act as a brake on the Solidarity movement. In a time of upheaval here in Ireland it would try to do the same. That's why we need here and now to build an organisation which is willing to challenge not just the more unpopular ideas of religion but the very idea of religion itself.

Under socialism, religious ideas will eventually wither away. By definition, if religion is "the cry of the oppressed", then a socialist society, free from oppression, will make religion a thing of the past.

—DAVE McDONAGH



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GORETTI HORGAN

ANALYSIS

Building the left today

IN THE 1960s, Bob Dylan wrote a song called "The Times they are a Changin'". It summed up a mood of rebellion and confidence. The title could still fit today but the message is well out of place.

Across the world, it is right wing ideas that are on the rise. The issues that dominate politics are law-and-order, traditional values and the need for discipline and "security". It is vital that socialists have a clear understanding of the nature of this period. Without it they can easily swing like manic-depressives. They see great advances where there are none. Then overcome by a mood of defeat and pessimism, they miss the significance of little struggles. Above all, where defeats do occur, they can slip into a feeling of despair.

This has already begun to happen in Ireland. In the aftermath of the divorce campaign, many of those on the liberal-left talk of Ireland as a "doomed, priest-ridden society". This is an extremely pessimistic view.

If you believe that the Irish are either instinctively religious or hopelessly "indoctrinated" by Church control of the education system—then there is nothing that can be done.

Like the rulers of Eastern Europe confronted by workers' opposition, they regard themselves as excellent socialists but wish they could "elect a better population".

The many who sink into pessimism now, were often the ones who argued that divorce would "inevitably" come to Ireland—with or without any advance for the Left.

How then do we characterise and explain the times we are living in?

Over the past few years the Socialist Workers Movement argued that the crucial thing to understand was the downturn in working class struggles. By this we meant a lack of confidence to fight on the shop-floor and a growing

acceptance of management's authority. This pattern has developed across most of the advanced western countries since the mid-seventies but there are a number of distinct features in Ireland.

For one thing, the downturn occurred later in Ireland. The mini-boom in the South in the seventies led to a growth in confidence among workers. Despite the restrictions of the National Wage Agreements, Southern Ireland showed an increase in strikes—particularly unofficial strikes—in contrast to a decline in other countries. But the growth in militancy was not accompanied by any break with reformist politics.

Workers did come into conflict with the trade union bureaucracy—but did not break from their politics.

As a result, when recession hit the South after 1979 workers were unprepared.

The logic of reformist politics was to accept the need for sacrifice. The methods of struggle learnt in the seventies of short sectional strikes were no longer on. For a brief period there was an explosion of militancy of a more advanced type that coincided with the failure of the ruling class to form a stable government.

Examples abound—Clondalkin paper mill workers sitting in to demand nationalisation; Ruairi Quinn had to warn other workers that sit-ins would mean the loss of IDA support in finding buyers for redundant workplaces; Waterford Glass workers touring the country to win solidarity for their strikes; the post office workers threatening political strikes in defence of a fellow worker threatened with jail for non-payment of ground rent. Most significantly, tens of thousands of Southern workers also went on political strikes to support the H Block prisoners.

These struggles developed spontaneously—there was no organisation with a base in the working class that could give a decisive lead and draw out

the political lessons. But spontaneous militancy was no match for the harsh realities of capitalism in deep recession. Since 1982, there has been a significant downturn in working class struggle. The strike figures have dropped off. Increasingly workers are forced back onto the defensive. The issues that dominate strikes today are sackings and victimisations.

What is the connection between these defeats and the drift to the right?

The vast majority of workers learn from their experience rather than from preaching or propaganda. Over the last period the experience has been one of defeat. It has been that you must accept and accept. Because no real challenge seems possible, the system looks all-powerful.

In this situation, ideas which stress the power of the workers to change the world do not seem to make sense. The experience of workers has been rather that all the old nonsense about the need to accept authority and to buckle under seem to fit the bill, and the compensation for all this misery is to be found in right wing Catholicism with its stress on the "dignity" of accepting your lot.

One issue that demonstrates the shift to the right in Ireland and its connection with the decline on working class confidence is that of tax. More than 40% of PAYE tax payers pay over the standard rate of tax in Southern Ireland. This is far higher in proportion than most other countries. The only explanation is that the boss class in this country are among the most pampered in the world when it comes to tax breaks.

Now the tax issue was first taken up by the trade unions. Despite some confusion in the politics—blaming all farmers—the tax campaigns brought with it an awareness of the need for independent working class politics. It wasn't just a Dublin phenomenon. Across the country, trades councils organised demonstrations in smaller towns. It symbolised the arrival of the Southern working class and its break from the rural heartlands.

But the movement was defeated mainly because the ICTU leaders accepted Barry Desmond's claim that "You don't have political strikes in a parliamentary democracy".

Now three years later the tax issue has changed. The union leaders still make the odd speech on the issue but by and large it has become the mobilising slogan of the Right.

If you want tax reform, cut the public sector, scream the Progressive Democrats. Divorce puts more people on social security and you end up



Corporation workers strike—the exception in this period.

with more taxes, scream the bishops. And it is these arguments that get far more of a hearing than the very modest "proposals" that Peter Cassells and the ICTU research department continue to make.

