

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism

Retaliate against the rotten rich

"KEEP THE poor out", that was the message that Upper Carysfort Residents Association brought to a public inquiry recently. The inquiry had been called to discuss development plans for the land sold off by the nuns who ran Carysfort College in Blackrock, Dublin.

The Upper Carysfort Residents Association are a wealthy lot. House prices in the area start at well over £100,000. With that type of money behind them, they were not about to mince words.

Ms Auveen Byrne, a town planning consultant, who appeared for the residents made it absolutely clear that there should be no travellers about the place. The people in the "high quality" houses in Blackrock had a different "value system" from those who lived on the sides of roads. She attacked a plan to house just five families on a half acre of the land because "it involves the juxtaposition of two groups of very disparate social backgrounds which are unlikely to integrate".

It was a rare public statement of the feelings of the Irish rich. They may vote for the flag waving patriots of Fianna Fail. But they



Photo: MARK LYNCH

know that there are two classes in this country, with different "value systems". The rich of Blackrock demand their right to an Irish style apartheid.

Tragically the leaders of Irish labour have none of that same class

instinct. They want to pretend that we are all in the one boat pulling together for the Irish nation. This is why they have backed the Programme for National Recovery to the hilt. The PNR pretends that there are not classes in Irish society—only

"social partners".

For three years while the PNR was in force, workers made sacrifice after sacrifice.

Wages were cut as the pay increases set at 2.5 percent a year fell below inflation.

25,000 jobs were chopped in the public sector as the union leaders promised no resistance as long as the redundancies were "voluntary".

But now the ICTU are starting a campaign to get acceptance for a new deal with Fianna Fail. They want a "joint effort" to raise productivity.

They forget, or pretend to forget, a simple truth that the residents of Blackrock have recognised: there is a class struggle in this country. It is high time that our side started to look for a few victories.

Fortunately, sections of the rank and file of the unions are beginning to fight. The struggle of Waterford Glass workers showed that Irish workers can fight like tigers. For over three months they stayed on strike and sent delegations across the country to raise support.

In Gateaux, 200 workers have taken up the challenge of management to sack workers and tear up conditions. An enthusiastic strike committee is appealing to the wider union movement for solidarity.

Now over 200 shop stewards and trade union activists have issued an open appeal to the Irish trade union movement to reject any new Programme for National Recovery. It is on that spirit of resistance—rather than on the disastrous policies of the ICTU—that we must build.

EAMONN McCANN

Labour's waste of time

ANYBODY who thinks that the best way to achieve socialism is to be active in the Labour Party should have listened carefully to the statements of Labour leaders on "law and order" issues in recent weeks.

This applies to both the British and Irish Labour Parties.

First there was Neil Kinnock's reaction to Nelson Mandela's call on the British government to negotiate with the IRA.

As the most disgustingly right-wing Tories in the land vented their spleen on Mandela, the Labour leader might easily have pointed out a few home truths—such as that top Tory William Whitelaw sat down and negotiated with IRA leaders in the seventies. He could have poked quite effective fun at the U-turns and cartwheels the Tories were performing, forgetting their own past.

He could even have done this without endorsing Mandela's call.

Instead, Kinnock was in like flint to denounce Mandela's suggestion in stronger language than that used by any Tory government spokesperson.

Indeed, the Tories did their best to be "diplomatic" about the incident, not wanting it to overshadow talks which might have some bearing on the future of British capitalist investment in South Africa. Downing Street left it to back-bench clowns to attack Mandela directly.

But Kinnock let rip with adjectival aggression. The IRA are "vicious, murderous... bestial" etc, etc. He undertook to tell Mandela this in no uncertain terms.

This certainly demonstrated that Kinnock is a political and intellectual coward. But it also told us something very important about the unchangeable nature of the politics of Labour Parties.

If we look at the Irish Labour Party's reaction to the killing by gardai of two men in Fairview in Dublin on July 6th the same lesson emerges.

Without being in any way "anti-garda"

or "extremist" Labour spokesman Liam Kavanagh could have asked whether it would not have been possible to arrest the two men rather than kill them. He might have reminded the Government that when similar incidents have happened in the North, Southern parties have frequently called for enquiries, expressed concern and so forth. He might even have made the point that the amount of money the men had stolen—£3,000—was hardly worth two killings to recover.

But no. Kavanagh echoed the right-wing parties in congratulating the gardai, denouncing the dead men for having brought about their own deaths, and calling for tougher action in the future to ensure that such things didn't happen again.

the institutions of the State if that proved necessary to bring change about.

Thus Labour leaders frequently have to make it explicit that their commitment to the capitalist State will at all times override any other consideration that might arise.

Kinnock and Kavanagh were saying to the forces of the States they are committed to working within: "Look, listen, we can be trusted... Capitalism and its defenders can count on us".

This has little to do with the personal politics of the two men.

It has to do with the essential and unchangeable politics of Labourism.

For genuine socialists to work within such a party is a stupid waste of time.

EXPLICIT

He wasn't explicit about what sort of tougher action he had in mind. Arming traffic wardens with Uzis, perhaps.

What was politically significant about Kinnock and Kavanagh's statements was how anxious they were to proclaim their loyalty to the State.

This arises from the fact that although the purpose of Labour parties is to make things better for the working class—so they say—they are committed to doing this within the structures of the capitalist State and according to its rules.

They are forever pushing for change while promising to maintain existing institutions.

This gives rise to a certain tension—not least because in campaigning for change Labour parties leave themselves open to the accusation that they would challenge

Can I take it from this that there have been certain legal amendments to the right to picket?



GATEAUX:

Cake workers fight for jobs

ONE hundred and eighty workers in the Gateaux factory in Finglas, Dublin have been outside the gate since the beginning of June.

The workers, members of the bakers union BFAU, are fighting to defend jobs, wages and conditions after the company sacked five bakers.

Gateaux, part of the multi-national Allied-Lyons group, attempted to sack the five bakers claiming the exchange rate of the Irish punt made "economics" necessary.

They refused to take the matter through the negotiating machinery

laid down in their agreement with the union, instead insisting on their "right to manage".

INJUNCTION

Within a week of the workers walking out, Gateaux obtained a High Court injunction restraining the workers from

picketing their own workplace.

Despite this Number 1 Branch workers have been joined by those in No 2 branch in lively picketing in defiance of the injunction. Round the clock picketing has been organised with a rota of all strikers.

A handful of scabs were still working but

production is in a standstill.

The company has written to every worker demanding a return to work on the basis of a further thirty redundancies, cuts in earnings and flexibility.

Management-Union talks were held last month but broke down when the company insisted on discussing their cost-cutting plan. The workers will not negotiate on other matters nor return to work until the five sacked bakers are reinstated.

COLLECTION

On the other side of Dublin in the Lyons Tea Inchicore plant, packers—members of SIPTU—have been approached for support. A collection has been got up but the workers in the plant still need to be persuaded to join the strike—if only for half a day in the first instance.

IDATU, the shop workers union, has been approached for support. At the moment there are no deliveries of Gateaux products in Dublin but it is suspected that scab deliveries may be getting through elsewhere.

Following an invitation, a number of strikers attended an SWM public meeting on why the justice system stinks. Shop steward Fran Rigney described the treatment the strikers have received from the courts and the gardai. £70 was collected for the strike funds.

In order to step up the pressure on Allied-Lyons, picketing should be extended to Inchicore. Regular mass meetings and report-backs are important also in keeping up the morale and involvement of all the strikers.

DIGGING THE DIRT

★ RAY Burke, the bent businessman currently masquerading as Minister for Justice, is a man whose cupboard is jammed full of skeletons.

The bones have been rattling in recent months as the Garda Fraud Squad continue their investigation into corruption in the planning process in County Dublin. Mr Burke, a former estate agent from Malahide, was interrogated in the past about his shady dealings on behalf of a dodgy building company, Grange Developments. He had helped them get some of their land re-zoned so they could build on it, and they paid him £15,000 for his services.

★ TALKING of planning strokes, we see that Sligo-born Luton-based builder, Tom Gilmartin, has launched a proposal to build what would be Ireland's biggest ever shopping, business and leisure

complex. He has acquired 820 acres of mainly agricultural land near Lucan and plans to spend £750 million developing it.

But before he can turn a single sod he requires Dublin County Council to re-zone the land for commercial use. One councillor has already named his price for supporting such a move. Liam Lawlor of Lucan—who is also a Fianna Fail TD—tried to squeeze £100,000 out of poor Tom. Mr Lawlor, it seems, has a vested interest in a competing development at Blanchardstown and if Gilmartin's project goes ahead, the Blanchardstown one would fall.

The resourceful Mr Lawlor is determined to make his profits one way or the other.

Unhappy at having his arm twisted in this manner, Mr Gilmartin squealed to his old friend the Minister for the Environment, Peadar Flynn. But the bold Liam is unlikely to suffer for his attempt at criminal extortion.

★ AND now another rotten story. This time involving that other great pillar of the establishment and friend of Fianna Fail, Larry Goodman.

Mr Goodman's company, Anglo-Irish Beef Processors, and one of his meat factory managers is being sued for assault and false imprisonment by a former inspector at the Department of Agriculture, a man called Philip Chambers.

The inspector, on a routine assignment at Goodman's Silver Crest factory in Dublin, found a vat of rotting beef and ordered its destruction. He was then prevented from leaving the factory with a sample of the meat that he wanted to have tested. The meat, we are reliably informed, was eventually processed and sold as hamburgers.

The Department of Agriculture, which lives in awe of Goodman—Europe's biggest beef barron—failed to support its own inspector who ultimately opted for early

retirement and is pursuing Goodman out of his own resources.

And Larry Goodman's name crops up again in a major investigation now under way. A few weeks ago boxes of offal—heart, lungs and the like—were found in a consignment of what was supposed to be prime beef destined for the Soviet Union. While beef qualifies for a massive subsidy from the public purse, offal is strictly prohibited.

The company selling the meat to the USSR, Hibernia, had bought it from the Department of Agriculture, out of Ireland's portion of the EC beef mountain. But the Department had bought it from Larry Goodman.

No-one, however, is pointing the finger at Larry—surprise, surprise. Instead the word is out that the offending boxes of offal were substituted for the real thing in a Limerick cold store where a couple of local lads are said to be under suspicion.

But if this is the explanation, why has the Department of Agriculture gone to all the bother of transporting almost 800 tonnes of the meat to a Dublin cold store for detailed inspection?

■ PETER JACKSON

New tech press bid



Irish Press boss Ingersoll

THE IRISH Press group of newspapers is the latest to attempt to bully union members into a rationalisation plan involving the introduction of new printing technology and large scale redundancies.

Ralph Ingersoll, an American financial speculator, acquired a 50 percent stake in the Press group last year. The management proposes making 240 workers redundant, and to change back from four day shift working to five day shift working.

With a change to five day shift working the rosters would mean that reporters would have only two weekends off out of 13.

In an eight week period they would have to take ten of their 16 "weekend" days as single days.

Management also wants control of work/holiday rosters which has traditionally been in the hands of staff representatives, and seeks total flexibility to roster people almost on a daily basis.

