

Socialist Worker

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism 30p

Inside:

**WHY WE SAY
U.S. OUT
OF THE GULF**

Pages 6&7

**NO
BLOOD
FOR
OIL**

**NO REFUELLING
AT SHANNON!**



EAMONN McCANN

How little has changed

MANY people—the Dublin Government in particular—will have been relieved that the latest phase of the Danny McNamee case passed off with very little publicity.

The appeal in London in December was swamped by publicity around the Birmingham Six case which came up the same day.

The rejection of the appeal last month came on the first day of the US attack on Iraq. Again, little space was given to the case in the press or TV.

The McNamee case exploded the argument of Haughey, Hume etc. that "things have changed" since the 70s and that outstanding cases of injustice such as the Birmingham Six are now merely hangovers from the past.

YEARS

Danny McNamee, 30, from Crossmaglen, was sentenced to 25 years in 1987 for conspiring to cause explosions in the early 1980s.

Leaving aside the staggering hypocrisy of the people who gloat over the mass slaughter of Iraqis presuming to condemn any bombing anywhere, the McNamee trial was a farce.

Only 10 days before the trial began, the 1980 Hyde Park bombing was added to this indictment. The issue of where and with whom McNamee was supposed to have conspired was changed during the trial—after the evidence was presented!

TIME

Pleas from the defence for time to consider these charges were brushed aside by Judge McCarron.

A series of other anomalies, and the openly partisan conduct of the trial by Judge McCarron, had convinced many observers that this appeal court couldn't possibly sustain the conviction.

However the appeal was presided over by the notorious bigot, Lord Chief Justice Lane. And one of his two sidekicks was Justice Igor Judge—on the prosecuting team against the Birmingham Six in 1975!!

The appeal was rejected in scornful terms. Lane's attitude came through in a warning to McNamee's counsel, Richard Ferguson, that he had made "very serious allegations" about the conduct of the trial!!

Of course he had. That after all, was the point of the appeal...

Five of the guilty men!

What was remarkable about Lane's judgement was how unconcerned he was about hiding his prejudice. He clearly felt no need to express himself delicately or diplomatically.

DEGREE

Which seems to indicate a remarkable degree of confidence that nobody whose support the British establishment needs on Ireland is going to kick up a full about another rigged trial.

This is confirmed by a series of comments on the Birmingham Six case from



'If they had been hanged they would have been forgotten and the whole community would have been satisfied'

Lord Denning, former Master of the Rolls, interview, 1990



'The longer this case has gone on the more convinced this court has become that the verdict of the jury was correct ... the appeals are dismissed'

Lord Chief Justice, Lord Lane, Birmingham Six appeal, 1988



'Douglas Hurd is at present aware of no grounds which would justify him in considering asking the Court of Appeal to look at the convictions again'

Home Office statement 1988



'To date not a shred of evidence has come forward to advance the case of those convicted'

Geoffrey Dear, West Midlands chief constable, 1990



'I don't think we're going to let this spoil our Christmas'

Lord Justice Lloyd, in the Court of Appeal,

leading members of the British judiciary, police and political establishment.

The comments, quoted here, all came from the last few years—even months.

They show absolutely conclusively that the attitudes and ideas which put the Birmingham Six into prison in the first place are NOT "in the past."

They are in the here-and-now. And they have resulted in another judicial outrage in the case of Danny McNamee.

Even in terms of conventional bourgeois ideas of justice, extradition of Irish people into this system is outrageous.

Limerick victim of health cuts

A 12-YEAR wait for a much-needed extension to St. Luke's Hospital in Kilkenny came to nothing when Health Minister Rory O'Hanion announced last month that funds for the project had not been included in the 1991 allocation of funds.

With overcrowding, beds in corridors and understaffing, nurses are working in very difficult circumstances. Public concern on the issue was reflected in a packed public meeting just before Christmas.

Unfortunately, the anger was focussed on the local situation, with claims that the extension wasn't going ahead because there is no government minister in the area!

In fact, health boards right across the country are saying they won't be able to hold services at last year's level. Focussing on whether or not any of the ministers who sanction the cut-backs represents the area is stupid and an evasion of the real issue.

The people who could put up a real fight against the cut-backs and for an end to the embargo on recruitment of nurses are the workers in the health service—the nurses in St. Luke's organised in the Irish Nurses' Organisation, for example.

what's needed in Kilkenny.

Nixon tells truth!

RICHARD NIXON, the former US president disgraced in the Watergate scandal, has exposed President Bush's lies about the Gulf.

Nixon, who still has close links with the establishment, wholeheartedly backs war here.

The media constantly pump out tales of Iraqi atrocities in Kuwait, though little evidence is ever provided to back up the claims. Yet in Israel atrocities occur every day as the regime brutally represses the



Palestinian intifada. They are hardly covered.

At least ten Palestinians were killed, and hundreds more wounded, by the Israeli army in the week before the war started.

leaders, we would not be allied with Syria's President Assad".

The war, Nixon says, is about stopping Hussein getting "a choke hold on our oil lifeline".

He insists that "we should not apologise for defending our vital economic interests."

He insists that "we should not apologise for defending our vital economic interests".

But in an article in the New York Times he admits "it will not be a war for democracy" and "it is hypocritical to suggest we hope to bring democracy to Kuwait".

"Nor is Intervention justified because Saddam Hussein is a cruel leader," Nixon goes on, because "if our policy were to punish cruel

MOOD

The mood at the public meeting, plus the 24,000 signatures which were collected in support of the extension, shows how much backing there would be for a real fight.

It should be noted, too, that the cut-backs and the recruitment embargo were part and parcel of the Programme for National Recovery. One lesson workers in Kilkenny should learn is the need to oppose the new deal which the ICTU bodies have stitched up with the Green Tories of the Haughey government.

More working class fight in the area, not a government minister, is

Keep it in the family

GENERAL Norman Schwarzkopf, the current US commander in the Gulf, is obviously following a family tradition.

His father was the operational organiser of the 1953 CIA coup in Iran.

The US overthrew the nationalist government when it challenged their power by nationalising oil production.

Newman on the rampage.

BISHOP Newman from Limerick has decided that there are too many well meaning religious about the place.

He attacked 'the excessive and unrealistic' demands being made on behalf of the poor by religious groups. Wealth had to be created before it was distributed according to Newman.

Stick to the St Vincent de Paul, Newman advised. 'Its

credentials are not in doubt'

In other words, treat the poor as recipients for charity and stay well clear of politics.

There speaks the true voice good old fashioned Catholic reaction. After all there is plenty of wealth bottled up in those monasteries. And there might be some 'excessive demands' made here ...



Neutrality: Rest in peace

"WE ARE in no doubt on which side right lies in this conflict and in no doubt who has been the aggressor" said Charles J Haughey in the Dail as he committed the Southern State to supporting the US war in the Gulf.

The figleaf of Irish neutrality has been taken off. From now on, US war planes will be given full facilities to re-fuel at Shannon and to overfly Irish air space.

Haughey claims that it is the UN charter that Ireland is supporting.

But they have never needed a charter from the UN, or anybody else, to back US interests in the past.

During the invasion of Grenada, Brian Lenihan came out openly in support of the US.

Shannon airport has long given facilities to Southern Airlines, a company with covert US

military connections.

But in the present imperialist war effort in the Gulf, Bush is calling in his cards. Every country in the broad Western alliance involving the US and the EEC are being told to nail their colours to the mast. The time for sentimental traditions is over as far as the international capitalist class is concerned.

By giving this indirect assistance to the war, the Irish government is saying that it is a fully paid up member of the international capitalist club. It has come of age.

OPPOSE

The only parties to oppose the move in the Dail were Labour and the Workers Parties. But their position was weakened in two senses.

First, neither party issued any appeal for trade union action to stop the re-fueling. A major series of protests organised by the Irish trade union movement,



Haughey and Collins, our Masters of War

including stoppages, should be organised against Irish assistance to this imperialist war effort.

Many union officials are members of the Labour Party and the Workers Party. A wholehearted campaign against re-fuelling involving trade union action, if initiated by these parties, could have an immediate impact.

However, basically they consider that politics is confined to Dail Eireann. It will be down to activists in the anti-war movement to begin the campaign for trade union action.

Second, Haughey and the Left both claimed to be supporting

the UN. According to de Rossa 'we should be working under the auspices of the United Nations for a peaceful resolution of the dispute'

This is pure pie in the sky. The UN campaign for sanctions gave the US the cover to build up the biggest military forces outside its boundaries since the Vietnam war.

The UN Security Council is dominated by the US, China, which has butchered thousands in Tienamin Square, Russia which is presently terrorising the Baltic states, Britain whose shoot to kill squads act with impunity in Northern Ireland,

and France, whose government blew the *Rainbow warrior* to bits.

Calling on the UN to make peace is like calling on butchers to promote vegetarianism.

This horrific war should lift the eyes of socialists from the illusions of the past. Instead of prating any more about Irish neutrality, socialists should from now point to the complicity of our own rulers in war. Instead of painting the UN as a wonderful institution of peace, we should be saying loudly and clearly that Western forces should get out of the Gulf.

