

SOCIALIST ORGANISER

FOR WORKERS' LIBERTY EAST AND WEST

IRELAND

Troops Out Now?

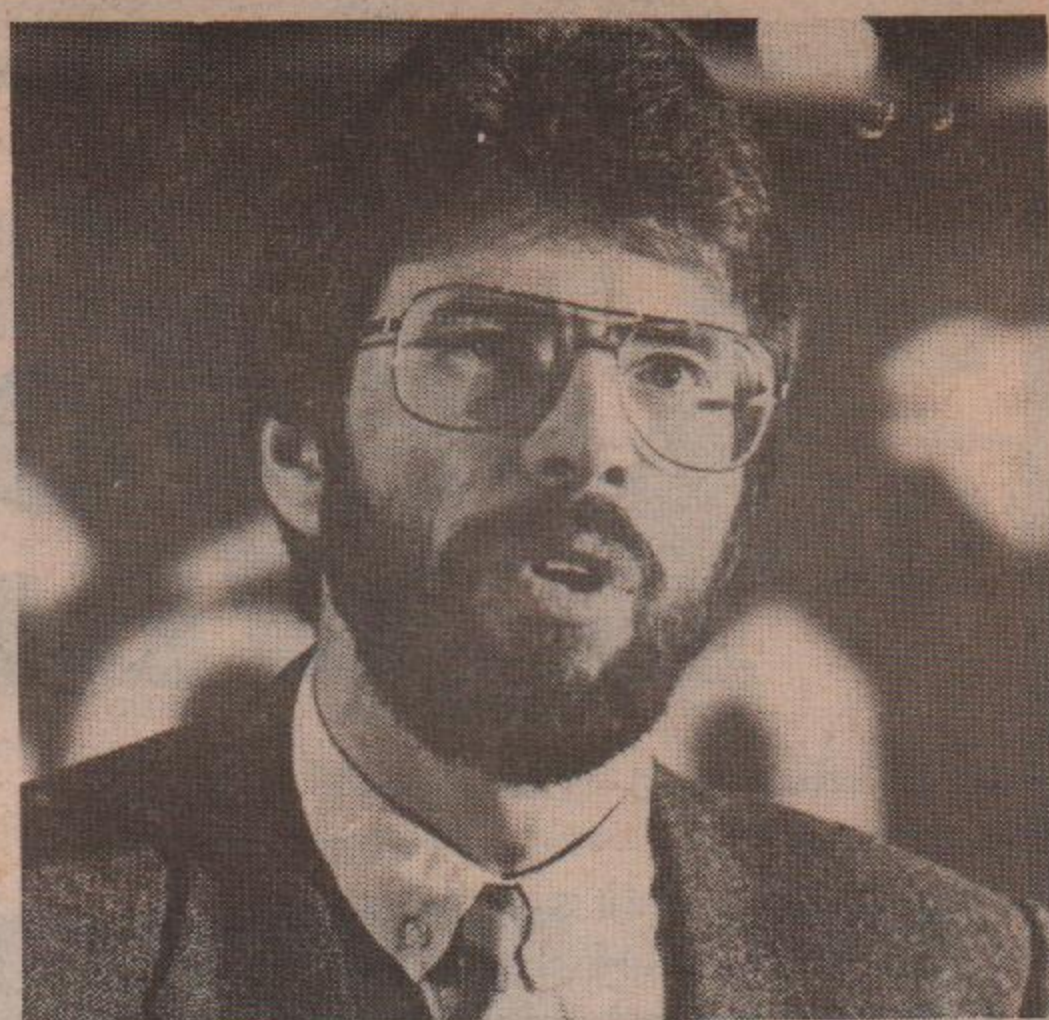
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Sinn Fein conference

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Orange bombs in Dublin

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The Tories' war on black people

An attack on every union!

Printers face big fines for organising meetings

TWO TRADE unionists, members of the National Graphical Association, have been fined £10,000 and £5,000 respectively by the High Court. Their crime is to have organised a meeting at Robert Maxwell's Mirror Group Newspapers during work time, and thus broken a court injunction.

This is a serious attack upon the rights of each and every trade unionist in this country. The judge in the case went so far as to indicate that he would have sent the two men to prison for contempt of court had they not, in his view, been acting in what they considered to be the best interests of their members.

The NGA leaders have said that the union cannot pay the fine.

News International striker Larry Hyett told Socialist Organiser: "This should have been used as a means to escalate the action across Fleet Street. Instead the issue was swept under the carpet by the NGA leadership.

If a trade unionist is fined then their union must support them. If a trade unionist is found guilty under unjust laws then we must rectify the situation with industrial action".

Fines

The fines are the largest ever imposed on individual trade unionists for contempt of court. The largest financial penalty hitherto was the £1000 slapped on Arthur Scargill during the miners' strike.

Mirror Group Newspapers attempted to drop the charges at the last minute, though millionaire Robert



Maxwell: throw this scum out of the Labour Party!

Maxwell has yet to be seen offering to pay the fines. Instead, it is rumoured that he has established a 'union free zone' on two floors at Mirror Group Newspapers.

This could be a first step towards an arrangement 'suitable' for the production of Maxwell's planned London paper, the 'Daily News'.

SOGAT officials had secret meetings with Maxwell and deny the rumours. But since these are the same people who believed that all that Murdoch planned at Wapping was the production of the 'London Post' (...that well-known metropolitan newsheet), they are clearly very gullible people.

Meanwhile at Wapping, Brenda Dean has worked out daring new tactics to deal with the further attacks on the rights of print workers. The six 'official' pickets, she says, are not to use the word 'scab'.

If the pickets fail to comply with

Turn to page 12



Above: Khuram Azad, age 2, with his mother; and, inset, Abdul Khaled with Jahada and baby son Khadir. Both Khuram and Abdul face deportation.



Stop all deportations!

Khuram Azad is two years old, and lives in Bradford. The Home Office plan to deport him to Pakistan.

Khuram's crime is to be the legally adopted child of Pakistani parents who brought him to Britain. He is just the latest victim of the racist immigration laws that make life a misery for so many black people living in Britain.

Another case, Abdul Khaled, is 24. He was smuggled into Britain at the

age of 11, and has lived here ever since: he has a wife and family. He had no idea he was an illegal immigrant, and voluntarily reported the fact when he found out.

Racist

He had not expected the racist judgment of British police: Abdul Khaled is to be deported to Bangladesh, a country he can barely remember.

This is the brutal reality of the im-

migration laws. They are racist legislation which should be repealed immediately.

The Labour Party should make a clear stand against them. Immigration laws do not solve any of the problems that working-class people face. Those problems are caused by capitalism, and are faced often more sharply by black people.

Immigration laws create problems, for the black people who suffer under them or under the racism they legitimise.

WORLD Brief



Picket of the Consolidated Goldfields AGM held at the Intercontinental Hotel near Hyde Park, London. The picket was organised in protest at the exploitation of mineworkers in South Africa. Photo: Andrew Ward/Report.

SOUTH AFRICA

Black and white unite and fight

Strikers at General Motors in Port Elizabeth, South Africa, were forced out of their occupation of the plant by police on Friday 7 November.

The strike was in opposition to the sale of the company by the US multinational giant to South Africans. Refusals by management even to consider proposals by the union, the National Automobile and Allied Workers' Union (NAAWU) for representation on the new company board, provoked an occupation of the plant by almost 3,000 workers.

Last week's Socialist Organiser looked at some of the issues raised by this action of workers against 'disinvestment'. Indeed, the strike was a pot-pourri of vital issues. A significant proportion of the striking workers were white. NAAWU denied management claims that the white workers simply 'stopped work' rather than struck.

"They're all inside, black and white, and they're not coming out". Many on the left have tended to sneer at the notion of black-white workers' unity in South

Africa, insisting that it has no decisive importance for the fate of the revolution; it is an idea closely identified with a slogan adopted in the past, though not anymore, by Militant: 'black and white unite for a socialist South Africa'.

But there can be no doubt that a split along class lines within the large and presently ultra-reactionary white community would be of enormous value to the black working class. Actions like the General Motors occupation are a step in that direction.

SOUTH KOREA

Students fight police

Violent confrontations between police and student protestors in South Korea have led to 1200 arrests and 82 injuries, with the promise of further conflict.

Riot police stormed Konkuk University in the capital of Seoul on October 31, to evict students who had gone into occupation. Later 7000 students demonstrated for the release of those arrested, and again met with violent resistance from the riot police.

The students are demanding an end to the dictatorship of President Chun Doo Hwan; and further demands include the reunification of Korea. North Korea is a Stalinist — i.e. self-styled 'communist' state, allied with China.

The response of the regime to the student demonstrations has sparked still further militant action on the campuses. As police search 45 universities for any evidence of 'seditious' literature, student demonstrations and occupations are spreading across the country. Thousands demonstrated in the second largest city of Pusan on 31 October.

The current crisis

follows government crackdowns on its opponents earlier this year. In February 100 oppositionists were arrested after an attempt to organise a petition to change the constitution. Later, in March this year, 40,000 demonstrated in Pusan shouting 'down with dictatorship', and demanding direct elections to the presidency. Chun came to power in a military coup in 1980, and has subsequently been elected only by an indirect electoral college. He has promised to step down in 1988, but in the meantime his regime is a byword for repression and dictatorship in East Asia.

South Korea is one of the supposed 'miracles' of post-1945 world capitalism. Following the division of Korea after the Korean War, the South embarked upon a programme of rapid, and in its own terms impressive, economic growth. Its growth rates have continued to be exceptionally high: 8% last year, despite the world recession. It is looked to as a model for Third World growth strategies.

Industrial production, as a proportion of Gross

Domestic Product increased from 28.7% in 1965 to 40.9% in 1981. By 1981, industrial products accounted for 91.2% of the country's exports — a strikingly different picture from the usual 'Third World' reliance on agricultural and mining products. So South Korea has seen a substantial industrial revolution, which has been accompanied by some rise in living standards. Life expectancy has increased from 54 in 1965 to 63 in 1981, for example.

This industrial revolution has another side to it of course. The working class has been repressed by the state; but at the same time it has enormously grown in size. The proportion of the population involved in industry grew from just 9% in 1965 to 26.3% in 1981.

Inevitably, that working class has moved into action against the ruling class. Students involved in the greatly expanded education sector have also proved a militant source of opposition. In May 1980, the regime crushed a dramatic social revolt, involving students and workers, in the town of Kwangju. The Kwangju revolt and its defeat reached world headlines.

Tribune wakes up at last

TRIBUNE's disillusion with the soft left's romance with Neil Kinnock seems to be for real.

For a long time Tribune has consistently supported witch-hunting of Militant. But last week's issue turned round, and in a column signed by Keith Vaz — by no means the most hard-left of Tribune contributors — it came boldly to the defence of the Labour Party Young Socialists.

"Every attempt has been made to stifle LPYS policies and campaigning initiatives", writes Vaz. "The recent [NEC] proposals are another step in this direction. The dropping of the age limit to 21 would...get rid of some of the most experienced campaigners..."

"The youth of Britain deserve better. It is time for the NEC to take the LPYS seriously and...spend time and money in facilitating its work instead of hindering

it".

Such words raise hopes of a powerful campaign against the current witch-hunt being possible at long last. Further evidence of Tribune's turn is provided by its comments on Robin Cook being voted out of the Shadow Cabinet.

Cook is Neil Kinnock's right-hand man, and was his campaign organiser when Kinnock ran for leader of the Labour Party. His defeat, and Bob Hughes', reduces from five to just three the number of Shadow Cabinet members who voted for Kinnock as leader.

The Parliamentary right wing clearly has the upper hand. In Tribune Hugh Macpherson comments: "The fate of Robin Cook is particularly significant because he was part of the onslaught on the Bennite left in which the present leader and Michael Foot indulged, en-

couraged by the right wing.

"That, in itself, was rent with irony. For those under attack — the Bennites — were the very force for constitutional changes which allowed a leader like Neil Kinnock to be elected in the teeth of the opposition of the now rampant Right."

"Now he might well ponder the words of Cardinal Wolsey: 'Had I but served my God with half the zeal I served my king, he would not in mine age have left me naked to mine enemies'."

●According to Tribune last week, Neil Kinnock has refused to pledge Labour to reverse the cuts in social security and housing benefit for young people which are to be introduced by the Tory government. Kinnock was replying to questions from the organisation Youthaid.

Killed for profits

The North Sea oil industry claimed yet another 45 victims last Thursday (6 November) when a Chinook helicopter plunged into the sea off the Shetland Isles whilst ferrying passengers from the Shell/Esso Brent oilfield.

This was the world's worst non-military helicopter crash. The Chinook was owned by British International Helicopters (BIH), of which the chairperson is press millionaire and Labour Party member Robert Maxwell, who bought the firm for £13.5 million from British Airways.

Helicopter crashes have not been the only cause of deaths in the North Sea oil industry. 123 men died in 1980 when an accommodation rig collapsed in the Norwegian Ekofisk oilfield. A year earlier 17 men died when a BA748 airliner on charter to Shell overran the runway at the Sumburgh airfield on the Shetlands.

