

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism

Glass workers show

HOW TO FIGHT

RESISTANCE to any new "Programme for National Recovery" is building up among rank and file trade unionists and unemployed activists in all areas.

The activity is still scattered and confined to a minority. But the minority is growing and there is now a real chance of stopping the bosses and the union bureaucrats stitching up another jobs and pay fraud.

The Waterford Glass strike has galvanised many militants out of years of passivity and into action again.

Talks on a new deal between the Haughey government, the bosses and the ICTU are scheduled to get under way in September. Over the summer, organisation must be strengthened and the pressure increased to ensure that the talks are besieged by the anger of tens of thousands of workers.

Already, more than 100 shop stewards in Dublin have signed the anti-pact "manifesto" of Trade Unions and Unemployed against the Programme. Major workplaces represented include

Packards, B & I, Aer Lingus and Unidare.

The work is under way to spread the campaign across the country.

Launching the campaign last month, chairman Des Derwin pointed out that real wages for the average worker have actually declined over the past ten years while the PAYE and PRSI burden has increased—from 19.6 to 26.4 percent of total wages.

In the same period unemployment has more than doubled and emigration rates rocketed.

The most pernicious effect of the PNR, and the various pacts and agreements which preceded it, is that they have

concentrated trade union activity and decision-making in the hands of leading officials. Rank and file members have no input into the making of the deals.

And once they are made the function of the union apparatus is to "police" the members to ensure that they comply.

REVIVE

The fight against the PNR is the fight to revive trade unionism itself.

Every trade unionist knows that any deal which suits the likes of Haughey and Ahern, and which the oily parasites of the Federated Union

of Employers describe as "crucial", cannot be in the interest of ordinary workers.

But this understanding must be organised if it's to have any real impact.

Shop stewards, other rank and file trade unionists and unemployed activists must use the summer to build the campaign in every town and district and plan for a real show of strength when talks get under way.

The SWM is urging the campaign to press union

officials, too, to join in and help build the fight.

SOLIDARITY

The support for the Waterford Glass workers has shown what is possible.

In Guinness's in Dublin, for example, a weekly levy has been proposed.

In Waterford itself 150 shop stewards attended an open meeting called by

the trades council to organise solidarity.

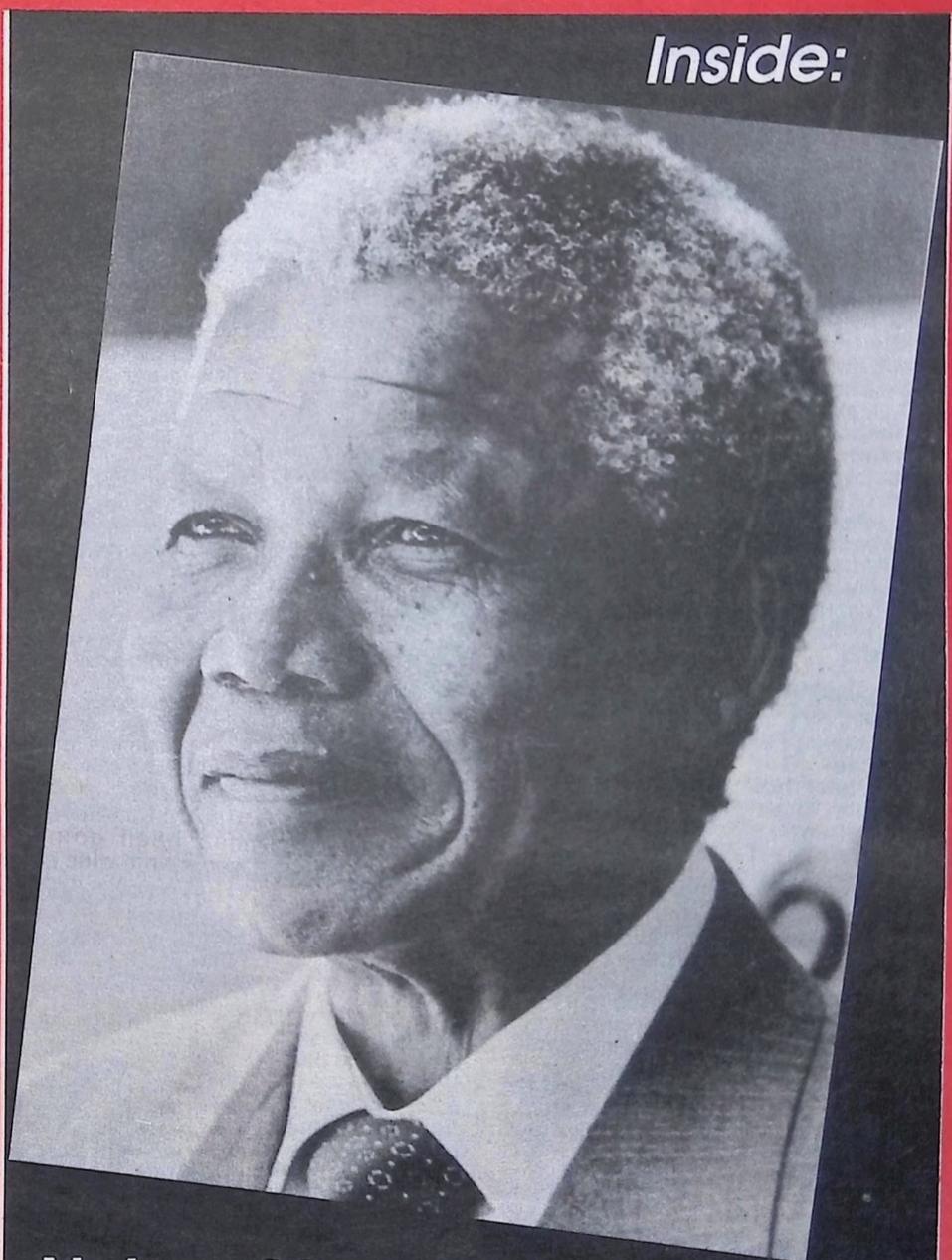
The trades council in Cork called a similar meeting.

At the CPSU and LGPSU conferences virtually every delegate contributed to collections.

Strikers have been welcomed by union activists in Limerick, Dundalk, Derry, Belfast, Portadown, etc etc etc.

It is not true that workers have no option but to sit back and wait for news that "employers

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and the trade unions" have agreed a new deal.

If we organise we can ensure that the anti-PNR case is explained in workplaces and at union branches everywhere.

And in the process we can begin to build rank and file organisation and confidence in the unions again.

The bosses and the bosses' government have been walking all over us for too long.

Now is the time to get up and hit back.

EAMONN McCANN

Sharing a pew

THERE was a predictably sour and sarcastic reaction last month in many quarters to the attendance of Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness at the requiem mass for Cardinal O Fliaich.

Were the Sinn Fein leaders not being hypocrites, since they support the violent struggle of the IRA, whereas the Cardinal specifically and the Catholic Church in general have repeatedly and roundly condemned it? This was the question posed in the *Irish News*, the *Irish Independent* etc, and by various moralisers, especially in the North.

The question itself was rooted in hypocrisy. No objection was voiced by any of these elements to the presence of representatives of the RUC, the British Army, Queen Elizabeth, the Southern Irish state, all the Leinster House parties etc, etc, all of whom support violence in one form or another.

Gerry Adams had a point when he said that the funeral homily delivered by the arch-reactionary Cathal Daly, bishop of Down and Connor, misrepresented O Fliaich by quoting his condemnation of the IRA while making no reference to his support for a British withdrawal, his backing for the H Block prisoners, etc.

The presence of the Sinn Fein men was a reminder of the republican aspect of O Fliaich which the bosses of both church and state(s) were trying to ignore.

However, for socialists, a very different question arises from the matter. We don't ask, Why were Adams and McGuinness let in?

We ask, Why did Adams and McGuinness go in? Their warm feelings for O Fliaich reflected the fact that, despite his condemnations of the IRA, he was a strong nationalist. That's what he shared with the Republican Movement.

And to the Republican Movement, being sound on the "national question" overshadows everything else.

But a closer look shows that O



Fliaich's nationalism did not represent any challenge to the established order of things in Ireland, North or South.

Over the past twenty years the Catholic Church has had enormous difficulty retaining its hold over working class Catholics, most especially in urban areas in the North. Mass attendance in areas of West Belfast is well below 50 percent, and priests have almost entirely lost the aura of authority they once enjoyed.

POSITIVE

This is a positive development to be welcomed by all sensible, progressive people.

If the likes of Cathal Daly were the only personifications of the Church around, that development might the more easily have continued towards its logical conclusion, and the grip of the Church loosened once and for all.

O Fliaich's nationalism, and the rapport it gave him with Catholics in the most deprived areas, was crucial in maintaining some credibility for the Church. On a smaller scale, "radical" priests fill the same role in some localities.

The Catholic Church's "twin leadership" in the North of O Fliaich and Cathal Daly enabled it to maintain a business-like relationship with the Northern Ireland Office and the security apparatus, while at the same time retaining the

allegiance of people who hate the NIO and its agents of repression.