Quotes of the month

★ "Both Iraq and Kuwait are members of the UN, and this is the first time that any UN members has tried to take over another country by force"—John Bruton, Fine Gael leader shows his profound knowledge of international affairs as he ignores Russia's invasion of Afganistan, America's invasion of Panama, China's invasion of Tibet etc etc.

★ "Feelthy Trick by Jacques"—The Sun on France's last minute effort to avert a Gulf war.

★ "We're against Saddam Husseln and against imperialism"—Kurdish demonstrator in Paris on an anti-war march.

★ "The President says that US troops will be brought home as soon as possible. But to restore order in Iraq, to restore basics of civilisation like a power supply and water, to establish the regional stability which the President says is one of our war aims could get us involved in an open-ended commitment, perhaps even an army of occupation."—US Congressman Lee Hamilton.

★ "There is one thing worse than having the messieurs as your enemy. That is to have them as your friends"—The Sun on Britain's French imperialist allies.

★ "To the public it means: thousands of young Americans will not be conscripted and slaughtered and the war will not last more than six months. To the military it means: do whatever you want to the Iraqis, short of nuclear attack and there will be no political pressure to protect Iraqi civilians."—James Meek, US correspondent in Saudi Arabia, talking about the 'Vietnam Syndrome'.

★ "The Americans deserve a good box on the ears because they're always starting something. They can't stay quiet."—101-year old Kathleen Castles of Dublin.

AROUND THE COLLEGES

UCD condoms

UNTIL recently, a portrait of the triumphant Mrs Robinson occupied a space at UCD near to the Student Union condom machine.

But one morning students woke up to find the handy dispenser gone.

It seems that in the dead of night representatives of the college authorities had swooped on the machine, prised it away from its moorings and carried it off to some secret location.

It hasn't been seen since.

It seems that in an AIDS-conscious era, and in a third level institution, and within "sight" of the woman whose election supposedly heralded a new and more progressive age, the people who run UCD are determined that students will remain in the past.

Their arrogant, reactionary "raid" gives us the message that we either should have no sex—or unprotected sex. If pregnancy or disease results, the UCD bosses will regard it as a

"punishment".

Student Union officers did distribute condoms afterwards as a once-off protest. But what's needed is a sustained fight against an administration which enthusiastically implements government cuts and policy changes which result in chronic overcrowding while imposing an oppressive regime on students.

It is no business of the college authorities whether or with whom students have sex. It is the business of responsible students and their representatives to make condoms easily available.

The condom machine should be replaced and the authorities told that if it's removed again their offices will be occupied until such times as it is returned. The time is long past when we should put up with this sort of nonsense.

■UCD SWSS

Limerick

Students at Limerick College of Art and Design are planning further action to highlight the effect of cuts on the college. More than 200 took part in a sit-in last term to draw attention to the effect overcrowding and other problems are having.

Students' Union President Michelle King told *Socialist Worker* that the problems are particularly aggravated because the college is located in five separate

venues. The travelling which is necessary, added to the overcrowding, creates real difficulties for the up to 400 students.

Cut-backs, overcrowding, unsuitable premises, etc. are all symptoms of the way the priorities of the Haughey government operates against the interests of students.

Students should see their campaign for better facilities—which the SWM in Limerick fully supports—in the context of the broader struggle against the penny-pinching, right-wing government.

Trinity

THE Trinity College Dublin Students Union has finally committed itself to a campaign! After the events of last term, which saw the SU refuse to publicly back the Right to Abortion Information Campaign, the SU President, Eddie Doyle has begun to work on opposition to the Gulf War.

Well attended meetings have shown that it is not necessary to have the

approval of every single student in the college in order to organise student action.

Until the SU realises this, they will continue to face the threat of a campaign to disaffiliate from USI. To forestall this, it is necessary for the SU to not only campaign alongside the No to the War in the Gulf Campaign, but also to begin to seriously address the immediate problems facing students, like overcrowding and lack of library facilities.

■TCD SWSS

INTERNATIONAL

Tanks crush Lithuanian independence

In 1956 while Britain and France were launching the Suez war Russian tanks rolled into Hungary. In 1991, while Western forces are bombing Baghdad, Gorbachev's armies are crushing resistance in the Baltics.

Thirteen Lithuanians were murdered in Vilnius as Russian troops took over the broadcasting tower. In Latvia the dreaded 'black berets' have been sent in to spread terror and murder. Waiting in the wings are puppet governments controlled by the KGB.

A howl of anger went up in the Russian press at these events. 'Moscow News' denounced 'the crimes of a regime which does not want to leave the scene'

Gorbachev's response has been to demand new censorship and to try to suspend the press laws passed last year. He has appointed the hard line Leonid Kravchenko to turn the Soviet broadcasting network into an old style Stalinist propaganda machine.

SURPRISE

All of these events will come as a surprise to those who have seen Gorbachev as representing the 'new human face of socialism'.

He is nothing of the sort. Gorbachev is a member of the state capitalist class who has participated enthusiastically in the exploitation of Russian workers in order to compete economically and militarily with the West.

He was chosen for the position of leadership in Russia by Andropov the head of the KGB. When he took over in 1985 he found in USSR's economy in 'a pre-crisis situation'. It was for this reason alone that he launched perestroika and glasnost.

But the whole process is now well out of control as far as the Russian state capitalist class is concerned. At the end of last year a conference of factory managers and army officers demanded a campaign to 'restore order.'

The main opposition to Gorbachev has been led so far by Yeltsin and the liberals. Even the new workers movement is under the influence of many of their ideas which call for a faster

move to the market.

But the apostles of the market also support the shift to strong government even if they do not agree with Gorbachev's exact measures. Popov, the liberal mayor of Moscow, called for the military, the KGB, the party bureaucrats and 'the democrats' to form a coalition government to introduce the market.

MEASURES

In the West, the guru of 'market socialism', Alec Nove argues that "a move to the market requires a strong government ... it is hard to see how the necessary democratic measures can

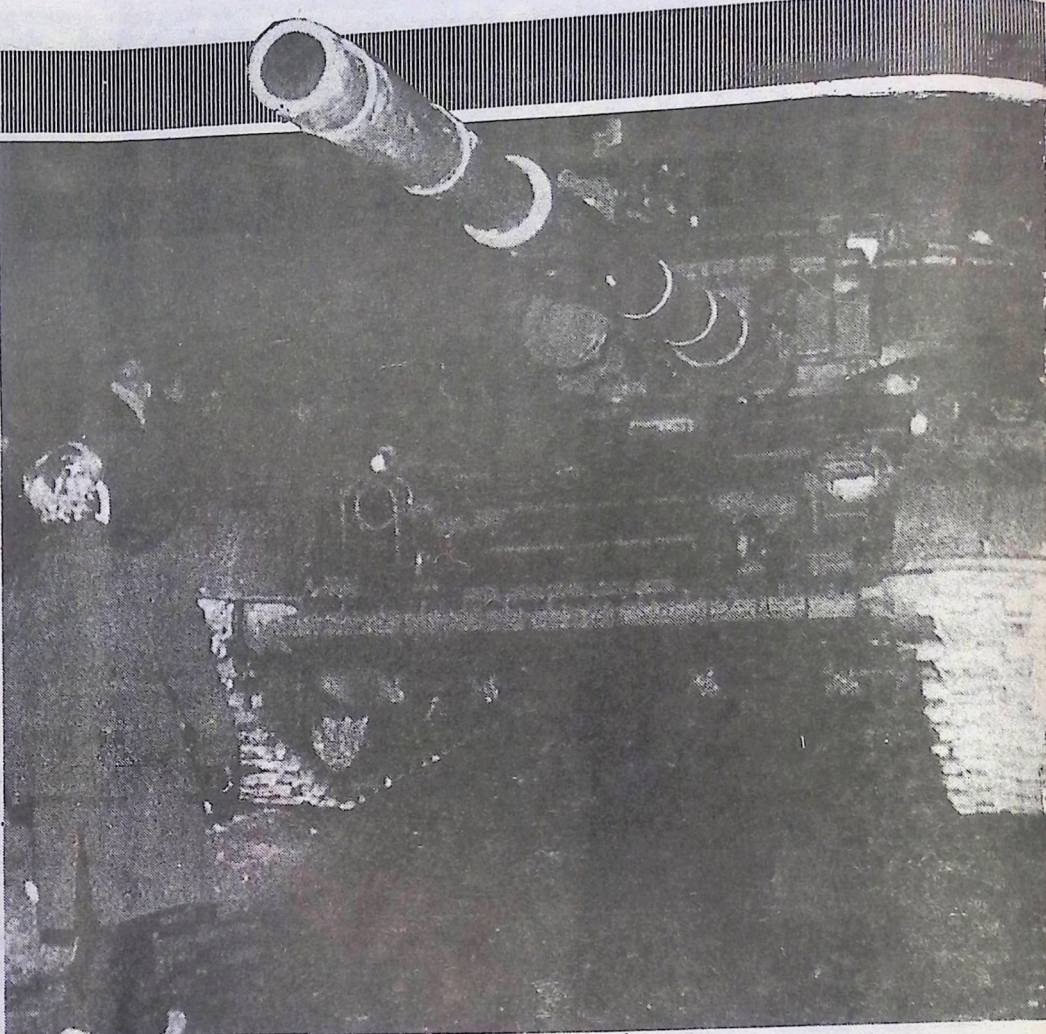
be taken by democratic vote".