The tax issue shows the real link between working class defeats and the rise of the right wing ideas. The downturn analysis needs however to be applied flexibly if it is to make sense. There are two particular qualifications that need to be put.

Firstly, the North, there is not much point talking of a downturn when the working class have been permanently divided and weakened. There are some similar factors at work. The hunger strike of 1980/81 was the biggest mobilisation against the Northern state. But it ended in defeat. The result was a growth in votes for Sinn Fein and a passivity on the part of the nationalists after the struggle. This passivity is evident today in the fall-off in numbers on demonstrations and the decline in campaigns to the small numbers of activists.

This passivity has also handed the initiative back to the ruling classes in Britain and Ireland. The Anglo-Irish agreement is a product of their growing confidence to try and master events. One of the results has been a switch (approx 10%) of Sinn Fein voters back to the SDLP and a new confidence for constitutional nationalists in the South. How long this will last however, we cannot predict.

Secondly, the downturn analysis should not lead to an exaggeration of the strength of the Right. They also have their problems. One of their major weaknesses has been a failure to develop an open Tory style government that is

necessary for the tough battles ahead. In their different ways Fianna Fail and Fine Gael, are from a bosses' point of view, hamstrung by a tradition of populist and coalition politics. The emergence of the Progressive Democrats is a major advance but is not enough.

Similarly, although the Bishops won a decisive victory in the divorce referendum, they also carry a cost. They were forced to give up the pretence of being above politics and get into some very material scares about the consequences of divorce. That has meant that over one third of Irish Catholics have been thrown into bitter conflict with their church.

Thus, although the Right are on the rise in Ireland and are increasing in confidence they have not managed to solve their own problems or win the battle for ideas entirely. The downturn analysis is important then in showing how the drift to the right has happened due to specific historical conditions. It shows that the key to change in society lies in the struggles of the working class. Most importantly it offers socialists a clear guide to the immediate tasks ahead.

Socialists have always been a minority until the moment of revolution. Sometimes, as in Ireland, a tiny minority. They cannot influence whether or not the working class fights. That is the result of changes in the economic condition or the type of political crises that develop. What socialists can do, is give a lead and draw political lessons, once workers have begun to fight. But to do that they need to have built their organisations to a certain size in numbers and experience.

The most important task facing socialists in Ireland is the building of that Marxist


organisation in conditions of working class defeat. To do that, we have to draw a very old distinction in the ways socialists operate—between agitation and propaganda. "Agitation" means putting one or two simple ideas to great numbers of workers. Thus, in strikes the simple slogans socialists raise are about mass pickets or solidarity action. By showing the relevance of those ideas to winning the fight, socialists can influence large numbers of workers. However, this is not the main way to build a Marxist party in Ireland today. The experience of defeats has made it more difficult to win a hearing for ideas that argue for solidarity and a break from the politics of the union bureaucracy.

The other method of socialists operating has been through "propaganda"

By that we mean putting many ideas to few people. It means convincing the ones and twos of the full range of revolutionary politics. To do that it is necessary to stress Marxist educationals, public meetings, and debates on our ideas.

Over the next period the SWM is committed to building amidst the downturn on this basis. Our paper will carry a more detailed analysis on a whole range of politics than any other on the Irish left. Over the country where we have branches, we will be active in holding public meetings to carry socialist arguments on everything from Reagan's terrorism to the Anglo-Irish Agreement. With Marxism in Ireland, we aim to pull together socialists to a weekend of debate and discussion on a Marxist analysis of Ireland today. It is on that basis that we ask those who support our politics to join us.

—KIERAN ALLEN



JOIN US!

I would like more details about the Socialist Workers Movement

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ADDRESS

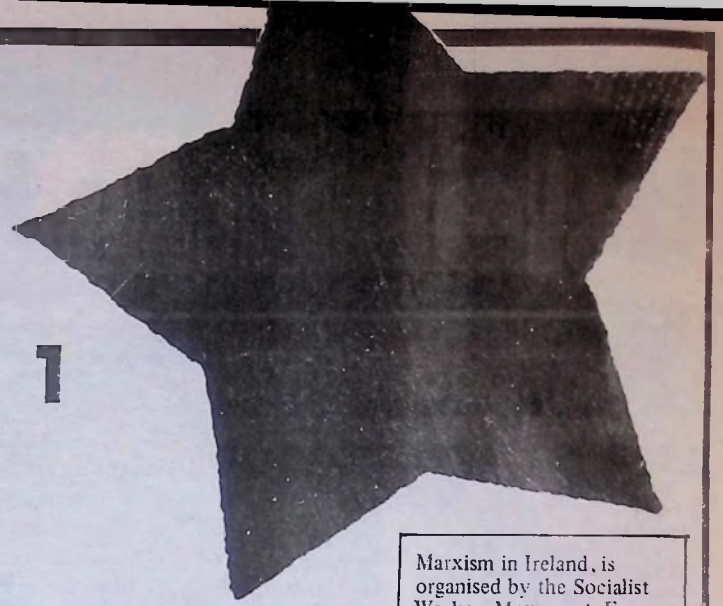
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Send to SWM, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8.