Whether O Fliaich's nationalism was genuinely felt—it seems to have been—doesn't matter in this context. What matters is that it fitted very neatly into the Church's remarkably astute political approach.

This helps explain why not even the most virulently anti-Provo priest or bishop expressed disapproval of Adams and McGuinness being in Armagh cathedral for the mass. They want to be able to continue denouncing the IRA, calling for support for the RUC and British Army etc. But they do not want to lose the people Adams and McGuinness represent.

Adams' and McGuinness's presence symbolised the fact that even those Catholics in the North who are the most "alienated" from the existing political system are not entirely beyond the bounds of all established authority. They can still be included within the Catholic "family".

Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness kneeling at a pew just a few yards away undoubtedly gave Peter Brooke, Patrick Hillery and others a few moments of immediate political embarrassment. But one suspects that, deep down, the political establishments, both British and Irish, were rather pleased, and a little relieved, to note that they'd shown up.

★ THE reactionaries got another jolt in Cork last month when students at UCC openly distributed abortion information in defiance of a banning threat.

The day before, the Students' Union had attempted to stop a meeting and video showing on abortion from going ahead. But activists, equipped with their own video recorder,

occupied the room and a successful meeting was held. The following day thirty students joined the Socialist Worker Students' Society in a protest against the threat to ban any society circulating information on abortion. A thousand leaflets were given out and the bigots were left in no doubt about our determination to defy any threats and bans.

CORK RESISTS CITY HALL CAR PARK PLAN

RESIDENTS of Cork City's Middle Parish Community continue to fight back against the heartless greed and indifference of big business and its backers, Cork Corporation.

A City Hall decision to build a massive car park in the area was taken without the local residents being consulted or even notified, and despite the fact that 98 percent of the residents continue to totally oppose it.

A study by UCC on behalf of the residents clearly showed that the car park would not only cut right across a community that can boast five and six generations, but also subject the community to dangerous exhaust and noise levels. The Corporation is also reneging on a previous commitment to provide more badly needed housing.

The resistance of the community, going back to June 1989, has been a model of determination and courage.

With recent attempts to set up hoarding and commence development, residents have physically blocked the bulldozers and are now maintaining a 24 hour vigil to prevent any further work on site.

Members of the local campaign committee have said that nothing will stand in their way and that they are prepared to go to prison if necessary.

■ MARGARET DALY

For information on abortion phone:

01 794700

Rent hikes won't solve housing crisis

NORTHERN Ireland Housing Executive (NIHE) tenants have paid 10 percent higher rents since 1st April. The increase is above the rate of inflation and the signs are that rents will rise even further in coming years.

The NIHE is receiving an increase of £15 million to bring its total budget for 1990-91 to £463 million. This figure includes the hefty rent rise and an increase in money from selling houses to tenants.

But in spite of this increase, the Executive still has less money than is needed to meet its *minimum* levels announced in September 1989. Then, the Executive said that they needed to build 1,300 homes to meet urgent housing need; in other words, at least 1,300 new homes were needed to prevent people having to sleep on the streets.

It's estimated that there are over 350 homeless people in the Derry City Council area alone.

But the number of new houses to be built throughout the Six Counties by the Housing Executive has been reduced to 1,000. This cut is to be made up by quicker re-lets and the use of empty Executive properties.

Unfortunately the majority of empty flats and houses are in areas where people don't want to live—on "Peace Lines" etc.

The Housing Executive chairperson says that these empty properties can "cater for, if not reduce" urgent housing needs. In other words, the Executive will be seen to be doing something about housing needs but in fact are agreeing to an acceptable level of homelessness.

What's more, the refurbishment programme and even the normal repairs service are now under threat. The Housing Executive has recently published proposals which may mean that up to 900 jobs will go—the Executive describes these cuts as "streamlining". As most tenants know, there are already long delays for repairs in many areas so it is in the interests of tenants as well as of Housing Executive workers to resist these job cuts.

Celbridge: rumpus over Archbishop's schools directive



by WILLIE PHELAN

A STRIKING illustration of the hold the Catholic Church has on education in the South can be found in Celbridge, Co Kildare.

Scoil Mochua is the only co-ed primary school in the town. Since it was opened there has been an agreement that once one member of a family was enrolled all other members would have a right to attend too.

In February this year, parents received a "directive" from Archbishop Desmond Connell which abolished this agreement. Connell is the patron of the school—as he is of all other primary schools in the Dublin archdiocese.

Since the other two primary schools in Celbridge are single sex this effectively deprives many parents of the right to send their children to a co-ed school. It will also mean many families having children attending three different primary schools, giving rise to many practical problems and extra expense.

Meetings on the issue have been attended by up to 400 people. Petitions have been signed. An alternative scheme for organising enrollment has been drawn up by the parents and submitted to Connell. All without any response.

Celbridge parents then picketed meetings of the Catholic bishops at Maynooth and Connell's "palace" in Dublin. Still to no avail. Like any good dictator Connell remains unmoved by these demonstrations of popular anger and rejection of his plans, sure that he knows what's best for the children and parents of Celbridge.

We are a long way from any kind of pluralism or democracy when a celibate old codger who lives in a palace can dictate to working class people where to send their children to school.

The need for a socialist movement campaigning for the complete separation of church and state is obvious.

★ BELFAST May Day was celebrated in style this year when hundreds of trade unionists and socialists held a march and rally in Belfast city centre.

In glorious sunshine city shoppers watched the procession which was led by clowns and jugglers from a local theatre group.

Local SWM members had approached the organisers of the event, the ICTU/Belfast Trades Council, about allowing Waterford Glass strikers to address the rally. The union officials said that this was indeed a "laudable idea... however... but... eh... in practice... impossible to facilitate".

On the positive side Belfast SWM distributed hundreds of leaflets on Sotsprof, the new federation of independent trade unions in the USSR. Also 16 Sotsprof badges and 73 copies of *Socialist Worker* were sold.

■ SEAN McVEIGH, Belfast SWM

WE THINK

IT isn't long ago since Margaret Thatcher seemed invincible.

She had won a hat-trick of general election victories. Major trade unions had been soundly defeated in crucial battles. Commentators talked of an irreversible shift to the right in British political attitudes and speculated that Labour would never again be a credible electoral force.

It looks very different now. The poll tax has become a channel for anti-Tory anger which is widespread throughout the working class. Double-figure inflation and sky-high rents and mortgages have fuelled the drive for decent pay deals. In the NHS, the schools and the civil service a mood of defiance prevails.

Suddenly, Thatcher's rhetoric seems shrill and unconvincing, out of tune with the times. However things develop over the next period, the notion that Thatcher cannot be beaten is now universally recognised as nonsense.

There is a lesson in this for workers in Ireland.

The fight-back in Britain which has given new heart to millions has been led not by the Labour Party chiefs nor the trade union bosses but by militants much closer to the rank and file.

It was rank and file nurses who sparked off the action against the health service cuts. The main unions, NUPE and COHSE, only weighed in officially when the leaderships saw their members already on the move.

The anti-poll tax movement is almost entirely a rank and file initiative. Not a single union leader or Labour front bencher has endorsed the "Don't Pay, Don't Collect" campaign of the

activists.

On the contrary, the official leaders have tried to dismiss the campaign as a "diversion" and told workers to obey the law and pay up.

It's been the same in a series of disputes over pay and redundancies. The willingness of workers to put up a fight has been undermined by leaders reluctant to challenge the law or do anything which they believe would damage the Labour Party's shiny new electoral image.

The situation in the Republic is not an exact replica of this. But there are similarities which it is useful to take note of.

Throughout the eighties workers were told by the media and by politicians, including "Left" politicians, that there was no alternative to a "tough" economic policy. Job cuts in the public service, savage cutbacks in state spending and "wage restraint" have been elements in the strategy finally accepted by the so-called "social partners".

PROCESS

In the process, rank and file organisation in the unions has been weakened as officials told workers that resistance to redundancies and worsening of conditions would prove futile.

This has produced a mood of despondency and fatalism, even among militants.

But despite this, a willingness to fight back persists among a sizeable minority of workers. This has been reflected in the opposition to a new Programme for National Recovery at a series of union conferences. It has been evident in the support for the Waterford Glass workers. In a negative way, it is clear to every union activist who experiences day-to-day the cynicism of



Kick them both out!

workers against both the bosses and the union leaders who are in cahoots with them.

The problem is that the minority which does want to fight has no focus. Both the Labour Party and the Workers' Party are wedded to a parliamentary strategy. They aim at the reform of the existing system, not at its overthrow.

So they channel workers' anger into parliament, not into action. In practice, while expressing sympathy with the workers' cause, they operate to hold the struggle back. Just like Kinnoek, Hattersley etc across the water.

There is no doubt that the tide will turn in the Republic, just as it turned in Britain. But this

won't happen as a result of any initiative by Labour or the WP. It will happen on the basis of workers' own activity.