The response to the latter accident was indicative of the oil industry's concern for its employees: a freight hall at the airfield was set aside for use as a mortuary in the event of a similar accident occurring again. By last weekend, the freight hall was host to another 45 corpses.

Nor was last Thursday's crash the first accident to involve a Chinook, though it was the first to claim lives. The helicopter which crashed last week had previously been forced to make two emergency landings, once in 1983, and then again in September of this year.

But with both the helicopter and oil industry facing growing financial problems, the likelihood is that even more corners will be cut, at the expense of their employees' lives, in



NF leaders on the march

1000 anti-fascists last Sunday answered the call of Anti-Fascist Action to demonstrate against fascist groups like the NF who, on Remembrance Sunday last year mobilised hundreds of thugs to pay homage to Hitler at the Whitehall Cenotaph.

A small group of fascists attacked

the back of the AFA demonstration shortly after it left Trafalgar Square. The AFA march was unprotected; the surrounding police cordon melted away, allowing the fascists to split the march and bring chaos for a few minutes.

In future the anti-fascists must have better stewarding.

THE RICH

Swindle

STUART SPURLING was part of a team which organised a £170,000 fraud on Eurobond deals in 1983.

By fiddling the books, they ensured profits for stockbrokers Kemp Mitchell at the expense of their employers, a New York firm. Kemp Mitchell then handed the cash back to the four.

The affair has now been closed with Spurling, one colleague, and two top men in Kemp Mitchell being expelled from the Stock Exchange. The Financial Times reports: "It is unlikely that any of those implicated will be prosecuted... Mr Spurling said at his home last night that he did not expect a police investigation. 'It is one big joke and out of the way as far as I am concerned'."

There is no question about guilt: the firm being swindled discovered the fraud, and Spurling and his three cronies made written confessions. Kemp Mitchell then carried on and even got Spurling and one of his friends admitted as members of the Stock Exchange before the swindled firm stepped in again!

How many swindles go undiscovered? And does equality before the law mean anything when even confessed swindlers go scot free?

The Tories and the press never stop raising new scandals and new measures against supposed fraud by social security claimants. The courts impose crippling fines on trade unionists just for calling a union meeting!

But in the City, it's fraud without tears.

SOCIAL SECURITY

Protest at tests

The Merseyside Unemployed Centres will be mounting a demonstration outside the Adelphi Hotel in Liverpool this week.

Their protest is against a training course on the new "Available for Work Test" for claimants.

The civil servants administering this test have been dubbed "Benefit Bounty Hunters" by their own union, the Civil and Public Servants Association. The government has told them to be 'cost effective', meaning 25,000 to 30,000 'sign-offs' per year.

This is in addition to the 19,000 new claimants per month expected to be disallowed benefit because of the "trick" available-for-work test.

The government saved over 1000 million last year in unclaimed benefit, and only £120 million has been saved through 'fraud' investigations.

Very few resources are put into helping people to secure unclaimed rights, and not very many into investigating tax fraud, which is much bigger than social security fraud. All the money and effort goes into deterring claimants. Actual prosecutions for social security fraud are rare, but thousands of people are pressurised into 'signing off'.

The government will be paying £200 per week each for bed and breakfast alone for the trainees at the Adelphi, Liverpool's most expensive hotel. The trainees will be expected to recoup the cost by intimidating even more claimants into abandoning their claims.

Labour and public opinion

P R E S S
G A N G

Public opinion in Britain is moving to the left. That's the conclusion from a detailed survey of attitudes just published.

In 1983, 37% of people were against government measures to share out income and wealth more equally. Now it's only 28%. Then, 27% thought holding down inflation was more important than reducing unemployment; the 1985 figure is 22%. 49% used to want less state ownership of industry; now only 30% do.

Support for nuclear disarmament is higher than ever: the proportion who think that nuclear weapons make Britain safer has gone down from 60% in 1983 to 54% in 1985 and 50% in 1986. In 1983, 53% were against reducing military spending; now, only 42% are.

Abortion

The percentage supporting a woman's right to choose on abortion has risen from 37% to 49%. Those thinking that sex before marriage is wrong have declined from 27% to 23%.

Other polls confirm this picture.

Gallup reports that the percentage of people saying that trade unions are 'a good thing' is, at 67%, the highest since 1964. The proportion saying that trade unions are 'too powerful' has gone down from 84% in 1979 to 45% today.

Opinion polls, of course, are notoriously fallible. The figures should not be exaggerated. Attitudes on many issues are still very anti-socialist. On some questions the shift has been to the right (notably, gay rights: the reason there is probably media coverage of AIDS). And some of the figures may reflect a static public opinion which now appears more to the 'left' because the world around it has moved to the 'right', with unions being bashed and state industries sold off.

But a broad trend is clear. And it smashes to bits all that the Labour leaders (backed up by the Communist Party and Marxism Today) have been saying about the need for Labour to move rightwards to follow public opinion.

Roy Hattersley is in a 22% right-wing minority when he assures

bankers and industrialists that a Labour government would put controlling inflation before reducing unemployment. Labour's leaders are in a 42% right-wing minority when they promise the armed forces chiefs that they would not reduce military spending.

What explains the combination of a shift to the left in social attitudes with the depressed state of industrial competitiveness and the labour movement, and the only modest improvement for Labour in the polls? It is, surely, *lack of confidence*.

Most working class people want a more equal, fairer, freer and less militaristic society than Tory Britain. But they're not confident about how to get it, or whether it is even possible.

And Labour's current stance encourages that lack of confidence. The Tories seem to be upper-class brutes (over half of people tell pollsters that they think Margaret Thatcher cares nothing for ordinary working class people), but they also appear to be confident rulers — people who know

how to run a government and to administer bitter medicine where it is necessary.

Labour comes across as apologetic, shifty, and mealy-mouthed — well-intentioned, maybe, but feeble.

'Credible'

Labour's leaders now seem to think that only one thing ranks higher than chasing a vaguely-perceived centre-right public opinion to win votes — and that's assuring the ruling class that the leftism of the early '80s is finished with. (The recent pamphlet 'Investing in People' was distributed free to 2000 bankers, industrialists, civil servants and so on, in an attempt — as Labour Weekly put it — to convince the Establishment that Labour is 'credible').

That's the way to continue to sap workers' confidence. Labour nationally — and local parties, if the national leaders won't do it — should take a different tack, arguing a bold alternative and seeking to raise workers' confidence in our ability to reshape society.

EDITORIAL

BOOK

Violent police

The shock waves from the Stalker affair are still reverberating, but still no one has been prosecuted for the murder of six unarmed men by a secret gang of Northern Ireland Police. Now MARTIN WALKER's new book, *With Extreme Prejudice*, makes a powerful case for believing that there is also a secret gang of police conspirators at work within the Manchester police force. They don't shoot people dead on the roadside, but they do very nasty things to those who get in their bad books. Two Manchester students, Stephen Shaw and Sarah Hollis have experienced a savage and vindictive campaign of persecution and intimidation at the hands of the Manchester police. MATTHEW DAVIES reports.

"With Extreme Prejudice" makes depressing reading. The catalogue of incidents and victims resembles an Agatha Christie novel. In some ways it is a 'whodunnit', except in this

'whodunnit' the police are the criminals and the victims are those who seek justice.

Fiction it isn't; rather it is an account of the Greater Manchester Police Force and its victimisation of people who were not prepared to shut up when there were things to be said.

Martin Walker's book centres on the cases of Stephen Shaw and Sarah Hollis, two Manchester students who were the victims of repeated and violent police harassment following their involvement in a demonstration during the miners' strike at Manchester University.

Sarah Hollis, who was knocked unconscious by police, was a central witness in the enquiry set up after police tore into the peaceful demonstration back in early 1985.

Her house was subsequently burgled and she was continually followed or threatened by men she believed to be police officers who told her not to give evidence.

The harassment was so severe that she had to leave Manchester during her finals.

Stephen Shaw volunteered to take on an important role in the campaign to defend those arrested on the night of the demonstration. He was subse-



Local bobby swings truncheon with extreme prejudice.

Photo: Martin Shakeshaft.

quently burgled and followed by two men who stopped him for supposed speeding offences on more than one occasion.

After being stopped and taken to a police station on supposed drugs charges, he was beaten up and given an 'anal inspection' for drugs which left him severely ruptured and in need of medical attention.

Later he was beaten up in an alleyway and had a cigarette stubbed out on his cheek. Stephen Shaw believes the men who beat him up were policemen.

Martin Walker believes that there is a group of policemen within Manchester who are involved not only in these two cases but in the cases of people like Jackie Berkeley who was tried for wasting police time after alleging she had been raped in Moss Side police station.

This 'cell' of criminal police operates within a law of their own. They appear to use physical violence and intimidation to deter those who have a just and serious complaint against the police force.

Recently Stephen Shaw fled the country. He fears the police will prosecute him for 'wasting police time'.

The police are out to undermine Steven Shaw's credibility and frighten him off from pursuing his case.

Steven Shaw's father says that his son has lost all faith in getting justice, and leaving the country was the only way that he could resume some sort of 'normal' life.

Martin Walker's book is an important record of corruption and violence within Manchester police force. The questions it asks need to be answered by the likes of Chief Constable Anderton and the Manchester labour movement should follow up the allegations and demand justice for people like Steven Shaw.

The police can choose to answer the allegations. What is more likely is that they will defend their record and protect their image by prosecuting those making the allegations. The labour movement must be prepared for such a move and mobilise to defend those who may become victims of their own legitimate complaints.

"With Extreme Prejudice" by Martin Walker can be obtained from the Justice for Steven Shaw Campaign, c/o Manchester University Students Union.

The AIDS scare

These days you cannot open a newspaper without reading something about AIDS. But giving Paul Johnson his head to sound off on the subject was surely an act of gross irresponsibility on the part of the Daily Mail.

Paul Johnson is "an intellectual" of the radical right. Back in the '60s he was a lefty of Maoist persuasion. In the early '70s he switched over to more or less mainstream reformism and edited the New Statesman for a while. By 1979 he was a born-again Thatcherite. Contempt for the working class has been the only consistent feature in his critical evolution.

What he's against is young people being told about it in schools or anyone at all discussing birth control, the practicalities of preventing sexually transmitted diseases or — horror of horrors — what actually...sort of...goes on. Between men and women it's beastly enough. Between men and men (women and women hasn't occurred to him yet) it's...well...just horrible.

Paul Johnson's personal problems are a matter best left for in-depth discussion between him and a properly qualified psychiatrist. They become positively dangerous when national newspapers give him space to air his views on subjects like AIDS (in last Tuesday's Mail) or sex education (coming shortly in the Telegraph).

Most serious commentators realise ignorance remains the major enemy in the battle against AIDS and that the recent government advertising campaign did little to promote elementary practical measures like the use of condoms or to dispel widely held myths like the possibility of picking up AIDS from lavatory seats.

By Jim Denham

For Paul Johnson, however, AIDS is an excellent opportunity to give all his prejudices a hearing.

After attacking Labour's policy on nuclear power (yes, he manages to work that in!) Johnson goes on to assert that "Labour's alliance with the homosexual lobby, especially in local government, entail real risks of hastening the spread of the undoubtedly large-scale killer — AIDS."

No evidence of argumentation, of course: trivial things like facts are just too tedious for a great mind like Johnson's. He does present an argument of sorts for his next point: AIDS is clearly "associated with drug abuse". Well done, Paul! "The government is at war against the drug traffickers". Therefore "it does not help if the Labour spokesmen and councillors attack the police whenever they conduct large scale and much-needed operations against drug traffic in the inner-cities". So that's what was going on in Handsworth and St. Pauls — AIDS prevention exercises!

All this may seem laughable rather than pernicious. But the really nasty stuff is yet to come: "In Nairobi...70% of female prostitutes are believed to be infected. The control and screening of arrivals in Britain from African countries therefore form an obvious part of preventive measures...it does not help if Labour raise the hideous cry of "racist" whenever the government brings in new entry rules."

This is an idea we can expect to hear much more of so it might be worth noting that recently the DHSS rejected on the grounds that either all visitors should be tested (causing chaos at the major ports, etc) or none. And what about British visitors returning from, say, America?

Johnson's other brilliant proposal is to "discourage sexual contact among homosexuals and to warn the population at large that homosexual activity now carries the risk of death".

The problem here is that Labour is now in the grip of "homosexual militants" using the rates to promote their propaganda among school children "in the guise of sex education".

No mention of the need for more funding of research; no discussion of ideas like mass mailing and Thatcher's television advertising; no practical proposals at all save backing the police at all times, tightening up on immigration controls on blacks and informing the public of the little known fact that there is a connection between homosexuality and AIDS.

"On the issue of AIDS," concludes our great thinker, "Labour is playing politics with human lives". No one would accuse Paul Johnson of doing that, of course.