Now more than ever is the time to build an independent revolutionary socialist movement that can oppose both Gorbachev and the liberals.

It would be a fundamental part of the programme of such a movement that Lithuania, and all the other oppressed nationalities in the USSR, have the right to self-determination—up to and including complete secession.

People can only stay freely together when they are free to separate if they so wish.

■SEAN WHITE



USSR terror in Vilnius

ANC under pressure as reforms falter

NELSON MANDELA had an angry meeting with ANC exiles in Lusaka, Zambia, in mid-January when he spoke to them about repatriation to South Africa.

There are around 3,000 ANC exiles living in Lusaka, and their anger arises from the fact that they had expected to be able to return home last year, following the ANC decision to suspend its armed struggle.

However, the De Klerk Government has stalled on the deal and failed to issue the 3,000 with indemnity from prosecution.

Reports suggested that the exiles were unhappy with Mandela's declaration that "The process of negotiations (with the

South African Government) is still on course".

One was quoted as asking: "What can this mean when our return was part of the agreement which enabled the negotiations to begin?"

Meanwhile, the agreement to release political prisoners has also been ignored by the apartheid authorities. The justice ministry refused to recognise up to 2,000 ANC prisoners as "political",

insisting that they are 'common criminals'. The ANC leadership's insistence on keeping talks going despite these rebuffs has reated dismay which cam through at the congress's conference last month. The anger was fuelled by the slow pace of change generally.

A majority of the 1,600 delegates demanded that talks be broken off unless real reforms are in place by April. They also demanded that the ANC build defence committees

to protect township residents from the violence of the State forces and the right wing Inkatha movement of Chief Buthelezi.

Thousands have now died in the violence, with the police siding with the Inkatha thugs.

However, the congress leadership is still set on compromise and "peaceful means".

Even the prestige of the returning Oliver Tambo wasn't enough to force the concessions the leadership wanted through the conference. Tambo had argued that it was time "to re-evaluate sanctions".

RESTRICTIONS

But the statement by Tambo, and another earlier by Mandela, was enough to give the green light to EC leaders—including Ireland—to call off restrictions on investment in South Africa.

Mandela, Tambo and other leaders aren't 'selling out' for personal advancement. They have given their whole lives to the struggle when they could have opted for a far easier course.

It's their politics which

have led them to their present path.

In common with many liberation movements, the ANC, following the lead of the South African Communist Party has taken the view that their struggle is one for a 'democratic South Africa'.

Only after that is achieved will the question of socialism come onto the agenda.

The alternatives they have are "constitutional politics" or a return to a clandestine armed struggle. A return to armed struggle wouldn't win the backing of any outside power—including the USSR.

The option of building on the existing struggles of black workers in the streets and the workplaces—as opposed to dependence either on negotiators or guerrillas—isn't seriously considered by the ANC leadership—because struggle on that basis would call into question all the structures of South African society, and not just the obstacles to "democracy".

■KIERAN ALLEN

TURKISH UNIONS FIGHT AUSTERITY AND WAR

ONE OF George Bush's key allies in his war drive against Iraq is Turkey's President Ozal. Ozal has given permission for US warplanes to take off from Turkey for attacks on Iraq.

But Ozal faces immense problems at home with the biggest wave of strikes in Turkey's history.

In January, 80,000 miners and their supporters from the Black Sea coal mining port of Zonguldak marched on the country's capital,

Ankara, to demand a 600% wage rise.

When police and army stopped the miners' 1,000 bus convoy, they got out and walked. The miners turned down an offer of a 250% wage increase.

The march was only finally halted by riot police backed by bulldozers and water cannon.

ANGER

105,000 metal workers have also been on strike since 26 December. Textile and paper workers have also been taking action.

Throughout this wave of strikes the slogan 'No to War' has been raised and

huge anger has grown at Ozal's decision to give the US a free hand.

The growth of the workers movement in Turkey is tremendously significant. In August 1980, the army launched a coup in Turkey. Socialists were jailed and tortured. Even the moderate Social Democratic Party was banned.

DISK, which was one of the main union federations was banned under the coup. DISK proclaims itself a 'revolutionary' union federation.

Its main rival union federation, TURK-IS has in recent years tried to make connections with the government. But even this federation was forced to call a general strike on 3

January against the policies of the Ozal government.

The workers movement has now recovered from the coup. Ozal's latest ploy to quell the unrest is an attempt to whip up nationalist unrest during the Gulf war. He hopes to gain territory and oil fields from an Iraqi defeat at the hands of the US.

UNPOPULAR

But the more he commits himself to the war drive, the more unpopular he becomes. Supporters of the Turkish fortnightly paper *Isciler ve Politike* (*Workers and Politics*) argue that, 'the whole workers movement is against the war. Every leaflet prepared by strikes or trade union leaders states clearly they against war and against Ozal.'

■JOHN BYRNE



ANC's Nelson Mandela

Action to stop war... Action to stop war... Action to stop war... Action

Building the anti-war movement

The Socialist Workers Movement has played a leading role in building the No to War in the Gulf Committee.

The call for a broad-based mobilisation against the war came first at a public meeting organised by the SWM in the Clarence Hotel in Dublin in the first week of last September addressed by Kevin Wingfield, a member of the national committee of the SWM, now chairman of the No to War in the Gulf Committee.

A motion from the floor called for a wide range of groups and parties on the Left to be invited to join in building an anti-war movement.

Around 30 groups, including women's and peace organisations were invited to attend an initial organising meeting. The early response was disappointing. Many individuals and organisations appeared to believe that the war would never happen.

However, the SWM with a number of independent activists in both Left-wing and Green politics persevered and established the committee as a rallying point for anti-war feeling, on the basis of demanding the withdrawal of all western forces from the Gulf and no collaboration with the Western war machine. In particular, in the South the focus was put on opposition to making facilities at Shannon available to US warplanes.

ORGANISED

A number of open-air rallies were held outside the GPO in Dublin and general propaganda distributed to the media. Meanwhile SWM members in other centres, North and South organised public meetings and tried to attract other groups and individuals to the idea of joining campaigning.

It was only in the New Year, when the US January 15th ultimatum, brought it home that war was imminent, that many of those who had been holding back moved into activity. Protests and meetings multiplied in size and action groups were speedily established in many areas which had seen no anti-war activity.

★ Stop the war!
★ Western forces out!
★ No refuelling at Shannon!

Members of the No to War in the Gulf Committee protest in Belfast last month



CAMPAIGN DEMANDS

The Committee is organised around three basic demands: Stop the war, Western troops out of the Gulf, and no overflights or re-fuelling facilities for US war-planes at Shannon.

Public activities of the campaign have been organised around these demands.

Individuals and organisations involved in the Committee and its action groups have been free to express other demands as long as it is made clear that these aren't being put forward on behalf of the campaign as a whole.

As can be seen elsewhere in Socialist Worker, the SWM in its own propaganda argues that a US victory after a prolonged war would be the worst possible outcome of the conflict; that we should put no trust in the UN as a forum for finding a solution; for opposition to sanctions (or alternative means of securing the West's war aims), for the overthrow of Saddam Hussein and all other Middle East dictators, by the working class and other exploited people of the region.

This is the SWM position. However, because we aim to help build the broadest possible, principled movement against the war, we want to work with ALL those who recognise that this is an IMPERIALIST war being fought for control over the region's resources and who are willing to oppose it on that basis—whether or not they go along with us on other aspects of the issue.

DUBLIN

AROUND 2,000 attended the Campaign rally at the US Embassy and the march to Leinster House on Jan. 19th.

The mobilisation followed a packed meeting at the Ormonde Hotel a fortnight previously addressed by speakers including Michael D. Higgins and a representative of the Palestinian community in Ireland, as well as the SWM's Eamonn McCann.

Three Action Groups were set up following the meeting—Dublin North, Dublin South and Dun Laoghaire/Bray. In all, more than 100 activists are now meeting weekly in Dublin, and targeting representatives of Fianna Fail, the PDs and Fine Gael for protest.

Public meetings in local areas are planned—the first is scheduled for Rialto. The Southside Action Group meets in the Batchelor Inn beside O'Connell Bridge, each Monday at 6 pm.

The Northside Group meets at Maye's on the corner of Dorset and Frederick Street, on Monday at 6 pm.

BRAY

A PUBLIC meeting in the Kingston Hotel drew twenty people and an Action Group was set up. There are plans for more public meetings in Bray and Dun Laoghaire as well as in the College of Art in Dun Laoghaire.