They intend journalists to take a printers' jobs—direct input, formatting the papers, picture processing, etc—which would mean that 70 print jobs would be lost out of 100.

There are already 30 journalists jobs gone through movements of people.

Despite its claims of lack of funds the company has huge cash assets, mostly kept out of the company—for example, £6 million Reuters shares which have been kept out of the new company, and the newspaper titles left in another company in which Ingersoll has a large stake—so that the workers can't make claims on them.

Ingersoll had big US and British interests in partnership with US bankers, until he ran into trouble with junk bonds in the US. He has just done a deal with his banker partners for them to take over his US interests while he keeps his European ones (eg he owns the Birmingham Post).

The Press management made no attempt to negotiate. The matter was referred to the Labour Court in May this year. Management threatened closure, the Labour Court accepted this threat and its recommendation went management's way.

Of the group of unions involved, SIPTU accepted the court's recommendation subject to conditions; the IPU, NGA and the fitters' union rejected it, and the NUJ vote (delayed for tactical reasons, but expected shortly as we go to press) is expected to reflect it overwhelmingly.

Management issued redundancy notices to expire on 23 July. They have now issued a statement reaffirming closure and holding themselves ready for discussions.

Ingersoll has brought in union basher Roger Nicholson, well known in English newspaper circles, for example the Thomson Organisation. The management drew up a detailed secret plan to make scabs out of some employees (executives etc) to bring out the papers, but this plan fell into the hands of the Labour Court. A copy was also given to Minister for Labour Bertie Aherm.

It seems likely the management is bluffing with its threats of closure and is trying to copy the bully-boy tactics used in the British newspaper industry over the last decade.

WE THINK

North and South: the same struggle

MANY Northern nationalists don't see the struggles of workers in the South as being of any real relevance to themselves.

When they look at the Waterford Glass strike, for example, they may have an instinctive feeling about what side they want to win. But they don't see the strike as part of a struggle in which they themselves are involved.

The same is often true in reverse. Many militant workers in the South take a close interest in the fight against the sectarian Northern state and are generally sympathetic to it.

But, again, they don't necessarily see that fight as part and parcel of their own struggles.

In other words, the working class struggle itself has been partitioned.

This was reflected in a vote by the Irish Congress of Trades Unions conference last month which will effectively exclude Northern delegates from participating in future decisions on "internal" Southern affairs.

Socialists should be arguing and campaigning strongly against this trend. This is particularly important for the struggle in the North.

One of the reasons the Northern problem seems "unsolvable" is that many see the only alternative to the continued existence of the sectarian Six County state to be a united Ireland ruled over by the likes of Charlie Haughey.

Of course, socialists can argue, as the SWM does, that this is not the only alternative, that although we are 100 percent in favour of smashing the Northern state, we



Photo: MARK LYNCH

wouldn't wish Charlie Haughey on anybody. We argue that a socialist Ireland is the real alternative.

ABSOLUTE

At an abstract level this is an easy enough argument to make. But as a practical proposition it often seems implausible, even to people who are by no means hostile to the idea. One absolute

necessity for making the idea realistic is militant class struggle in the South.

If the Waterford strike, the campaign against health cuts, the opposition within the unions to any new "national" deal with Haughey, if these struggles were seen as being at one with the struggle against the Northern state and against the British presence which sustains it, then the socialist alternative to a partitioned, capitalist country would

be a living possibility, not an inert idea.

It is for this reason that the SWM insists on raising the Northern question in every union struggle or campaign in the South—and insists on raising the class question in every campaign relating to the North.

Neither the nationalists who say that class is a distraction, nor the "socialists" who say that the North is a distraction, can offer any way forward.

FIVE hundred workers in Northern Ireland Railways were laid off in July as management attempted to "rationalise" pay and conditions.

For fourteen years pay in NIR has been tied to that in BR. When BR workers recently won 9.3 per cent

NIR only offered 8.5 per cent.

After a 98.3 per cent vote for industrial action the seven unions called an overtime ban. This action hit NIR operations—

particularly cross border services. Management responded by laying off 61 workers.

Union leaders refused to recommend all out strike action despite a very angry

mass meeting. Management then laid off the rest of the 500 workers.

Northern Ireland Transport Holding Company, which owns the railways, announced profits of £30

million just two days before—an 11 per cent increase on last year.

As an AEU spokesperson explained: "Rationalisation of railway pay negotiations will result in a fall in pay and conditions for the workers".

MARK HEWITT, Belfast SWM

NIR PAY BATTLE



Cartoon: MARK LYNCH

Soviet Communist Party split Russia's rulers fall out

by GORETTI HORGAN

THE 28th Party Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR in July saw the party split as Boris Yeltsin, the mayors of Moscow and Petrograd and the liberal "Democratic Platform" members resigned from the Party.

The split in the Communist Party is actually a split in the Soviet ruling class about how best to solve the economic and political crisis facing them.

The Congress was dominated by the conservative wing of the Party—led by Yegor Ligachev—which wants to solve the crisis in their own interests by returning to the methods of Stalin and Brezhnev. They rejected any move to a market economy, opposed all liberalising proposals and attacked the party leadership for not taking a sufficiently hard stand against the protests sweeping the country.

But while the Party Congress was rejecting reform, the Soviets of Moscow and Petrograd, as well as the all-USSR Supreme Soviet, were moving ahead with measures to introduce the market and open up Soviet society.

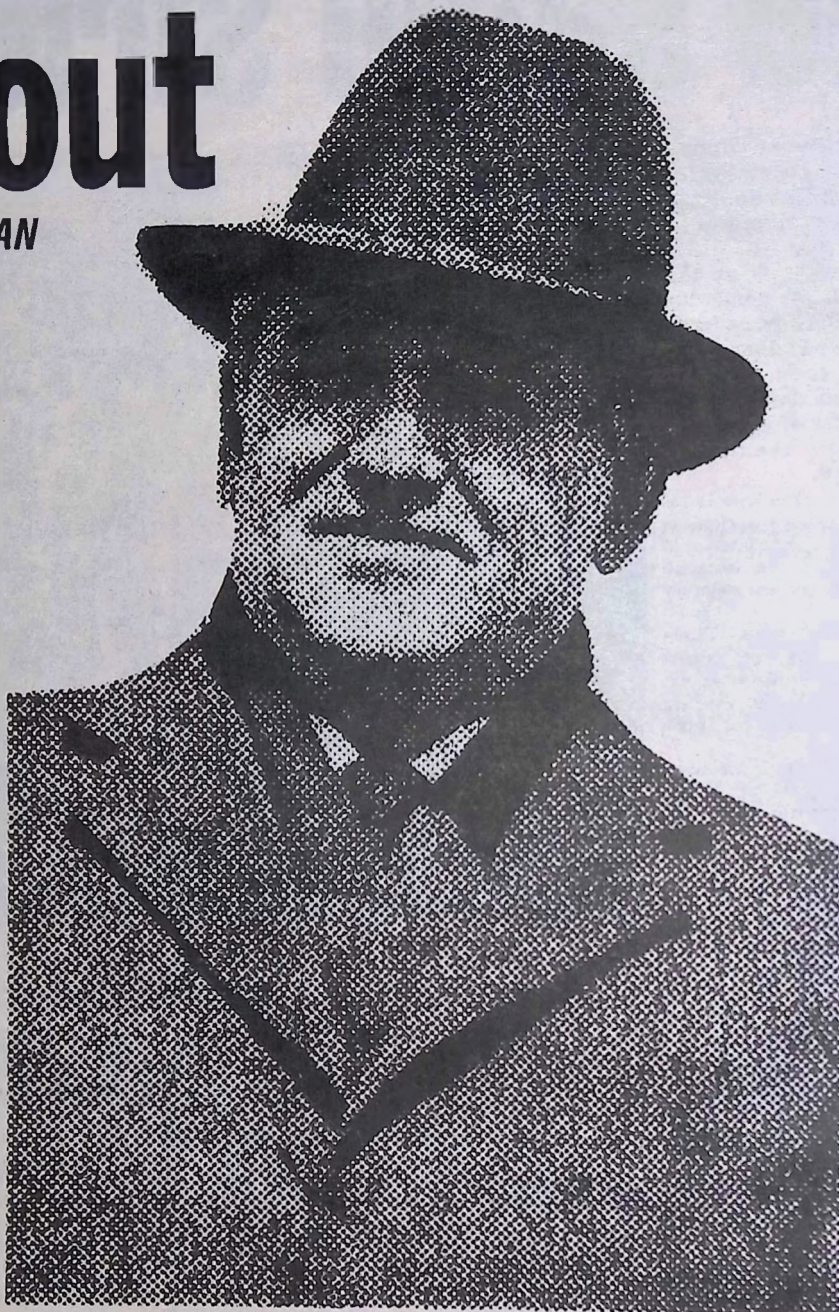
What is this split among the leaders of the Soviet Union all about? Is it simply that Gorbachev wants an economy that's part socialism, part capitalism, Boris Yeltsin wants western-style capitalism, while Ligachev and Co are defending socialism?

Certainly that's the impression you'd get from reading some of the newspapers. In fact, all three factions within the USSR Communist Party want exactly the same end; they differ only on how to bring it about. They want to restructure the form of capitalism which has been in the USSR for over sixty years and end the stagnation which even official government officials are now admitting bedevils Russian state capitalism. Last year production dropped by five per cent and it slumped a further ten per cent in the first three months of 1990.

At the same time, the demand for every kind of commodity—from food and housing to luxuries like videos and Walkmans—is growing among the working class who have been led to expect an improved standard of living.

But, as Thatcher has shown in Britain, the restructuring of capitalism always involves attempts to slash working class living standards. What the rulers of the USSR are divided about is how best to do this without provoking an upsurge of working class struggle.

For months Gorbachev has been dithering about whether to introduce sweeping market reforms like those in Poland which have already slashed workers' living standards by 40 per cent. But his plans to raise prices and privatise industry



Headaches for Gorbachev

were greeted with a storm of protest and panic buying across the country. The miners committee in Siberia and the Ukraine warned they would go on strike unless the price increases were cancelled. Now Gorbachev is worried that even the slower reforms he is now proposing will be too much for workers to stomach.

REPRESSIVE

The "reforms" will send unemployment rocketing. It is already at seven million, according to the government newspaper *Izvestia*. Even the leaders of the tame state run trade unions who have accepted the repressive regime for 60 years told Gorbachev his original plans would cause massive strikes.

Gorbachev wants to go slowly and carefully and not risk a revolution. His main reforming opponent, Boris Yeltsin, wants the same as Gorbachev, just more of it and at a faster pace.

The Ligachev wing also want to drive down workers' living standards and increase exploitation but

they believe this can be done using the traditional methods of state capitalism—fear and repression.

But Gorbachev himself is boosting these conservative elements with his attacks on the movements of the national minorities, his strengthening of the interior police and his anti-strike laws.

What has held the conservatives in check so far is the strength of the popular movement. They fear that if they made an open bid for power they would meet the fate of the Ceausescu. And so they have relied on Gorbachev to dampen down popular protests.