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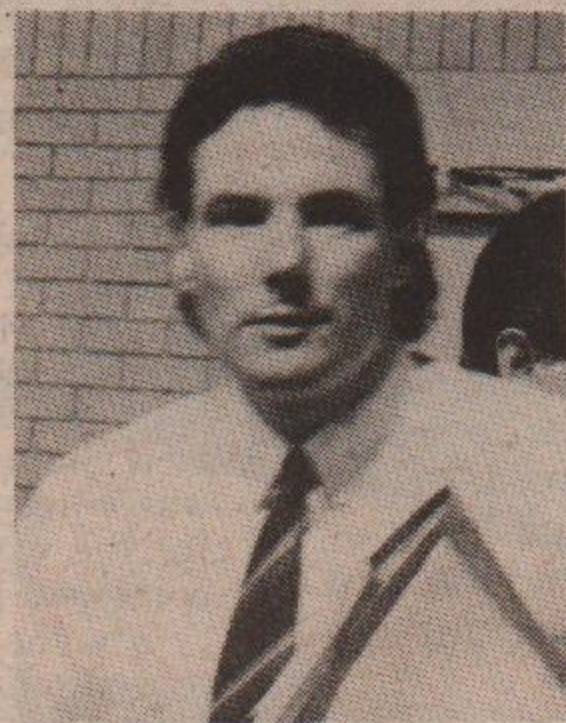
Market socialism

●The new 'market socialism' takes many different forms. The Italian Communist Party's daily paper now publishes share prices.

The British CP's Left Unlimited rally recently proudly featured a trade fair, and New Statesman editor John Lloyd commented approvingly that "Marxism Today is now a marketing organisation as well as a magazine... Mondrian mugs were on sale beside Marxism Today filifaxes. You could test your commitment on a computerised Dialectical Pursuits and attend a fashion show".

McDonald's have just announced plans to open their first restaurants in Eastern Europe, in Yugoslavia and Hungary. Soviet TV last week gave McDonald's a plug, which suggests that Big Macs could become the opium of the Soviet masses, too. Pizza Hut is already set to start business in the USSR.

But strangest of all was Derek Hatton at the CBI conference. Militant generally prides itself on being unchanged not only in political substance but also in style and language since the early 1950s — the very antithesis of modish



Derek Hatton 'designer socialism'.

Yet Hatton, patriotic red poppy in his well-cut button-hole, travelled down from Liverpool to the bosses' conference in Bournemouth to boost

Liverpool as an attractive site for profiteering industrialists. No, he assured TV reporters, his red reputation was no hindrance; many businessmen wanted to talk to him because he was Derek Hatton!

The right-wing engineers' leader Gavin Laird was also at Bournemouth — the first-ever union leader to be an invited speaker at a CBI conference. He had the ideal defence against any objection from his members: if Derek Hatton was there, then surely the red and blue could fraternise in a shared vision of a popular capitalism and a 'socialism' free of boring old egalitarianism.

Fascist books

●The fascist National Front has opened a bookshop in Protestant East Belfast, and is planning to hold a demonstration there next year and to run local government candidates.

Their Remembrance Day demonstration last Sunday, however, suggested that the NF in Britain is still in disarray.

They had between 1000 and 2000 in a rather ragged procession.

The single banner on the march read 'No More Brothers' Wars'. The reference is presumably to the 1866 war between Prussia and Austria (the 'brothers' war'), and the idea is that instead of Britain fighting Hitler, the Nordic races should have joined against 'inferior' peoples.

Striking the same Nazi note were two insignia for local Young National Front branches constructed in rather feeble imitation of Nazi banners.

But the NF did not seem to have their line clear: the marchers also carried a number of British flags.

Upper class

●A triumph for democracy? For the first time in over a century, less than half the top recruits to the Civil Service this year came from Oxford or Cambridge universities.

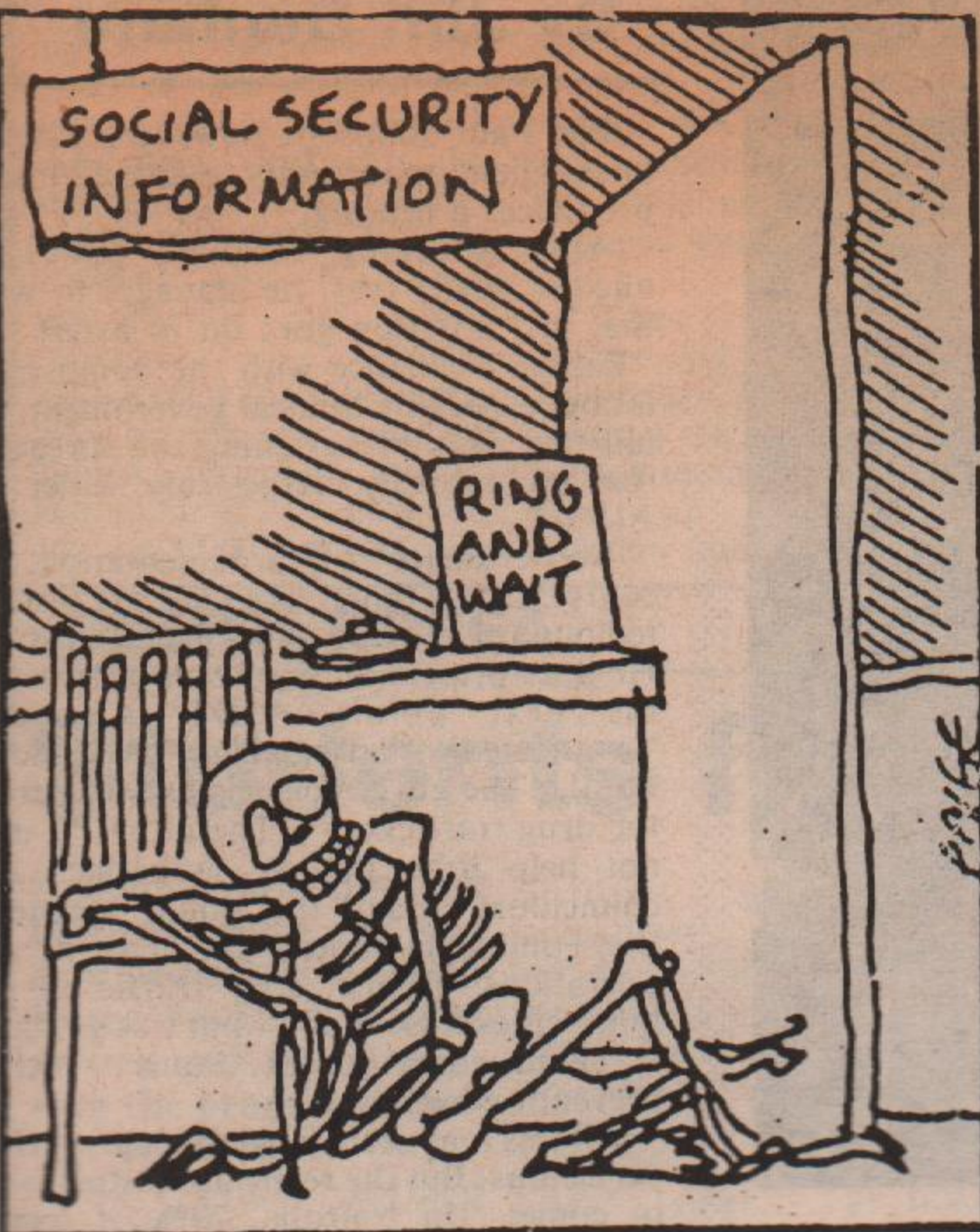
These two upper-class bastions — with about 0.6% of youth passing through them — have long monopolised the top ranks of the Civil Service hierarchy, of the armed forces, and of the judiciary. But this year they supplied only 39 out of 82 'high-flyers'.

But the reason, it seems, is that top civil service salaries are falling behind the private sector, and getting Oxbridge graduates go instead to the City or industry.

High-tech

●A recent report from Glasgow University academics suggested that previous estimates of low unionisation in high-tech industry in Scotland were wrong. But that report in its turn has been contradicted by other research at the same university.

In a survey of 190 high-tech firms in north-west England, more than 60% were found to be non-union.



People's capitalism

●You may be sceptical about the Tories' popular capitalism, but Albert Williams, general secretary of the building workers' union UCATT, isn't.

Nothing daunted by the fact that some 400,000 building workers are on

the dole, Williams last week announced the launch of 'UCATT Financial Services'.

This company, run by a Manchester stockbroker, will offer share-buying and other financial services to UCATT members.

Said Williams: "We're attempting to get away from the cloth cap image. There are construction workers, especially in the south-east, earning £150,000 a year and driving Mercedes and Rovers".

Perhaps Williams could go one further with advice on how these mythical £150,000-a-year workers could employ some of their jobless brethren as odd-job men and domestic flunkies.

Showbiz

●In the US elections for Congress and Governors last week, only 37% of those eligible voted. It's the lowest figure since war-time.

The more US politics becomes like showbiz, the more ordinary working-class people there feel they have no say and no interest.

Banning anti-Zionists

In his article 'Free speech and the fight against racism', Simon Pottinger makes some interesting points. However, in highlighting the misapplication of the no platform tactic viz. the banning of pro-Zionist Jewish Societies, he ignores the other side of the coin, i.e. the consistent and continual attempts by the Union of Jewish Students to ban their opponents.

This has taken a number of different forms, including leaflets which attempt to equate the PLO with the National Front by the Glasgow Jewish Society.

Two years ago UJS made strenuous attempts to ban Lenni Brenner, author of 'Zionism in the Age of Dictators', which detailed the record of the Zionist movement during the '30s and '40s in Europe. Despite his

record in the civil rights movement and his clear opposition to all forms of racism, an attempt was made to ban him as a fascist and racist.

In recent weeks, UJS have attempted to ban me from speaking on various campuses in conjunction with the leadership of NOLS. At the School of Oriental and African Studies, UJS attempted to ban me, despite my successful opposition to a passage in the Palestinian motion which would have banned the local Jewish Society.

At Thames Polytechnic, following a letter from the Chair of NOLS, Ben Lucas, the Labour Club was forced to postpone a meeting at which I was to speak and institute a debate on Palestine at which I would have been one of the speakers. UJS then attempted to use the 'no platform' policy to have me banned by the union. At both colleges UJS failed in their attempts to ban me.

The reason they failed was because

it is hardly likely that if I were, in the words of a leaflet distributed by UJS at Thames, "a racist and an anti-semiter", that I would have been the target of repeated attacks by fascist organisations, both physical and verbal.

I hope, therefore, that both Simon Pottinger and SO will, when they attack the misguided attempts to ban Jewish Societies, also condemn equally forthrightly the attempts by UJS to restrict and curtail those of their opponents, in particular Jewish anti-Zionists, to put the contrary view on campuses.

TONY GREENSTEIN,
Labour Movement for Palestine

Editor's note: Yes, of course, Socialist Organiser supports Tony Greenstein's right to express his opinion on Israel, and we condemn attempts to silence him.



National Front marching to the Cenotaph under police escort on Remembrance Day. Photo: Andrew Wiard/Report.

The left sobers up

With the Socialist Workers Party deciding to picket Enoch Powell in Bristol rather than smash the meeting up, it seems that the left is beginning to sober up on the question of 'no platform' discussed in Simon Pottinger's article (SO 290).

But it's important to clinch the argument. Free speech is our basic policy. Socialism means the defeat of entrenched power by the mobilisation of long-downtrodden millions of people who at last dare to have thoughts and dreams other than

those handed down by official society: thus it needs free debate. And free speech (real free speech, not the limited free speech available in a society where a wealthy minority monopolises the media, education, leisure...) is a vital part of the socialism we fight for.

To try to suppress free speech is tactically dangerous, because it swings democratic-minded people towards your opponent. This danger is great for revolutionary socialists today, as a small minority. Beyond that, there is the objection of principle: the imposition by force of any orthodoxy, even an apparently left-

wing one, is anti-socialist.

Does allowing free speech for racists and sexists make them 'respectable'? Hardly, if they are met by militant pickets, as they should be. Does it licence an insult, an attack on the rights of black people and women? Up to a point, yes (and that's why we should have pickets and protests). But the idea of banning all that insults this or that group is highly dangerous, and produces a regime repressive to weaker or less vocal groups. The cure can be worse than the disease: witness the current 'anti-porn' crusade in the US.

Does all this leave us sounding like liberals? Yes! Within the working class we believe in the liberal ideal of reason triumphing through free debate; if we didn't we'd have to give up. Our difference with the liberals is only this: we know that history proceeds through class struggle and not through debate. The needs of the class struggle stand higher than any democratic principle.

That's why we respond to fascists and racists by advocating working class and black self-defence, and argue that such defence groups should deal with the fascists according to the rules of war.

We do what is necessary in defence of the democratic rights of the working class, of black people, of Jews, of women; and if that means ultra-rightist thugs losing some 'democratic rights', we shed no tears!

But it's a different matter to generalise from that (or from considerations of what revolutionaries might do in the tumult of civil war) to toy-Jacobin attempts to ban a wide range of repulsive ideas.