CORK

MORE than 250 people crowded into the meeting at the Metropole Hotel to launch the campaign. Speakers included a Palestinian activist, Senator Brendan Ryan and Eamonn McCann.

A follow-up meeting of activists attracted 160 people who constituted themselves as part of the No to War in the Gulf Campaign, following a vigorous, friendly

political debate at which the importance of including the demand for the withdrawal of Western troops was stressed by SWM speakers.

An initial street protest drew around 200 people and more than 100 travelled to Shannon for the protest march on January 20th.

Local TDs who reneged on neutrality and voted for co-operation with the Western war effort will be the focus of protests this month.

LIMERICK

ABOUT 50 attended the launch meeting, addressed by speakers including Paul O'Brien of the SWM. The local Trades Council is sympathetic to the campaign and it is hoped that it will give formal backing this month.

Campaign supporters mobilised for the Shannon protest on Jan. 20th and Shannon is likely to stay in the

forefront of the campaign locally.

NAVAN

ABOUT 40 people attended the launch meeting, at which an organising committee of 16 was formed. An anti-war petition taken up the following day drew 500 signatures in a short time.

A second public meeting with speakers including Joe O'Reilly of Sinn Fein and a Columban priest and a member of the SWM consolidated the Campaign in the town.

A contingent travelled to Dublin for the Jan. 19th US Embassy rally.

Meath Trades Council has supported the campaign and called on the ICTU to support opposition to overflights and re-fuelling at Shannon.

DERRY

A PACKED public meeting on January 14th heard speakers from the Greens, the

Trades Council, the city's main Third World Group and the SWM.

On January 17th—the day the bomb onslaught began—upwards of 150 marched at lunchtime in the city centre. Another march the following Saturday pulled around double that number to a noisy, militant demonstration.

The Action group, which meets every Weds., has resolved to spread the campaign into local workplaces, colleges, community groups and schools.

Derry Trades Council has backed the Campaign.

BELFAST

ABOUT 180 attended the launch meeting at the Central Hall. The Greens, the Palestinian Community and the SWM provided speakers. John McNulty of the People's Democracy chaired.

The campaign has held a series of pickets at the US Consulate and organised a close-on 500 strong march there on Jan. 19th. The Action group is meeting weekly at the Central Hall.

WATERFORD

SEVENTY attended the first Campaign meeting on Jan. 14th at the ATGWU Hall to hear speakers including an SWM representative. The Action group itself held its first meeting on Jan. 21st, drawing support from trade unionists, students and community activists.

A delegation from the town, including a number of students from the Regional Tech., travelled to Dublin for the US Embassy protest.

Waterford Trades Council has backed the aims of the Campaign.

COLLEGES

■UCD: The Campaign is well under way and growing, with many students new to politics becoming involved. However, more pressure is needed to commit the Student's Union to the Campaign.

■TRINITY: More than 200 attended the first meeting on Jan. 15th. Fifty signed up for activity but a majority still has to be convinced of the need for a "Western Troops Out!" position. Members of Trinity SWSS are leading the argument on the issue.

The Student's Union helped organise a bus to the Shannon protest and further public meetings are planned.

■QUEEN'S: The Campaign got off to a good start with around 30 people agreeing to become active following a lunchtime meeting addressed by Eamonn McCann of the SWM.

An SWM suggestion to collect signatures to summon a general meeting of the student body was taken up, and the meeting is being planned as we go to press. Students including some previously uninvolved, have also been actively involved in the campaign in the city.

■MAGEE: After a debate, the College Socialist Society rejected efforts to add further demands to those of the Campaign.

A petition speedily gathered the 60 signatures needed to call a general students' meeting for Jan. 21st. Students have been prominently involved in the Campaign activities in the town.

MODEL RESOLUTION

WITHIN THE No to War in the Gulf Campaign, the SWM is arguing for a major orientation on the trade union movement.

We urge trade unionists who are opposed to the war to move this resolution at their branch or trades council:

★ This Branch/Trades Council declares its support for the No to the War in the Gulf Campaign on the basis of its demands for Western Forces out of the Gulf and No Refuelling of U.S. warplanes at Shannon. We agree to mobilise for demonstrations organised by the Campaign.

We call on the ICTU to campaign for work stoppages against the war and to bring the whole weight of the Irish trade union movement to bear against any collaboration with the US-led war drive—in particular the re-fuelling of war-planes at Shannon.

WHY WE SAY U.S. OUT

OF THE GULF

The war may be terrible, but isn't Saddam Hussein another Hitler who has to be toppled?

SADDAM is a tyrant but that's not why the Americans want rid of him.

US backing.

The US and other Western leaders hoped he would destroy the revolution in Iran and prevent its spread to the rich Gulf states.

Saudi Arabia and Kuwait bankrolled Saddam's war, while the US, Britain, France, Germany, China and the USSR supplied arms. When in 1987 it seemed Iran might win, the US sent a naval armada to the Gulf to intervene on Saddam's behalf.

own a home.

The ruling al Sabah family dissolved parliament at will, the last time for four years from 1986. It banned political parties, permitted no public meetings of more than 20 people and censored newspapers.

Neighbouring Saudi Arabia is even worse. Its ruling al Saud family preside over four fifths of the Arabian peninsula and a quarter of the world's oil

under British control, separating the region's greatest source of wealth from the population centres of Iraq and Iran. It kept Kuwait as a British colony until 1961.

Whether Kuwait should have a separate existence or remain the 19th province of Iraq, is a matter to be decided freely by the mass of the people of the region. A US victory won't give them that opportunity, any more than Saddam

misery alongside food mountains and luxury

living.

It is not in the interests of the working class, in Ireland or anywhere else, that this "new world order" should be secured. It is for this basic reason that we call for Western forces to get out of the Gulf.

Why no call for all forces to lay down their

the Iraqi masses and towards that end, we campaign for free trade unions, political parties and newspapers in Iraq and Kuwait, Saudi Arabia etc. The capitalist media is notably silent on such issues.

Doesn't the UN represent the best hope the world has of standing up?

launched the war. At the time of Vietnam it felt free to wage in regardless. The change is a result of a relative decline in its economic supremacy.

The same process has involved the gradual economic, and therefore political, integration of western Europe, which has tied Southern Ireland in to an EC bloc backing the US. A break in this consensus, even by a weak, fairly peripheral state like the South,

another Hitler who has to be toppled?

SADDAM is a tyrant but that's not why the Americans want rid of him.

If the Americans get him out he'll simply be replaced by a more cooperative tyrant. Instituting democracy in Iraq is not among the US war aims.

Saddam's regime is no more brutal than those backed by the US in Central and Southern America, by France in Africa, by Britain in the Gulf.

Saddam is not a "Hitler". Germany was the world's second industrial power when Hitler took over on the back of a smashed working class movement.

He lit a beacon for the most reactionary elements everywhere in the world.

Iraq, by contrast, is a minor industrial power with just a third of the population of its neighbours Egypt and Iran.

Saddam was only able to launch his war against Iran in 1980 because of

Kuwait bankrolled Saddam's war, while the US, Britain, France, Germany, China and the USSR supplied arms. When in 1987 it seemed Iran might win, the US sent a naval armada to the Gulf to intervene on Saddam's behalf.

The US business paper, the *Wall Street Journal* proclaimed Iraq's victory the following year "a major foreign policy victory for the US".

But the war left Iraq crippled and Saddam turned on Kuwait as a way out of his problems.

Isn't it in the interests of democracy that he should be forced out of Kuwait?

WHATEVER else they may be doing US forces certainly aren't defending democracy in Kuwait, where only 60,000 of the country's two million population—and not one woman—had the vote.

Two out of three were migrant workers who weren't even allowed to

permitted no public meetings of more than 20 people and censored newspapers.

Neighbouring Saudi Arabia is even worse.

Its ruling al Saud family preside over four fifths of the Arabian peninsula and a quarter of the world's oil reserves.

They enjoy fabulous wealth. King Fahd has a jet equipped as a flying palace. But they have never allowed any kind of elected assembly.

Political organisations and trade unions are banned, and there is rigid censorship.

Migrant workers, who are 30 percent of the population and 70 percent of the workforce, have no rights whatever.

Slavery was only officially abolished in 1963, and unofficial estimates put the number of slaves held at 500,000 a decade later.

Even so, isn't Kuwait, a small country, entitled to its independence?

REMEMBER it was the US that invaded Panama a year ago, killing thousands to overthrow its former placeman General Noriega. It did the same in Grenada, overthrowing the island's government in 1983.

The United Nations did nothing.

The US ignored South Africa's occupation of Namibia for decades. A UN Security Council resolution in 1969 demanded the apartheid regime's immediate withdrawal. But South Africa didn't pull out until 1990.

In fact Kuwait owes its very existence to the rulers of the world's major powers.

It was created in the carve up of the Middle East after the First World War., its borders drawn in 1922 by the British High Commissioner in Baghdad.