MARXISM in Ireland 86

SEPT. 26, 27, 28.

60 ECCLES ST, DUBLIN 1



Marxism in Ireland, is organised by the Socialist Workers Movement. For information or tickets please send back coupon below.

Information

A full weekend ticket costs £6 (£4 unwaged) paid in advance.

Daily tickets are available subject to space on Friday £2 / £1
Saturday £3 / £2
Sunday £3 / £2

A creche is available. Please send details of requirements in advance.

Accommodation will be provided, if necessary (inclusive of cost)

Snacks and light meals will be available at reasonable cost.

Admission covers entry to entertainment on both Friday and Saturday night.

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Enclosed is £ registration fee for Marxism in Ireland 86
Cheques or Postal Orders made payable to Socialist Worker

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Will you be requiring accommodation?

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SEND TO MARXISM IN IRELAND 86

C/O SWM P.O. Box 1648, James's St, Dublin 8.

Friday night

DEBATE

- ★ "THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT AND THE LESSONS FOR THE LEFT IN IRELAND TODAY"

Speakers: Bernadette McAliskey
Eamonn McCann



Sat night

- ★ SOUTH AFRICA: THE ROAD TO REVOLUTION

Alex Callinicos

The apartheid regime must go. That is clear to all but Botha's cronies. Alex Callinicos, himself originally from Zimbabwe looks at the way forward for black South Africans.



Saturday

- ★ The Spanish Civil War
Willie Cumming



★ The Spanish Civil War—50 years later.

- ★ Marxism and Women's Liberation
Marnie Holborow



Sunday

- ★ The Politics of Rock
Eamonn McCann

Can rock music help to change the world or are popular groups automatically taken over by the music business?



OTHER SUNDAY MEETINGS

- ★ The Balance of class forces in Ireland today
Kieran Allen

- ★ Peadar O'Donnell and the Republican Congress
Paul O'Brien

- ★ What is Trotskyism
Dermot Byrne

- ★ The Theory of State Capitalism
Mike Gonzalez

- ★ Jim Larkin
Mary Ryder

- ★ LENIN AND THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY
Alex Callinicos

Author of "The Revolutionary Road to Socialism" and the "Revolutionary Ideas of Karl Marx", Alex Callinicos explains why a revolutionary party like that of the Bolsheviks is needed if the working class is to take power.



OTHER SATURDAY MEETINGS

- ★ From Wolfe Tone to Gerry Adams: the politics of Republicanism.
Kieran Allen

- ★ Marxist theories of Art
Joe O'Byrne

- ★ Fighting Ireland's Moral Majority
Goretti Horgan

- ★ Marx and Materialism
Kevin Wingfield

- ★ Nicaragua under siege
Mike Gonzalez (author of Nicaragua: Revolution under Siege)

- ★ Does Human Nature mean we won't get a classless society?
Mary Smith

As the Contras get yet more aid from Reagan's America, Mike Gonzalez, a frequent visitor to Central America, examines the state of the revolution in Nicaragua.



REVIEWS

Has Christy's heart moved Right?

SOMETHING GOOD is happening to the folk scene in Dublin. Over the last few years, musicians that at one time would have been considered on the traditional end of Irish music have moved towards new styles like rock or country music. Paul Brady and Mick Hanly are two examples of the best of this.

It would have been hard ten years ago to hear country music or indeed American folk music played with polish and style at a Dublin venue. Now that has changed. Rusty Old Halo, the Sackville String Band, The Fleadh Cowboys, the Pogues and others have introduced people to music that had been pushed out of Dublin venues by the "pure" traditional fans.

TRADITION

Christy Moore is another traditional folk singer and musician that has developed in other directions. His music has changed considerably since the days of Planxty. Over the years Christy Moore grasped the nettle of trying to make Irish folk music reflect the reality of exploitation and oppression in society. The songs of Moving Hearts were the high point of that attempt. Music in itself doesn't change anything. But music is part of our lives and if somebody somewhere starts writing and singing about oppression and exploitation under capitalism—it can only do some good.

Christy Moore as a solo performer has probably done more than any other Irish artist to introduce songs which dealt with the reality of life under capitalism. He did not become a "protest singer", and contemplate his belly button as Dylan had done in America in the 60s. The tradition which influenced Christy Moore was a very rich tradition which originated in America with Cisco Huston and Woody Guthrie. A style continued by Phil Ochs, John Paine, and Jim Page who wrote "Landlord" and "Hiroshima Nagasaki".

In the 30s and 40s this tradition was outward looking and radical. The songs of Joe Hill and later Woody Guthrie reflected the class struggle and urged workers to fight for better wages and conditions particularly through the unions.

STARDUST

Many of Moore's songs show the influence of this tradition. "They never came home" is close to Guthrie's "1913 Massacre", "Sacco and Vanzetti" which Moore took from Guthrie's album is dedicated to the two anarchists murdered by the American state; and of course Moore has revived the talking Blues style of Guthrie.