The SWM supports every group of workers in struggle, both morally and, more important, with whatever resources we have available to us. But the key thing we have to contribute is our revolutionary politics.

In the course of the Waterford strike, for example, it has been possible to make connections between the Glass workers and the militants in workplaces around the country. That's been a positive, practical achievement.

What workers in the Republic need more than anything else is to make such connections permanent.

But to make the connections permanent requires politics. Because the links can only be solidified on the basis of an understanding that all workers have a common interest which is distinct from and antagonistic towards the interests of the bosses.

It is that understanding, and an organisation based on it, which alone can provide consistent leadership for the working class against its enemies, whether here, in Britain, or anywhere.

Building a revolutionary party outside the parliamentary Left parties is not a sideline to the activity of supporting workers in struggle. It is the concentration of that struggle and, ultimately, the only way of ensuring that it culminates in victory.

DEV'S GUNS

THE hypocrisy of the Southern state over its own violent origins reached hilarious proportions last month when a gun used to kill a sizeable number of British soldiers was ceremonially presented to the National Museum.

The gun, a 9mm Mauser once the property of Eamon de Valera, had been used at the Battle of Mount Street Bridge during the 1916 Rising and is believed to have inflicted most of the British casualties in that engagement.

Nicknamed "Peter the Painter" after a famous anarchist, the gun was among five weapons handed over by the Garda Commissioner Eugene Crowley at a ceremony attended

by many members of the de Valera family in the "War of Independence" room of the museum.

The de Valeras had put the weapons into garda custody in the early 1970s in case they might fall into the hands of people who would put them to the use for which they were revered.

Another of the guns, a Smith and Wesson revolver, had been hidden in the altar at Blackrock College after the Civil War.

"There was many a mass said over that gun," quipped Terry de Valera as the arms were officially designated museum pieces.

"This is a great day for the de Valera family," he concluded.



Stop the bigots

THE continuing power of religious fundamentalists in the South has been demonstrated by the conviction and fining of the Virgin Megastore in Dublin for selling condoms, and by the claim for £38,000 in legal costs from four UCD students involved in the distribution of abortion information.

The idea that selling a condom over a counter in the centre of a capital city in 1990 can be a criminal offence has, understandably, been greeted by widespread derision. But it is a serious matter, too.

The RTE documentary on AIDS, "Stories From

the Silence", reminded us of the appalling extent of the disease in Southern Ireland. Popularisation of the use of condoms is one of the obvious, practical steps which can be taken to prevent the spread of AIDS.

Yet the distribution of condoms, far from being made easier, is being hindered by the law.

At the same time the number of unwanted pregnancies increases every year as the exercise of sexual freedom by young people outstrips the availability to them of sex education and contraceptives. One in every eight births is now outside of marriage and more than 300 women travel to Britain every week for abortions.

The need is clear for a continuing fight against the repressive power of the Catholic Church and for the right of all citizens to make up their own minds on matters of morality. The SWM fully supports defiance of all laws restricting the distribution of contraceptives.

And the same goes for information on abortion.

The vindictive action of SPUC in demanding the full costs of the court action against the students shows that this issue won't go away. It shouldn't be left to the European Court—as many politicians on the Left would like.

There is no guarantee that the case will be won in Europe. Even if it is, it is likely to take two years. Even then, if it's won, it is not clear that the ruling will be binding on a Dublin government.

It is more important anyway that the power of the Church on the issue should be defeated by a movement of the Irish people themselves, not on the basis of an interpretation of European law. To look for progress

to be imposed on Irish society from outside is to leave the ideological hold of the Church intact.

The SWM is actively involved in the Right to Information Campaign, aiming at a major national demonstration in the autumn. We again urge rank and file members of the Labour Party and the Workers' Party to press their TDs to give out abortion information under parliamentary privilege in the Dail.

And we call on trade unionists to push for the publication of the information in union journals. It is in the interest of every working class person in Ireland, North and South, that we should be freed from the obscurantist grip of the clergy.



OUR HISTORY

The Bolshevik line on the National Question



Above: Lenin opposed chauvinism; Below: Moscow 1939, Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov signs Nazi-Soviet pact placing Lithuania under Russian control, German Foreign Minister Ribbentrop and Stalin look on.

Georgians and the growth of "Great Russian chauvinism" in the party bureaucracy.

But the working class was shattered and exhausted by civil war and famine, and there was no lively democratic arena where the ideas could be argued out. The bureaucracy was able to consolidate its hold.

Under Stalin, the nationalities were once more subordinated to Russia. The teaching of Russian was made compulsory in all schools, local rulers were appointed by Moscow and entire nationalities were excluded from their homes and transferred to other parts of the country.

This return to a process of Russification of the non-Russian areas of the USSR was a conscious and deliberate policy. It marked the defeat of the revolution and the hammering down of the living standards of workers and peasants in order to pour resources into heavy industry and launch the USSR on the road to economic competition with the rest of the world.

There was another dimension to the policy of chauvinism. Although the majority of non-Russians were discriminated against as compared with Russians, they in turn were allowed to discriminate against ethnic minorities within their own national republics. In each republic there would be ethnic groups suffering from material discrimination and cultural repression.

It is this patchwork of oppressions which now threatens to pull the Soviet Union apart.

It is clear that Gorbachev's attitude has nothing in common with Lenin's policy of self-determination. Gorbachev, in fact, is a Great Russian chauvinist, trying with blackmail, manoeuvre, threat and outright force to keep all the nationalities under Russian domination.

Today socialists support the rebellion of the oppressed nationalities in the USSR. We oppose the use of force against them.

With Lenin, we think that the only way to stop nationalism creating hostility between the peoples who make up the USSR is to grant full national rights to all of them, including the right to secede. People can only unite freely together when they are free to separate if they wish.

By its nature the Russian bureaucracy is incapable of granting such rights. As an exploitative class, it cannot afford to give freedom to those it exploits. Only the multi-national working class of the USSR has an interest in ending all national oppressions. To do that, it needs to organise in its own interest against all factions of the bureaucracy.

■ BRUCE MORTON

THE deepening nationality crisis in the USSR is the most explosive problem yet for Gorbachev's reform programme.

The various national conflicts threaten the efforts of the USSR rulers to restructure their economy and make it more competitive with the West.

Gorbachev is in a dilemma. Using force to try to crush the national movements—as he did in Georgia and Azerbaijan—only encourages conservative elements in the ruling class who want a return to an old-style, centralised, repressive regime.

But he cannot give way to the agitation without encouraging every other group which wants faster and more far-reaching change than can be conceded without undermining the entire system.

The Western press presents all this as a legacy of the Bolshevik revolution. But in fact it's a legacy of the defeat of

the Bolshevik revolution.

Before the October 1917 revolution, Tsarist Russia was known as the "prison house of nationalities". The Russian Empire had been mainly gained by military conquest during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Minor nationalities were subjected to a ruthless programme of "Russification". This policy of "Great Russian chauvinism" continued until the fall of the Tsar in 1917.

But the Provisional Government of Kerensky, which came to the fore in February 1917, despite its democratic pretensions, ignored nationalist demands—of the Ukrainians and the Finns, for example. The favourable attitude of the minority peoples toward the Bolsheviks, who led the overthrow of Kerensky in October 1917, can be attributed largely to Lenin's ideas on the national question.

Coming from a multi-national country, Lenin knew that nationalism among the minorities was a potent revo-

lutionary force to weaken and destroy Tsarism. As Tony Cliff has observed, sympathy for the oppressed nationalities was always a strong feature of Lenin's thinking. "He detested chauvinism, and especially abhorred the Great Russian variety."

LENIN thought socialists should try and harness the potential of national movements.

He believed that the only way to do this and thus create the conditions for the unity of the working class, was to uphold the right of oppressed nations to self-determination, including separation.

One of the first acts of the new Soviet government therefore was to issue a decree on the right of oppressed nations to freedom. It was based on four principles:

1. Equality and sovereignty of all the peoples.
2. The right of each of the peoples to free self-determination, up to secession and formation of independent states.
3. Abolition of all and any national and national-religious privileges and restrictions.
4. Free development of national minorities and ethnic groups within Russia itself.

Among the first acts of the new government was to grant independence to Finland and to recognise the independence of

the Baltic republics.

Another central aspect of Lenin's policy to win the allegiance of the minority nationalities was to urge the supporters of the revolution in each territory to promote national cultures and local languages. This won affiliation in colonial areas which had previously been opposed to the regime.

However, Lenin's ideas on nationality were not universally held throughout the Bolshevik Party. In 1919, for instance, Piatakov said that Soviet Russia should keep control of the Ukraine, even against the wishes of the Ukrainian working class. (Lenin called Piatakov a "Great Russian chauvinist".) There were also some Bolsheviks in favour of downgrading minor nationality cultures and imposing a single proletarian culture under the leadership of the Russians.

The struggle between Lenin's ideas and the ideas of the "Great Russian chauvinists" had not been fully settled by the time of Lenin's death in 1924. After his death ethnic rivalries were once again to be cynically manipulated as a means of dividing the working class, this time by the bureaucracy which, personified by party general secretary Stalin, took control and destroyed the legacy of the revolution.