Whitehall aimed to keep the Gulf oilfields

Whether Kuwait should have a separate existence or remain the 19th province of Iraq, is a matter to be decided freely by the mass of the people of the region. A US victory won't give them that opportunity, any more than Saddam would.

So what is the point of the war?

OIL. The Middle East has the richest oilfields in the world, and its oil is the cheapest to extract.

The US aims to protect its cheap supplies. US State Department official Robert Kimmitt confessed the truth when he said the aim was to secure "the free, uninterrupted flow of oil from the Gulf".

It also aims to protect the profits of the multinationals that dominate the oil trade. Most are based in the US. The exceptions are Britain's BP and the Anglo-Dutch Shell.

That's why the US business magazine *Business Week* insists, "Oil is worth going to war for".

At the same time the White House aims to assert its ability to intervene and impose its will anywhere in the world, something US forces haven't been able to do since defeat in Vietnam.

In an atmosphere of deepening economic and political crisis the US wants to show the world that its business interests can't be flouted, that the rulers it props up can't be displaced.

In George Bush's words the US is fighting for a "new world order".

This would involve the US being accepted as the "cops of the world", able to impose its wishes, particularly on Third World countries, at will. It would shore up the system whereby the rulers of the developed countries ruthlessly exploit the masses in the undeveloped world, resulting in famine and

order" should be secured. It is for this basic reason that we call for Western forces to get out of the Gulf.

Why no call for all forces to lay down their arms?

A "plague on both your houses" approach may be attractive, but it evades the reality.

Whether we are in the North or the South, the governments we live under aren't lining up with Iraq, but with the US-led alliance. That's the association with the war which we have to campaign against.

More important just as a victory for the US would be a set-back for people struggling against western-backed oppression everywhere, so a defeat for the US would give heart to liberation struggles around the world.

Does this mean support for Saddam Hussein?

IT means we are on the same side as Saddam in resisting US efforts to put its puppets back in place in Kuwait and generally to assert control of the region. But that implies no political support for his regime.

Saddam's past collaboration with the West shows that he is not a genuine force for Arab liberation. He never wanted to fight imperialism, just to win a more advantageous relationship for himself with imperialism.

The people we support are those Iraq and elsewhere in the Middle East who fight for a genuinely anti-imperialist revolution which would put the mass of the people in power. Saddam Hussein doesn't want that. He has ruthlessly suppressed genuine anti-imperialists.

We support the overthrow of Saddam by

notably silent on such issues.

Doesn't the UN represent the best hope the world has of stability?

ITS understandable that people should desire some sort of "supranational" authority to find solutions to international problems. But the UN has never operated as anything but a fig-leaf for US interests, from Korea in its early days right up to the present.

The UN has exercised no restraint on the conduct of the war since it started. The military commanders don't refer back to the UN Secretariat. All the UN did was to provide the Americans with a cloak of respectability as they got ready for the slaughter.

Look who makes up the UN's most important body, its security council—the United States, Britain, France, the USSR and China.

Its a council that draws together the invaders of Panama, the invaders of Afghanistan and the butchers of Tiananmen Square with the European imperialist powers that carved up the Gulf in the first place.

The UN's resolutions have either provided a cover for the will of the superpowers or proved meaningless.

A hundred resolutions condemning Israel's occupation of Gaza and the West Bank, for example, have produced no result.

For that reason, the United Nations cannot be part of the solution in the Gulf.

Does it matter what people in Ireland think?

We should recognise the weakness as well as the strength of the US. It needed the cover of wide backing before it

supremacy. The same process has involved the gradual economic, and therefore political, integration of western Europe, which has tied Southern Ireland in to an EC bloc backing the US. A break in this consensus, even by a weak, fairly peripheral state like the South, would send a tremor of concern through the US camp.

The denial of facilities at Shannon to the US forces would be a major blow to the US camp. Here the trade union movement, which organises the Shannon workers, has a vital role. So this campaign is more than a propaganda exercise, it can have a practical effect.

What about neutrality?

THE neutrality policy in the South is already highly compromised. Ministers have played a full part in the process whereby the EC backed the US war. And the Haughey Government didn't have to be asked twice to make the Shannon facilities available.

This has happened because as Irish capitalism becomes more and more integrated into the world system, through the EC, the Irish capitalist class begins to operate more as a section of the world capitalist class. This is commonly expressed in talk of "us" facing up to "our international responsibilities".

That is, it's because of the class they represent that Fianna Fail, the PDs and Fine Gael have compromised on neutrality. It's a class issue, not a moral issue.

In this way, the global struggle of which the Gulf war is one expression, meshes with the day-to-day struggles of Irish working class people. Fighting against the war is part and parcel of working-class politics at home.

It is in this context that socialists should put themselves at the forefront of opposition to military entanglement.

For more on the Gulf War

NO TO WAR IN THE GULF

Why Britain and the US should get out

A Socialist Worker pamphlet

Only 50p from SW Books, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8



Left Mary Robinson and below Emmet Stagg and Ruari Quinn



IN THE wake of the Robinson victory, Dick Spring is being hailed as Ireland's cleverest politician. The Labour Party itself seems to be winning a new credibility on the Left as a number of independent socialists such as Jim Kemmy and Declan Bree join its ranks. How should revolutionary socialists respond to these developments?

This subject was discussed at a recent meeting of the national committee of the Socialist Workers Movement. Here we interview KIERAN ALLEN, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Movement.

Q. Let's start with the significance of the Robinson victory. To what extent was it simply a flash in the pan?

A. The Robinson victory has to be seen as part of a general trend over the past three years where growing numbers of Southern workers are looking to social democratic solutions.

In the aftermath of the 1989 general election, an academic study noted that there "was a significant class related shift in voting behaviour as the middle class went back to Fianna Fail and significant numbers of working class voters moved left".

The trend is more dramatic when you look at the major towns. In Dublin in the Euro elections in 1989 almost a third of the population voted for Left candidates.

From a Marxist point of view this is crucial. The toll of emigration in the last decade and the dominance of rural values mean that FF has more of a grip in areas outside Dublin, Cork and the bigger towns. Political changes will start in the cities.

What is happening with the Robinson victory is part of a general shift to the left. The beneficiaries are right wing social democracy.

Southern Ireland was one of the first states in the world to free itself from direct imperial control. This historical experience enabled Fianna Fail to generate great loyalty to the 26 county state, to mask class divisions. Economic backwardness, the domination of the country over the town, partition, religion were all used to hide class politics.

For a worker therefore to

vote for parties which claim to organise on class lines is a step forward. All the more so if it is done in the teeth of an absurd FF "red scare".

Q. But surely the Robinson victory is not just about the emergence of class politics. Doesn't Robinson represent the modernising wing of Ireland's ruling class?

A. It is crucial here to understand the nature of reformist politics. Lenin described reformist parties as "bourgeois workers parties". By that he meant that they were the B team for the bosses, often called in to develop alternative strategies for the capitalist system—but they still rested on a working class base.

In this sense all social democratic parties represent the "modernising" wing of the ruling class—but they have to appeal to the working class vote so they try to combine an appeal to national and class interests.

In Britain in the mid sixties, Harold Wilson expressed the aspiration of workers for an end to Tory rule—but he also promised

the employers a more "modern" Britain with the "white heat of the technological revolution".

Q. Does that mean that the Labour Party will offer a growing audience for socialists as groups such as *Militant* argue?

A. No. You have to distinguish between two things—the fact that a significant number of workers who previously voted for the right wing FF are shifting left; and what is happening inside the Labour Party apparatus.

For the next period, the Labour party will be hell for any serious left winger. The main Left figures, Michael D Higgins and Emmet Stagg, are in complete retreat before the Spring bandwagon. The retreat had begun before the Robinson victory. *Labour Left* agreed to a 'consensus' on Spring's economic proposals at the last conference. The Left also endorsed the enquiry into *Militant*.

Spring is now using the Robinson victory to argue that Labour has to move

further into the centre. In the Labour Party, electoral gains count for everything. Spring can now appeal to an even broader layer inside the party to completely undercut the left by holding out the prospects of more advances at the ballot box.

Q. Where is Spring taking the Labour Party?

A. Spring has re-opened the question of coalition. His aim is to return to Coalition with a bigger bargaining counter.

Bill Tormley, the Labour candidate for Dublin North West and an active Spring supporter claims that Labour's objective now is participation in a coalition government where they are the dominant party.

The drift back to Coalition is also helped by the decision of the Workers Party to call for second preference votes for the Fine Gael candidate in the Presidential election. Labour will no longer be outflanked by the Workers Party on the issue.

Spring may say now he wants a dominant position in Coalition. But Labour's

record shows that they will settle for a few more Ministerial positions.

Q. You advocate building an independent revolutionary organisation. But isn't the hard left completely demoralised?

A. There is demoralisation among many socialists who are well to the left of Labour. But you have to understand the reasons in order to overcome it.

For many, the events in Eastern Europe have come as a complete shock. The SWM always regarded the Eastern Block as "state capitalist". But the majority of left wingers saw these countries as socialist. Today the people who extolled the virtues of Russia's 'planned economy' are forced to embrace the market. The confusion inside the Workers Party is one sign of this crisis.