The mixture of Irish and American worked well for Christy Moore. It was a breath of fresh air compared to the inward looking "pure" traditional music of the three note Rebel Ballad groups, which cheered at "A nation once again" in the Wexford Inn.



Christy Moore and the Wicklow boy

Christy Moore was saying something and he came down clearly on the left. In "Ordinary Man" for example, unemployment was mentioned for the first time in the long history of Irish folk music. In "They never came home" his sympathy was clearly on the side of the Stardust victims and their relatives, and against the owners of the nightclub who had chained the doors for fear of working class kids bunking in. In the Reagan song he made it clear he didn't want Reagan or respect what Reagan stood for. There were lots more of course like the "Moving on song" and "Ballad of Tim Evans" which showed the influence of Ewan McColl and Peggy Seegar.

H BLOCKS

Christy Moore holds an audience that is very mixed. There are many of his audience who respected his stand on the hunger strikes in the H-Blocks. Moore wrote "90 miles from Dublin Town" to the tune of "Remember lad he's still your dad". He wrote "The Wicklow Boy" and supported Nicky Kelly.

A large bulk of his audience viewed Christy Moore as a Republican and liked him because of his Republican views.

The vast bulk of his audience however simply considered him a very good Ballad singer. Until recently there was a third, very small section in his audience. There were many on the left of Irish politics who identified strongly with those of Moore's songs which commented on capitalist society, and protested at injustice and oppression North and South. This small section of his audience liked Christy Moore not only because he could sing the Galtee Mountain Boy or Little Musgrave brilliantly, but also for the fact he seemed to hold principles which supported the oppressed and exploited in this society.

Now, however, Christy Moore has undoubtedly lost this minority. The reason of course was Self Aid. Organised by the middle class do-gooders, it was one of the greatest ideological insults to the unemployed

audience for him to worry about.

To remain Ireland's number one ballad singer, it was necessary to be seen supporting Self Aid and disregard the minority who were outside the gates protesting. Over a short period of time Christy had moved to the right, and placed his popularity as a singer way above whatever sentiments he may have expressed in his more radical songs.

CONTRADICTION

That was always a contradiction for Moore, and his songs although reflecting the plight of sections of the oppressed under the system never called on anybody to fight and try to win. Christy had taken part of the Guthrie tradition of the 30s and 40s, but he refined it and did away with its call on workers to fight. "Ordinary Man" for example sees the worker as a victim and nothing else, and thus could get a huge cheer at the Self Aid gig.

Moore didn't write songs in support of workers in struggle, and thus only took a small part of the Guthrie tradition. Every major strike over the last few years has been hammered by the media. A song in support of the Teachers strike, or the Corporation workers urging them to fight and win simply would not fit in well with the likes of Gay Byrne on the Late Late Show. This may seem a little harsh, but the folk tradition which influenced Christy Moore needs to be understood to see the difference between his way of seeing the oppressed as victims who are to be pitied, and Guthrie's way of seeing the oppressed as capable of fighting.

One has to put his support for Self Aid in context. Most artists and bands claim to be non-political. It was no surprise to see Rory Gallagher or Brush Shields supporting Self Aid, or for that matter Bono of U2. At least the acted very much as expected. Christy Moore was a different kettle of fish.

Doing the Self Aid gig and his statement on the Late Late Show that he would "never sing a song which hurt anybody" (sic)—including the right wing and their moving statues—came to many of us as a bit of a shock. Some fans even hoped that he didn't know what he was doing. Perhaps he signed up for Self Aid and then couldn't get out of it. It became clear however that Christy did know what he was doing. Unlike Paul Clery and the Partisans, he refused to pull out and continued to defend the farce.

SELF AID

The audience that would have respected him for coming out against Self Aid was simply too small.

To go along with the idea that Self Aid was a good thing was plainly Christy Moore's last bet. It was the last bet in holding onto the bulk of his audience who simply consider Christy a good ballad singer who mixes in a bit of politics a bit too much. The bulk of his Republican following would forget about his support for Sir Bob's pals after a few weeks and put up the requests for "Boys of Mullabawn" or "The Wicklow Boy" as usual. The left wingers who would never forgive him was simply too small a part of Christy's

My last union greetings I send;
I'll finish the job that you started
I hope to see you again.
At home here and over the ocean
While the fire bombs of hate
burst around,
My good union brothers and
sisters
Were stoned just like dogs on the
ground.
But I'll fight, I'll fight for the
workers

In "Talking Constitution"
he exposes the sham
democracy of class society.
I stood spraddle legged and
watched the cops
Bust up the workers by the old
hockshop.
Men amakin' speeches got slugged
all around.

I said what about the Constitution.
He said I'll constitution you, you
god damned red.

Then he hit me with his club on
the back of my neck,

This was Guthrie's tradition
that has had a huge influence
on hundreds of songwriters.

While Guthrie used it to express
liberal sentiments about war
and individual liberty.
Christy Moore took it up in a

much milder form as a solo
artist, but has departed from
even the diluted version. He
has thus shifted very much to
the right, and his support for
the insult to 250,000
unemployed people showed
just how fragile his politics
were to begin with.