ROY THAME
East London

ALAN GILBERT,
Swansea

THE LEFT AND FREE SPEECH

When Louis Farrakhan was refused entry into Britain earlier this year, the GC of Hackney Labour Party discussed the issue.

Their decision was that, while they were opposed to the ban, they were not prepared, should Farrakhan be granted entry, to provide a meeting room.

The tactic of 'no platform' seems to have become confused with banning in that student unions are seen by some to be all powerful and able to remove reactionary ideas by decree.

When a student union implements a policy of 'no platform' (that is bans someone from speaking and/or organising on union premises), this does not stop that person/organisation holding a meeting elsewhere. It is then the responsibility of a student

union which takes its politics seriously to organise a picket of the meeting.

Of course we have to be clear about against whom the tactic of 'no platform' is applicable. On this point I agree with the conclusions of the article 'Free speech and the fight against racism' (SO 290). Obviously the banning of Jewish Societies should not be tolerated by socialists.

It is not true that stopping a meeting by a picket rather than a ban means that the arguments about free speech cannot be used. "Trot mob stops meeting" rather than "Loony lefties on committee stop meeting". Stopping a meeting by picket or ban means we must take responsibility for 'denying free speech'.

ANOTHER FRONT

These are extracts from Gerry Adams' presidential address to the recent conference of Sinn Fein, where he argued successfully for Sinn Fein to take seats in the Dublin Parliament.

Adams was confronting a very long Republican tradition, which sees armed force as the only way to achieve the Irish Republic. "The cement which held us together was physical force, and, until recent times, physical force was applied in isolation, unsupported by organised political sentiment".

He does not flatly reject that approach, but queries it: "Even the most successful armed struggle in the Six Counties cannot achieve the Republic".

What about the sad fate of previous Republicans who have gone into parliamentary politics? Adams points out that there must have been something wrong with their politics before they entered parliament.

The logical conclusion should be a redefinition of revolutionary politics in terms of *social aims* that make it revolutionary, rather than this or that *tactic*.

But Adams does not do that. He makes no mention of socialism (presumably he was trying to reassure Provo old-timers), and defines Sinn Fein's aims in very traditional and narrow Irish-nationalist terms: "The expulsion of imperialism in all its forms, political, economic, military, social and cultural".

Such aims cannot possibly unite the working class, or define a democratic Ireland, because the Protestant workers of the North (and even a good many of the Catholic workers of the South) identify with 'imperialist' British culture rather than Irish-Gaelic culture.

(More on Sinn Fein's conference next week).



Presidential address by Gerry Adams — with Sean McManus, Martin McGuinness, and Danny Morrison seated on the platform to his left. Photo: Derek Speirs/Report.

spiratorial and repressive nature of our past, our distrust for 'politics and politicians' and a belief that 'politics' is inherently corrupt. But once it is grasped then everything else follows logically, especially the need to develop our struggle at the level of people's understanding.

Too often republicans have appeared dogmatic on the question of abstentionism and yet successive leaderships and generations of republicans have at least passively, and in many cases actively, supported other political organisations in election campaigns.

This is certainly the case with Fian-na Fail in the 26-County general election of 1932, later with Clann na Poblachta, and in our time with the late Frank Maguire, Frank McManus and Bernadette McAliskey and — although some of them will deny it now — it was also the case with Gerry Fitt, Paddy Devlin, and Paddy Kennedy. They would not have been so successful on their entry into politics without republican support and in some of the above cases I was witness to, and in most cases opposed to, that support or at least to a 'standing aside' being agreed.

Some republicans believe that politics is the property of the establishment, that so-called 'constitutionalism' and politics are the same thing and thus that politics are inherently corrupt and corrupting. The logic of this is that de Valera was okay until he went into Leinster House, or that the opportunism of the Clann na Poblachta leadership only occurred after their entry into the 26-County parliament. If we still believe that, then we don't know our own history and we have little concept of the class nature of this struggle.

For our part, this leadership has been actively involved in the longest phase ever of resistance to the British presence. Our record speaks for itself.

We have led from the front and from within the occupied area. We have learned that to be victorious a struggle for freedom must be a struggle of the people. We have said many times that even the most successful armed struggle in the Six Counties — and the struggle there is not merely an armed one — cannot achieve the Republic.

We must develop a 32-County-wide political struggle. This is the most important task facing us at present. While consolidating our base in the Six Counties, we must develop a popular struggle here in

the 26 Counties to complement the struggle in the Six County area.

Of necessity, this means, in order to advance at the level of people's consciousness, the removal of abstentionism in regard to Leinster House.

We all must share the daunting and massive task of interpreting and applying republicanism to changing and changed political conditions. Our failure to do this is one of the tragic failures of the past. The fundamental tenets of republicanism remain valid and are, of course, absolutely central to the resolution of our current national difficulties.

But no generation of republicans could or should ever merely absorb the teaching of previous generations. Those who were successful in the past in advancing the republican cause, even by one inch, updated and modernised the teaching and experiences of their predecessors. This is what Lalor did, what Pearse did, what Connolly did — and it is what we have to do also.

We have to develop a coherent social and political philosophy which provides a rationale for consistent political as well as armed action. Such a process is one of continual interpretation and refinement in response to constantly changing social political reality.

Many republicans wandered in the political wilderness, isolated from the daily life and concerns of the people and unable to challenge or offer a viable alternative to the partitionist regimes in Ireland. This in turn has weakened the appeal and credibility of this struggle and limited our ability to think or act outside, and thus complementary to, the armed struggle, and it has prevented us from mobilising the broad masses of our people, not least in regards to the armed struggle.

We have at all times been more committed to rebellion than to revolution. The cement which held us together was physical force and, until recent times, physical force was applied in isolation, unsupported by organised political sentiment in the country.

The only feasible way to break out of our isolation, to make political gains, to win support for our policies, to develop our organisation and our struggle is by approaching people at the level they understand. This is the sad and unfortunate reality of the dilemma facing us. It cannot be dodged by highly moral rhetoric. It is an issue which we must face up to. This means Sinn Fein getting among people in the basic ways which the people accept.

It will mean the difference between another glorious defeat or the development of strategies which can succeed.

The removal of abstentionism will not provide a 'magic wand' solution to all our problems. Indeed, in this state it merely clears the decks and it makes the burden of struggle heavier upon us all.

We have to cease being spectators of a struggle in the Six Counties and become pioneers of republicanism in the 26 Counties, putting our policies before the people, confident of the logic of the alternative which Irish republicanism offers.

I say this means risky political positions. This should not be underestimated.

The removal of abstentionism allied to implementation of the other necessities I have touched on here, and detailed in other addresses, will initiate an increase in our party membership and could change the political complexion of this party. It is important therefore that those who wish to change abstentionism now recommit themselves to this struggle and that those who are opposed to change stay with us also.

We need to keep our republican gut. While developing the struggle in the 26 Counties we must never lose sight of our national objectives. We must change our strategies but must never let this change our objectives or aims.

We are a republican party committed to the struggle for national self-determination, committed to the overthrow of British rule in Ireland and to the end of partition and committed to bringing about the political and economic changes necessary for the well-being and security of this nation.

In other words, we are committed to the reconquest of Ireland by the Irish people. This means the expulsion of imperialism in all its forms, political, economic, military, social and cultural. It means the establishment of a real Irish republic and the organisation of the economy so that all its resources are under Irish control and organised to bring maximum benefit to the people in a 32-County state in which Irish culture and national identity is strong and confident.

In a sentence, what I am saying is that it's time for change, not just for republicans but for all the people of this state.

For too long the political pygmies of Leinster House have had things too easy, for too long they have been allowed a monopoly upon what passes for politics in this part of Ireland, and for too long a very sizeable section of Irish citizens have been denied the opportunity to shape and build as relevant, radical and principled alternative to partitionist rule.

The question is wider than one of principle or tactic and it is not unique to Ireland or post-partition Ireland.

It is a question of whether a struggle such as ours can be advanced by opening up another front in a parliament of the establishment which oppresses us and the interests we seek to represent. As such, this question of electoralism as a means of revolutionary struggle has affected all struggles in areas where parliaments with universal suffrage exist. As with all such questions, the answer lies in the people's attitudes to those institutions.

Our experience has taught us that our struggle — and this affects every aspect of the struggle for national liberation — cannot be built merely on the republican perception of things. We have had to consistently pitch our struggle at the level of people's understanding and we have had to develop it from this common denominator, taking into account, in an objective way, all the forces and factors involved.

It would be much easier, of course, if all the Irish people, or a large section of them, were born with our perception and our view of things, but this is not the case. If it was, there would be little need for a republican struggle. But there is such a need and if we want to win then there is a fundamental need to make it a people's struggle. Of course, if we have no concept of winning we can remain as we are — a party apart from the people, proud of our past but with little involvement in the present and only dreams for the future...

In the Six Counties, in regards to Stormont or Westminster, a sizeable section of nationalists and republicans feel no affinity with those institutions. In the 26 Counties it is different.

It is a massive mistake to presume that our republican attitude to Leinster House is shared by any more than a very small section of our people, especially the citizens of this state, who might otherwise be open to our policies on all other issues. It must also be clear that the reconquest of Ireland, much less a British withdrawal, cannot be completed without the support of more of these people.

Of course we have a duty to point out to these people the shortcomings and the history of the present system, and we have a duty to win them to our view, but we can only do so at their level of understanding and we can only proceed from the objective reality of their consciousness.



Rory O'Brady reading out a press statement at the West County Hotel in Dublin following his walk-out from the Sinn Fein Ard Fheis.

Photo: Derek Speirs/Report.

Those who first articulated abstentionism could not foresee the political developments that were to take place, nor could they, or did they, lay down a course of action with a stipulation that it could never be changed.

As the political conditions change so must republican strategy change. Therefore present political conditions continue to be the dominant factor in producing a republican response to those conditions. Our experience teaches us that, as a group, we are often successful when we have a flexible approach. We are at our weakest when we are forced into a static political position where the most powerful forces of imperialism can be employed to isolate us.

We should not reject participation out of hand, but we should always be aware that such rejection may become essential. It also depends on the objective reality and conditions of the time.

The central issue is not abstentionism. It is merely a problematic, deeply-rooted and emotive symptom of the lack of republican politics and the failure of successive generations of republicans to grasp the centrality, the primacy and the fundamental need for republican politics. This truth must be grasped. It is a difficult one for many to accept given the con-

Argentina: no tears for the generals

A general strike, the seventh since Alfonsín became President at the end of 1983, hit Argentina at the beginning of last month.

Nobody expected the government to fall or even radically alter course as a result of the general strike. The strikes are essentially a protest against the consequences of the Plan Austral, the government's programme to try and stop Argentina's hyper-inflation — almost 700% in 1985 — and the government's commitment to service Argentina's foreign debt.

But the general strikes also highlight one of the paradoxes of Argentina: the existence of a combative, class-conscious, well-organised working class movement which is politically and ideologically anti-socialist.

The Argentine working class is, and has been for most of this century, the strongest working class in Latin America. But ever since the virtual "re-making" of the working class under Peronism from 1945 to 1955 the Argentinian trade union movement has been committed to a highly combative, often personally courageous struggle under the banner of Peronism which has led it nowhere.

There are signs that the Peronist movement is breaking up as the two major factions — the traditionalists and the renovators — fight for control, but there are no signs yet of the emergence of a socialist party based on the working class.

Argentina is a complex country. Until the latter half of the nineteenth century Argentina was a large, underpopulated territory.

Between 1890 and 1914 over four million European immigrants, three-quarters of these from Spain and Italy, came to Argentina, and over two million of these stayed. Argentina was classically an extension of Euro-

Phil O'Brien concludes his series on Latin America with a look at Argentina, the home of the sub-continent's largest and potentially most powerful organised working class.

pean space — comparable to Canada, Australia and New Zealand rather than Peru or Algeria. It was a country which saw itself as an outpost of European civilisation.

At the turn of the century it also saw itself as the main rival to the USA to be the dominant power in Latin America. Through its exports of beef and wheat Argentina linked itself to the European market, especially Britain.

Even as late as 1929 a British Ambassador could claim that "Argentina must be regarded as an essential part of the British Empire."

The European immigrants brought with them the traditions of the European anarchist movement, and from 1900 to 1930 the working class was dominated by anarchism, including the tradition of the general strike. In 1919 a general strike of a week left over 500 dead and thousands injured.

The Great Depression threw Argentina into turmoil, and the 1930s opened with a military coup which was to be a depressing harbinger for the next 50 years.

The Communist Party and others began to replace the influence of the

anarchists. By 1941 the CP controlled the four fastest growing trade unions — the construction workers, textiles, metal workers, and the refrigeration workers. However the CP's policy of "no strikes" during the war years cost it support.

A coup by nationalist military men with sympathy for the Axis powers in 1943 led to a new strategy towards labour. Colonel Peron was put in charge of the Department of Labour, and from there he set about strengthening the trade unions to forge a nationalist and pro-industrialist alliance.

He made allies and removed enemies, and above all extended labour legislation to give increased benefits to the workers. A whole generation of union leaders and activists began to look to the state for a resolution of their problems.