The more he is able to weaken the movement on the streets, the more likely the conservatives are, in the long run, to try to deal with the crisis with the sort of bloody repression we saw last year in Tiananmen Square.

There is only one thing which can prevent such an outcome at some point in the period ahead. It is a deepening and spreading of the popular left wing movement against Gorbachev and the conser-

vatives. The strike throughout the USSR on July 11, demanding the resignation of the Ryzhkov government, is the start of the kind of action which can stop bloody repression. The call for the one day strike had come from miners in the Kuzbass in Siberia and was backed by miners and transport workers in the Ukrainian Donbass, by miners in Karaganda in Kazakhstan and in Vorkuta as well as workers in the Zil car factory in Moscow.

As the Congress ended, Gorbachev continued to try to balance between the liberals and conservatives—playing down the split and talking about the party as a coalition of interests. But he is finding it increasingly difficult as food shortages increase bitterness everywhere. Some of his supporters are now telling Western journalists they fear a military coup.

But Gorbachev, Ligachev and Yeltsin have one thing in common. They all look to deep cuts in workers' living standards to solve the economic crisis. And they all fear the power of those workers they want to attack. That's why they all tried to play down the numbers involved in July's strike.

Iliescu attacks protestors

Romanian miners conned in Bucharest pogrom

THE violent intervention by miners on the streets of Bucharest at the end of June has been condemned as "mob rule" by the Western media and greeted as "workers' action in defence of a workers' state" by some who call themselves socialists.

In reality the miners were falling for the old ruling class trick of turning one section of the masses against another, dividing in order to rule. This has been a tactic used by rulers in every part of the world when they see their power threatened.

Romania was the high point of the rebellions which threw out the old regimes of Eastern Europe at the end of last year. But the students and workers who took to the streets did not take power into their own hands.

Instead a number of army generals imposed a new government—the National Salvation Front—made up of former allies of Ceausescu, like Ion Iliescu and Petre Roman. The Front was desperate to bring the revolutionary agitation to an end. But its position at the start of this year was weak.

The NSF had one advantage over the rulers in other parts of Eastern Europe—the economy was debt-free. They were able to borrow in order to buy time and support. In the run up to the May elections, Iliescu gave a number of concessions to workers and students including a wage rise for miners from 2,500 lei in December to 6,500 in March.

The National Salvation Front rightly believed it had little to fear at the ballot box from its main opponents, the Peasants Party and the Liberal Party. Both had run unpopular dictatorial regimes of their own in the inter-war years. The Front defeated them easily winning 80 per cent of the votes.

With the elections out of the way, Iliescu's commitment to sorting out the economic crisis led him to try to snatch back the concessions made in the aftermath of the revolution.

Some of the students who had played a key role in December's revolution feared an end to democratic rights because of the consolidation of Iliescu's rule. A few hundred of them established a permanent protest camp in a square in the centre of Bucharest. In the evenings a crowd of thousands would gather.

The government promised to negotiate with the protestors. But Iliescu also tried to isolate them by claiming they were involved in drug-dealing, prostitution and black-marketeering. He called them *golani*—tramps.

When riot police tried to

clear the square, thousands of young people joined the demonstrators, drove the police back and moved on to attack government buildings and the TV station. Local army units refused to help the police repress the demonstration.

Iliescu appealed for all "defenders of democracy" to gather in Bucharest to defeat "a fascist type, iron guardist rebellion... an attempt at a coup".

The miners did not arrive in the capital by their own spontaneous decision. Officials of the state-run miners union organised trains to Bucharest from the remote mining villages of the Jiu Valley before Iliescu's broadcast.

The miners had not been involved in December's revolution. The only news they got of events was from the state-run radio and television. When they were told that the gains they had made since December were under threat from "counter-revolutionaries", most of them believed it.

ATTACKED

Iliescu conned them into staging a pogrom in the course of which they forgot their class interests as they attacked oppositionists, Hungarian speakers and the most oppressed group in Romania—the Gypsies, who are treated like travellers are treated here.

Iliescu succeeded in closing down oppositional newspapers and banned the movement for reforms in the army, taking back the reforms won in December. He thus strengthened his hand for dealing with protests—including workers' protests.

Once he had achieved these things he quickly sent the miners back to their villages for fear they'd be influenced by the tradition of debate that has grown up in Bucharest since the revolution.

But that needn't be the end of the matter. Some miners will wonder why they were summoned to Bucharest so urgently, only to be sent away again so quickly. They will ask themselves whether the force they were allowed to use on the streets shouldn't be used against the bosses, the foremen and the police informers in their own mines.

Like elsewhere in Eastern Europe, Romania needs an independent organisation of genuine socialists that will explain to students and miners that real democracy is workers' democracy. But this can only be achieved by complete independence from both the National Salvation Front and the discredited pre-war parties.

The Battle of the Boyne



WALL PAINTINGS celebrate the battle. What was it really about?

THE 300th anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne was marked by ceremonies, exhibitions and widespread coverage in the media.

Much of the publicity, especially in the South, suggested there wasn't much to choose between the two sides in 1690, and that the time had come anyway to regard the whole episode as part of "our common heritage".

The Orange Order marches should be seen as folk festivals, it was argued.

The same is point is made by the people behind projects such as Derry Council's pageant on the Siege—that there's nothing necessarily divisive about the Orange tradition, that it can and should be cherished by all, as one of "our two traditions".

In fact, while there are many myths about the Battle of the Boyne which should be got rid of, the influence of Orangeism in the North is still huge—and still deeply divisive and sectarian.

Orange ideology is fundamentally anti-working class and the working class movement should be in the vanguard of opposition to it.

Here EAMONN McCANN looks at the background to the rise of Orangeism and the role it continues to play in Irish politics.

THE Orange Order claims to stand for "civil and religious liberty", which many Catholics in the North understandably see as a sick joke.

William did fight at the Boyne under this slogan. It was a statement of opposition to the persecution of Protestants by James's main ally, Louis XIV of France.

In the broad European context it could be said that William was marginally more progressive than James. James stood for an "absolute monarchy", William for the "crown in parliament".

This had nothing to do with the personal characteristics of the two men, with the question of which of them was "more tolerant" than the

Behind the bigotry

by EAMONN McCANN

other. It had to do with the interests of the European forces they represented.

In Ireland itself, "civil and religious liberty" for all citizens was not an issue in the struggle at all.

The issue had to do with the ownership of property. And property in this period meant land. The question was, would the Cromwellian land settlement be confirmed, or overthrown.

In the 1640s and 1650s Cromwell had dispossessed the Catholic landowners of Ireland. He made no distinction between the native Irish and the "Old English"—colonists who had settled in Ireland prior to 1600.

The Old English Catholics and the native Irish Catholics both looked to the Catholic James to restore their land to them. In fact, in many cases it was the same land they wanted back—land from which the native Irish had been displaced over the previous 150 years by the Old English, who were in their turn displaced over the previous 50 years by the Cromwellians.

James promised both groups that he would re-establish them on "their" lands.

However, James was first and foremost an English imperialist, and the Cromwellian land settlement was the most important factor in maintaining English rule in Ireland. So for good measure, he also promised that there would be no change at all.

The Cromwellian settlers, all Prot-

estants, didn't trust his assurances and rallied to William.

Thus the Boyne battle was about land and religion.

It was not about civil and religious freedom.

Neither was it about Irish independence. Neither William nor James would have tolerated the notion of a separate Irish state for an instant.

WILLIAM'S victory did not usher in an era of civil and religious liberty—even for many of those who had followed him into battle.

It was adherents of the Anglican Church who were now in control and they set about persecuting both Catholics and Protestants.

The Catholics were seen as a threat because there was always the possibility they would rise up and try to seize their land back. The Protestants were suspect because they came from a radical, non-monarchist tradition and dissented from the official religion of the State.

In the aftermath of the Boyne Catholics, in effect, had no rights, while the rights of Protestants were steadily whittled away.

An Act of 1704 banned all Presby-

terians from the law, the armed forces, customs and excise and municipal employment. In 1715 Presbyterian ministers were banned from teaching or carrying out marriages.

Intermarriage between Presbyterian and Anglicans was made illegal.

Between 1717 and 1776 a quarter of a million Ulster Protestants fled to America.

This was the background to the birth of Republican sentiment among Protestants in the late 1770s and the making of common cause with Catholics. This alliance threatened British rule in Ireland and the pattern of property ownership which went with it.

It was around this time—and it wasn't a coincidence—that the "cult" of the Boyne and of William of Orange really got under way.

THE Orange Order was founded by Protestant farmers in Armagh in the 1790s.

The increased turbulence in the country, which was to lead up to 1798, had heightened the ancient fear about the dispossessed Catholics rising up.

The British administration in Ireland saw the value of the Order in keeping Catholic and other disloyal elements down but at the

same time disapproved of it on account of the lawlessness it encouraged.

The Order was suppressed for much of the 19th century.

It wasn't until the Irish Parliamentary Party succeeded in pressuring Gladstone's Liberal Government into introducing the 1886 Home Rule Bill that the landowners and capitalists of the North, as well as the most right-wing section of the British ruling class, decided to "play the Orange card".

Running through all this is the question of economic interest.

It was economic interests which were at stake in the Battle of the Boyne. Different groups were in conflict over ownership and control of land—the only serious form of property at the time.

Religion was one of the ways the different groups identified themselves. But the conflict wasn't about religion.

Orangeism has been enormously influential in the North ever since.

What this meant is obvious from history and easily explained.

Those who controlled Orangeism have used the symbolism of the Boyne and the mythology woven around the "glorious, pious and immortal" William as a means of mobilising Protestants against Catholics.

The history of Orangeism is a history of sectarian bigotry and violence.

It may well be true that William III was a more attractive figure personally than James II and that in European terms he had at least as much right on his side as James.

But to conclude from this that Orangeism today is a benign and colourful affair is to refuse to face facts.

It is not in the interests of any Protestant worker to be involved in an outfit which explicitly excludes Catholics and encourages hatred against them.

Orangeism and the Orange Order should be denounced by all who stand for the working class interest.

Those like the Workers Party and some Labour "intellectuals" who argue for a soft line on Orangeism in the interests of "toleration of both traditions" and who continually point out that William wasn't the ogre nationalists have supposed, are missing the point—probably deliberately.

It's suicidal for the working class movement to tolerate an ideology or institution which divides one section of workers from another.

The working class movement should include the destruction of Orangeism in its aims. If the working class movement stands aside, and leaves opposition to Orangeism exclusively in the hands of the nationalists, it will simply be perpetuating its own division and powerlessness.

Capitalism destroys the environment

IT'S ironic that the late 20th century's key buzzwords, 'environmental protection' and the 'free market', couldn't be more incompatible. Anyone relying on the market to solve the catastrophic problems of Ozone Depletion and Global Warming will be a long time waiting.

Consider the recent statements of ICI and Du Pont, the main manufacturers of CFC's, the gasses destroying the ozone layer. Faced by the prospect of a ban on recently developed CFC substitutes, these two multinational giants threatened to halt further research into alternatives to CFC's. "We have our shareholders to consider first", complained an ICI executive.