Moore himself has said that
his politics are very much
those of Sean McBride.
Without doubt McBride would
identify with songs about civil
rights, the oppressed Irish
nation, nuclear power and
even songs in support of
Republican Spain. However
songs which urge workers to
fight and raise their living
standards, to protect their
unions and fight like the Corpo
workers did in Moore Street a
few months ago would hardly
get a spin on McBride's turn-
table.

If Christy Moore likes
McBride so much, I'm sure
McBride has a soft spot for
Christy. After all, Christy will
never really challenge the
system by writing songs like
Guthrie did. Self Aid proved
that beyond doubt.

—DERMOT BYRNE

POLAND

Days of hope

THE NIGHT of the 13th
December 1981 saw the
destruction of one of the most
noblest and potentially most
effective workers' movement
the world has ever seen.
Solidarnosc: the world-historic
nature of this crime against
workers' power accentuated
by the use of a pseudo-Marxist
terminology used to justify it.

In "Festival of the
Oppressed" Colin Barker
depicts and analyses the rapid
"flourishing of Solidarity"
and its untimely defeat at the
hands of the worst hypocrites
ever to besmirch a great ideal
with their inconsistent actions.
This is not one of those "if
only you had" books which
complacently jibe at the
"mistakes" of beaten heroes.
It is one of those "we'll
squeeze them again—and
chuck them out altogether"
books which are
prepared to learn from any
experience—good or bad—
of the working class.

State Capitalist Poland is a
heaven for conforming
bureaucrats, providing them
with top positions through the
"nomenklatura" system and
continued privileges even
should a popular revolt tip
certain of them from their
seats of power. The periodic
price rises and the sacrifice of
consumer goods to arms and
machinery have made life
rather different for the
majority of Poles. Thus
popular upheavals are not new
to Poland, nor are the
retaliatory actions of the
regime. A new departure was
the establishment of a
dissident intellectuals'
Committee for the Defence of
Workers (KOR) in 1976. KOR
was instrumental in
generalising and sustaining the
strikes which followed
proposed price increases in
July 1980.

Barker shows how a small
but organised KOR group
helped develop a minor
incident at the Lenin ship-

Dear Comrades I write my letter,

yards in Gdansk into a mass
strike covering the whole city,
coordinated by an
Enterprise Strike Committee,
MKS and eventually spreading
to 4,000 enterprises through-
out Poland. Such a large scale
organised movement forced
the regime to agree on 31st
August to the "21 points" put
forward by the workers, which
covered political as well as
economic demands. The
agreement allowed for, and a
meeting of delegates saw to,
the establishment of the
independent union Solidarity,
whose membership rose to
nearly 10 million out of a
workforce of 12 million.

Soon, however all those
whom the workers considered
their "leaders" were
counselling restraint for fear
of the Russian Red Army,
whether they were union
leaders, KOR "experts" or
church representatives. In an
open-minded generous chapter
on the church Colin Barker
describes how it has quite
rightly opposed the most
brutal aspects of State
Capitalism in the past, but
how it pushed for compromise
between union and state when
their interests were
diametrically opposed and one
had to defeat the other or lose
everything.

The efforts of the working
class had one logical conclusion
—the seizing of state power.
By denying this their "leaders"
denied the raison d'être of a
combative workers' movement
where state power belongs to
another class. Thus Solidarity
never realised its true essence,
but rather was crushed by a
ruling class which grasped
only too clearly its class
perspectives.

To say, as Barker does, that
the situation demanded an
avowedly revolutionary
tendency, is not arrogance but
an understanding which
springs from the hard-learned
lessons of the class.

—JOSHUA CLARKE

Festival of the Oppressed, Colin Barker, Bookmarks
From SWM £4.50 PO Box 1648, James St. Dublin 1

SOGAT complies with sympathy ban

THE BRITISH print unions dispute at Wapping in London is now in its eighth month. The print workers have shown amazing resilience in the face of Murdoch's empire.

News International's friends—the rich, privileged judges—have dished out sequestration orders and picketing restrictions on the print worker's union, SOGAT.

Two weeks ago, when the High Court restricted picketing to six people at News International premises, the SOGAT leadership responded by sending out instructions to union officials and officers on how to comply with the ruling.

That is little less than a disgrace.

The instructions state that 'pickets must not try to persuade those working in the plant [Wapping] to cease working.' It continues, 'Only people with a direct interest in the dispute should attend on the demonstrations and marches. Other groups and individuals not connected with the dispute should be asked to leave the march or demonstration straight away.'

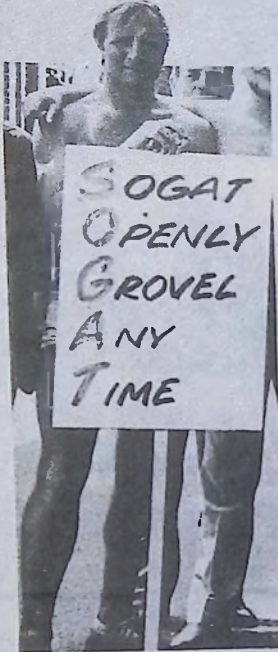
Moreover, Brenda Dean, general secretary of SOGAT, tells printworkers, that 'if they act in a manner inconsistent with the orders they may personally be in contempt of court and liable accordingly.'