LENIN's last struggle was against Stalin's coercion of the

Financial Appeal

SOTSPROF, an independent trade union federation in the USSR, is desperately short of funds for such simple things as office and printing equipment.

They urgently require money to extend their organising drive. Raise collections in your college/workplace. Get the support of your union branch.

Further details: Sotsprom Appeal c/o 14 Glengariff Parade, Dublin 7.

Send all donations to Matt Merrigan, Treasurer, 24 Crotty Avenue, Dublin 12.

Unrest grows in the USSR

by CHRIS HARMAN

Does Yeltsin have any answers?

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV got the shock of his life when a section of the crowd on the annual May Day parade through the centre of Moscow began to boo him.

Now he faces more trouble as both radical supporters of change as well as some conservative supporters of the old bureaucratic methods oppose his referendum on a "market economy".

Boris Yeltsin is the best known leader of the radicals.

But what does Yeltsin stand for?

His autobiography, *Against the Grain*, has just come out in English.

Its aim is clearly to make us think what a nice, able man Yeltsin is—as when he tells us, "I stood out from my classmates by my energy and drive, and from first grade to last I was elected class leader."

But skip these nauseous passages and you find snippets of information about Russian society and the conflicts of the last five years.

Yeltsin is damning in his account of the lifestyle of the USSR's ruling class. In each province:

"A few dozen people live in the ideal condition predicted as universal when we have reached the stage of 'full communism', while the population as a whole lives in conditions that are barely tolerable.

"As a candidate member of the politburo my domestic staff consisted of three cooks, three waitresses, a housemaid and a gardener with his own team of under-gardeners.

"The dacha allotted to me had been occupied by Gorbachev... I lost count of the number of bathrooms and lavatories. Everywhere there was crystal, antique and modern chandeliers, oak parquet floors...."

'Meetings are a masquerade'

YELTSIN INSISTS Gorbachev has done nothing to disturb the lives of an elite who live in this way.

"He likes to live well, in comfort and luxury.

"He has no direct, reciprocal contact with the people. His meetings with workers in public are just a masquerade: a few people stand talking to Gorbachev while all around them is a solid ring of bodyguards.

"Those people chosen to play the part of the 'people' have been carefully vetted and directed and are brought to the spot in special buses."

Much of Yeltsin's book is about his own rise to a position of power inside the USSR.

It is the story of someone who does not seem, until three years ago, to have questioned the system in which he lived or the privileges he enjoyed.

He boasts, for instance, about how strict he was about "discipline" when manager of a construction firm, and of his friendship with the local KGB chiefs when party boss in the important Sverdlovsk region 20 years later.

But by the mid 1980s it was clear to top officials like Yeltsin that something was wrong with the system.

The old leadership that had ruled under Brezhnev was increasingly inept and corrupt.

Yeltsin tells how he and other regional bosses helped ensure Gorbachev took over.



MAY DAY protesters jeer Gorbachev in Red Square

"We conferred with several politburo members, including Ligachev.

"Everyone realised that to go on living and working as we had done for many years was simply impossible. It would have been tantamount to national suicide."

Growing crisis in society

BY NINETEEN eighty six Yeltsin was a junior member of the politburo and party boss in Moscow.

At first he was an admirer of Gorbachev. But he soon became aware how strongly the mass of bureaucrats opposed any change.

There was, he writes, "a system of corruption among a range of officials, in which an honest person needed real courage not to get caught up."

Yeltsin's attempt to challenge those who used such methods led to clashes with other party leaders, including Gorbachev.

"Gorbachev was afraid of laying hands on the party's bureaucratic machine. Our relations began to deteriorate."

At the weekly politburo meetings "Gorbachev was growing more and more fond of the sound of his own voice."

Things came to a head in the autumn of 1987 when Yeltsin launched an attack on Ligachev at a central committee meeting. Gorbachev sided with the conservatives and sacked Yeltsin.

Yeltsin's political career seemed over. But the growing crisis of Soviet society meant the old political structures were increasingly falling apart.

Five months after his fall from grace there was the first upsurge among a minority nationality, the Armenians. That summer saw demonstrations over one issue or another in cities across the USSR.

Yeltsin began to seem a hero to many of the protesters precisely because he had been pushed out of the leadership.

He found unexpected support when he stood as a delegate for the special party conference in the summer of 1988, and he won 90 percent of the Moscow vote as a candidate in the 1989 elections to the new Congress of Deputies.

The wave of struggle which has swept the USSR over the last year has raised his standing higher.

No challenge to ruling class

YET YELTSIN does not have any clear set of policies distinct from Gorbachev's.

He denounces the privileges of the bureaucracy, but says those privileges would be all right if they were open and above board as in the West.

"The general secretary ought to have a private dacha", he writes, "built with his own money that he earned by the sweat of his brow."

He calls for "radical economic reform" as suggested by Shmelyov and Popov (now mayor of Moscow). He does not point out this involves attacks on workers' living standards and consolidation of the power of the bureaucrats who run the great industrial enterprises.

He claims to welcome the strikes which took place in the mines last summer, because they mean "the end of the intimidated, obedient, puppet like Soviet working class".

But he forgets to mention that he urged the miners to end the strikes as quickly as possible.

At points he suggests an almost revolutionary outcome to the crisis in the USSR.

"Our establishment cannot run away and hide: the moment will come when they will have to give up their dachas and answer to the people for having hung on to their privileges."

But his own perspective is not to build for such a revolutionary outcome. Instead he writes, "What is happening



to our country is bordering on catastrophe."

He has repeatedly said he and Gorbachev could work together if only Gorbachev would break with his conservative advisers.

Both men come from the ruling class in Russian society.

He differs from Gorbachev in seeing that half hearted reforms will not solve the problems his class faces.

But he is no more inclined than Gorbachev to welcome the revolutionary overthrow of that class.

The furthest he will go is to consider changes which would make Russian state capitalism a bit more like Western multinational capitalism.

That means refusing to challenge the power of the army generals, the KGB police chiefs or the bosses of industry. "The salvation of both the army and the KGB will be glasnost", he writes.

Confusion can lead to disaster

UNFORTUNATELY Yeltsin's approach is shared by the great majority of the liberal opposition, hence the timidity of their response as Gorbachev has threatened the Baltic republics.

The influence of such ideas also has its impact on the USSR's rapidly growing movement for independent unions.

Three weeks ago there was a conference of workers' committee delegates from different parts of the USSR.

Only a third voted for a resolution from socialists in the Sotsprof union which insisted workers should not suffer as a result of economic reform.

And even the socialist minority talk in terms of "revolutionary reform", not of preparation for all out confrontation with those who control industry, the armed forces and the police.

Such confusion can be disastrous. Gorbachev's attempts to tinker with the Russian system of state capitalism are leading to an ever greater political crisis.

On the one side, workers are demanding independent unions, national minorities are demanding independent states, and intellectuals are insisting on their right to speak and write freely.

On the other, the heads of the army, the police and the enterprises are scheming to re-establish their unchallenged power while using the slogan of "restructuring" to savage workers' living standards.

They are quite prepared to line up with racists in their search for popular support.

This polarisation of society is destroying Gorbachev's old popularity and forcing him to become ever more dependent on the conservative right, a group which might one day get rid of him.

Yeltsin has risen to enormous heights of popularity because he gives expression to the growing bitterness of tens of millions of people.

But he will not use that popularity to lead people into the struggle necessary against both Gorbachev and the right.

■ Boris Yeltsin, *Against the Grain* (Jonathan Cape) £12.95.



Mandela

AMONG socialists and democratic-minded people throughout the world, there was an explosion of joy at the release of Nelson Mandela from twenty-seven years in prison just four months ago.

He had become a vibrant symbol of struggle, not just against the vicious racism of the apartheid regime, but against oppression everywhere.

He is assured of a mighty welcome when he comes to Ireland at the beginning of July.

Indeed, so securely is Mandela now established in the affection and admiration of millions of people that politicians who never lifted a finger in the fight to free him are now jostling for position in the welcoming line-up.

But for some others, the joy at seeing Mandela free and in Ireland will be clouded with a certain confusion, tinged with a vague concern at some of his recent statements and at his apparent "moderation" and conciliatory attitude to enemies of the anti-apartheid cause.

This sense of unease will be strengthened by the fact that his stay in Ireland has been cut from the original three days to two days—so that he can visit the

anti-sanctions militant, Margaret Thatcher.

Mainstream commentators and moderate politicians say that Mandela and the ANC are merely showing "realism". That rhetoric about freedom and no compromise with apartheid was fine when the black leadership was in prison or exile and there was no sign of movement from the white minority leaders.

But now, they say, with Mandela released, the black organisations unbanned and de Klerk willing to talk about change, the time has come for hard bargaining—which inevitably means compromise. It's naive and unserious, we're told, to express reservations about this.

But revolutionary socialists have a different analysis.