Others on the "hard" left have defined their politics exclusively in terms of building rank and file movements and supporting the anti-imperialist struggle. It is part of the tradition of vacillating between

syndicalism and republicanism, as Trotsky put it. With the downturn on both these fronts, considerable demoralisation has ensued.

In this situation, SWM has to stress the importance of Marxist theory and building political organisation. Without an understanding of the nature of Eastern Europe, it is impossible to survive as a revolutionary.

Without an understanding that socialist politics is the necessary backbone to any rank and file movement, overblown expectations can quickly change to demoralisation.

Q. What are the prospects for building a revolutionary organisation in the next period?

A. Until recently, the SWM was often accused of being the pessimist on the left because we pointed to the simple fact of a downturn in working class struggle. But by recognising reality we were able to grow modestly where others on the left disintegrated.

Today the downturn in

industrial struggles of workers continues—although there has been a growing number of isolated cases of resistance. But it is also crucial to recognise that the present period offers many opportunities for revolutionaries. Here it is necessary to start with what is happening internationally.

The contradictions in the world economic order between the rival imperialist powers and in particular, the declining hegemony of US imperialism, creates a world order that is far more unstable. The Gulf crisis is partially a reflection of this.

On our side, the death of Stalinism lifts a terrible albatross from our necks. Although new political formations may arise in the future, today there is often little in between the small revolutionary groups and a right wing moving social democracy.

The crucial thing is for the minority of revolutionaries to work alongside those who today support social democratic parties. We want to have arguments with them about why they should be involved in struggles like that of Waterford Glass workers recently; why the market does not work; why they should support the withdrawal of the British army from Ireland; why Lenin did not lead to Stalin.

We have to stress the importance of involving Labour Party and Workers Party supporters in the anti-war movement on the Gulf. This is the only way a mass anti-war movement can be built. And in the course of fighting alongside each other we can have arguments about the nature of the UN and the nature of the new imperialism.

Letter from America

THE ANTI-war movement in the US itself is well under way and growing. Here, two members of the SWM's American sister organisation report on the early stages.

Protests and anti-war teaching sprouted up on both coasts shortly after the war drive began in mid-August. Driven by memories and lessons of the Vietnam war, students, activists, and others mobilized across the country in numbers of up to 15,000 demanding US OUT NOW. People across the country are making links between education and social spending cuts and the enormous cost of Bush's military adventure.

OUTRAGED

Many are also outraged by the disproportionate representation of people of colour, particularly Blacks and Latinos, in the US military. At least 60% of US troops are people of colour. The increasing number of overtly racist images used in the US ruling class war propaganda has also brought many into anti-war activity.

Students on 40 campuses are making links and are set to launch a nationwide student anti-war campaign. The grouping, the National Network of Campuses Against the War (NNCAW) held a planning meeting on January 19th and agreed to build a national student conference in early March which has the



A demonstration against US policy in the Gulf blocking traffic outside the White House

potential to launch a highly visible student anti-war movement.

It is very important to emphasise, however, that Bush and his cronies in the UN, through blatant aid and trade

bribery, have been successful in creating the illusion of a world-wide consensus in Bush's noxious policy.

If activists and concerned people in Ireland make their voices heard through a large

protest campaign which Bush cannot ignore it will shelter that illusion and inspire protesters in the US.

■ ELIZABETH MCLELLAN and PAUL KEYS International Socialist Organisation

An appeal to anti-war activists

THE world-wide anti-war campaign has brought the role of revolutionary organisation into political focus.

The SWM has played a major part in building the movement in Ireland. In Britain, across Europe, in North America and in Australia our sister organisations have similarly been active.

It has been a striking feature of the anti-war movements that they have tended to emerge not from the traditional parties

of the Left but from revolutionary organisations, peace groups, and independent organisations and individuals.

In Britain, for example, the movement has been built despite the Labour leadership, which has played a disgusting role. And its base of organisation has been outside the structures of the Labour Party.

FAILED

Social-democratic parties in EC countries have likewise failed the test.

This has happened for the

same reason that the social democratic parties collapsed into jingoism at the outbreak of World War One.

Precisely because they are reformist parties, committed to staying within the limits of the present system, they are unable to break with ruling-class interests when a real crunch comes.

Left-wing rank-and-filers may argue for an independent, working class stance. But the parties themselves cannot be won to a principled anti-war position once the interests of the capitalist state are at issue—particularly when "our boys" are committed.

Left-wing energy channelled into such parties is inevitably wasted.

The SWM urges all those who have come into political activity to oppose this war to examine the class politics both of the war itself and of the anti-war movement.

We argue that to end all war it is necessary to overcome the capitalist system and replace it with a system based on production for human need—not destruction in the service of greed.

To do this we need a revolutionary party.

Join the SWM!

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.

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.....

The Socialist Workers Movement is a growing organisation with branches around the country which meet regularly.

Those who are interested in the politics of the SWM are invited to attend these meetings.

The meetings begin with a political discussion with plenty of time for questions.

BELFAST BRANCH
Meets every Monday at 8.00pm in Central Hall, Rosemary St

BRAY BRANCH
Meets every Tuesday, contact national address for details

CORK BRANCH
Meets every Tuesday at 8 pm in the Anchor Inn, George's Quay

DERRY BRANCH
Meets every Tuesday at 8 pm in Dungloe Bar, Waterloo Street

DUBLIN BRANCH
Meets every Wednesday at 8 pm in the Bachelor Inn, O'Connell Bridge

For more details of regular meetings in NAVAN, DUNDALK, DUNGARVAN, GALWAY, KILKENNY, LIMERICK, PORTLAOISE AND WATERFORD contact:
SWM, P.O. Box 1648, Dublin 8 or
SWM, P.O. Box 418, Tomb Street, Belfast BT9 5PU.

Anti-War Teach-in

ON SUNDAY FEBRUARY 10th, the SWM will be holding 'Teach-Ins' in Belfast, Cork and Dublin on issues of relevance to the Anti-War Movement.

Sessions will include:
Arab nationalism;
Socialists and War;
The 'New World Order'

For details of venues, speakers etc. write to SWM, Box 1648, James' Street, Dublin 8.

Free to be yourself?

December Bride/An Angel at my Table/Reversal of Fortune

ONE of the most common objections raised by opponents of socialist politics is that under socialism everyone would be the same. The theory goes that under capitalism everyone is an individual "free" to be themselves.

The reality of the situation is, of course that under capitalism people who are different, who either can't or won't fit into "normal" life are persecuted and made outcasts. The films *December Bride* and *An Angel at My Table* show this very well.

December Bride is an Irish film by Thaddeus O'Sullivan. Well-made and beautifully shot, it is the story of a protestant woman who rebels against the strict moral confines of 19th century rural Northern Ireland. She is openly involved in a relationship with two brothers and when she bears a child of unsure parentage, refuses to marry either of the possible fathers.

Though shunned by the church and Orange Order the three carry on aided, significantly by the fact that the brothers are the biggest landowners in the area—thus relatively unassailable.

The New Zealand writer Janet Frame, subject of *An Angle at My Table*, had no such advantages.

The film, based on her auto-biographies both exposes how cruel capitalist society is while at the same time showing the capacity of ordinary people to survive intact.

Painfully shy and awkward around anyone outside her immediate family, she was considered so withdrawn at college that misguided friends sent her to a mental hospital. She spent the

next eight years diagnosed as a schizophrenic, undergoing shock treatment and narrowly escaping a leucotomy. Her first works were published while hospitalized.

The film follows her life from childhood to her adulthood as a successful writer despite constant rebuff from many of those around her.

Originally a 3-part television mini-series, it was edited down to feature length. Directed by Jane Campion, its by far one of the best films around.

Lastly there is *Reversal of Fortune*, the story of Danish Aristocrat Claus Von Bulow who was accused of murdering his rich American wife Sunny. This is a good film for three reasons. Its an excellent thriller, it shows what absolute scum rich people are, and finally it shows how corrupt the American legal system is.

Von Bulow, admittedly, was framed. But he is not necessarily "innocent". The liberal lawyer he hired to defend him, Alan Dershowitz, managed to get him an acquittal. At the same time, Dershowitz was defending two young blackmen who he *knew* were innocent—and they remain on death row to this day.

All in all it looks like 1991 is going to be a good year for the cinema.

■EVE MORRISON



Saskia Reeves: stars in 'December Bride'



BRITISH AGENTS posing as IRA members kidnap one of the heroes in *Hidden Agenda*

HIDDEN AGENDA, a film some Tory MPs wanted banned, opened in London last week.

Based on a John Stalker type inquiry into the murder of a civil rights activist, it calls for the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland.

Against the outcry from British film critics it won the Special Jury Prize at last year's Cannes Film Festival. ELANE HEFFERNAN spoke to its director, Ken Loach.

Did you expect so much fury over the film and what prompted you to make it in the first place?