The SOGAT leadership wants to avoid sequestration of its funds, this means total compliance with the law. To it this is more

important than winning the dispute.

The Tories have shackled the trade union leaders. In turn it has meant an unwillingness on their behalf to lead workers who want to fight back.

Still every week thousands of sacked printworkers and supporters demonstrate their anger at Murdoch's open hostility to worker's organisation and rights.



To the union leadership's shame, they do not reflect that will to fight.

Brenda Dean has stamped on any action that could mean a successful conclusion to the strike. She and her supporters have restricted rank and file action by printworkers. They have refused to spread the action to Fleet Street, apart from token activities.

Their strategy of 'new realism' has led them to open compliance with their attackers. It is a strategy which means that the determination that rank and file print workers show in fighting back is never translated into a strategy that can win.

ORGANISE NOW!

PRINT WORKERS in Dublin need to learn the lessons of Wapping if they want to avoid a repeat here. Both the Independent and Press groups of newspapers have declared their intention of pressing ahead with the introduction of full new technology.

Irish Independent owner Tony O'Reilly has openly declared his admiration for the Wapping operation and would clearly like to use Murdoch's tactics of dividing the workers in order to conquer.

That is why print workers in the Press and Independent must organise now to ensure no redundancies.

If that fight is to be won, there must be no separate union negotiations with management. NUJ, NGA and Sogat must negotiate together. And the rank and file of all three unions must be vigilant against the compromise and sell-outs of the union leaders.

WAPPING SUPPORT COMMITTEE FILM FESTIVAL

Friday, Saturday and Sunday 12, 13, and 14 September
Films include: Harlan County USA; Blue Collar; Norma Rae; State of Siege; Man of Marble.

Plus the Irish premiere of Portrait of Nelson Mandela

ACADEMY CINEMA, Pearse Street, Dublin 2
£2.50 per film. Season ticket £12.50. Available from: NUJ Office, Liberty Hall, Dublin 2.



SOGAT boss, Brenda Dean

WHAT WE STAND FOR

The Socialist Workers Movement is a revolutionary socialist organisation that fights for a workers' republic and International socialism. The system under which we live, capitalism, is based on production for profit—not for human need. It leads to poverty and war; racism and sexism. It is a system that can only be destroyed by the class which creates all the wealth—the working class.

REVOLUTION NOT REFORM
Capitalism cannot be patched up or reformed—it must be overthrown. That cannot be achieved through parliament as the Workers Party and the Labour Party argue. The real power in this society lies in the boardroom of big business. The structures of the present parliament, courts, army and police are designed to protect the interests of the ruling class against the workers. At most parliament can be used for propaganda against the system—it cannot be the instrument by which workers destroy the power of the rich. We therefore stand for a workers' revolution which produces a different and more democratic society—one based on councils of delegates from workplaces and areas who are democratically elected answerable to assemblies and subject to recall at any time.

NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR MOSCOW
That kind of socialism does not exist anywhere today. Workers have no control over countries like Russia, China or Poland. They are exploited by a state capitalist class. A workers revolution is required in those countries too.

AGAINST PARTITION
The six county Orange state is propped up by British imperialism. That state divides the working class by the guarantee of marginal privileges in housing and jobs to Loyalist workers. The struggle of Catholic workers to rid themselves of sectarianism and bigotry can only succeed by smashing that state. The slow task of building working class unity against imperialism must be begun. However imperialism must be fought in the here and now and we support all forces engaged in that struggle regardless of our differences of programme.

We stand for:
The immediate withdrawal of the British Army
The disbandment of the RUC and UDR
No to extradition and collaboration on border security

Connolly wrote that partition would bring a carnival of reaction. He was absolutely right. Irish workers confront two reactionary states. The Southern ruling class have no longer any fundamental conflict of interest with imperialism. They have become junior players in the world capitalist system. Their state props up partition—despite their occasional nationalist rhetoric.

The 'national question' will only be solved in the course of mass working class struggle against both states. Republicanism, by limiting the struggle to nationalist goals, by appealing to all classes in Irish society, can never defeat imperialism. Only a revolutionary socialist organisation that fights openly for the Workers' Republic can unite sections of the working class who have nothing to gain from a bourgeois Eire Nua.

AGAINST ALL OPPRESSION
Revolutionaries oppose all forms of oppression that divide and weaken the working class.
We are for real social, economic and political equality for women.

We are for an end to discrimination against homosexuals.
We stand for full separation of the church and state.
We stand for secular control of the hospitals and the schools.

THE UNIONS
Today the trade union movement is dominated by a caste of bureaucrats whose principal aim is to make their compromises with the system. They have destroyed solidarity between workers by the two tier picket system. They have failed to lead any fight over tax, wage cuts and unemployment.
We stand for:

- 100 percent trade unionism
- A 35 hour week to reduce unemployment
- The election of all union officials, subject to recall
- Against redundancies. We say: occupy to demand nationalisation under workers' control
- Full independence of the unions from the state. No reliance on the Labour Courts or the arbitration schemes in the public sector

We fight for the building of a national rank and file movement that links together the best militants to provide an alternative leadership to the trade union bureaucrats.
We fight for the formation of Right to Work committees that link the unemployed to the power of the trade union movement.