We don't doubt the indomit-

able heroism of Nelson Mandela and the ANC. But we differ from their political line, which we believe could lead the black masses to disillusionment and disaster.

THE fact that there is political movement at last in South Africa has generated optimism in many quarters.

There is no guarantee that apartheid is in its last days. But changes *have* taken place.

De Klerk is continuing—though at a slightly faster pace—the strategy initiated by his predecessor, P. W. Botha.

Even after the State of Emergency was declared in June 1986, Botha made some concessions in an effort to buy off a layer of blacks.

The notorious pass laws were scrapped and the authorities tolerated the emergence of "grey areas"—inner-city districts inhabited illegally by blacks.

A number of minor restrictions—"petty apartheid"—were lifted.

But by last year the leadership of the ruling Nationalist Party knew that this wasn't nearly enough.

Capital, which had poured out of South Africa in response to the township risings of 1984-'86, wasn't going to return without some real prospect of a political settlement. And it was plain the black masses weren't going to agree to a settlement on the basis of Botha's minor concessions.

This was the background to the "coup" by the de Klerk faction which ousted Botha. De Klerk then declared that he wanted talks with the ANC.

The ANC was also moving towards the idea of a negotiated settlement. It was the dominant force in the townships and the independent unions, but had come to realise that its armed struggle had no prospect of overthrowing apartheid.

In 1985 ANC president Oliver Tambo had talked of creating "liberated zones" and making all of South Africa "ungovernable". But the guerrillas made little headway against the massively armed murder machine of the state.

At the same time the USSR, pulling back from confrontation with US imperialism and oppression everywhere, cut down on its support for armed struggle.

by EAMONN

The ANC moved towards talks with a strategy of "revolution by stages".

The first stage would be the "national democratic revolution". In "Constitutional Guidelines" published early last year, the ANC spelled out that this would mean a "democratic and non-racial state" with a "mixed economy". In other words, the capitalist state would survive, but not the apartheid system.

The SA Communist Party, which politically dominates the ANC, went along with this, taking its cue from Moscow where "market economics" was becoming the new orthodoxy.

Thus, on the face of it, there was a basis for a possible agreement. The release of Mandela and other prisoners and the unbanning of the black organisations cleared away the major obstacles to talks.

THERE are, however, major obstacles to the negotiated transfer of political power to the black majority, even on terms similar to the 1979 Lancaster House agreement which kept economic power in Zimbabwe in white hands.

The South African state rests not just on the exclusion of blacks but on the incorporation of whites, who enjoy both political rights and material privileges.

The whites are crucial to the military power of the state. Not only do white dominate the army and police, but all adult white males undergo military service and could be mobilised in an emergency.

Lower middle class and working class whites form the mass base of the far right Conservative Party, which won 31 percent of the vote in the last parliamentary election.

The Conservative Party and openly fascist groups such as the Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging and the Boerstaat Party enjoy considerable support in the army and police and are mobilising against de Klerk.

The danger facing both the National Party and big business



Welcome Mandela



De Klerk

EAMONN McCANN

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is that white resistance—
desertions, mutinies and the
like—can cause the disintegr-
ation of the existing state
apparatus.

In a society as polarised and
poverty stricken as South Africa,
such a situation would be enor-
mously threatening to the
ruling class.

Hence the caution of de Klerk
and his big business backers,
their refusal to accept the main
demand of the resistance—one
person one vote in a unitary
South Africa—and their insis-
tence on "minority rights", a
code word for preserving white
control of the state.

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At the same time, it would be
very difficult for the ANC to
accept anything less than black
majority rule without losing the
support of militant workers and
youth to organisations which
oppose settlement such as the
Pan-Africanist Congress.

South Africa is entering a
complex period, in which man-
oeuvring over negotiations will
tend to overshadow the struggle
in the townships, factories and
mines.

Despite the obstacles in its
way, a negotiated settlement
between the ANC and the
regime may emerge from this
process.

But there is no guarantee that
this will happen. The threads
binding capitalism and white
political domination are still very
strong and will be hard to
unravel.

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ments—praising de
Klerk for "integrity" and
assuring white big bus-
iness that it has nothing
to fear from an ANC-run
South Africa—stems
directly from the ANC's
strategy of "revolution by
stages".

If the aim is an apartheid-free
capitalist South Africa, some
arrangement with capitalism and
capitalism's political rep-
resentatives is necessary.

And such a South Africa
would have to fit as smoothly as
possible into the world capitalist
system—which is what Mandela
will be talking to Thatcher about.

Thatcher will want to be
sure that the ANC can be
"trusted"—to protect
property and, if needs be, to
use repression against blacks
who might want to go farther,
faster.

Such an outcome would see
all blacks in South Africa with
the dignity of a vote, and some
blacks much better off mater-
ially. But there'd be no end to
black poverty in the townships,
grossly inadequate health,
housing and education or low
wages, hunger and repression.

The experience of other
African countries proves this
harsh truth.

In the '50s and '60s a number
of African countries threw off
white domination after heroic
liberation struggles. Today, these
countries are still dominated by
small wealthy elites. Only their
colour has changed.

In Kenya the British were
booted out after a determined
struggle led by Jomo Kenyatta
—a potent symbol of liberation

in his day. But the new
government did nothing for the
majority of the population.

Instead, a minority benefitted
from the relationship they had
established with multi-national
firms.

In Tanzania, Uganda and
Ghana the story was, if anything,
worse. Zimbabwe is the latest
example.

In each of these countries
political domination by whites
has been ended, certainly. But,
economically, white privileges
are substantially intact—and
at the end of the day it is
western big business which
calls most of the shots.

When revolutionary socialists
like the SWM argue against the
ANC's "stages" theory of
national liberation, as we have
done for years, it's not because it
contradicts some obscure marx-
ist principle, but because of what
it has led to where it has
"succeeded".

We advocate a strategy not of
unity of all classes within the
black community and liberals
from the white community in
pushing for "democracy", but
of basing the struggle on the
interests of the black working
class specifically, of mobilising
the working class in the fac-
tories, the mines, the mills and
the offices and putting this at the
centre of a struggle on all fronts
for the overthrow of
capitalism—which generated
apartheid in the first place.

This is not a strategy which
could win the support of
Thatcher or de Klerk on any
terms. But it is the only strategy
which could guarantee an end to
white domination and real
change—real control—for the
mass of black people.



Black workers have power to smash capitalism

★ Teach Yourself Marxism Have anarchists got the answers?

MARXISM has got a lot of stick recently, overwhelmingly from
right-wingers who ignorantly confuse it with Eastern Bloc
stalinism.

But there's another critique of marxism available, by those who
style themselves anarchists.

The Green Party is
openly sympathetic to
the ideas of Proudhon,
Bakunin and particu-
larly Kropotkin, all
theorists of classical
anarchism.

Others have radically
restructured their
lifestyles around an-
archist principles, and
dotted around the
country can be found a
few experiments at
commune life where
the black flag of an-
archism flutters, if only
metaphorically.

To the left of these
trends there exists a
much sharper anarchist
current, people
distinguished by their
commitment to class
struggle.

Although they share
with all other anarchists a
rejection of marxism,
their real point of re-
ference is a hostility to
Bolshevism.

After all, any honest
reading of Proudhon,
Bakunin and Kropotkin
should not only leave an-
archists reeling from the
misogyny and elitism of
the first, adventurism and
conspiratorialism of the
second, and hopeless
naivety of the third, but
also acutely aware that
the trio provide few clues
for intervention into the
class struggle and a
revolutionary overthrow
of capitalism.

In contrast, Marx dealt
concretely and in enor-
mous detail with the
workings of capitalism,
while Lenin and the
Bolsheviks led a
successful revolution in
Russia. And it's really
this that concentrates the
minds of anarchists.

COMPLAIN

Essentially, they com-
plain that the Russian
revolution failed because
of the Bolsheviks, but
would have withstood all
the pressures brought to
bear on it by invading
armies, civil war, econ-
omic collapse,
epidemics and starvation
if only anarchist politics
had been implemented.

Specifically, anarchists
assert that the Bolshevik
snatched power from the
working class; that the
creation of a workers'
state after the smashing
of capitalism condemned
the revolution to defeat,
and that all this was pre-
dictable because of
Bolshevik politics and
methods of organisation.

To deal with each of
these in turn should bring
out the shortcomings in
anarchism and illustrate
the importance of
marxism.

To begin with the claim
that the Bolsheviks
usurped power from the
working class. What's
suggested here is that the
Russian revolution,
having erupted spon-



Anarchists in Spain

taneously, would have
sorted itself out nicely if
the Bolsheviks hadn't
intervened. The opposite
is true.

Whilst revolutions do
erupt "spontaneously",
a successful outcome
depends on its political
direction. Look at
Romania, or Hungary
1956, and it's clear that
although workers can
launch themselves into
revolution, they don't
automatically arrive at a
strategy for victory.