The workers were not just duped by a clever politician. Concrete benefits and power were given to them.



The sinking of HMS Antelope

The military hierarchy soon became alarmed at Peron's growing popularity, and dismissed him in 1945. The leadership of the Central Confederation of Labour decided to call a general strike on October 18, but already activists had organised the industrial areas of Buenos Aires and on October 17 hundreds of thousands marched into the centre. The military backed down, and in the 1946 elections Peron won with a massive popular mandate.

Thereafter the Argentine working class was drawn into a corporatist project that gave it real benefits and some real participation, but at the cost of any socialist project.

All working class movements are also processes of creation by the working class itself. The Peronist legacy was a deeply ambiguous one, but one which the working class movement itself helped create.

Peron's project of national economic development with social justice (hence the name of Peron's party — the Justicialist Party) won him the undying support of the working class. It was they who stood by him even when after his re-election in 1951 he moved rapidly to the right. It was only they who tried to defend him when the military ousted Peron by force in 1955.

Myths were created and re-created about the first Peron period. For the young Peronists in the 1970s, Peron's legendary first wife, Evita, became a sort of socialist saint.

As with all myths there was an element of truth. But at the same time Peron was corrupt, authoritarian, often brutal, and towards the end inefficient. But many of the workers felt that Peron gave them in the words of a union leader of the time "that most precious right of a human being — dignity".

Much of that dignity came from the workers' own struggles. For after 1944 a strong shop steward movement was created: through the *cuervo de delegados* (a shop stewards plenary) which in turn elected a *comision interna* (a factory committee) the workers created powerful and democratic bodies within the factory

itself.

Peron had initially encouraged the creation of these bodies (hence their support for Peron in his exile), but he found that his corporatist project for labour frequently ran into problems of control with these organisations. He and subsequent governments would then try and use the trade union bureaucracy to control the *comisiones internas*.

The coup against Peron was to divide Argentina into two warring camps: the Peronists and the anti-Peronists. For the next two decades the issue of Peronism dominated Argentina.

As the landowners, industrialists and the military tried to break the working class movement, that movement became more inextricably bound to Peronism. And Peronism without access to state power became more firmly based on the working class.

Trade unions became not only representatives of workers' economic interests but also in effect the political party of Peronism. The power of the workers was such that effectively all projects for restructuring Argentine society and economy foundered on confrontation with them.

In 1966 General Onganía seized power through a military coup. He was determined to eradicate once and for all the power of Peronism and the trade unions. His efforts to follow the Brazilian model led to a movement of mass, and increasingly radicalised, resistance.

What was new about the resistance was the shift of radicalised middle class youth into an alliance with the still largely Peronist working class. This was also to be the era of Trotskyist-inspired guerrilla groups (notably the ERP) and the rapid growth of the armed peronist youth movement the Montoneros, who advocated a quasi-socialist programme.

Radicalisation grew rapidly, and in



Nightlife in Buenos Aires



The end of military rule

At the same time Galtieri offered full support to US foreign policy, even going so far as to send Argentine military advisers to Central America. In a visit to the USA Galtieri was publicly praised by Reagan officials as a loyal ally and a great soldier. The Argentine government became convinced that the USA would at least remain neutral in any conflict over the Falklands.

The final decision to invade the Falklands was probably prompted as much by internal as external factors. A mass anti-government demonstration at the end of March 1982 was brutally dispersed with one person killed. The trade unions called for a general strike. On April 2 Argentina occupied the Falklands to the hysterical acclaim of the mass of the Argentinian people.

The Montoneros in exile, many of whose comrades had been brutally tortured to death by the military, offered to return to fight for the islands. And in a bizarre capitulation to an absurd act of nationalistic posturing by a brutal military dictatorship, sectors of the international left supported the take-over of the islands, interpreting it through some strange logic as an anti-imperialist act.

The re-occupation of the Falkland/Malvinas Islands by the British armed forces marked the death-knell of the Argentine dictatorship. The military tried to hang on for some time in order to negotiate an amnesty for themselves.

Sectors of the Peronist movement flirted with the military. It was a flirtation which cost them dearly. Alfonsín campaigned hard on the issue of an honest government, and one which would investigate the crimes of the military. He won the election convincingly even picking up votes in what had traditionally been the solid Peronist areas of the industrial cities.

The return to democracy in Argentina opened up a new era for the Argentine working class. Peronism had really died with Peron in 1974, but a decade of repression had kept it alive.

It is a slow death: the old guard are not going to disperse without a fight. Peronism still remains in many ways a source of class identity for many workers.

Many workers may have actually voted for Alfonsín, but they have resolutely resisted any attempt to change the unions from above. The attempt by the Radicals to gain a serious foothold in the unions did not get very far. Some of the corrupt, Mafia-style union bosses are still in power, but there has been a shift towards a weakening of the more traditional Peronist authoritarian populist labourism.

But the bitter internal fights in the Peronist movement have weakened the ability of the working class to respond to Alfonsín's economic pro-



gramme, and to offer any alternatives.

Alfonsín started off with a number of radical measures, above all that of arresting and putting on trial nine of the former military rulers for their part in the "dirty war". This was an unprecedented move in Latin America, and one which won Alfonsín the recent European Prize for Human Rights. The trials have also helped make public the unbelievable brutality of the dirty war.

The military are deeply resentful of such acts, and sectors of them went so far as to plant a bomb when Alfonsín visited the Cordoba regiment. But in many ways the military as an institution has not been reformed as perhaps it could have been in the wake of their defeat in the Falklands. The military presence behind the scenes is still very strong, and their potential for intervention remains.

Trials are still continuing, but there is pressure on Alfonsín to call a halt and unless there is a public outcry it is likely that he will end them. The trade union movement has on the whole not taken up the demand to try those guilty of crimes during the dictatorship.

But in other areas Alfonsín has been very conservative. After initially threatening to take some radical measures on the debt which as Alfonsín said must be the only debt of almost \$50 billion in the world for which there is nothing to show in Argentina, Alfonsín has adopted the line of not taking any unilateral initiative on its debt. And although the evidence of corruption surrounding

the debt is enormous, there has been no attempt to try anyone for financial corruption.

Instead the government is attempting a tax and financial amnesty to tempt back some of the billions a few Argentinians have abroad.

The economic problems facing Argentina are enormous: a fifty year cycle of economic decline and stagnation, and in the last few years an hyper-inflation. In the end the Radical government went for an orthodox economically conservative programme which put the burden of readjustment onto the wages of the workers.

The Plan Austral has already reduced the level of real wages by 27% — hence the constant call for general strikes. The attempt to woo the capitalist class to invest has not had much success.

Alfonsín's appeal — and he is still highly popular — is basically that he is honest and decent: rare virtues in the last decades of Argentinian politics.

If the combative Argentinian working class can rid itself of the authoritarian, gangsterish element in its trade unions, and if it can begin to offer an alternative to an austerity programme which is cutting living standards and not much else, then it could play a leading role in the reconstruction of Argentina. But to do that the working class would have to move in the direction of socialism.

Class consciousness and class combativity are not in themselves sufficient as the history of Argentina shows. A coherent socialist programme is also needed.

1968 there was a massive outburst, virtually an urban insurrection, in Cordoba — a rapidly industrialising city where the car industry had established its plants. Cordoba was also the centre of left-wing Peronist trade unions, and other left trade unionists including Maoists and Trotskyists.

Cordoba, and outbursts in other cities, destroyed the Onganía project. Guerrilla groups became increasingly daring in their attacks. Onganía tottered on until replaced first by General Levingston and then by General Lanusse.

By now direct action — strikes, factory take-overs, guerrilla attacks — was sweeping Argentina. Lanusse realised that to hold back the tide of revolution he had to make a deal and recall Peron from exile.

In September 1973 Peron won the Presidential elections with 62% of the vote. But it immediately became clear that the Peronist movement itself had become an impossible alliance ranging from gangster trade union bosses, anti-semitic quasi-fascists, workers expecting a return to the mythical days of the past, young Peronists convinced that Peron would introduce some sort of socialism, armed groups — a medley united by only one thing, their allegiance to Peron.

Peron hoped to repeat the alliances of the past, and strongly supported the efforts of the trade union bureaucracy to establish control over the union movement. But Peron was old and sick, and in July 1974 he died, to be replaced by his wife Isabel. By now open warfare had broken out between the left and right of the Peronist movement.

Isabel tottered from one crisis to another. A corrupt and sinister astrologer, Lopez Rega, organised a series of kidnappings and murder from his Ministry, the Ministry of Social Welfare. Supported by the armed forces, a clandestine war of assassination, kidnapping, torture and imprisonment was launched against the left-wing of the Peronist movement and the guerrillas.

The economy became un-

manageable, rocked by galloping inflation. The army watched, biding their time and waiting for the "rotten apple to fall into their laps".

In 1976 the armed forces moved, and almost without protest Isabel was deposed. This time the military were determined to wipe out once and for all "the subversives" who became anyone they felt disagreed with them.

In what became known as the "dirty war", the armed forces launched a campaign of terror against their own population. Their favourite tactic was to have people "disappear", and between 15,000 and 30,000 disappeared. The level of brutality was astounding. Torture was endemic.

Physical repression was accompanied by the disbanding of Congress, banning of political parties, state takeovers in the trade unions, censorship etc.

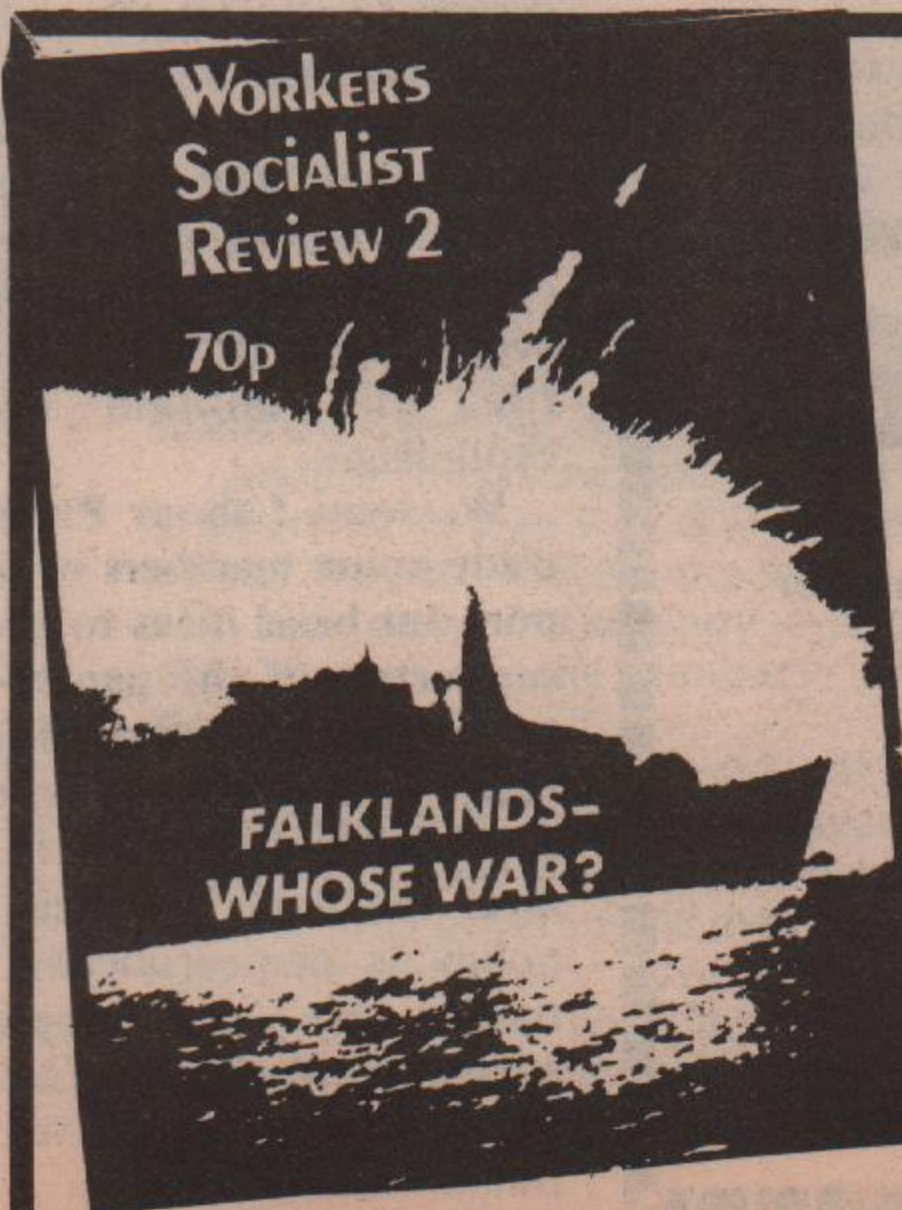
An old Etonian, Martínez de Hoz, was appointed overlord of the economy. He attempted a monetarist model which never even managed to achieve the short-run increases in growth that Chile managed for three years.