WE'RE TALKING on the day that the national press, especially the *Times*, *Telegraph* and the *Evening Standard*, have come out and done their best to denigrate the film.

If you make a film that says the Tories were involved in circumventing democracy, you're going to get that reaction.

We wanted to do a film about Ireland for a long time and had been turned down on different scripts by the BBC and Channel 4.

When the investigation by the Manchester senior policeman John Stalker into the RUC's shoot to kill policy was at its height David Puttnam came up with the idea of doing a film about the issue.

The script centred around the corruption caused by Britain's involvement in Ireland.

When the film was shown at Cannes, journalists from Northern Ireland were furious. They kept saying it's ridiculous, it doesn't happen like that, the RUC have no reason to lie and so on.

Now events, like the recent shooting of Fergal Carahar, a 20 year old Sinn Fein member from South Armagh, have shown that's exactly what they do.

How much censorship have you faced in attempting to raise the issue of Ireland?

IT'S PRETTY much a blanket censorship. There's been a massive list of projects turned down over the years.

A film about Ireland is seen as death at the box office. TV is subject to very close political scrutiny and is very sensitive to that pressure.

So the people in a position to commission programmes won't do it because their jobs will be at risk. The ban on Sinn Fein compounds that.

EXPOSING A DIRTY WAR

The film developed from the Stalker scandal. Why did you not just tell that story?

I THOUGHT the centre of the film should be about the corrupting effects of the British presence in Ireland on politics both in Ireland and here.

The British have been fighting a dirty war and that is corrupting on the people who do it and the institutions that organise it.

The black propaganda used against the IRA has spread to Britain. The use of plastic bullets and all of that has spread to Britain.

That gives the lie to all this talk we're hearing at the moment about how they are upholding international law in the Gulf.

Britain has been convicted in an international court of degrading and inhuman treatment, so how dare this government or any of the recent Labour or Tory governments, talk about upholding international law?

Do you see other parallels between Ireland and the Gulf?

THE PARALLEL is in the questions that are not asked. The censorship is more extreme the closer we are to British involvement.

The censorship in Ireland is the censorship of the point of view that suggests British troops should withdraw.

The censorship that's happening over the Gulf at the moment is contained in the way it's presented, as if it's a matter of international law.

Bush can say no price is too high to pay to recapture Kuwait for its ruling class—but nobody challenges that.

Even the liberal press have criticised your film. The Guardian criticises it for telling us what to think and Time Out says your films would be better if you made political

compromises. What do you say to that?

THESE CRITICS don't speak for the audience. They speak for themselves and their own obsession with film.

It's so grotesque for the film critics in the national papers to be berating the film for telling people what to think. Turn to their editorials and they are telling us war is right.

It's true that one of the sympathetic characters in the film expresses outrage at what is happening. But ordinary "non-political" films do it all the time.

Those criticisms are a way of not engaging in what the film is saying.

It's important to engage in mainstream production of TV programmes and films and not just to leave it to the right wing. They don't want anyone who has a track record of making critical films to be involved.

That's the great merit of things like Paul Foot's column in the *Mirror*. He doesn't just leave it to the hacks.

If this film had come from Eastern Europe the critics would have rolled out the red carpet for it because it would have fitted in with what they want to say.

Some reviewers say the film is absurd because the honest copper walks away from what he's uncovered.

THE REVIEWERS aren't interested in that dilemma.

A lot of people in the British establishment must have known about the smears of mainstream British politicians which MI5 carried out in the 1970s.

But they all kept quiet and they probably still regard themselves as honourable men.

We were trying to work out why they did keep quiet, even though they disagreed with the operation. I guess they kept quiet because they thought if it emerged it would harm the state.

The policeman in the film chooses to keep quiet because as a senior policeman he has spent his working life preserving and defending the state. He spent his life prepared to be used in class politics as we know John Stalker did during the miners' strike.

So his natural allies are those who want to keep quiet and use the information for political ends.

And that does happen. Look what happened to Sampson, the policeman who took over from Stalker. Look what he swallowed.

SPECIAL OFFER:

Read about the origins of socialism in Russia, and its defeat under Stalin's rule in the late 1920s.

1905: The Great Dress Rehearsal by Pete Glatzer; *Russia: The Making of a Revolution* by Steve Wright; *Russia: How the Revolution was lost* by Alan Gibbons; *The Great Lie* by Abbie Bakan.

All four for £5 inc. post from SW Books PO Box 1648, Dublin 8



PESD: THE NEW NATIONAL PROGRAMME

Build the No vote

THE NEW deal offers pay rises totalling 10.75 per cent over 3 years. Another three percent is possible under local deals but if this is refused workers cannot take industrial action to secure the claim.

It is another exercise in wage restraint. The increases will barely keep pace with inflation at its present rate and as the Gulf war drives up inflation workers face a wage cut in real terms.

The £400 million offered in tax "concessions" will do nothing to ease the burden on PAYE workers. Tax in company profits still accounts for only four per cent of total tax revenue. Any notion of making the rich pay for the crisis is clearly ruled out in the Programme.

PREDICT

The PESD offers the unemployed "area-based" strategies. These amount to nothing more than more "training schemes" and a new version of Jobsearch.

Even right-wing economists predict a fall of 5,000 in total employment in 1991. As emigrants continue to return jobless, figures will rise even further.

Newspaper headlines hailed the promise of "free hospitalisation" for all. But they forgot

to mention that the £10 charge for out-patients and £10 per night for inpatients will not only remain but will go up by 25 per cent.

Meanwhile there is no promise to increase the number of hospital beds.

Central to the new Programme is the idea of "Industrial Peace". Fianna Fail ministers have constantly hailed the decline in strike figures. Hand in hand with the PESD comes the new Industrial Relations Act which severely restricts workers' rights to take action.

The Workers Party

have produced a good pamphlet on the Industrial Relations Act. Yet they are among the main backers of the new deal. The two issues go hand in hand.

POLICE

The PESD attacks workers living standards while the Act is used to police workers who step out of line.

For example, when workers at Moneypoint Power Station took unofficial action over pay the ESB threatened to sue the

union for money lost during the dispute.

The Act shows up the real nature of the "consensus" involved in the PESD. It is not a consensus whereby we all work together for a

new Ireland from which we will all benefit. Rather it is a consensus in which workers accept the need for sacrifice and if they look for something above the odds they

are punished.

Trade Unionists and Unemployed Against the Programme (TUUAP) is campaigning for a "NO" vote when the ballot on the PESD takes place.

It is important that the biggest possible "NO" vote is delivered so that workers gain the confidence to begin to organise themselves for a fightback against the continuing attacks by the bosses and the bosses' government.



If given the lead even so-called 'moderate' white collar workers will fight

Nothing to gain for Civil Servants

Civil Service workers have nothing to gain from the new Programme for Economic and Social Development.

There will be no special pay awards between now and 1993. This means low pay cannot be tackled.

However, the Executive of the Civil and Public Services Union decided to recommend acceptance without having read the documents!

When the document was released an "Information

meeting" was held. Members were told it was too late to call a special delegate conference because of time constraints in the Rule Book.

Acceptance goes against Union policy. Last year's conference voted against any programme which would involve a "no strike" clause. The new Programme includes just such a clause.

The Programme will

also deal a blow to the Union's Low Pay Campaign. The best that can be hoped for is amalgamation of the lower grades so that Clerical Assistants can become Clerical Officers. But Clerical Officers are themselves low paid.

The mood of anger which has existed in the Civil Service is in danger of being diverted into another three-year con. CPSU must reject this Programme.

DAVE McDONAGH

WEXFORD WORKERS HOLD ON

WORKERS at Letts fish factory in Wexford continue to hold out, 3 months into a bitter strike that began over union recognition. Already they've forced Letts to recognise the union, SIPTU, but the dispute now revolves around the issue of lay-offs, in an industry affected by seasonal unemployment.

Typically, Letts insist on hiring and firing at will, but the strikers are demanding that lay-offs occur on a seniority basis.

Letts have come under pressure from the Labour Mayor of Wexford, who has backed the strikers demands. But Gardai have been doing Letts dirty work against the strikers and a number of picketers have been run over by scabs.

The magnificent militancy of the strikers, mostly women and predominantly part-time, is a sharp response to those who claim that casual workers can't be organised and won't fight. At Letts, they're on the verge of victory.

Trade Unionists and Unemployed against the Programme
c/o 10 Comyn Place, Dublin 9.
Telephone: 01-375760

INDUSTRIAL NOTES

Fianna Fail's pound of flesh

YOU HAVE to admire the honesty of our trade union leaders. The leaders of SIPTU told their members in November that 'there was no question of a new Programme for National Recovery'. And they have kept their word.

Instead of a PNR, we are being offered this 'Programme for Economic and Social Development (PESD)'!

The FF party has always been keen on involving the unions in 'programmes' for development. In the 1960s, there were the Programmes for Economic Expansion.

Workers were involved in

Trade Union Advisory Bodies to help make industries more 'competitive' (often by redundancies) and in the National Economic and Social Council to get a consensus between the 'social partners'.