What can make the
difference is the existence
of an organised minority
of workers already com-
mitted to socialism,
arguing for the creation
and strengthening of
workers' councils, push-
ing for insurrection and
the overthrow of who-
ever's holding up the
revolution.

That's precisely what
the Bolsheviks did in
1917. A party of,
eventually, 250,000,
a minority of the working
class, successfully argued
for the replacement of the
reactionary Provisional
Government with
"soviets", or workers'
power.

Their intervention en-
sured that the revolution
didn't stop short, that
fascism wasn't estab-
lished, and that capitalism
was overthrown by a
workers' revolution for
the first and only time in
history.

The second claim of
the anarchists, that the
establishment of a work-
ers' state was the kiss of
death, also reflects a poor
understanding of rev-
olution. Marxists, it's true,
aspire to a classless,
socialist society, where
the need for a "state" will
be long gone. That's not
to subscribe to the vision
of small scale, insular
community life advocated
by many anarchists. Quite
the opposite. The needs
of the human race,
materially, socially and
culturally, can only be
met by a highly complex,
efficient and democratic
international system of
co-operation and co-
ordination.

But this has nothing to
do with what we mean by
the "state".

For marxists, the state
embodies the need of
one class to suppress

another, which is why
the ruling class wouldn't
be without one. And the
history of revolution has
shown the absolute
necessity for the working
class to organise against
those who just won't let
go.

For a graphic illu-
stration, look at Nicaragua.
Russia was no different,
and neither, it should be
added, was Spain in
1936. But in Spain, the
mass anarchist organ-
isation, the CNT, having
played a leading role in
the early development of
the revolution, found
themselves hidebound by
their doctrine of "anti-
stalinism".

Rather than lead the
workers to the estab-
lishment of a workers'
state so as to consolidate
the revolution and to beat
Franco, they left
government and the state
in the hands of political
parties with no interest in
revolution. Later, anarch-
ists in the CNT
acknowledged their dis-
astrous outlook:

"The CNT was utterly
devoid of revolutionary
theory. We had no idea
of where we were going,
or what to do with our
masses of workers. We
had spent year after year
speculating around
abstractions."

In a nutshell, anarch-
ism failed its one big
revolutionary test because
of its refusal to lead a
working class bid for
power.

METHODS

Final point. Bolshevik
organisational methods,
according to the anarch-
ists, are counter-
revolutionary. By insisting
that the entire member-
ship carry the decisions
of the majority, and
establishing a leadership
within the organisation,
Bolshevism, and by
implication marxism,
stands condemned.

But in fact, this critique
of "democratic cen-
tralism" is itself
thoroughly undemocratic,
being based on the an-
archist view that no in-
dividual need be bound by
a majority decision. Not
only does it run counter
to democratic practice, it
also rules out the
possibility of a united,
cohesive and effective
challenge to capitalism,
the whole purpose of
Bolshevism.

Anarchists reject this
model because of a failure
to grasp the distinction
between a revolutionary
party and a classless
society. Two completely
different things, but we
won't get to the latter
without the former, and
the task of building a
revolutionary party would
be eased if those anarch-
ists committed to class
struggle decide to join the
marxists and get stuck in.

■ DOMINIC CARROLL

ALBERT Reynolds, dog food manufacturer and Minister for Finance in the Irish government, thinks he knows the secret of "the overall success of our country".

Addressing the annual conference of the Irish Management Institute in Kilkenny a few weeks ago he told his audience of besuited businessmen that the key was "cooperation between the government and you who produce and transport the goods and services which are the life blood of our economy."

"The combination of these interests," he went on, "will improve the competitive position of 'Ireland Incorporated' and will be the key requirement in ensuring success in the future."

The idea that the government rules Ireland hand in glove with a tiny class of businessmen, as though the country was a mega corporation—despite the fact that the majority of people have no share in the ownership of business—is the sort of thing you expect to hear from revolutionary socialists, not government Ministers.

But then Albert was addressing a very select audience and had no problem in sharing this secret with them.

More blatant still was the speech, to the same gathering, from John Harvey-Jones, former boss of ICI. He told them, "when I come to Ireland it's to pursue the worthy cause of seeing that Tony Ryan (head of Ryanair and Guinness Peat Aviation) stays seriously rich." (Roars of laughter and prolonged applause.)

This is what lies at the core of "Ireland Incorporated".

The government, through its Industrial Development Authority, has a plan to make a very small number of people exceedingly rich. Ten private companies have been selected for development, at the taxpayers' expense, into giants each with an annual turnover exceeding £1,000 million. A further 60 companies will be boosted to reach £100 million turnover. A few thousand shareholders, at most, will reap exceedingly lucrative profits.

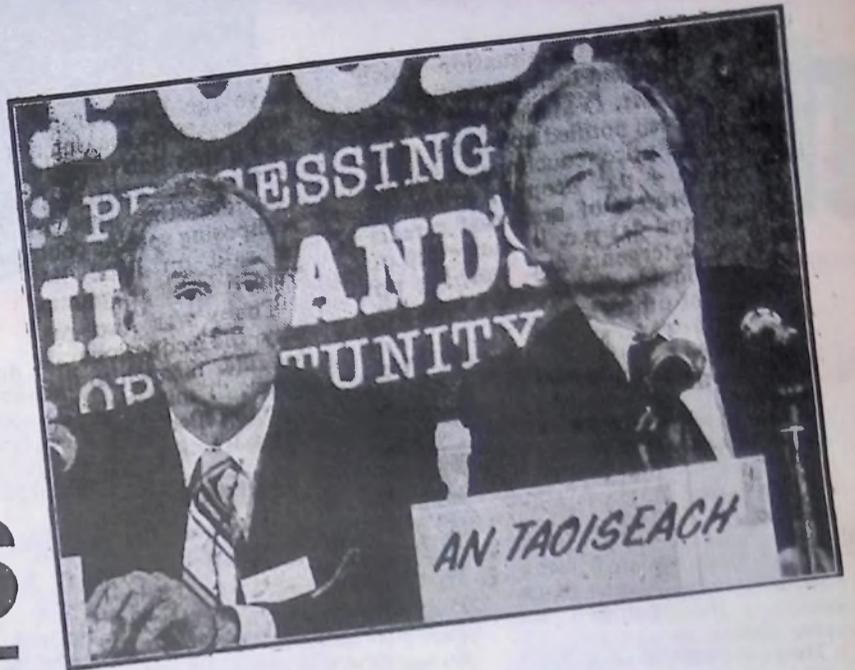
BUT does the intention of ensuring that individual capitalists become and remain "seriously rich" benefit the nation as a whole?

Take the example of Ireland's biggest capitalist, beef producer

FF's billion pound

bribe for bosses

by PETER JACKSON



Larry Goodman: shady deals

Larry Goodman, whose company heads the IDA list for cash injections amounting to £55 million plus a low interest loan of another £70 million.

No single company has obtained more government assistance in the growth of its operations than Goodman International whose turnover stands at £750 million annually. Over the years the company has benefitted to the tune of hundreds of millions of pounds from state subsidies of one sort or another.

Without these enormous gifts of taxpayers' money it would hardly exist, let alone dominate the field.

Now it has been earmarked by the government to lead the Irish food industry—the country's major source of exports—into the 1990s and beyond.

But as everyone knows, a great many of Mr Goodman's operations are exceedingly shady, if not completely fraudulent. Last year he was

fined over £1 million by the Department of Agriculture for falsely claiming subsidies on his beef exports.

This year his company, Anglo Irish Beef Producers, faces four major court cases. In one it is accused of assaulting and falsely imprisoning a Department of Agriculture inspector who discovered vats of rotting meat at one of Goodman's factories. In another it is accused of relabelling dodgy meat at night, after official meat inspectors had gone home.

In the third case another meat trader, Paschal Phelan, is suing Goodman for £20 million for taking over his company, Master Meats, and putting him out of business by fraudulent means. Albert Reynolds connived in the fraud by allowing the takeover to go ahead without referring it to the Monopolies and Mergers Commission.

In the final case Goodman is suing Industry Minister Des O'Malley. When O'Malley discovered that Goodman had been exporting non-Irish beef to Iraq under a state-backed insurance scheme intended for Irish produce only, he cancelled Goodman's policies. Goodman says this amounts to a breach of contract.

This final case exposes the true meaning of "Ireland Incorporated".

GOODMAN made over £40 million in profit out of his Iraqi beef trade in 1987 and 1988. He couldn't have done it without state help. At the insistence of Albert Reynolds, then Minister for Industry and Commerce, and with the full backing of Taoiseach Charles Haughey, the government guaranteed that Goodman would be paid—out of taxpayers' money—for all the beef he shipped to Iraq if the Iraqis themselves failed to pay, something that seemed highly likely given their enormous foreign debts and poor payment record.

The public's liability was enormous, amounting to almost £100

million, but few of us had any idea of what was going on in our name.

Goodman used this guarantee to borrow money from the banks at an exceedingly low rate of interest. In effect, we, as taxpayers, were acting as guarantors for Goodman's borrowings.