Some people, mainly in the banking sector, grew rich particularly out of the foreign loans which bankers were only too happy to lend to Argentina. A high percentage of these loans never stayed in Argentina but were immediately re-cycled into private bank accounts abroad.

The workers, of course, suffered. Wages fell, unemployment rose, social benefits and investments were cut and industries went bankrupt.

With great courage trade unionists fought back. Go-slows were organised in the factories. And even in conditions of harsh repression strikes were organised.

As the promised economic miracle never appeared discontent grew. Videla was replaced by his head of the army, Viola, who in turn was replaced by his head of the army, Galtieri. Desperate to find a popular cause, the Argentine junta became increasingly nationalistic, especially in pursuit of Argentina's territorial claims.



Advertisement

The Falklands war and the left

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Labour and anti-apartheid

Saturday 1 November in Newham saw the first labour movement conference on South Africa, organised by five Anti-Apartheid groups in East and North-east London.

On the platform were representatives from the ANC in Britain, SACTU and other 'notables'. The SACTU speaker claimed that SACTU, which was driven underground in the 1950s, was the builder of South Africa's most powerful trade union movement, COSATU.

At a workshop on the trade movement, she again gave a very distorted history of the developments in South African unions from the 1973 Durban strikes up to the formation of COSATU in 1985.

Supporters of Socialist Organiser pointed to the tremendous power of direct links in establishing solidarity between workers in Britain and South Africa, especially as in many cases they work in the same multinational companies like Plessey or BL.

The successful workplace tours by MAWU's Moses Mayekiso and Brian Williams of the EWATU was referred to

By Payman Rezaei

in the discussion.

We also argued against the idea of 'disinvestment' by foreign capital from South Africa as potentially very damaging to the South African working class movement.

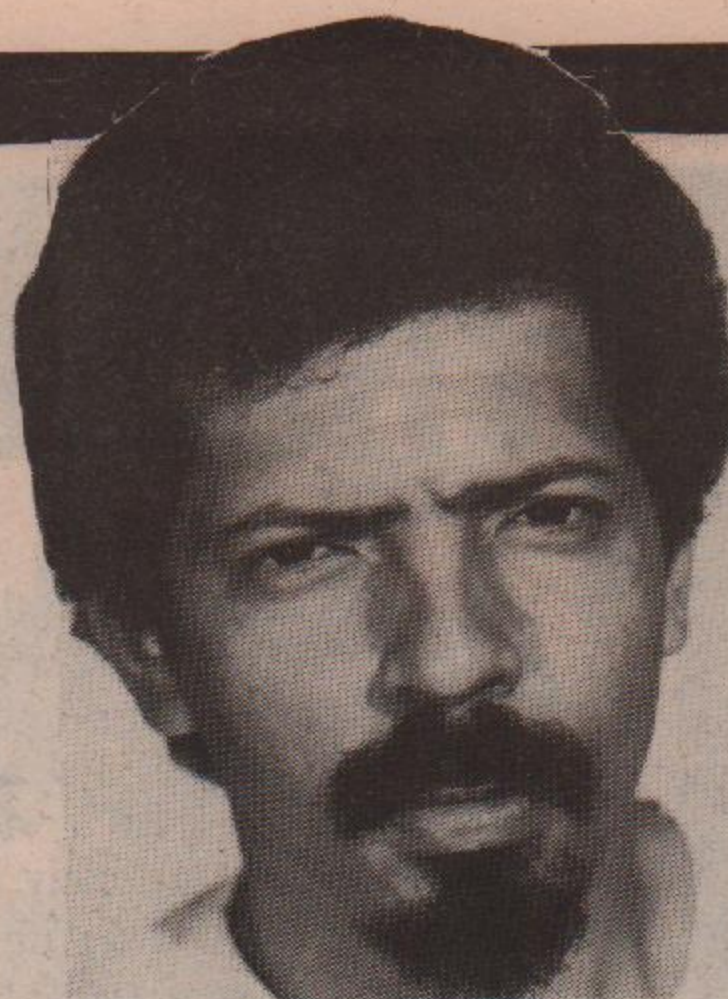
Some trade unionists from Ford at Dagenham were very proud of their campaign to get Ford to pull out of South Africa — despite the fact that multinationals like IBM have already decided to leave as it is more profitable to invest elsewhere, especially in the Third World.

In the afternoon session Dianne Abbott, the Black Sections activist and prospective parliamentary candidate for Hackney North spoke of South Africa being a struggle against 'colonialism, capitalism and racism'. Although her emphasis on colonialism is clearly wrong, she made some pertinent points on fighting racism and understanding the class context of the struggle. At this point, hard-line 'communist' Ken Gill of TASS took the platform and was promptly shouted down by members of the City of London Anti-Apartheid Group. The response of the organisers was

to get the stewards and the Town Hall uniformed security men to drag away the 'trouble-makers'. The dispute between Gill and the City of London AA group is over David Kitson, who was for 20 years rotting in South African jails. Now in Britain, he was promised a job as a Research Fellow at Ruskin College, Oxford, by TASS. However, Kitson fell out of favour with TASS when the ANC suspended his membership because of his refusal to condemn City of London AAM.

SO supporters, although not supporting the tactics of the City of London AA group were disgusted at the way they were handled and tried to defend their right to remain in the hall, arguing that they should be allowed five minutes platform time to put their case. However, conference chair Alf Lomas, a Labour MEP, refused to put the matter to the vote and we witnessed the spectacle of the police being called to a labour movement conference.

In the workshop on 'people's sanctions', SO supporters argued for clearly defining who our real constituency was, i.e. the labour movement. On this basis we had to fight for direct labour movement action. For Anti-



Brian Williams

Apartheid, people's sanctions is an all-inclusive category, including trade union action. In fact, present at the workshop was a trade unionist who had fought, unsuccessfully, for a boycott of South African fruit at Portsmouth Health Authority.

Although the conference platform was staid and bureaucratic, and a very worrying, clearly wrong and potentially dangerous view was reiterated many times by platform speakers and in the workshops that the nationalist struggle against the apartheid state was reaching a peak and would soon be successful — "in just a few months" according to one platform speaker — in the workshops some elements of a debate did begin to emerge on some key issues.

This debate needs to be extended further in East London.

Les Hearn's SCIENCE COLUMN

Different approaches to childbirth

Different approaches to childbirths have been much discussed recently, with the Wendy Savage case revolving around the tension between "modern" high-tech methods and woman-centred methods.

Comparatively little research has been done to evaluate these different approaches but recently the British Medical Journal carried a report on a survey to see if women who were accompanied and supported by female companions throughout their labour fared differently from those receiving "normal" attention.

The survey was organised by American medical scientists in the Social Security Hospital in Guatemala City. Healthy women having their first baby who were in early labour were asked to participate on arrival at Hospital. If agreeable, they were assigned either to a "control" group, where they received normal care (attention from time to time in a crowded labour ward), or to a group, where in addition they had constant support and companionship from one of three Guatemalan women.

Trained

These women were *not* trained in obstetrics (childbirth practice) but supplied emotional and physical support, including backrubs, holding hands, explanation and encouragement. Perhaps most important, the mothers-to-be

were assured they would never be left alone. The results were striking indeed with far fewer perinatal (around birth) complications in the supported group. For example, while 17% of the 249 "controls" needed Caesarean sections, only 7% of the 168 supported group needed them (43 versus 11). Only 2% of the supported group needed induction of birth (by hormone injection) while 13% of controls did (33 to 4).

Labour

Labour was much shorter in the supported group — 7 hours 40 minutes on average, as opposed to 15½ hours for the controls. Women who lived alone benefitted even more from support. The chance of these findings occurring by accident ranges from 1 in 100 to less than 1 in 1000.

The reason probably lies in the anxiety and tension that may attend childbirth, particularly the first one. Adrenalin, released into the bloodstream during stress, reduces contraction of the womb, lengthening labour, and may reduce blood flow to the foetus, with a possible lack of oxygen and risk of stillbirth (a reason for Caesarean sections).

What is now beyond doubt is that constant support can be of enormous benefit during childbirth. Unfortunately, it is also beyond doubt that this Tory government would not be inclined to allow the NHS to pay for such support.

ACTIVISTS' DIARY

Why not form a Campaign Group?

A number of Labour Party members up and down the country have formed themselves into local Campaign groups.

These groups are organised on non-sectarian lines. The aim is to provide a unified left campaigning force in the constituencies.

If you have already done this and have not yet informed the Campaign Group, or if you wish to do so, please contact the Campaign Group of Labour MPs, c/o Alan Meale, secretary, House of Commons, London SW1A 0AA.

All TGWU and ACTSS members who support SO please contact Jim Denham at 021-471 1964, home, or 021-771 0871 (daytime).

Youth Fightback conference: 29-30 November, Sheffield University. More

Speakers include: South African socialists, Women Against Pit Closures, Anti Fascist Action, Asian Youth Movement, debates with SWP and Youth Action.

Further details: contact Mark, 01-639 7967.

Saturday 13 December. Conference for Trade Union Sanctions against South Africa. 11 to

6, Carrs Lane Church Centre, Carrs Lane, Birmingham. Contact: Bronwen Handyside, 17 Porden Road, Brixton, London SW2 5SA. Tel 01-274 7722 x 2010.

SATURDAY 15 NOVEMBER — 2 pm. ULU Badminton Hall, Malet St., Greater London Labour Party Women's Committee rally against strip-searches.

WEDNESDAY 26 NOVEMBER at 8.00pm. Debate on the left: Which way to Socialism? Speakers Paul Convery, Labour Co-ordinating Committee, Mary Corbishley, Socialist Organiser, Andy

Struthous, Socialist Workers' Party. Red Rose Club, 129 Seven Sisters Road.

First meeting of Brent Anti-Fascist Action. Sunday 23 November, 2.00 p.m., Brent Town Hall. Speakers from AFA and Searchlight.

SATURDAY 15 NOVEMBER at 10 am, Exhibition Hall, Adrian Boulton Complex, Chamberlain Square, Birmingham. Labour Listening to Women on Health, hosted by Jo Richardson, shadow minister for women's rights, Wendy Savage, consultant obstetrician and Dr. Rajinder Lotay, an expert on well-women clinics among others. Interviews with panel members between 12-2pm. Contact Eileen Murfin, 021-236 8884 or Anna Healy, 01-708 1867.

WHERE WE STAND

Socialist Organiser stands for workers' liberty, East and West. We aim to help organise the left wing in the Labour Party and trade unions to fight to replace capitalism with working class socialism.

We want public ownership

of the major enterprises and a planned economy under workers' control. We want democracy much fuller than the present Westminster system — a workers' democracy, with elected representatives recallable at any time, and an end to bureaucrats' and management's privileges.

Socialist can never be built in one country alone. The workers in every country have more in common with workers

in other countries than with their own capitalist or Stalinist rulers. We support national liberation struggles and workers' struggles world-wide, including the struggle of workers and oppressed nationalities in the Stalinist states against their own anti-socialist bureaucracies.

We stand: For full equality for women, and social provision to free women from the burden of

housework. For a mass working class based women's movement.

Against racism, and against deportations and all immigration controls.

For equality for lesbians and gays.

For a united and free Ireland, with some federal system to protect the rights of the Protestant minority.

For left unity in action; clarity in debate and discussion.

For a labour movement accessible to the most oppressed, accountable to its rank and file, and militant against capitalism.

We want Labour Party and trade union members who support our basic ideas to become supporters of the paper — to take a bundle of papers to sell each week and pay a small financial contribution to help meet the paper's deficit. Our policy is democratically controlled by our supporters through Annual General Meetings and an elected National Editorial Board.

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Jungle utopia

ON THE
Box

AIDS and the strong state

After watching a lot of programmes about AIDS, and reading a lot of articles, I think I know a fair bit about it. I am fairly confident, although I fall into one of the high risk groups (no, I'm not a junkie), that I haven't got the AIDS virus. But all it takes is a few days with diarrhoea to set off abnormal levels of adrenalin. As you would guess, like all squeamish people, I scare easily.

The prospect of 10,000 deaths in Britain, or some say 15,000, by the end of the decade should be enough to scare anyone. But no less scary are some of the 'solutions' on offer from the not-so-lunatic fringe.

Everyman, BBC's Sunday religious angle on current affairs, featured a representative of the Conservative Family Group, an organisation that has set itself up to defend upright moral standards and uphold the institution of marriage. According to this, there are two categories of AIDS victims, 'guilty' and 'less guilty'. If you catch AIDS via a blood transfusion, for example, it's not really your fault. If, however, you catch it as a result of having sex, you've only got yourself to blame. What this leads to is a policy of strict isolation of anyone known to have the AIDS virus, and in practice therefore, in the short term, of lots of gay men.

Asked if he was advocating discrimination against homosexuals, he replied, 'well, yes'. And he

By Clive Bradley

volunteered his opinion that homosexuality was in any case so morally repugnant that even were it not for AIDS, something pretty nasty should be done about it.

Fortunately, the Department of Health don't at present go along with this 'radical policy'. But as public criticism of government inaction mounts, I certainly feel no confidence that they won't get pushed in that direction.