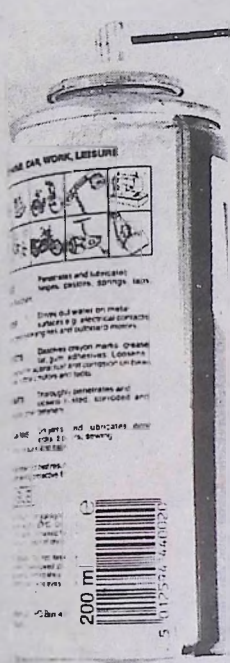
The problem for them is that having developed the new HCFC's, they're demanding at least 30 years to re-coup investment costs and to make a handsome profit. The problem for us is that HCFC's, though an improvement on CFC's, nevertheless contribute to ozone depletion.

An inter-governmental meeting in London in June recognised the dangers and made moves towards a total ban on CFC's by the year 2000, which would include HCFC's, thus provoking ICI and Du Pont into retaliation. Until they've had a run for their money with HCFC's, they're refusing to develop a completely harmless alternative. A compromise can be predicted, for the simple reason that the history of ozone protection has been one of feet-dragging and double-dealing.

PROTOCOL

It was in 1928 that General Motors began production of the stuff, but the dangers from CFC's only became known during the 70's. Despite initial resistance, the USA and a few other countries agreed to a ban on their non-essential use, primarily as aerosol propellants and for making bubbles in plastic foam. Even ICI and Du Pont felt pressured enough to investigate CFC alternatives. But as soon as the heat came off, research ceased.

Then, in 1984, an enormous hole was discovered in the ozone layer above the Antarctic, and the game was up. But it still took until 1987 for the first real deal to be stuck together, and another year for it to be ratified. Worse still, the 'Montreal Protocol' amounted to no more than an aspiration to cut CFC production by 35% before the end of the century, thus sanctioning production of another 8 million tonnes. To put this figure in perspective, it should be noted that from 1928 until 1986, 16 million



Spray cans contain CFCs

tonnes of CFC's were made and were all that was required to cause the damage.

Unbelievably, the decision to allow production of another 8 million tonnes during the next 10 years was heralded as a triumph. Greenpeace, by contrast, has calculated that an 85% cut in production, coupled with re-cycling and maintenance of CFC-using devices, is only the first necessary step in reversing ozone depletion.

The cost in human terms is horrific. The ozone layer serves to protect us from harmful ultra-violet radiation. But just ten molecules of CFC released into the atmosphere is enough to destroy a million molecules of ozone. The increased exposure to ultra-violet rays will multiply the incidence of non-malignant skin cancer and cataracts and contributes to a breakdown in the body's immune system.

The United Nations' Environmental Protection Agency (UNEP) calculates that a 1% erosion of the Ozone layer increases cases of skin cancer by 5-8%. In the US, for instance, that means another 25,000 cases a year.

The Director-General of the UNEPA, which has less teeth than a baby jelly-fish, and about as much spine, is under no illusions as to the motives of governments in dealing with the problem: "The difficulties in negotiating the Montreal Protocol had nothing to do with whether the environment was damaged or not. It was about who was going to gain an edge over who; whether Du Pont would have an advantage over the European

companies or not".

It's the same sorry story with Global Warming. A new report by the Inter-government Climate Change Panel graphically described the nightmare facing us. If current trends continue, temperatures will rise beyond any experienced during the past 10,000 years. Melting polar ice caps, causing rising sea-levels, would mean devastation for low-lying areas like Bangladesh and Egypt. Millions would be made homeless. The disruption to world weather patterns would turn some areas into desert.

However, ruling class cynicism was epitomised by a recent article in the *Economist*, house journal to the bosses. Headlined, "Over-Green Sweden", it complained that the Swedish government had been too hasty when two years ago it declared its intention to stabilise emissions of global-warming carbon dioxide at current levels by the end of the century. Woefully insufficient in the first place, but more than enough for the ruling Social Democrat's to have had second thoughts after threats from a number of key industrialists to pull out because of a subsequent increase in energy costs.

Sweden found itself way ahead of other industrial powers, particularly the US, Russia and Britain. Thatcher will only agree to a 30% cut in projected growth, which means no real cuts in current pollution levels. The US, responsible for 22% of the world's carbon dioxide emissions, has sought to play down the problem, saying openly that the economic cost of cutting greenhouse gases could far outweigh the benefits. At the United Nations, they're demanding that every country pay into a fund for cleaning up the mess on the basis of 'national emissions', regardless of their economic position.

So long as production costs predominate over environmental destruction, greenhouse gases will continue to spew out. It doesn't matter that the technology already exists to grapple seriously with the problem, or that adequately funded research into alternative energy sources and CFC substitutes could reverse the damage before it's too late.

The *Economist* was quick to spot the short-term advantages to be gained by the unscrupulous from global warming "While Bangladesh vanishes under the sea, other countries may find they can grow grain where grain never grew before". That's the reality of the market.

Dominic Carroll.

Fifty years after his m

Trotsky's

On August 20 1940 Leon Trotsky was murdered in Mexico. His killer had been dispatched by Stalin to eliminate the last of the leading Bolsheviks who led the Russian Revolution in 1917.

Fifty years later, there is still no honest account of Trotsky's life provided in Russia today. In the West, Trotskyists are slandered by the press and "respectable" labour leaders.

In 1905, at the age of 26 Trotsky played a key part in the revolution in St Petersburg. The revolution began in January when workers took the lead of a priest, Fr Gapon and marched to hand in a petition to the Tsar. They were met by a hail of bullets. In October, the struggle entered a new phase when, after a printers strike, workers began to form a new type of organisation: the soviet.

Trotsky was among the first socialists to recognise the importance of this new institution. The soviet was like a strike committee—except that it covered numerous workplaces. The delegates reported back and could be re-called by those they represented. Trotsky became the first chairperson of the St Petersburg Soviet.

After the 1905 revolution was crushed Trotsky developed his theory of permanent revolution.

Up to this point Marxists argued that the struggle for socialism could only be launched after the bourgeoisie had carried through a democratic revolution against the landed aristocracy. Capitalism had first to develop under a parliamentary republic and by industrialising the country transform the working class into the majority of society.

1905 showed however that the small Russian working class was already in the lead in the struggle against the Tsar. Workers were raising both their own class demands and wider political demands. Their militancy terrified Russia's bourgeoisie into backing off from a real fight with the Tsar.

In his theory of Permanent Revolution, Trotsky argued that the fight for democracy in Russia would grow over into a fight for socialism. The working class would lead the vast peasantry. There would be no separate and distinct stages in the coming revolution. The victory over Tsar would lead to the formation of a workers state.

This workers state could not survive in isolation. The linking together of the international economy, however, meant that a victorious revolution in Russia would act as a spur to workers elsewhere. The victory of the working class in backward Russia



was bound up with the spread of revolution to the more advanced countries.

The theory of Permanent Revolution is still relevant today. It points to the central role of the working class in the Third World today. It overcomes the idea that "Labour must wait".

In South Africa, it leads revolutionaries to argue that the fight against apartheid cannot be separated from a fight for socialism today. In Ireland, it leads the SWM to argue that the destruction of the Orange state will be bound up with a fight for a Workers Republic rather than a new capitalist Ireland.

INSIGHT

Trotsky's insight into the dynamics of the Russian revolution was not matched by his understanding of the importance of the party. In the years after the 1905 revolution Trotsky avoided membership of the two main socialist groups: the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks.

In 1917 Trotsky joined the Bolsheviks. When he arrived back

in St Petersburg, after his exile he became a key figure in the soviet. On October 25, it fell to Trotsky to lead the insurrection in the city. The dominance of the soviets in St Petersburg meant that the insurrection was virtually bloodless. According to the Menshevik historian Sukhanov, "the military operations in politically important centres of the city resembled a change of the guard".

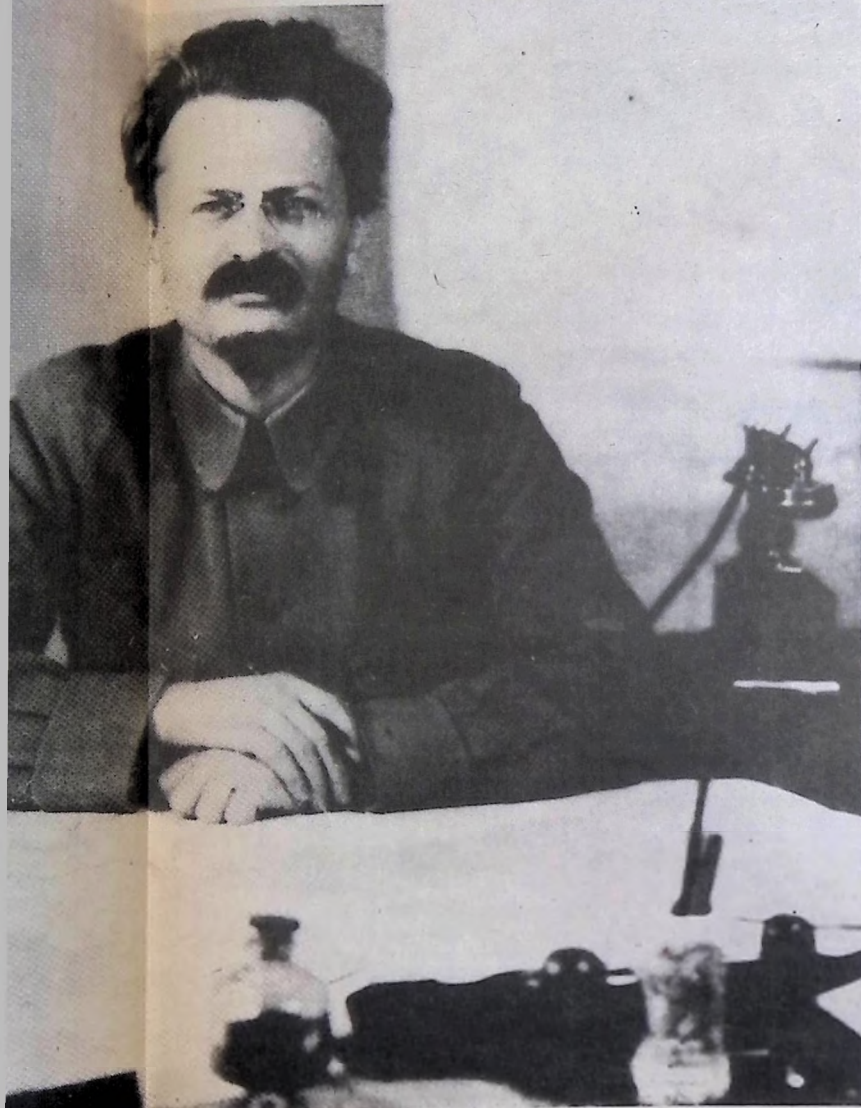
After June 1918 Russia was invaded by fourteen armies. Trotsky formed the Red Army to undertake the defence of the revolution. Starving soldiers infested with lice formed the bulwark of the army. But they were full of the fervour for a new society. Half of all trade unionists in Russia enlisted.