THE PARTY
To achieve socialism the most class conscious sections of the working class have to be organised into a revolutionary socialist party. The SWM aims to build such a party around its activity in the working class movement. It stands in the tradition of Marx, Lenin, Trotsky and Connolly. We urge all those who agree with our policies to come in and join the SWM.

GARDA PAIN IN NECK TO BALLINA STRIKERS

GARDAI TRYING to stop effective picketing have put strikers in hospital in Ballina Co. Mayo.

Twenty four workers, members of the ITGWU have been on official strike at the Belco factory there. The strike is principally for better wages—workers are paid £40.00 a week for a forty hour week!

The strikers have been pretty militant, standing in front of scab trucks to prevent them taking loads out of the factory, which makes plastic balls and traffic cones.

Management, however, called in the police to protect the scabs leading to skirmishes on the picket line.
The first worker was

injured in the confrontations on August 12th but was released from hospital the following day. On Friday 15th however, Joan Rafter received a neck injury when the Gardaí again tried to prevent the pickets stopping the scabs. She was brought to Castlebar General Hospital and was still in hospital as we go to press.

On the same day, another worker was arrested when he jumped in front of a truck to stop it leaving.

Workers are getting used to having cops rough them up on picket lines while "keeping the peace" but causing strikers to need hospital care is a new low of brutality.

CORPO CONTRACTOR THREAT

JOBS AND conditions are under threat as Dublin Corporation continues to use contractors on Local Authority sites.

The latest episode in the saga is the postponement of a strike by the Irish National Woodworkers Union. It was called by General Secretary Lamon when contractors began installing pvc windows in inner city flats. At the request of the Corpo "Group of Unions"—confined to officials who meet behind closed doors—it was deferred until July 25th. Three days after this date an agreement was reached to postpone the work until after the holiday break. The officials called this a "victory" despite the fact

that the contractors were losing nothing.

A circular was issued by the Corpo in which they agreed to negotiate in advance on the extent to which contract work would be used. This promise has not been kept.

There was a threatened strike at Sundrive Road depot and the Bricklayers Union struck on a paving job in Henry Street. In both cases contractors had been used without prior consultation.

The use of contractors must be vigorously opposed. The officials' demands of negotiation before use is not enough. As the officials are not prepared to fight, the rank and file must take the initiative.



I would like more details about the Socialist Workers Movement
NAME
ADDRESS
.....
Send to SWM, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8.

Socialist Worker

Jobless victims

of bosses' greed



photo: Derek Speirs/Report

REPORT BY
STEPHEN
COLBERT

WHY ARE people unemployed? Who exactly are those hit the most by unemployment? How can it be tackled?

It is important to explain just why unemployment exists. We live under a system based purely on the accumulation of profit. Competition is the key word. This form of society—Capitalism—exists throughout the world today, both East and West.

At the birth of capitalism during the Industrial Revolution it was widely believed that if left untampered the system would balance itself out. What this means is that the amount of goods produced would equal the demand for these same goods. The supply of labour was also to be expected to balance the demand—thus fixing the price of wages.

The people who agreed with this way of thinking automatically opposed any effort by the workers to better their conditions. They opposed the formation of Trade Unions or attempts to stop the employment of small children in factories for up to 16 hours a day. The capitalists claimed this was unwarranted interference with the system.

So right from the beginning, working class people were seen by the capitalists as just another part of the machinery. However, it became clear, very quickly that the capitalists' belief that the system would automatically balance itself out was wrong—very wrong. What followed was a series of booms and vicious slumps and inevitably during these slumps or recessions mass unemployment occurred.

Under capitalism those with money use it to buy factories, equip them and of course employ labour. The goods produced in the factory by the workers are put on sale. The factory owner fixes the price so that he recovers his expenses i.e. raw materials, labour and the cost of the plant. Then he adds another more important factor—profit. This profit is re-invested in the production of more

goods solely that he alone can make more profit. Now comes the problem—all of the goods now on sale cannot be bought by the worker because the cost of the product is more than the amount of money given to workers as wages. The capitalist will not absorb the surplus because he is investing his profits. This results in an "apparent" surplus of goods, apparent because its not more than people need but more than they can afford.

So now the capitalist is left with two choices, lowering the prices in order that people can afford them or cutting production to decrease the amount of goods on the market. They usually cut production. As fewer goods are being produced, fewer workers are needed so he makes some of them redundant. It doesn't stop there. The amount of wages falls along with the workforce, which means that people have even less money to spend on goods, demand drops leading to more cuts in production, more unemployment and still less demand. This vicious circle continues until the capitalist can't afford to cut production anymore. They then begin to cut prices which leads to a price war which naturally forces even more companies out of business. However as workers can afford more of the cheaper goods an economic recovery begins.

DEMAND

More workers are employed in order to facilitate the demand for increased production. More demand means more jobs and we undergo a boom. This continues until the point of "apparent" overproduction is reached again at which point the whole cycle starts again.