The enforcement of the 'radical' approach would require a totalitarian state — compounds in which thousands of people who have the AIDS virus (30,000 to 40,000 in Britain alone) would be rounded up and left to rot. Compulsory 'screening' — testing for the virus — would require draconian measures, too. And there is absolutely no reason to believe that any of it would produce any result — except to make the lives of potential AIDS sufferers a nightmarish misery.

The solution to the AIDS epidemic is a cure, or a vaccine. There are considerable scientific obstacles to the development of either — but so long as the government continues to spend a pathetic £1-2 million on research, those obstacles are not going to be overcome.

In the meantime we need to slap people like our enlightened gentleman in Everyman into detention centres for those suffering from poisonous, reactionary ideas, and see how they like it.

The disease is likely to dominate our lives for some years to come, if we are optimistic. For those who have a single sexual partner (who is faithful), and who are happy with that, it will remain a fairly distant worry. Many people either cannot find a single sexual partner or do not want one. For them, AIDS will be an ever-present thought at the back of the mind. We need to make sure that there is a firm stand against what would amount to the criminalisation not only of AIDS sufferers, but of AIDS virus carriers. Such social brutality is a nightmare vision of the future that to my mind is ever worse than the vision of AIDS ever more rampant and out of control.



All the complexities of this history are flattened out in this film, in favour of a focus on the trite psychological contrast between Gabriel and Rodrigo, the man of prayer versus the man of arms.

Even that is not very well done. Gabriel would have been as out of place in the 18th century Jesuits as in the modern CIA. Rodrigo's conversion from slave-trader to Jesuit is handled by an utterly excessive digression where he kills his brother.

Many characters have not only the accents, but also the manner, of late 20th century big-city North Americans.

The film proceeds not by continuous narrative, but by a succession of set-piece scenes. It needs cutting: some of the scenes are prolonged with ludicrous heavy-handedness.

The scenery is, to be sure, spectacular; and the accompanying music is excellent.

McAnally), a Papal envoy sent to persuade the Jesuit missionaries to concede for the greater good of their Order world-wide, muses to himself.

The Jesuit colonies in Paraguay were a unique social experiment. But they were not idyllic utopias. They were organised according to a sort of barracks communism: the Indians owned nothing, receiving however an equal share of the production, and the Jesuits, with their military-type hierarchy, controlled everything.

The colonies established themselves, and grew — they started in the 17th century, and had a population of some 30,000 by mid-18th century — with considerable use of the sword. They do seem to have provided a more productive and comfortable way of life for the Indians, and protection from the slave-traders; but they steamrolled the Indians' own culture, and made them into a subject people.

Voltaire

Voltaire, writing at about the time the film is supposed to depict, described the colonies like this: "The reverend fathers own the whole lot, and the people own nothing; that's what I call a masterpiece of reason and justice..."

"An excellent dinner was served on gold plates, and while the Paraguayans ate their maize on wooden dishes in the open field in the full blaze of the sun, his reverence the Colonel retired to the shade of his arbour".

Voltaire supported science and enlightenment, and saw the Jesuits and the Church as defenders of ancient corruption and obscurity — in other words, he was a supporter of the then-new capitalist system, which would despoil the world with fresh ferocity.

Belinda Weaver went to see 'The Mission'

Jesuit Father Gabriel (Jeremy Irons) wants to convert the Guarani Indians, living near what was then (1750) the border between the Spanish and Portuguese empires in South America.

So he scales a sheer rock face by a huge waterfall, finds a clearing, and starts playing his oboe. The Indians gather round, charmed, and in a trice they are building cathedrals, labouring happily on banana plantations, singing hymns, and smiling fit to burst.

Rodrigo (Robert de Niro), another Jesuit missionary, was previously a slave-trader and murderer. When the Spanish and Portuguese empires, jealous of the over-mighty Jesuits and their obstruction of the slave trade, decide to break up the missions, Rodrigo helps the Indians resist by force of arms while Gabriel resorts to prayer. Both, however, are defeated and killed.

Thus does 'The Mission' make a trite story out of a fascinating episode of history.

In the film the Indians are cheerful savages with big hearts and big smiles; in the whole considerable length of the screenplay, they get barely two dozen words of script between them. Usually they are represented by beaming crowd scenes or by winsome children.

The Jesuits are cardboard goodie-goodies, with hardly more intelligent dialogue to their account. The only intellectual interchange in the film is when Cardinal Altamirano (Ray

BOOK

The German revolution

If you have seen Margarethe von Trotta's new film 'Rosa Luxemburg', and want to know more about the revolutionary tumult in Germany at the end of World War 1 during which Luxemburg was murdered, then you should read this book.

As Germany approached defeat, its top circles of bureaucrats and army chiefs became convinced that their rule was in danger. Strikes were sweeping the country.

The ruling class turned to the leaders of the once-Marxist Social Democratic Party (SPD), which had tied itself to the capitalist order by supporting Germany's war effort. On 4 October SPD leaders joined the government.

But the rebellion from below continued to grow. On 4 November a workers' and soldiers' council took power in the port of Kiel. Within the next few days the revolution had spread to all Germany's major cities. On 9 November the SPD leader Scheidemann, swept along by the excitement of a huge workers' demonstration, declared Germany a Republic. The whole imposing structure of the monarchy had collapsed in a few days.

The SPD leaders formed a joint government — a 'Council of People's Commissars', they called it — with the more left-wing Independent Social Democrats (USPD). They told the workers that this was a socialist government, and they managed to get the Berlin workers' and soldiers' councils to endorse the government. Meanwhile they were assuring the army high command that they would

Martin Thomas reviews 'The German Revolution and the debate on Soviet power', edited by John Riddell, published by Pathfinder Press.

keep order.

Rosa Luxemburg and her comrades had been in open opposition to the SPD leaders since the beginning of the war, which they denounced as an imperialist war of conquest. Now they argued for the workers' and soldiers' councils to take power into their own hands.

A 'socialist' government in the chancellery in Berlin, they argued, was not the socialist revolution. In a manifesto published on 11 November their slogan was 'Organise the Power Anew from Below'. The workers' and soldiers' councils must replace the factory-owners, the government bureaucrats, and the military hierarchy, rather than tailing behind a 'socialist' government which governed in cooperation with those entrenched powers.

The SPD leaders responded by scheduling parliamentary elections for 19 January and arguing that the workers' and soldiers' councils must be subordinate to this parliament. Their hidden message was: leave the permanent state machine intact.

In Berlin, however, the police headquarters had been taken over by

the revolutionary workers on 9 November, and the old police force replaced by a force of left-wingers under the leadership of Emil Eichhorn. On 4 January the SPD leaders sacked Eichhorn.

This move provoked a week of ragged fighting in Berlin between the revolutionary workers and the Freikorps, an elite right-wing army unit established to try to give a backbone to the disintegrating armed forces. On 15 January Rosa Luxemburg and her comrade Karl Liebknecht were murdered by the Freikorps.

Revolutionary unrest continued in Germany, on and off, until late 1923, but the revolutionaries never managed to recover from that terrible initial setback.

Power

John Riddell's collection includes not only the appeals by Luxemburg and her comrades for the power of workers' councils or (as they put it) a workers' parliament, but also documents from the SPD and USPD. The comparison with the weasel words of the reformists makes the clarity and insight of the revolutionaries stand out all the more.

Another interesting item in the book is an article by Karl Radek — a leader of the Russian Bolsheviks who had also been active in Germany — about the lessons of the January 1919 defeat.

Soon after Eichhorn was sacked Karl Liebknecht had been persuaded to put his name to an appeal declaring the SPD government overthrown and a revolutionary government installed in its place. Together with left-wing members of the USPD, he called

on the workers to come on the streets for a struggle for power.

In the chaos of those days, Rosa Luxemburg and other central leaders of the just-formed Communist Party did not know what Liebknecht was doing. When they heard, they were shocked and angry: they considered Liebknecht's move utterly premature, a dangerous exercise in toy-revolution. But they could not agree on an effective policy for orderly retreat.

The revolutionary workers continued to come out on the streets — to find no leadership either from the wavering USPD or the paralysed Communist Party.

Radek compares this episode with July 1917, when there was a mood among the Petrograd workers for a direct attempt at power in Russia. The Bolsheviks considered it premature. They were able to explain their view. They could not stop the spontaneous revolt, but they gave it a more organised character and helped to limit its inevitable defeat.

What was the difference between Russia and Germany? For Radek it was "the newness of the (German) Communist Party, the absence of a rounded Communist organisation, in which tactical principles are firmly rooted as a result of prolonged collective work..." He points out that even the most experienced leaders of the German Communists had up to then been only agitators and propagandists, concerned exclusively with urging the workers forward, and completely unaccustomed to cold calculations of the tactics of mass struggle.

It is a sobering and vivid illustration of what it means to say that working class revolution requires an organised Marxist leadership.

SCOTS ORANGEISTS MOBILISE

"Scotland says no to Dublin rule" read the banner behind the speakers at the rally which ended a 10,000 plus strong demonstration in Glasgow Saturday 1 November, organised by the Orange Lodge in Scotland in protest at the London-Dublin agreement. 'Ulster still says no', 'Ulster — no sell out' and 'Equal citizenship for Ulster' read the placards on the demonstration which marked the launch of an attempt to obtain 250,000 Scottish signatures for a covenant pledging opposition to the agreement signed last year.

Cassette-recordings such as 'We hate the IRA', 'Under the Red Hand of Ulster', 'True Brits' and 'The Black Skull Flute Band' proved particularly popular, unlike the latest video from 'Petite Services': 'Scotland says no', modestly priced at £12.50.

But the most popular buy of all was clearly a 1987 wall calendar adorned by the official picture of Prince Charles, Princess Di, and Prince Harry. The picture had been slightly touched up, however. In the version on sale, Prince Charles was wearing an Orange Lodge sash, and Di and Harry sported Rangers football pullovers.

Papers on sale included 'The British Free Press', which described the anti-agreement covenant as opening a "second front" against the "sordid" Hillsborough agreement, carried a picture of a burning Irish tricolour above the caption "Going, going, gone — the tricolour goes up in flames", and gave considerable coverage to the "Friends of British Ulster" organisation, which provides a platform in this country for the most notorious loyalist bigots — Peter Robinson, William McCrea and Alan Wright.

Political

Of the leaflets distributed at the rally, the most interesting came from the Campaign for Equal Citizenship for Northern Ireland. Bearing all the hallmarks of the Labour Party-based "Orange socialist" Campaign for Labour Representation in Northern Ireland, it argued that the basic problem was British political parties "refuse to take members or contest elections in Northern Ireland." An end to this practice would, it argued, "help to end the sectarian political division in Northern Ireland."

Also present at the rally were small contingents from the fascist National Front and British National Party, pursuing their long-standing goal of attempting to forge an alliance between British fascism and sections of Ulster loyalists. The BNP leaflet called for "Ulster — British Forever! Keep Scotland White! — Free Patriotic/Loyalist Prisoners Now!"

Speakers at the rally were James Molyneux (leader of the Official Unionist Party), Ian Paisley (leader of the Democratic Unionist Party) and Martin Smyth (Grand Master of the Orange Lodge in Ireland).

Molyneux's main concern was to distance himself from what he termed "extra-mural activities", i.e. violence. He did not condone acts of violence, nor would he encourage anyone to commit them. Those who did not support the existing leadership of the campaign against the Hillsborough agreement should leave the campaign. But peaceful protest should continue and not be given up because of the "hoodlum fringe element" which hung onto it.

Paisley, clearly the most popular speaker, launched into his characteristic rant. The IRA would be defeated only by the blood of Ulster. Ulster would fight and Ulster would be right. The Scottish people had defeated Mary Queen of Scots, and must now defeat "Maggie". But

The Orange/Green, Protestant/Catholic conflict in Northern Ireland is not only a problem in Ireland — it is also a problem in Britain.

There are many thousands of committed Orangeists in Scotland, most of them working class. If things get very hot in Northern Ireland, then they will get hot in Glasgow. Sectarianism can cripple the Scottish labour movement, too.

Over 10,000 Orangeists marched in Glasgow on 1 November to hear Ian Paisley and others. STAN CROOKE was there to catch the flavour of the event and listen to the speakers.

the bulk of his speech was populist tub-thumping about the "gentlemen at Westminster" who cared nothing for ordinary people. And he stressed that there was no contradiction between what he had to say and what Molyneux had said.

Prepare

Smyth said that the task is to prepare for the general election and put up candidates against any sitting MP who supports the Hillsborough agreement.

The rally closed with the singing of the national anthem. The turnout of more than 10,000 fell well short of



Loyalists escorted out of Dundalk by Gardai after attending trial of Peter Robinson, the DUP MP. Photo: Derek Speirs/ Report.

the 20,000 which the Orange Lodge had claimed would attend. It was only a fraction of the usual turnout for the July Orange Walk.

And, to be sure, Martin Smyth's sacrilegious suggestion that the 'Old Firm' Rangers-Celtic match should be cancelled to let the march go

ahead, if the police were short of manpower, can have won him few friends. This would, after all, be taking sacrifice a bit too far.