The notion that giving Larry Goodman millions of taxpayers' money to export beef to Iraq was good for Ireland is a total fallacy.

As was revealed in the Dail, almost half of the meat Goodman supplied to the Iraqis came from outside Ireland. As such, it should never have been backed by state insurance. But without that insurance he would not have traded with the

Iraqis. The bulk of the meat was bought on the cheap out of the EEC "beef mountain" which means his huge export contracts created no extra jobs in the meat industry, here or anywhere else. In fact, by cornering all the government's insurance cover for his Iraqi deals, Goodman was able to put a number of smaller competitors out of business with the loss of scores if not hundreds of jobs.

What's more, the Iraqis had ordered fresh meat, and would be quite justified in refusing to pay for what they received—frozen meat as much as five years old.

So Goodman's cynical attempts to maximise his profits by supplying

Who dodges the taxes?

BETWEEN 1982 and 1986, company profits in Southern Ireland increased from £1.3 billion to £3.86 billion—or from 26 percent to over 30 percent of total national income. But manufacturing profits will be taxed at a maximum 10 percent until the year 2000.

The contribution of corporate tax to total tax revenue actually fell from 9 percent to 3.3 percent in 1987. When employers' PRSI contributions are added, the corporate sector provides just 12.2 percent of total revenue—less than half the European average.

Capital gains tax and acquisition tax, resulting from inheritances, produced just one percent (£62 million) of last year's total tax revenue.

Taxes on farm incomes are notoriously small. A more equitable tax regime could net an additional £100 million annually.

Tax allowances against such things as mortgage interest, private health, insurance and life assurance, benefit higher rate taxpayers most of all. In 1986-87 these reliefs together were valued at £220 million by the Revenue Commissioners.

Tax relief to property developers and landlords against rental income, so-called Section 23 relief, cost £9 million between 1981 and 1988, and new rates of relief introduced in 1988, against the advice of the Tax Commissioners, will eventually cost £9 million every year.

The government compensates for the low tax take from the wealthy and the corporate sector by levying exceptionally high indirect taxes: customs and excise duties together with VAT account for 46 percent of all revenue. But indirect taxes are regressive: the poor lose a higher proportion of their income through indirect taxes than do the rich.

Who scoops benefits?

THE wealthy get off relatively lightly when taxes are collected—and they derive the greatest benefit from public expenditure.

This year, for example, £2.2 billion, almost one quarter of total public spending, will go in interest payments to the financial institutions and wealthy individuals who lend money to the state. The amount allocated to social welfare, including benefits that have nothing to do with alleviating poverty, is only marginally more at £2.7 billion.

This year direct grants to industry and the administration of those grants will cost around £450 million, according to the Department of Industry, while capital allowances, tax relief on export sales and the reduced corporation tax rate will cost £815 million in revenue foregone, resulting in a total subsidy to private industry from the public purse of over £1.25 billion.

State spending on education, health and housing, amounting to almost £2.5 billion or a third of all expenditure, is assumed to be non-redistributive in its overall effect. But this disguises some regressive aspects, particularly in the provision of education on which more is spent than on the other two combined, and where over 30 percent of expenditure goes on the top 20 percent income group while just 9 percent of the total is spent on the bottom 20 percent.

The educational system, far from providing avenues out of poverty, helps reproduce inequality. And the cuts in recent years have hit the poorest hardest.

Housing expenditure is of greater benefit to the poor than the rich but it accounts for just over one percent of the total spent in these three areas.

The scope for redistribution through tax reform would appear to be great. But those most in need of change, the poor themselves, are powerless to affect it while those with most to lose, the rich, are well placed to prevent. Advancing the argument that their wealth is rightfully theirs and is the rock on which the economic system is founded, they can simply threaten to go elsewhere if threatened with punitive taxes.

Such was the case when a one percent tax on fixed wealth was introduced in 1975. Its introduction caused consternation among the rich with threats to take their wealth out of the country, and earned its sponsor, Richie Ryan, the epithet "Red Richie". The tax was withdrawn in 1978. It netted just £20.7 million in revenue, most of it collected in the post-78 period from late payers.

old beef that never set hoof in Ireland could well have cost the Irish taxpayers as much as £100 million. That is what "Ireland Incorporated" means to Mr Goodman. And any capitalist worth his salt would have acted in exactly the same way. Profit maximisation at minimal risk is the name of the game.

AND this is what is at the centre of the whole issue. State aid to big capitalist companies like Goodman's is designed to help them make profits.

If as consequence of the pursuit of profits jobs are destroyed, or the taxpayer ripped off, that's just too bad.

And when attempts were made to expose the corruption and fraud endemic in Goodman's business, the state did its utmost to cover over the traces.

When Labour TD Barry Desmond exposed the earlier £1 million fraud involving Goodman's Anglo Irish Beef Processors, Taoiseach Charles Haughey turned on him with undisguised savagery and accused him of deliberately attempting to "sabotage the whole Irish beef industry".

"Once these affairs get into the public arena," said Haughey, "it is never helpful to anyone." Especially Mr Goodman.

The Minister for Agriculture, whose Department imposed the fine on Goodman, begged everyone to "avoid making statements which would give rise to adverse international publicity."

For his part, Larry Goodman asserted that his critics "are anti-private industry, anti-success, anti bloody well everything." And anti-communist crusader, Brendan McGahon (TD for Goodman's Louth constituency) said that if the malcontents didn't stop picking on Mr Goodman he would move his business elsewhere, a threat that Mr Goodman has often made himself. So much for his commitment to "Ireland Incorporated".

Indeed, Goodman is no longer sure he wants the current offer of £55 million from the IDA. For the last few years he has been building his empire outside Ireland, with multi-million pound investments in the UK, and major acquisitions in South America and Australia.

The simple fact is, Goodman couldn't care a toss about Ireland, "incorporated" or not.

What is good for Goodman is good for Goodman and nobody else. The pursuit of maximum profit is what drives his business forward, and if that can be best achieved by investing elsewhere that is what he will do.

And there is nothing our democratically elected government can do about it.

It's for this reason that bothersome socialists like us argue that the sort of democracy we have in Ireland—and the rest of the "democratic world"—is a sham.

Democracy, according to the dictionary, means "a form of government in which the supreme power is vested in the people collectively, especially the common people." But that power, if it exists at all, certainly doesn't give us the right to say that the wealth produced in this country should stay in this country for the benefit of all its citizens.

Behind the parliamentary facade, the capitalist class—the tiny minority of people who own and control the means by which society's wealth is produced—remain in control. And when Albert Reynolds talks of "Ireland Incorporated" he is acknowledging the simple fact that the state is there to serve their interests. The cost to the rest of us is incalculable.

The devastation of a town



Film maker Michael Moore

Film: *Roger and Me*

MICHAEL Moore was an unemployed journalist, not a filmmaker, when he decided to make a documentary about the effect that 30,000 job losses had on his home town of Flint, Michigan.

General Motors employed about a quarter of Flint's population. When the company decided to close up shop and move to Mexico the effect on Flint was shattering.

Roger and Me documents both the devastation caused by mass unemployment and the ruthlessness of the people responsible for it. It pulls no punches as it exposes the weak-kneed leadership of the union.

General Motors tried to stop the film being shown and the United Auto Workers' Union offered to buy up 600 copies on condition that the parts critical of the union were

removed.

Roger and Me is also a very funny film as it follows Moore on his many unsuccessful attempts to get an interview with the chairman of General Motors, Roger Smith.

Roger and Me shows the reality of working class American life in the '80s—in stark contrast to most people's perception of the US.

Michael Moore had this to say in a recent interview:

"America in the 1990s will be radicalised. Take Flint—it voted overwhelmingly for Reagan in 1974. In 1988 it voted 9 to 1 for Jesse Jackson.

"Even the most conservative and white county area voted 4 to 1 for Jackson. Of course he isn't the answer but people perceived it as a way of saying they'd had enough.

"America is just not going to be the same. I'm very hopeful."

■ EVE MORRISON

Neo-colony theory—a cop-out

Pamphlet: *Is Southern Ireland a Neo-colony?* by Kieran Allen price £1.50, available from SW Books PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

REPUBLICANISM firmly asserts that Southern Ireland is a neo-colony of Britain; Britain, so the theory runs, is able to protect its economic and strategic interests without direct occupation.

For this reason, all classes in Southern Ireland have more than just a passing interest in freeing Ireland from British colonialism.

The Irish ruling class are not a real force, but merely "agents" acting on behalf of British imperialism; "economic dependence on Britain translates in terms of political interest", as Gerry Adams has put it.

Kieran Allen clearly and concisely refutes this claim with a wealth of statistics and comprehensive debate.

Throughout history, Britain has continually benefitted from its persistent exploitation of Ireland. Parliamentary Acts directed at Irish trade prevented Ireland moving into the world market and pushing towards political independence. As a result of the Act of Union, Ireland provided England with two-sevenths of the entire cost of maintaining the Empire.

ARMS

After independence in 1922, £3 million a year left the Free State to the British treasury in land annuities. In return Britain sent arms, which helped to smash the Republican side during the Civil War.