Victory in the civil war was achieved at a terrible cost. The tiny working class was disorganised. The isolation of the revolution led to ever greater difficulties. From 1921 onwards a growing bureaucracy found its political figure head in Joseph Stalin.

Lenin's last Testament—whose existence was denied until 1956—called for a fight against the "unlimited authority" con-

his murder SW assesses...

Trotsky's legacy



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centrated in Stalin's hands. Throughout the 1920s, Trotsky took up this fight.

In January 1923, Trotsky began writing a series of articles attacking the bureaucracy. He denounced Stalin's theory of Socialism in One Country after it was issued for the first time in December 1924. He formed the Left Opposition to link together those who wanted to defend the traditions of the Revolution.

Trotsky and the Left Opposition argued for a two pronged strategy to defend the revolution. Inside Russia, economic policy should be geared to the revival of industry in order to strengthen the working class.

The Left Opposition demanded improvements in the conditions of the working class and the rural poor. It sought the restoration of soviet democracy.

INTENSIFY

The Left Opposition also argued the fate of the revolution was bound with the international situ-

sition at the celebrations in Leningrad. Stalin's secret police moved to prevent similar occurrences elsewhere. In 1929, Trotsky was finally expelled from Russia.

Outside Russia Trotsky found himself facing a growing fascist movement. In a series of brilliant articles analysing the base of fascism among the petty bourgeoisie, Trotsky called for a united front of revolutionaries and social democrats to fight it. At this stage however under Stalin's order, the Communist International adopted the ultra-left stance of calling the social democrats "social fascist" and refused to contemplate unity with them.

Stalin argued that the victory of fascism proper would be extremely brief. In fact, the 1930s turned out to be the "midnight of the century". The inability of the communist movement to defeat fascism brought a change in Trotsky's outlook.

After October 1933 he abandoned all hope that the working class might be able to recapture the bureaucratised state in Russia by peaceful and legal means. The consolidation of Stalin's power required a revolution. This view, however, remained in contradiction to his idea that Russia was still a "degenerated workers state" because of the existence of planning and nationalised industry.

In the midst of the deepest period of reaction he set out to form the Fourth International. The groups which composed it were, however, and riven with sectarianism. Nevertheless its achievement was to keep alive a tradition of revolutionary socialism.

Trotsky and his followers were denounced as "agents of Hitler" during the Moscow show trials. In a period when Stalin was determined to form Popular Fronts with the "progressive" bourgeoisie, Trotsky insistence on unity on a class basis had to be destroyed.

During the Spanish Civil war, Trotsky bitterly attacked the consequences of the Popular Front strategy. In order to preserve links with the "progressive capitalists" in Spain and Stalin's allies in Britain and France, the Republican government bloodily suppressed workers revolts in Barcelona. In doing so they undercut the political basis for victory that Trotsky had shown was possible during the Russian civil war.

Through these political struggles, Leon Trotsky preserved a number of central ideas that are vital for revolutionaries today. In SWM we stand for the idea that the working class is the agent of socialist revolution in both the developed and underdeveloped countries. We oppose all rising bureaucracies in the labour movement. We stand for internationalism. We oppose all forms of Stalinism in the name of workers democracy. We owe these principles to Trotsky who stood up in the most difficult periods against the lies of Stalin.

■ KIERAN ALLEN

Socialism in one Country?

QUOTING big-wigs from the past can be tedious, though useful just the same. Take these wise words from Fred Engels, back in 1847: "It will not be possible for a revolution to take place in one country". Now here's Lenin, speaking in 1918: "The final victory of socialism in a single country is of course impossible". Leon Trotsky concurred: "Our party looked forward unreservedly to international revolution, not socialism in one country". And finally, listen to Stalin, from 1924: "Can the final victory of socialism in one country be attained without the joint efforts of the proletariat of several advanced countries? No, this is impossible".

So far so good. Except that Stalin was to repudiate his own words within months. (He later had the history books doctored to cover his tracks). And by announcing his intention to build socialism in one country, he was sounding the death-knell for the Russian Revolution.

By this stage, of course, the whole thing was already in tatters due to the failure of rebellion elsewhere in Europe, coupled with civil war and invasion. But Stalin's declaration signalled a complete departure from the internationalist outlook at the heart of marxism.

Since Lenin was dead, it fell to Trotsky to mount a rearguard action against Stalin's new turn. He saw that as well as providing a consoling doctrine for the mass of bureaucrats now in charge, Stalin was saying bye-bye to the prospect of further revolution abroad.

And sure enough, Stalin quickly unveiled the new line for communist parties elsewhere, instructing them to restrain any revolutionary outbreak which might provoke an attack on Russia by the West. Until the USSR became a strong, socialist nation, he argued, it wouldn't be safe for anyone else to go to far. Trotsky fought hard against this madness, but his forces were too weak to prevent savage defeats for workers in China, Germany and Spain.

He rubbished the notion of socialism in one country on economic grounds too. It was obvious that since Stalin no longer counted on financial and material aid from abroad, he intended to revive and develop the economy on the back of the workers.

Trotsky was right. By 1940, Russia was an industrial and military powerhouse. But socialist it most certainly wasn't. Instead, the country had been transformed into state-controlled capitalism, where workers slaved for starvation wages and the Secret Police kept a watchful eye on everyone. (Including Stalin's mum, who collapsed when they called round to question her!)



Trotsky fought Stalin's turn

But it's often objected that despite the horrors of Stalin's Russia, is it still not possible to build an independent socialist state? And what else can be done after a workers revolution if a country finds itself isolated?

ABROAD

Let's begin by reminding ourselves that socialism, among other things, is about the democratic organisation of production, free from the distorting and corrupting influence of competition. And part (but only part) of the answer to the dog-eat-dog syndrome is to establish a society where everyone's material needs are met. Yet any country forced to devote enormous resources to defence will end up in trouble. The Sandinistas, for example, though far from socialist, were nevertheless concerned with improving living conditions in Nicaragua. But the American threat meant them spending half their meagre resources on the army.

Back comes the response that surely a better-off country, like the USA or even Ireland, could go it alone?

And here lies the second problem. Capitalism has become such an integrated system, any country attempting to build socialism against the wishes of powerful opponents can be starved of numerous essential items and find its economy wrecked.

Then it's back to square-one of trying to build a

self-sufficient economy in siege conditions. Impossible.

However, none of this means the inevitable defeat of an isolated revolution. It should be borne in mind that a successful workers revolution might well spark off rebellion elsewhere. Eastern Europe last year gives a few pointers on that score, despite its limitations.

And history reveals that revolutions often occur during periods of general upheaval. That was the case in 1917, and the pattern has shown up before and since.

Prospects would also be improved by a revolutionary state using its newfound prestige to encourage a repetition elsewhere. It would even be in a position to spend a bit of money helping workers movements abroad. Initially, just a few other countries joining in would tilt the balance favourably. To return to the Sandinistas again, one of their biggest mistakes was the failure to even attempt to spread the revolution, in an area screaming out for it.

But even if revolt was slow to occur elsewhere, it need not be the end. Depending on the feeling in the country, its relative economic strength, its resources, and quite a few other things too, it should be possible to hold on for quite some time. But not for ever. And it was on this point that Engels, Lenin and Trotsky came in. And Stalin went out.

Dominic Carroll.

Is the arms race over?

Is peace breaking out between the superpowers?

The collapse of Stalinism in Eastern Europe has led many to predict a bright future. Workers Party leader, Proinseas de Rossa, argues that the formation of a "common European home" has now become a real possibility. This would mean NATO and the old Warsaw Pact sharing a common security policy.

Others are already predicting that there will be a massive "peace dividend" to spend.

In fact, the level of military spending remains sky-high—and it is still a central component of the capitalist system

Take Britain. On a world scale Britain is becoming a lesser economic power. But it spends £20 billion a year on defence. Key sectors of British industry are tied into the defence budget.

Today the British Treasury is calling for a cut of just £1 billion. Despite the cuts, the British Defence Ministry will probably go ahead with the production of 1,048 Warrior Armed Personnel Carriers costing £750 million. It is also ready to begin deployment of air-to-surface nuclear weapons on its Tornado bombers.

Or look at the arsenals of the superpowers.

The US and the USSR each has an estimated 10,000 nuclear war heads. It would take only 120 to wipe out the whole of the USSR. But the current, much hyped START talks on armaments control will not consider reducing the number of warheads below 6,000.

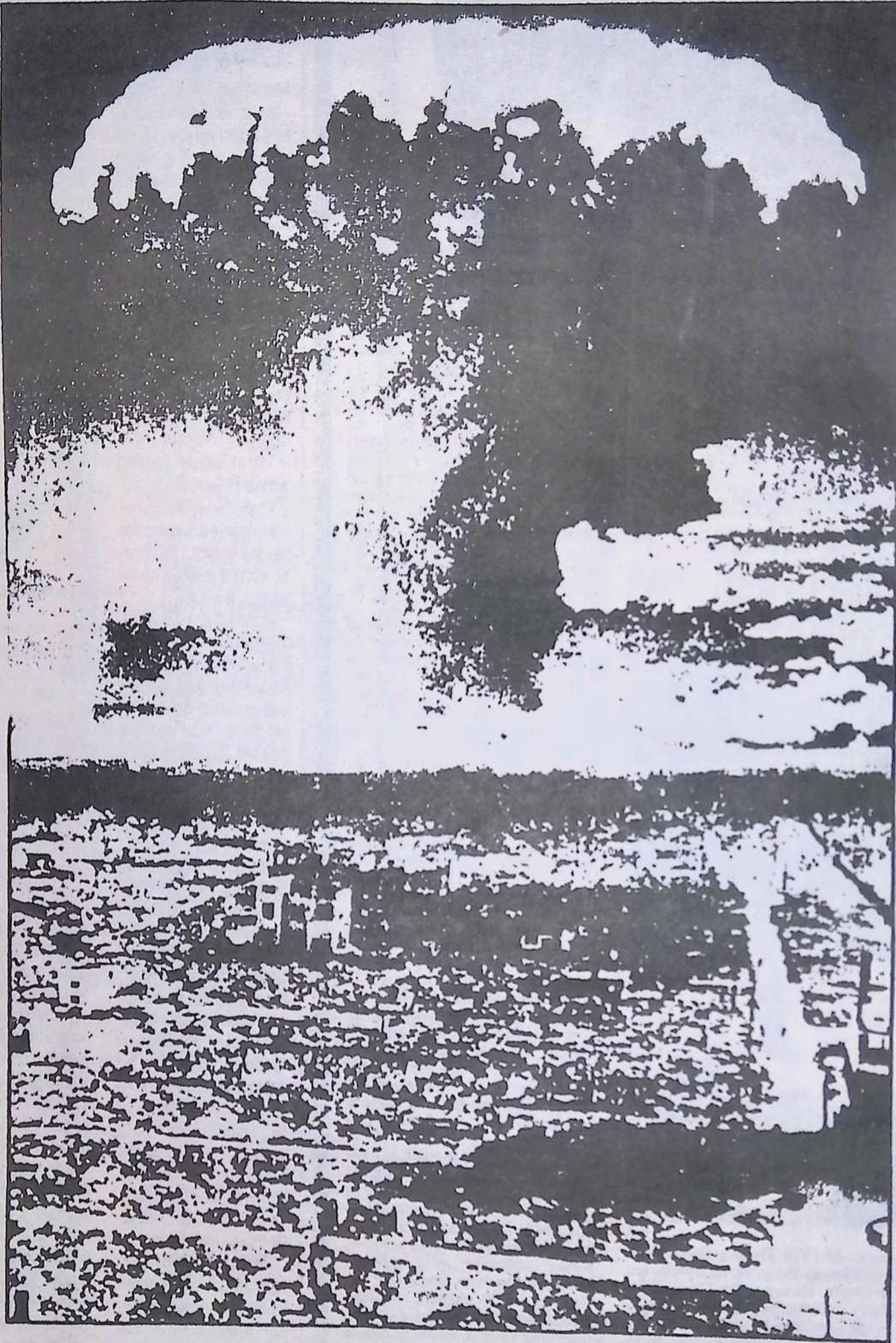
PROJECTED

There are cuts planned in defence spending in the US. But these cuts must be kept in perspective. Total US spending on defence at the moment is over \$300 billion a year. Even after projected cuts over the next five years, defence spending will still amount to one fifth of all federal government spending.