At the same time though, the rally showed a certain political shrewdness — linking up Northern Ireland and Scotland as deprived regions, plus

populist appeals to a gut-hatred of Westminster politicians and Thatcher in particular. It could therefore prove a fatal mistake to draw comfort from the "limited" size of the turnout — merely fifteen times the size of a recent all-Scottish anti-apartheid demonstration.

DEBATE

Don't say 'Troops Out, but...'

It is certainly good for the British left to discuss the Irish question. Such goodness is diluted, however, when the centre of this discussion is a thesis already exposed to public criticism that remains unanswered and of which the current presentation includes new errors and which contradicts itself in its combination of ideas imperialist and anti-imperialist.

The basic proposal is straightforward: that the demand for British Troops Out of Ireland should be linked to a call for a united Ireland within which Protestant Ulster will enjoy a federal relationship to the whole. Equally straightforward is the proposal's weakness: that it links a principled demand of the British left to a tactical option of Irish anti-imperialists. The effect of this can be seen by posing the question: What would *Socialist Forum/Socialist Organiser's* position be if the troops were removed without the federal guarantee demanded? As the line is given, the only conclusion must be that such a move would be opposed, as surely as *Militant* and its *Irish Monthly* would oppose its occurrence before their mass party of labour had been established.

Justify

To justify the line requires a combination of incorrect analysis and inaccurate historiography. Central to it is the view that Permanent Revolution — the development of the revolutionary process from bourgeois to proletarian aims — cannot be applied to Ireland.

This is backed by textual quotations from the publications of the 1960s Irish Workers' Group to which most surviving Irish (and several British) revolutionary socialists of that period trace their beginnings. Unfortunately for *Socialist Forum*,

Rayner Lysaght, author of 'The Republic of Ireland' (Mercier Press, 1970) contributes to Socialist Organiser's discussion on Ireland. This article was written in 1985.

the IWG's line on its country's national question had the weakness often resulting from pioneer achievement. It was affected by the then common left wing assumption that the remaining Irish national demands would be ensured, as they had been posed by the workings of imperialism which would, of course, extract its own, prohibitive price for ensuring them.

For most of the IWG's ex-members this illusion has been destroyed by the course of political events since August 1969. On the one hand, the anti-imperialists' failure to win this struggle is an obvious and interesting version of the crisis of working class leadership. On the other hand that it is no more is shown by imperialism's contrasting inability to resolve the crisis in its favour: strong evidence for it being more than a political fight and having an inherent potential for Permanent Revolution. The shape of this development has been revealed by events excluded from the *Forum's* historical survey of the last sixteen years: the post-Bloody Sunday general strike and the hunger strike stoppages. As the struggle moves to the twenty-six counties (as it must do if it is to prevail, but has not yet done lastingly), it must become a specifically proletarian one and in this form, it will spread to the Protestant areas of the six counties.

Those who do not accept this perspective can be divided into two conscious groups:

1. The workerists, including, at first, most Irish heirs of the IWC, including the founder leaders of the People's Democracy. For these, the

immediate need was to turn the six county democratic struggle into a socialist revolution without too much emphasis on the national issue. For such, the workers' state could be co-extensive with the six counties, the twenty-six or the thirty-two. Class would out.

The present position of *Militant* is a version of this in the only form able to survive the last sixteen years: a reformist one.

2. Those maintaining the view held in 1969 by most Stalinists and Republicans: that the aim is to reform Northern Ireland to prepare the way for non-sectarian alliances to unite the whole island to prepare the way in turn, for a 32 county Workers and Small Farmers' Republic.

Although the *Organiser/Forum* perspective is less complex it is still recognisably stageist: first the Republic with the Protestant province, then the Workers' Republic. The twenty-six county working class is excluded from the first phase. On page 24 of *Socialist Forum 2*, only the Provisionals and 'the 26 County Ruling Class' (sic) are considered and rejected as possible (traditional nationalist) forces for achieving Irish unity. But who will unite Ireland when, it is admitted, even Protestant Home Rule would have to 'be backed up with a *certain* element of coercion'? Perhaps the British Army has still an Irish role for *Socialist Forum*?

Schema

Inevitably, an incorrect schema is backed by inaccurate history. The nationhood attributed by some to the Northern Irish Protestants is denied because 'there is a major Catholic Community even within the Protestant heartlands' (p.35). Such an argument can be used to disprove the existence of most European nations. Protestant lack of nationhood lies not in this fact but in Protestant inability to identify consistently only in

relation to it.

More consistently, *Socialist Forum* minimises the British role in maintaining the Northern Irish state. It asserts (p.1) that O'Neill's reforms before 1968 were the results of pressure from London, rather than from potential multinational investors, then dubious about sectarian, as well as trade union demands on them. On page 9, the collusion of the British forces in the UWC strike is understated. Had the said forces played the same role there as they would in the recent miners' strike, they would have smashed the UWC within days: had they treated the miners as they did the UWC, the strikers would have won decisively.

The understatement of the role of the twenty-six county workers has been remarked already; it compares with the detailed accounts of the Loyalists' reactionary stoppages.

Danger

Finally, the subjective justification for the *Forum* line must be stated. Two reasons have been given. The first (in *Socialist Organiser*, 10 April 1985) is the readiness of many British workers to accept the danger of sectarian war as the reason to support keeping the troops. This has been fed them by the media; it is not an informed response and should not be treated as such.

The second argument is the alleged 'need' of the Irish workers in Britain 'to be emancipated from...traditional Fianna Fail-type nationalism'. This involves two dubious assumptions: that the said Irish workers are indeed more backward than their British colleagues and that they can be weaned from Fianna Fail by a proposal made originally by Eamon De Valera.

In the 1970s, the predecessors of *Socialist Organiser* took their stand for the slogan, 'Troops Out Now'. 'Troops Out, But...' is no sort of improvement.

SOCIALIST ORGANISER

FOR WORKERS' LIBERTY EAST AND WEST

ORANGE THREAT TO THE SOUTH

By Paddy Dollard

LAST weekend bombs went off in Dublin. They may well be the beginning of a sustained Orange bombing campaign in the South of Ireland.

The bombs, placed in O'Connell St, were tiny devices, meant only as a warning. Two exploded late on Friday evening, and two were defused the following morning.

Responsibility was claimed by the 'Ulster Freedom Fighters'; the UFF, an outlawed organisation, is an alias used by the legal paramilitary organisation, the Ulster Defence Association.

The UDA has been recruiting frantically in the last year and is said to have over 15,000 members: it is very strong in the Belfast shipyards. It was the UDA which set off no-warning bombs in the South during the Orange general strike of May 1974, killing 33 and maiming over a hundred in Dublin and Monaghan town.

A statement from the 'UFF' said this:

"We are reluctant to divert from our policy of assassinating only proven members of Republican terrorist organisations, but we warn that if the Government continues to interfere in Ulster affairs through the Anglo-Irish Agreement we will, from November 15th, regard all citizens, north and south of the Border, as targets, and we will not hesitate to place car bombs and other anti-personnel devices all over Eire, without warning".

On Monday 10 November 1000 invited Orangeists attended a meeting in Belfast and agreed to set up 'Ulster Resistance', an organisation pledged to recruit and train members who will march in military formation to show their determination to the British government.

Its leaders include Ian Paisley and Alan Wright, head of the 'Ulster Clubs', a largely rural body with perhaps 15,000 members. They combine talk about their determination to resist the Anglo-Irish Agreement with talk about remaining within the law, and are said to have taken legal advice about the language they can safely use.

Their strategy is to force Britain and Dublin to abandon the Anglo-Irish Agreement, under which London and Dublin share political power

in the Six Counties though control of the executive (police, army, and so on) in Northern Ireland remains exclusively British.

What they will do when London and Dublin refuse to budge they do not say; and Dublin and London are unlikely to budge.

Thus, one year on from the Anglo-Irish deal, almost the entire Protestant population remain grimly opposed to it and say they will never accept it. So far they have not been able to do anything about it.

Successive failures have ratcheted them towards the threats to use Provisional IRA methods, such as the car bomb, in the South.

Look at the record. First the Protestants challenged the legality of the Anglo-Irish Agreement in court, and lost. Then all 15 of the Northern Ireland Unionist Westminster MPs resigned last January, and forced a Northern Ireland general election to show the depths of Protestant opposition to the deal.

They were massively endorsed by the electorate. London and Dublin didn't budge.

Then, in late March, they organised a powerful one-day work stoppage. Thatcher didn't budge.

Since then they have been marching, more or less boycotting Westminster, boycotting local government — all to no avail.

Hopeless

The Protestants now find themselves in the same position vis-à-vis the British government as the artificially-created Catholic minority in Northern Ireland have been in since the creation of the Six Counties state: they are a hopeless minority.

There is no electoral, legal way they can affect what the British-majority-based and democratically-elected government does to them. They must either submit to the democratic decision of the state they are only a small part of — Britain — or revolt against it. The entire logic of the Protestant position is that they should revolt.

They are more alienated from London now than at any time since their Presbyterian ancestors organised and spearheaded the democratic movement in Ireland 200 years ago.

But the whole Protestant population will not revolt. The odds are formidable. They are economically heavily dependent on British sub-

DEPARTMENT OF EMPLOYMENT
UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT OFFICE
SURNAMES L TO Z



Photos John Harris/IFL



Vote Labour in Knowsley

These photos tell their own tale about how things stand in Knowsley North, where unemployment is 26%, and about the issues in this week's by-election, where Labour looks set to win. It is important to return a Labour MP and give a bloody nose to the Tories and the dirty politicians of the so-called 'Alliance'.

The inposition of George Howarth on the local Party by Labour's National Executive was a flagrant breach of democratic principles. Constituency Labour Parties should be able to choose their own candidates through the normal democratic procedures.

After victory in the election, it will be necessary to settle accounts with the Party leaders. We need a campaign among the rank and file in the Party and the unions to prevent this kind of thing happening again.

But, the labour movement's immediate priority is to get George Howarth elected.

sidies. Should they go for an independent Ulster, that would mean civil war with the Catholics and the certain loss of large areas on the border where there is a Catholic majority. According to serious economic studies, living standards would be cut in half.

Such facts inhibit and hold back the mass of Protestants, seething with anger though they are. They will not inhibit all of them.

Over the last year those willing to revolt have been separating out from those who will ultimately acquiesce. The events of the last week mark a new stage in the process.

There is little doubt that Paisley and his friends can organise a powerful movement, modelled on the Ulster Volunteer Force created by Edward Carson and James Craig in 1912 to resist Home Rule for a united Ireland. Within such a movement those willing in the last resort to fight — those who would bomb the South — will find great scope for organising.

Their model will be the IRA. For the Orangeists know that it is the IRA war, not the peaceful ploys of the constitutional nationalist SDLP or of Dublin, that produced the Anglo-Irish Agreement. They know that 'violence works'. And they will want it to work for them.

Carson

It is often forgotten that it was the Protestants who brought the politics of rebellion to 20th century Ireland

and set the first example for Catholic rebels. The Protestants — backed by the Tory Party — created a mass movement to resist Home Rule, and intimidated the British Liberal government into surrender.

Catholics who had long been a political tail of the British Liberal Party, then learned that violence works.

The rebellion of Catholic Northern Ireland has thrown the pattern back across the sectarian divide after 70 years. The prospects are grim.

From page 1

this, and Murdoch takes the union to court again, the strikers could find that this ruling, so much in tune with the traditions of militant trade unionism, is used as an excuse by Dean to wash her hands of the whole dispute.

It is still not too late to turn the tide against Murdoch and Maxwell. All-out strike action across the print industry is needed.

The Labour Party could do a little bit to help by expelling Maxwell from the Party. Immediately!

SELLING OFF THE PITS?

Again we have seen the total disdain of the Coal Board for the Independent Review Procedure. We warned the deputies' (foremen's) union, NACODS, when it was first mooted — during the miners' strike to buy them off so that they wouldn't strike — that it was nothing but a con.

We've said it since and we've seen them overturn other decisions — and now the Coal Board are really underlining it.

We were continually told throughout the year long mining dispute to abide by democratic procedures. yet the Coal Board do what



they like. We're back to what Scargill said at the NUM conference — the only way to stop the attacks is by some form of industrial action.

It's about time NACODS joined hands with the NUM and said 'enough is enough'. The miners shouldn't be left in isolation.

New boss Haslam is just following the lines set down by MacGregor. It looks like he hasn't made up his mind yet concerning the internal reviews of the sacked miners, but my guess is he

will reinstate a few to make it look as if he's being fair and reasonable. But it's the same horse with a different head on, and it will behave the same despite maybe having a fresh, reasonable-looking face.

The Coal Board will continue the programme set out by the Tory government. Thatcher says that if she is reelected she will denationalise steel and it's only a matter of time before they come for the pits, chopping out the dead wood and nationalising the profitable parts.

They intend to destabilise the union and hand over poorly paid, poorly organised workers to the private entrepreneurs, who will then rape the industry.