It is worth stressing that there is no real overproduction only apparent overproduction. What this means is that "surplus" goods cannot be sold at a profit. So we have food mountains while millions starve. They sack steel workers

because they claim too much steel has been produced yet in the Third World they still have to use wooden ploughshares, steel ones would vastly improve their efficiency and increase food production. But they have no money, therefore no profit can be made so this barbaric system is not in the slightest bit interested in them.

We all know of some family who goes hungry while "unwanted" goods are stock-piled and factories lie idle. Throughout all the needs of people are subordinated to the needs of profit.

Unemployment then is an integral part of the system, not only that but it is essential to the accumulation of profit since the unemployed act as a reserve labour force which enables employers to control their workforces and keep wages down.

What has been the politicians response to this? First and foremost they claim that the country is broke. This is a blatant lie! According to a detailed study in the Irish Independent on Monday, December 30th last, 1985 was "a smashing year for the stock market" The study informed us that the top 25 industries in the South last year had a massive increase of 47% in profits. In money terms this amounts to a cool £181 million. The top 50 companies collectively made £332 million. In the 26 Counties the total profit made was IR£3,073 million. In 1979 however, before we were plagued with unemployment, profits were actually falling by 4%.

In 1981 profits began to go up. This was due to government intervention. Both North and South, the governments had introduced cheap labour schemes, and the bosses made us redundant. They declare us obsolete, throw us aside and make unemployment pay for their profits. This should not be tolerated.

The latest official figures now show nearly ¼ million unemployed in the South and 129,432 in the North.

Both these sets of figures are, of course, wild underestimates. They do not include married women who are looking for work or young people who because they live at home don't think it worth signing on. The Dept. of Economic Development in the North has proved itself expert at lopping anyone they can off the live register and the Southern Government is learning from them!

Youth unemployment is colossal. In 1985 the South had 67,000 young people registered as being unemployed. This is three times greater than in 1980. It should be higher because 4 to 5,000 young people leave our shores each year in the hope of finding a future elsewhere like in England or the USA.

AGENCIES

We have the 1% levy, paid out of the workers' wages supposedly in order to create employment for the youth. It doesn't! Most of the IR£77 million collected last year went to AnCO, CERT, Dept of Environment, Manpower and other state agencies.

The Youth Employment Agency which was set up for the specific purpose of creating employment got a very small portion of the total sum.

The amount the YEA did get went into the cheap labour schemes, enabling the bosses to lay off full-time workers in exchange for the cheap labourers employed under the Work Experience Programmes or their latest arrival, Employer Incentive Scheme. In actual fact only 1,400 full time jobs were created by these schemes. Even more scandalous, IR£11 million of the £77 million collected last year went to reduce the government's budget deficit.

These Work Experience Programmes and Employer Incentive schemes have just the same function as the Youth Training Schemes and ACE schemes in the Six

Counties. Both keep the bosses profits up, stop the creation of full jobs at union rates of pay and for young people are little short of rubbish tips that they're thrown on—only to be thrown off again after a year of providing cheap labour.

And just who do they blame? Us, the workers for striking and demanding "high" wage increases. During the teachers' strike for example, we heard nothing else but this New Morality telling the teachers to think of the students, that we have no money etc.

The gutter press helped the government to attack the teachers.

The newspapers have always sided with the bosses against the workers. For example when the Laois County Council workers were put on short term there was no outcry from the local Leinster Express, but when their union, the FWUI said no to the proposal of the Social Employment Scheme, it had this to say, "FWUI Block Employment Scheme; 100 deprived of work". This was the handiwork of TD Tom Enright who made the claim that the unions are the reason for unemployment using the SES to back him up.

PROPOSED

Mr Tony Dunne, spokesman for the union made it clear that the work proposed under the SES is very similar to the work being done by the council workers at the moment. He said, "No way could we give the go ahead in view of the fact that we have people who can't get back into full-time employment". This just merited a short reference in the whole article.

Then we had "Self Aid, let's make it work" This concert was the platform for

the worst shows of hypocrisy experienced in Ireland for decades. The bosses loved this one. They saw it as a chance to lay the blame for unemployment at the feet of the working class and they made the most of it. They capitalised on the sincerest efforts of thousands of people to help the plight of the unemployed. The enthusiasm of the crowds was inspiring and it's regrettable that this enthusiasm was not directed at the politicians or the boss at work. If it had been we would have definitely seen some concrete results.

The faults of the system are not the fault of the workers, rather it is the bosses fault. It's time we made them pay.

STRUGGLE

It is time for the workers to make a stand. We must unite the struggle against unemployment with struggles in our workplaces. Support Unemployed Action Groups and direct all action against the bosses and the state.

For the unemployed themselves, they should join Trade Unions and support any strike particularly those fighting job losses.

But if we are ever to be guaranteed the right to work, we must smash the system that has created unemployment, because while Capitalism exists we will undoubtedly continue to have unemployment. To overthrow capitalism the employed and unemployed would have to unite, smash the system and create a state where we ourselves would control the production of goods and we would also reap the full benefits of our hard work.

Building the
Left today
Page 8