Key US arms modernisation programmes will continue. The US will still develop the Stars Wars system and it is already allowing Israel to deploy part of their system. A new range of military aircraft—the Advanced Tactical Fighter, the A-12, the C-17—will most probably be developed.

What is shifting is the direction of military planning and strategy. Virtually all the NATO countries today—with the possible exception of Thatcher's Britain—now favour the elimination of short range land based nuclear weapons in Europe. Quite clearly, there is no longer much point targetting cities such as Leipzig or Warsaw today.

But increasingly US defence strategists are putting a new emphasis on their mobile response units and their nuclear hardware at sea. The



by KIERAN ALLEN

shift in emphasis explains why they are anxious not to have the issue of nuclear weapons on the US Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean raised at the START talks on arms reduction.

However the crucial reason why we should not be taken in by the euphoria about peace lies in the very reasons why arms cuts are taking place at the moment. The US and USSR generals have by no means lost their appetite for the control over huge stocks of men and equipment. It is simply that the military build up since the late 1970s has exhausted the major superpowers.

This is most obvious in the case of the USSR. Until recently, the USSR—according to even official estimates—was spending between 12 and 15 per cent of its Net Material Product on arms. This helped to break the economic basis of an empire that stretched from East Berlin to the Bering Sea.

DEBTORS

But the arms burden on the US economy was also colossal. Today the US Federal debt is \$3.5 trillion—making it one of the largest debtors in the world. Its share of world production has fallen to 23 per cent from a

figure of 40 per cent after the second world war. In the semi-conductor market, which originated in the US as a spin off from past military programmes, US companies are falling behind companies such as Nippon, Hitachi and Fugitsu.

All of this made the US anxious to respond to Gorbachev's appeal to cut weapon spending. But this in no way meant that the fundamental drive of the system today to combine military and economic competition at the highest level between the major imperialist powers was mitigated.

For forty years, the "permanent arms economy" was

an important factor in shoring up the profit rates of the Western World. It drained off surplus capital and allowed a more even expansion of the rate of investment to continue.

But the very fact that the military burden was distributed unevenly, meant that the US lost out to its rivals in Japan and Germany. The cuts-backs today in US arms spending are therefore only a recognition of the need to re-build their industrial base against the competition of their own allies.

This is an altogether different matter from a genuine desire for peace. For one thing, the US today feels more able to flout its military power across whole areas of the world. Since 1945, when the balance of nuclear terror was supposed to guarantee the West peace, over 140 wars raged in the Third World in which 20 million people died. In most cases the two superpowers intervened to try to extract some advantage for their imperial ambitions.

The US will continue this pattern of intervening in the Third World. The old style gun boat imperial diplomacy is returning. In Panama, the US invasion involving the levelling of working class districts through aerial bombardment by Stealth bombers. According to church estimates over 7000 people were killed. In the small African country of Liberia, where the corrupt and brutal dictator Doe is about to be overthrown, the US is "offering" to render some assistance.

Those who think we are entering an era of peace make a fundamentally wrong assumption about the nature of the Cold War. They see it primarily as an ideological conflict, a fight between Capitalism and Communism. With the defeat of "Communism" the fight is supposed to be over.

It was however a fight between two ruling classes who were determined to extend their imperial control over the world.

As the *Economist* pointed out recently, "the passing of communism does not change the geopolitical fact that Russia remains the major potential antagonist for America, Western Europe and Japan. The removal of ideology does not remove the other things countries quarrel about."

The conflict between the US and the USSR today, and the possible future conflicts involving Japan and Germany in the future, are not about which set of lies each ruling class wished to use. They are about political and military domination in the pursuit of ever greater accumulation of capital.

For that reason the fundamental rivalries remain—even though the two most powerful military powers want a breathing space to recover for new fights.

Peace will only break out when the warmongers on both sides are overthrown from below.

REVIEWS

James Connolly and the Irish Left

Socialist Worker reviews Kieran Allen's important new political biography

TWO historical views of Connolly dominate the thinking and politics of the Irish left. One, Communist Party inspired, is that he demonstrated great tactical understanding in all his political shifts from 1913 to 1916.

The other is that there were two distinct periods of Connolly's life; first—socialist; the second—nationalist. Kieran Allen's new book *The Politics of James Connolly* rejects both these views. Acknowledging that the "small Irish left today stand on the shoulders of a true giant", he also shows the weakness in Connolly's politics; a weakness which came directly from the politics of the Second International, the dominant political tradition in the socialist movement of that period.

The Second International, founded by Engels in 1889, was, by the early twentieth century, thoroughly reformist in practice although still describing itself as marxist. But it was a very crude form of marxism. Kautsky, a leading member, argued that "the capitalist system had run its course."

ACTIVITY

"Its dissolution is now only a matter of time. Irresistible economic forces lead with the certainty of doom to the shipwreck of capitalist production." Marx's view that the motor of history is the conscious activity of human beings is totally lost.

This political tradition influenced Connolly in several ways. If socialism was inevitable, of what use was a political party other than to educate its members and supporters about the laws of economic development?

Although a member of several different parties throughout his life, he never saw, as Lenin did, the party as a machine for intervention in the day to day struggles of the working class. The tragedy of this was that after his execution there was no organisation to carry on his



Police attack workers during the 1913 Dublin Lockout

work.

Similarly, if socialism was inevitable, why discuss ideological questions—the origin of the family, the roots of religion, etc? Connolly went further and argued that matters of religion and sexuality should not be discussed at all by socialists. When he mentioned them at all his arguments were heavily influenced by Catholicism.

For instance on divorce he said, "Who, then, are the chief supporters of divorce? The capitalists. And who can come fresh from divorce courts, reeking with uncleanness and immorality, to consummate another marriage...? The capitalists."

Connolly's big break with the tradition of the Second International and his continuing relevance today was his anti-imperialism. The period of his life was also the period during which the major European powers scrambled to bring Africa and Asia under their respective imperial rules. Britain was the most successful.

By the end of the nineteenth century Britain

directly controlled a quarter of the world; 46 percent of all foreign investment was British.

The attitude of the Second International was at worst to support colonialism because of its "civilising role"; at best they opposed it from a humanitarian view but did not believe that the workers and peasants of the colonies could liberate themselves.

Connolly's position was a radical break from this. He saw how a blow struck against imperialism within the colonies could be of benefit to the international working class. All his political life he was organising to strike such a blow in Ireland.

SUPPORTING

The outbreak of the First World War, and the collapse of most of the socialist movement into supporting their own native governments, only strengthened his view on the need for revolution. "When the bugle sounded the first notes for actual war," he said, "their notes

should have been taken as the tocsin for social revolution."

Connolly misunderstood republicanism. This arose out of his views on Irish history. Connolly claimed that feudalism and capitalism were alien impositions on a Gaelic socialist society. Irish republicanism was directed at undoing the conquest and so would lean naturally towards socialism.

His political hostility was reserved for the compromisers from Daniel O'Connell to the Home Rulers. He ignored the fact that extreme nationalists such as Arthur Griffith clearly argued for independence so as to allow the building of native Irish capitalism.

In 1916 this was to lead him into submerging himself into the republican camp rather than fighting alongside but independently from it.

This book clearly examines Connolly's strength and weakness. It will be valuable for all those who want to seriously examine Connolly's legacy for the left today.

■ WILLIE CUMMING

Film: *Johnny Handsome*

The ugly face of the system

FOR the first half of this film, John Sedley, played by Mickey Rourke, is extremely disturbed.

At school he and his mates put on halloween masks to scare the local fat kid. But the fat kid rips off Johnny's mask, screaming "Johnny don't need no mask!" From then on Johnny, cruelly nicknamed "Johnny Handsome", becomes the butt of everyone's joke.

In later years Johnny turns to crime. In an armed robbery he is double-crossed by two of the gang who kill his best friend Mikey before making their getaway. While doing hard labour, Johnny is stabbed by another inmate and ends up in the prison hospital.

Here his life begins to turn around. Johnny's doctor has a theory that if Johnny is given a new face and a new identity he will leave behind his criminal past.

With the help of plastic surgery, John Sedley becomes John Mitchell. While still on parole he is given a job at a shipyard and appears to be starting a new life.

The only obstacle appears to be the cop who is adamant that Johnny will return to his old ways. Obviously the cop has a vested interest in seeing that efforts to reform Johnny end in failure. If criminals can be reformed the cops are left without an excuse for being cops.

There is a moment of pure triumph when the cop throws Johnny his parole papers in disgust.

The cynicism of the cop is contrasted to the kindness shown to Johnny by his prison doctor.

But life is not as simple as the doctor's liberal theory suggests. Johnny has a new face and a new job but is being ripped off

by his shipyard bosses. Another worker is robbing materials from the yard to make ends meet. It is hardly a liberating experience.

Meanwhile Johnny still wants to avenge the death of his friend Mikey and decides to track down the crooks who double-crossed him. This proves his undoing in the end.

CYNICAL

In a perverse way the cynical cop is the only person who understands Johnny's need for revenge. The doctor who made Johnny a "new man" could not have understood.

Johnny Handsome focusses on the conflict between those who advocate tougher measures against crime and those who want to re-educate the criminals.

The police and the prison system don't win the argument. They are shown to be brutal and cynical—more of a hindrance than a help.

But the liberal reformers—while seeing that crime is caused by people's circumstances—cannot complete the picture. As we learn from *Johnny Handsome*, something much more radical than plastic surgery is needed.

■ DAVE McDONAGH

OUT NOW!