EXTRA

FF has often been prepared to pay a little extra in wage increases in the short term to get this co-operation. But they have also known that their pound of flesh would eventually fall due.

The last PNR showed how this works. In the public sector, FF got rid of 10,000 jobs but in the short term were prepared to let a number of special pay

increases through for those who stayed behind.

The public sector pay bill will actually rise by 10% in 1991 because of the carry over effects of these special claim. That is before new increases are granted under the PESD.

But the real aim of the PNR was to give the bosses a free hand during a period of economic recovery. It was an agreement not just about wages but about the type of trade union movement Irish workers would have.

The employers are terribly pleased with the result. You can see that in the way their spokesperson John Dunne talks about Peter Cassells, the ICTU leader.

What he liked about Cassells was his 'broader approach which reflects the change in the trade union movement'.

According to Dunne the union movement 'is becoming less adversarial and Peter's style is in line with the change'.

All of this shows up in the balance books. Figures from the Central Statistics Office show that profits grew by 21% between 1987 and 1989 whereas wages grew by only 11%.

This hike in profits was helped by the free hand the unions gave in terms of productivity. The *Review of Industrial Performance* published by the Department of Industry and Commerce shows that productivity in

manufacturing industry grew by 40% between 1986 and 1989 whereas employment only grew by 1.3%.

However, FF and the employers real pound of flesh will come with the new PESD. In 1989 and 1990 the Southern economy grew at the rate of 5% each year. Next year it will be caught in the world recession.

RECESSION

The Central Bank is already predicted a growth rate of just over 2% but this is before adjustments are made for the scale of the recession. In the US in November economic growth plunged to 0.9% while Britain is already officially in recession.

The recession will be accompanied by a rising inflation rate.

In a period of boom the ICTU could argue that their giving a free hand to the employers led to certain crumbs in terms of pay rises and minor job creation schemes.

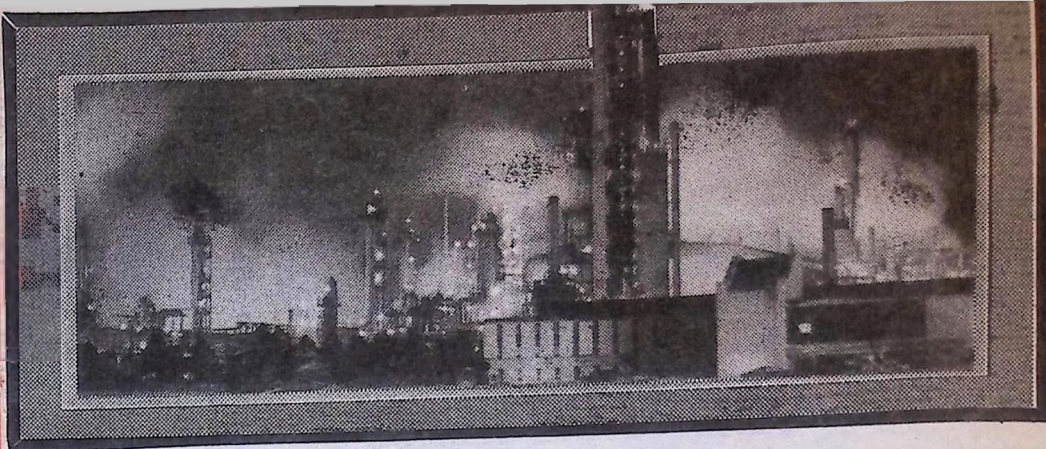
But now a weakened trade union movement will face an employers' organisation where they have the whip in a recession. Giving them a free hand today will mean guaranteeing no resistance to redundancies, short time, increased contract work.

The consensus between the social partners is based on the promise of expansion. Ultimately it stems from the political beliefs of Cassells, Flynn, Atlee, etc that the free market is the best possible system.

The coming recession will show just how pious and stupid are their claims.

Socialist Worker

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism 30p



NOBODY COULD disagree with Gerry Adam's assessment last month that Peter Brooke's "talks initiative" as a new Northern settlement was "all but finished" and had been "a waste of time for anyone striving to achieve justice and peace".

But as delegates to the Sinn Fein Ard Fheis gathered in Dublin it was clear that the Republican Movement, too, finds itself in a cul-de-sac.

There have been periodic outbursts of "optimism" since last summer about a breakthrough in the "Brooke process". But each time hopes were dashed by such seemingly trivial issues as the precise moment when the Dublin Government would join the discussions.

However, the Republicans have been unable to take advantage of the inability of the "constitutional parties" to stitch up a deal which would marginalised them.

Despite the enormous energy put into the Dessie Ellis campaign for example—in which the S W M joined wholeheartedly—the response fell far short of what was needed to make the Haughey government back off.

The basic problem was highlighted by Gerry Adams in *An Phoblacht* when he summed up the Republican attitude:

"We stated frequently our belief that a British Secretary of State was again trying to persuade Irish political leaders to work to a British political agenda, with a partitionist arrangement, and the safeguarding of Britain's interests, as Britain's

strategic political objective.

"We constantly urged the Dublin government and SDLP leadership to develop a cogent Irish agenda based on the principle of national self-determination and with the creation of an Irish national democracy as its central strategic objective".

CLASS

But why should working class people North and South, rally to an "agenda" drawn up by the Dublin government and the SDLP?

What's in it for an unemployed person or a part-time worker or a grant-less student at an overcrowded college to struggle for an "Irish national democracy"?

Why should they weigh in behind the very people responsible for cut-backs, emigration and repression to achieve such a vague objective?

Implacable hostility to what Haughey and Hume represent and an intensification for the day-to-day struggles of the working class against them, is the only sound basis for advance left to those who say that a socialist Ireland is their ultimate objective.

Nationalism has nothing to offer the Irish working class.

Nationalism no solution



Sinn Fein's Gerry Adams

KILCOOLE TOXIC PLANT

THE proposed road sign manufacturing plant for Kilcoole in North Wicklow has been fought all the way by local people certain there is an environmental threat posed by toxic emissions.

Although Seibulite-Rennicks is now considering locating at Newry in the North Kilcoole remains their first choice.

The IDA has failed to acknowledge the genuine local concerns and has refused consultation, information and answers.

The IDA is playing its part in a well-orchestrated press campaign to rubbish the worries of locals.

To date, the local opposition has come from regular public meetings, allowing concerns to be voiced, information shared and most importantly showing the strength of public opposition. If the factory is to be seen off completely such meetings will need to continue to be held regularly.

The campaign must seek support from local workplaces.

As in Derry, local trade unions should demand full details of all aspects of the plant to be examined by independent experts, before agreement to the plant is even considered. Until then, the campaign should be kept up, and intensified.

■ HUGH FRIEL, Bray SWM

Derry opposes waste burner

THERE is virtually total opposition in Derry to the proposed building of a toxic waste incinerator at the Dupont plant just outside the city.

It is planned that the Derry incinerator would burn toxic waste from all over the island. The port facilities at Dupont would also allow toxic waste to be imported from the UK, thus making the incinerator more profitable.

The South, with its many chemical plants, has needed an incineration plant for some time. When an international ban on the ocean dumping of toxic waste came into effect at the end of last year, this need became more urgent.

With the success of recent campaigns against

dirty industries in the Cork area, Southern politicians didn't have the stomach for the resistance to such a plant which any community is bound to mount. So Pdraig Flynn, Dublin Minister for the Environment, visited Dupont last year to discuss their plans for an incinerator.

FANFARE

The fact that Flynn visited Derry in secret without the usual fanfare of publicity which greets any Southern politician who ventures across the border, shows what a shady business he was involved in.

It's more than shady. It's dangerous. Toxic waste can kill. Of course, some of it is the inevitable by-product of useful in-

dustries and of course it is better that toxic waste is incinerated under the strictest safety and environmental controls than dumped in oceans to seep out later.

But Flynn didn't come to Derry to look for the safest way to burn toxic waste—he was looking for the cheapest way. And when it comes to safety and to the environment, cheapest is always dangerous.

COST

The safest toxic waste incinerators cost far more than would be "commercially viable". In other words, there is no profit in safe toxic waste incinerations. But anything but the safest incinerator must be unacceptable to

the workers of Dupont and to the people of nearby working class estates like Strathfoyle.

Dupont workers have a record of ensuring good health and safety practices and this has been followed through in the attitude they have taken to the proposed toxic incinerator. A meeting of health and safety reps last month decided to demand the right to rigorously examine the safety features of the plans. A shop steward told *Socialist Worker* that if the highest health and safety standards are guaranteed with minimal emissions etc., then the workforce will consider going along with the proposal.

The trade union movement in Derry should insist on being able to

examine every aspect of the plan in full detail and to have the benefit of independent expert advice before giving a go-ahead. This union demand should be at the centre of any campaign on the issue.

OUT NOW!

Environment in Crisis: the Socialist Answer

£2 inc post from SW Books PO Box 1648, Dublin 8