The Politics of James Connolly

by KIERAN ALLEN

£5.50 from SW Books
PO Box 1648
James's St, Dublin 8

INDUSTRIAL NOTEBOOK

REMEMBER when Charles J Haughey described himself as a "left of centre politician" and denounced privatisation as an "Ideological" issue that no decent Fianna Fail government would touch?

That was during the General Election of 1987. The non-Thatcherite image was useful then in establishing an understanding with union leaders such as Billy Atlee and Phil Flynn.

Times change very quickly with Fianna Fail. Privatisation is now all the rage. Irish Life is already up for sale. A *Business and Finance* report in February claimed that commercial state companies such as ICC will be up for grabs. The Aer Lingus new maintenance project, TEAM, also represents the first step down the privatisation road. Michael Smurfit, the chief executive of Telecom wants his company fully privatised.

LIGHT-HEADED

The reason for the change is the new era of multi-national capital that is opening up after 1992. Some light-headed people in the ICTU think that Europe is all about nice documents such as the Social Charter and the German

Privatisation and the unions

road of high wage-high skilled work. They should start looking at the real world.

The most ferocious competition is about to break out in the Single Market. The multi-nationals have embarked on a series of mergers and tie ups in preparation. Crysler makes links with Renault; Toshiba joins up with the British company ACT; the giant German insurance company Allianz has gobbled up Britain's Cornhill, Italy's RAS and East Germany's state insurance company—all in the last four years.

The elite of Irish management want to get in on the act. Michael Smurfit and the chief executive of Irish Life have little time for quaint ideas of an insurance or telecommunications network linked exclusively to the Irish state. Why not forge links with Allianz or GEC to get into the big markets? The fact that jobs and conditions will be destroyed to meet this competition is of course beside the point.

In this situation the ICTU latest document on "Public Enterprise and Economic Development" makes interesting reading. The ICTU head office in Dublin's leafy Raglan Road is a world of its own. ICTU bureaucrats have a simple message that is pushed at every shop stewards course these days: we are

TECHNOLOGIES

entering a new "era" based on information technologies, quality circles on the job, market led growth and the break up of the workforce into "core" and "peripheral" workers. Old fashioned trade unionism is to be buried.

The privatisation document is full of this New Realism. It informs us that the ICTU is "not opposed to the aim of creating a share-owning democracy". This used to be Thatcher catchphrase. But in the "New Times" everything gets turned upside down.

Quite naturally the ICTU regards outright opposition to privatisation as no longer feasible. It supports the sell-off of the Joint Hospital Services Board. It wants new openings for private investors to take up shares in public companies. It claims this will be necessary to take advantage of the new opportunities to exploit the Single Market.

The ICTU also demands that public enterprise should be also used to give the Irish employers a hand out. The document states "our public enterprised have an important contribution to make to the development of large scale indigenous companies".

There are, of course, difference between the union leaders and Fianna Fail. But they are mainly about the degree to which the privatisation programme should be pushed through. The ICTU's new document has been taken by FF as a signal to get on with its plans. Within two weeks of the publication of "Public Enterprise and Economic Development", Albert Reynolds announced the sell-off of Irish Life.

Fortunately, there is real opposition to the ICTU policy among union activists. At the CPSU conference one of the architects of the document got a roasting from the delegates with a large minority calling for outright opposition. Defending union rights in the public sector will call for the spreading of this anger into other unions.

What we stand for★

The Socialist Workers Movement is a marxist organisation fighting for a workers' republic in Ireland and for socialism internationally.

FOR REVOLUTION, NOT REFORM

We begin from the proposition that what determines the nature of any society is the system by which its wealth is produced. In the system we live under, capitalism, production is geared to profit, not to human need. Among its inevitable features are poverty, war, racism and sexism. Capitalism cannot be destroyed and these evils thus eradicated by piecemeal reform. It can only be destroyed by revolutionary action by the class which creates all the wealth, the working class. The machinery of the capitalist state—parliament, courts, army, police etc—is designed to protect the interests of the ruling capitalist class, not to regulate society in a neutral fashion. At most, parliament can be used sometimes, to make propaganda against capitalism. It cannot be used to smash capitalism. Only a workers' revolution can do that and establish a truly democratic society in which workers hold power directly through delegates elected from workplaces and areas

and are re-callable and replaceable at any time by those who elect them.

NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR MOSCOW

This kind of socialism does not exist anywhere today. Workers do not have control in Russia, China, Cuba etc. Instead, power is held by a state-capitalist class. A workers' revolution is needed in these countries too. We are against NATO and the Warsaw Pact and all weapons of mass destruction. We are for the right of all nations, East and West, to self-determination.

FOR AN END TO PARTITION

The Northern State was created by British Imperialism in its own interests. Sectarianism and bigotry were built into it and will continue to exist for as long as the state exists. The marginal privileges given to Protestant workers are just that: marginal. It is in the immediate interest of Protestant as well as Catholic workers to fight against their exploitation. It is in the interest of all Northern workers to unite against the state and aim at socialism in Ireland. We support all forces struggling against imperialism and the Northern state,

regardless of differences we may have with them. The interests of the Southern ruling class are no longer in fundamental conflict with those of Imperialism. Southern capitalism is a junior player in the world capitalist system. The Southern state too, props up partition, despite occasional nationalist rhetoric.

The "national question" can be solved only by mass working class struggle against both states. Republicanism, by limiting the immediate struggle to the achievement of "national unity", and by appealing for all-class alliances in pursuit of this goal, can never lead the working class towards the defeat of imperialism.

FOR AN END TO ALL OPPRESSION

We oppose all forms of oppression which divide and weaken the working class. We are for full social, economic and political equality for women. We fight for free contraception, abortion on demand and the right to divorce. We oppose all discrimination against gays and lesbians. We stand for secular control of hospitals and schools. We fight for the complete separation of church and state.

FOR A FIGHT IN THE UNIONS

Trade unions exist to protect workers' interests under capitalism. The role of trade union leaders is to negotiate with bosses over workers' position within capitalism. To destroy capitalism, we need a rank and file movement in the unions separate from the leaderships and fighting for workers' interests regardless of the needs of capitalism.

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

To destroy capitalism and achieve socialism the most class conscious sections of the working class must be organised in a revolutionary party. The SWM aims to build such a party through spreading its ideas and through its activity in the working class movement.

McCann stands in NUJ

SOCIALIST Workers Movement member Eamonn McCann is standing for election for general secretary of the journalists' union. The NUJ organises in both Britain and Ireland.

Eamonn is standing to campaign for a militant fight against attacks on trade unionism in the industry both here and in Britain.

Fleet Street newspapers in England are trying to smash NUJ organisation by forcing in individual contracts. The NUJ leadership has so far failed to offer a fighting lead.

In Ireland Irish Press management are seeking to increase working hours in an attempt to smash industry-wide conditions.

We reprint below Eamonn's campaign address.

I AM campaigning for old-fashioned socialist and trade union principles.

I hold that the central purpose of the union is to defend its members and itself against management and government attacks. If we can't do this effectively we can't expect to be taken seriously on other issues.

The union is not in good shape. We are deep in debt. Our head office is inefficient, sometimes to a farcical degree. Morale and membership involvement are low.

I say that the way to get out of this trouble is to fight our way out.

The immediate fight

should be for the widest possible industrial action against union-busting managements like Ingersoll at the Press, and against personal contracts and effective de-recognition of the union such as is under way all over Britain and increasingly in broadcasting, and in the Irish provincial sector, North and South—Thompson and Morton, for example.

ALTERNATIVE

Those who argue that industrial action is not the way should produce an alternative. They don't because they can't. They say in effect that we have to make the best of it.

Our members are neither "naturally" quiescent nor "naturally" militant. Moods change, sometimes from day to day. I believe it is possible to mobilise the membership for a fight, now that we are faced with a threat to the union's



McCann: "fight our way out"

effective existence. I believe it's not nearly enough for the union leadership to say that if the members wish to fight they'll get backing. The union leadership must campaign for a fight, calling special chapel and branch meetings, issuing leaflets, patiently arguing with the members, assuring them of official backing, organising levies to sustain strike action, seeking solidarity action from other unions, etc, etc.

I think, for example, that the union should have put a date on when the Press would stop if Ingersoll didn't back off. This in itself would have had a galvanising effect on all members in the sector, and stiffened them in advance for any follow-up assault from other managements—as will certainly happen if we go under at the Press.

I'd have been in favour of a one-day strike at RTE at the outset against the Burke proposals. That would have been far more

effective in putting manners on Burke, and on a management which was always certain to do Burke's bidding than all the "responsible" lobbying and making common cause with management.

VIGOROUS

I believe in a single democratically-structured media union. I stand for a vigorous campaign against state censorship in both Ireland and Britain; for the continued pursuit of the union's policies on matters of ethics and equality, in particular in defence of abortion rights; for solidarity with oppressed groups everywhere; for a British withdrawal from Northern Ireland.

I am a member of the Socialist Workers Movement. I support the NUJ Left's Statement of Principles. I look for the active backing of all who believe in the need for a fighting union.

Join us!

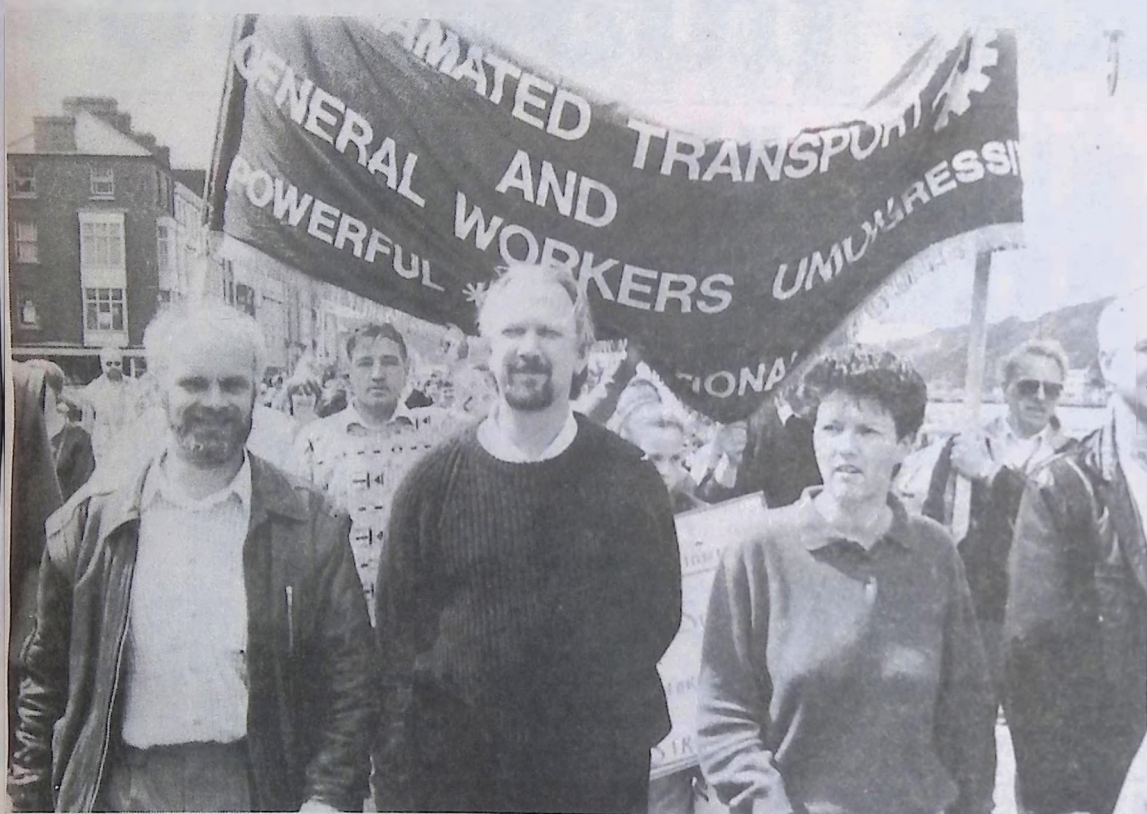
If you would like to join the SWM or want more details, complete and send to: SWM PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

Please send me more details of SWM
 I want to join the SWM

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....



WATERFORD CRYSTAL:**Glass workers force Company climbdown**

Waterford Glass strike leaders lead a recent march

Photo: MARK LYNCH

"WHEN you think of the constant savage attacks on us by the media and right wing parties, it was a tremendous achievement to stay sold so long" said Shamie Power a leading union activist at Waterford Glass.

Another worker from the semi-skilled section agreed. He summed up the outcome of the Waterford Glass strike like this:

"Galvin had two aims. He wanted to smash the union and enforce Plan 90. Our solidarity succeeded in defeating him on the first and blunting his aim on the second."

It was an accurate description of the outcome of the strike.

Paddy Galvin, Ireland's number one macho manager has been pushed back. As a personnel manager at Guinness, Galvin had pushed through two "plans" which led to the shedding of over a thousand jobs. Last December he introduced his notorious Plan 90 at Waterford Glass.

The final offer of management showed how much he was forced to back down.

Wage cuts: Galvin had sought vicious wage cuts. Over £50 a week had been demanded from skilled workers. Now he has had to back down.

Holiday bonus: Galvin withdrew the bonus before the strike. Now he has been forced to concede the principle.

Shop steward organisation: In an interview in the local paper, Galvin had pointed to the powerful shop steward organisation as the source of his problems. The power of the strike has strengthened the credibility of the shop stewards.

REMOVAL

But there are problems ahead. A document on the procedures to be invoked inside the factories after a return to work has still to be negotiated.

In it management are seeking to form four plant committees to break up the workforce into different bargaining units. They want the removal of the full time convenors and the limiting of shop steward facility time. Galvin must be told to keep his hands off union organisation.

On a number of issues, the Glass workers have been forced to make a number of big concessions.

■ The retirement age for skilled workers has been forced up.

■ The attendance bonus has been removed.

■ The length of the working week has been increased. This goes against the trend elsewhere. Even the rotten Programme for National Recovery allows for negotiation on the reduction of the working week.

■ A clause at the beginning of the new agreement gives management a free hand to impose flexibility. This must be limited by shop stewards insisting on maintaining the principle of mutual agreements.

WORSENING

All of these represent a major worsening of conditions. But the key thing in assessing the outcome of strikes is also to take account of the confidence and strength of workers on returning. Here Galvin has lost out.

In management circles the Glass workers were regarded

as paper tigers. The workers had engaged in limited action in the past, most notably on the tax issue. But they had never launched a sustained strike against their own management. Galvin had hoped to use this fact to sow divisions between workers once they were out the gate.

This strategy was a complete failure. The Glass strike gave rise to the greatest wave of working class solidarity in Southern Ireland since the miners strike. The confidence of workers increased as the strike progressed.

If workers now view the concessions they made in the present agreement as something to be wrestled back from management as soon as possible they could still inflict a major defeat on Galvin.

This means regarding the agreement as nothing more than a temporary breathing space before resuming the struggle.

Workers should not feel bound by the letter of any agreement dictated by a capitalist class who used every threat in the book.

As soon as possible they must use the unity built up on the strike to go after Galvin again.

We say:

It's time to get political

THE Waterford Glass workers are among the best organised and most political workforce in Ireland.

The recent strike shows why they now need a strong political organisation.

From the early seventies, when individual socialists began to build up shop floor organisation at the Glass factory, workers began to wring concession after concession from management.

In practice, this led many of the best militants to believe that trade union organisation alone was sufficient.

After 1987 this changed dramatically. The financial problems of the company led to an offensive on conditions.

The shop stewards first responded with an attempt to establish a new relationship with management based on employee share owning.

For this they were hailed by everyone from Peter Cassells of the ICTU to Fine Gael.

The arrival of Paddy Galvin has shattered the illusion that a new era of cooperation was at hand.

It was Galvin who has confirmed that the "old" political perspective based on class struggle is absolutely correct.

The recent strike shows two things.

First, the fate of the Glass workers is now bound up

much more closely with the wider working class movement—solidarity from workplaces around the country was crucial.

Second, the strike was not fought by purely industrial means. Few strikes are.

Galvin brought in the press and right wing politicians to back him up. In the end his biggest trump card was the prerogative of capital itself—the threat to move production.

And this points to why political organisation is important. Every victory over the boss class is temporary—until we overthrow capitalism.

But to do that demands argument within the working class through which ideas are clarified and working class militants are organised.

The SWM is not yet a large organisation. But our core political ideas which come to grips with the crisis in Eastern Europe, the North, the fight for women's rights, etc are now more important than ever.

Working class militants in Waterford Glass and elsewhere while elated by the bloody nose given to Galvin are also keen to win not just this battle but the whole war against the boss class.

We should be talking to one another.

Socialist Workers Movement
Like to know more?

Post this slip to SWM PO Box 1648 Dublin 8

NAME

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PHONE

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism

'Settlement talks' cannot deliver:

No peace possible within the North

THE DESPERATE efforts to patch up the "talks about talks" on the North show how futile the whole process is.

The root of the problem is that Unionism is *unable* to offer a democratic settlement which would respect the rights of nationalists. For practical purposes this makes the North *irreformable*.

The Northern state has got to go. Peter Brook's "initiative" has been under way since January. He has had talks with all the "constitutional" parties and with the Dublin government in an attempt to establish a basis for negotiation.

But the whole effort came to the point of collapse when Dublin and the Unionists couldn't agree about what stage Dublin would become directly involved.

Paisley and Molyneux wanted Dublin kept out until "internal" arrangements for running the North had been thrashed out. And they made it clear that the internal arrangements would *not* include "power-sharing".

An actual deal is so far off it's out of sight. Small wonder that the vast majority of working class people, North and South, take a cynical view of the entire exercise.

Some put the stalemate down to the dishonesty and intransigence of the politicians concerned. But there's something even more basic involved which everybody is sooner or later going to have to face up to.

Unionism is an expression of a determination to keep nationalists out of the affairs of the state.

To put it another way, the Northern state isn't a state which Unionists just came to dominate. It was set up *for* Unionists to dominate.

This is reflected in the machinery of the Northern state and is what makes the state "irreformable".

This is not an abstract point. It is a matter of practicalities, and it's what lies behind the failure of all "solutions" so far.

For example, any settlement acceptable to nationalists would have to include radical reform of the

police. For a start—and it would only be a *start*—there would have to be a weeding out of the RUC men involved in episodes such as the "shoot-to-kill" incidents in Armagh in 1982.

But the major lesson of the Stalker affair was that this is *impossible*. The trail of guilt led right to the heart of the RUC. The investigation threatened the viability of the entire force.

In other words the measures which would have been necessary to still nationalist fears and suspicions would have had the effect of *destroying* the RUC. That was certainly the view of RUC chiefs and the high officials of the British government, who conspired to have Stalker removed.

People like the Workers Party, sections of the Irish Labour Party, various "moderate" trade unionists, North and South, who call on Haughey and the SDLP to be "flexible" so that "internal" reforms might be agreed, are just not facing up to what episodes like Stalker clearly tell us.

At the same time it should be obvious that nationalism offers no way out.

The fact that there's no settlement in prospect means that the IRA campaign can be sustained for the foreseeable future. The campaign can make the British feel pain as result of their presence shoring up the Northern state. It's the main factor keeping the North on the British political agenda.

But if the IRA is nowhere near defeat, neither is it anywhere near victory. Nationalism, whether of the "constitutional" or the "unconstitutional" variety, has no potential to extend outside the Catholic community in the North.

SNUFFED OUT

It isn't going to be snuffed out, but neither is it going to spread, and realistic people must know that means it won't win.

The one force on the island which could alter the equation is the working class.

The trade unions should not just

be joining, but should be taking the lead in demanding that the Northern state be dismantled. They should be campaigning strongly against the RUC, the UDR and the British presence, against extradition, for the rights of prisoners, against all discrimination, etc., etc.

It is not in the interests of any section of Irish workers that the sectarian slum in the North should last one week longer.

The fight against the Northern state and the British presence which sustains it is central to the fight for socialism in Ireland. This is the line the left should be taking within the unions, in the Irish Labour Party, "single-issue" campaigns, etc.

If the trade union movement was out in front and unambiguously campaigning against the Northern state and what it represents, it's obvious this could make a significant difference to the balance of forces and to the way workers on all sides, North and South, see the issues.

Peter Brook's "initiative" was always a pipe-dream. But socialists need a positive alternative and it's through the working class movement that we can find it.



Fight forced integration

THE Policy of forcibly integrating Loyalist and Republican prisoners in Belfast's Crumlin Road jail continues to heighten tension both inside and outside the prison and could yet lead to violent tragedy.

All socialists should support the demand for segregation not just on humanitarian grounds but because the Northern Ireland Office's policy of integration is based on a denial that the men are in jail because of the political situation.

Underlying the NIO's policy is the theory that the men are "ordinary criminals"

and can all therefore be lumped in together.

To allow segregation would be to admit their different political motivations, which would be tantamount to admitting the truth—that they are in jail because of the sick, sectarian society Britain presides over in the North.

TACTIC

Crumlin Road is the only prison in the North where integration is now seriously pursued. It handles remand prisoners. The NIO tactic is "integration-at-the-outset".

Other aggravating factors at "the Crum" are that the relatively large number of Loyalist prisoners makes the nationalists particularly vulnerable—which won't worry the prison officers—and that conditions are particularly foul, with a design similar to Strangeways, with overcrowding, cramped quarters, "slopping out" and poor food.

In addition, the prison holds a number of Loyalists on remand as a result of the Stevens' enquiry. Some of them have seen documents with details of the families of some of the nationalist prisoners.

Socialists support prisoners rights as a general principle. They have the right to live without brutality, in decent conditions and with decent food, and with access to education and recreation and facilities to allow relations with family and friends to continue.

In late June the NIO allowed a number of concessions to "minimise the opportunities for confrontation". But this falls far short of complete segregation.

Supporting the campaign for full segregation is simply to demand a recognition of the political reasons for the men's imprisonment in the first place.