However, this relationship was not static. By the 1960s the South had opened out into the world market and there was a steady, definite decline in

British investment and dominance. Once entry into the EEC was secured in 1973, Ireland became more attractive to US, Japanese and other foreign investors, who were offered grants, cheap labour and tax reductions. By the mid-70s US investment alone totalled \$2 billion.

In terms of trade, imports from Britain have now dropped to 42 percent of the total. Exports to Britain now amount to only a third of all Irish exports, a decline from *ninety* tenths. Britain now invests less than one-tenth of all foreign investment in Ireland while the USA provides nearly a half.

These facts in themselves undermine the suggestion that the South can be considered a neo-colony of Britain. It is just not true that the Southern state as an entity is oppressed by British imperialism. As Allen points out, "More than half the interest payments on the national



debt go to the Irish rich"—a fact rarely mentioned when nationalists talk of repudiating the debt. The suggestion is always that it's foreigners, particularly British foreigners, who are doing down "the Irish". The class division *within* the South is thus fudged or completely ignored.

Fundamentally, the capitalist class in the South has an identity of interest with its counterparts in Britain—or anywhere else in the world. It is this which explains its co-operation with

Britain over the Six Counties. The notion that extradition, the Special Criminal Court, cross-border collaboration and the like all result from the South being a "neo-colony" is nonsense. Because of this only a socialist approach, not a nationalist approach, has the potential to overthrow collaboration and end exploitation.

That's the message of Kieran Allen's pamphlet, which is essential reading for socialist debate on the national question.

■ ROMA CARLISLE

What we stand for

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

FOR REVOLUTION, NOT REFORM

We begin from the proposition that what determines the nature of any society is the system by which its wealth is produced. In the system we live under, capitalism, production is geared to profit, not to human need. Among its inevitable features are poverty, war, racism and sexism. Capitalism cannot be destroyed and these evils thus eradicated by piecemeal reform. It can only be destroyed by revolutionary action by the class which creates all the wealth, the working class.

The machinery of the capitalist state - parliament, courts, army, police etc - is designed to protect the interests of the ruling capitalist class, not to regulate society in a neutral fashion. At most, parliament can be used sometimes, to make propaganda against capitalism. It cannot be used to smash capitalism. Only a workers' revolution can do that and establish a truly democratic society in which workers hold power directly through delegates elected from workplaces and areas and are re-callable and replaceable at any time by those who elect them.

NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR MOSCOW

This kind of socialism does not exist anywhere today. Workers do not have control in Russia, China, Cuba etc. Instead, power is held by a state-capitalist class. A workers' revolution is needed in these countries too.

We are against NATO and the Warsaw Pact and all weapons of mass destruction. We are for the right of all nations, East and West, to self-determination.

FOR AN END TO PARTITION

The Northern State was created by British Imperialism in its own interests. Sectarianism and bigotry were built into it and will continue to exist for as long as the state exists.

The marginal privileges given to Protestant workers are just that: marginal. It is in the immediate interest of Protestant as well as Catholic workers to fight against their exploitation. It is in the interest of all Northern workers to unite against the state and aim at socialism in Ireland.

We support all forces struggling against imperialism and the Northern state, regardless of differences we may have with them.

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

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

FOR AN END TO ALL OPPRESSION

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

FOR A FIGHT IN THE UNIONS

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

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

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

Join us!

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

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

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....



Not for publication

IN the course of a recent controversy in the letters page of the Irish Times a member of the Socialist Workers Movement contributed the following letter. The letters editor of that paper, unfortunately, chose not to publish it. Below we reprint the suppressed letter.

ABORTION continues to be a very sore and heated issue in this country. But for working class people, it cannot be said too often or too strongly that the issue is actually a political one.

As the latest figures show, up to 10,000 Irish women have abortions in Britain every year, and the figures are rising.

Despite all the harrowing difficulties involved—the

financial burden, the isolation and desperation, the stress of trying to get the relevant information—women will take enormous risks to rid themselves of an unwanted pregnancy, even risking their own lives.

DEGRADATION

Do we really want a return to the butchery of backstreet abortions (98

deaths in Britain between 1964 and 1967 alone, before abortion was legalised in 1967)? Or, the logical culmination of SPUC's project—the appalling suffering and degradation of Ceausescu's Romania—women subjected to obscene examinations, brutalised into unwanted pregnancies and driven by despair to desperate measures, resulting in thousands of deaths

and mutilations?

How fortunate for those monumental hypocrites of church and state that such a handy safety valve exists in our neighbour across the water!

The well-heeled and powerful will always have easy access to abortion facilities. Yet again—one law for them and another for working class people. This is insufferable!

PRESSURE

The stark reality is—increasing numbers of women will not carry unwanted pregnancies. Elsewhere, in Britain, Europe, the USA, Canada etc women are fortunately in a position, through economic and trade union pressure, to demand abortion rights. The most recent case in point was the massive demonstration of trade unionists and activists held before the House of Commons vote on the abortion amendments to the Embryo Bill, resulting in effective improvements in abortion legislation.

Irish women, moving increasingly into the work force, will not tolerate being dictated to from on high by the moral watchdogs of the rich and powerful, especially where it concerns their lives and their bodies.

Finally, I would call on all those concerned by the dismal state of women's rights and the growing menace of censorship in this country to get involved in the cutting edge of this struggle—the campaign for the right to abortion information, pushing for it through their trade union, students' union and local campaign group.

□ MARGARET DALY

CPSU CONFERENCE

Opposition to PNR grows

THE Programme for National Recovery came under fire at last month's conference of the Civil and Public Services Union.

The Programme has done nothing to solve the problem of low pay in the civil service. Special increases have kept pace with inflation but the gap between civil service pay and the average industrial wage has grown.

Many civil servants qualify for Family Income Supplement because of their poor earnings. Starting pay for clerical assistants is lower than for trainee managers in McDonald's!

Last time round, CPSU members voted overwhelmingly to accept the PNR. But this year's conference adopted motions restricting the

terms on which a new programme would be accepted.

One motion rejected any programme which restricted the right to strike. It is becoming clearer to many members that industrial action is the only way to win decent increases.

CRITICISED

The ICTU was heavily criticised for its U-turn on privatisation. From outright opposition to privatisation, Congress now accepts sell-offs provided the state retains 51 percent of the company.

A motion was passed calling for a moratorium on privatisation during the lifetime of a new PNR.

Telecom and An Post branches then put an emer-

gency motion condemning the ICTU document.

CPSU General Secretary John O'Dowd defended the document: he is a member of the committee that published it. He said it was the only "sensible and realistic" approach to take on the issue.

The motion was defeated, but members in the semi-state sector are still willing to fight privatisation.

Also at the conference a motion was passed condemning SPUC's attempts to censor abortion information, and pledging the union's support to the students who were prepared to defy the bigots.

A collection was taken for the Waterford Glass strike but a request to have a striker speak was denied because there was "no time". Meanwhile Labour Minister Bertie Ahern spoke for half an hour!

What's on: SWM meetings

The Socialist Workers Movement is a growing organisation with branches around the country which meet regularly. Those who are interested in the politics of the SWM are invited to attend these meetings.

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

Belfast Branch

Meets every Monday
Write to P.O. Box 418
Tomb St. for details

Bray Branch

Meets every second
Tuesday at 8 pm in
Hibernian Inn, Marine
Tce

Cork Branch

Meets every Tuesday
at 8 pm, George's
Quay

Derry Branch

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

Dublin Branch

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

Waterford Branch

Meets every Thursday
Details from paper
sellers or write to P.O.
Box 1648, Dublin 8

For details of SWM in
LIMERICK, DUNDALK,
PORTLAOISE,
GALWAY, KILKENNY,
AND DUNGARVAN
contact: SWM, P.O.
BOX 1648, DUBLIN 8
OR swm, P.O. Box
418, Tomb Street,
Belfast BT9 5PU.

NAVAN

A Socialist Worker
discussion group is
being established in
Navan. Anyone who is
interested please write
to SWM, P.O. Box
1648, Dublin 8.

Two new pamphlets from SWM Is Southern Ireland a neo-colony?

This is a greatly expanded version of an edition which sold out. Written by Kieran Allen, it takes up the republican argument that nationalist politics offer a solution to the economic misery of the South.

By showing how the South can no longer be regarded as a neo-colony of Britain, Allen opens the way for a clear Marxist interpretation of the national question in Ireland.
Price £1.50



Abortion: Why Irish women must have the right to choose

This is a new pamphlet written by Goretti Horgan. It takes up in detail the arguments of the anti-abortionists. It shows up the hypocritical position of the Catholic Church which has not had a consistent stance on the issue.
This first pamphlet from an Irish political organisation which openly states its case for abortion rights deserves to be widely read.

Price £1

Special Offer

Both pamphlets together for £2.50 post free from SW Books, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8.

For a full list of socialist books write to:
SW Books, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

INDUSTRIAL

Victory to the Glass workers!

FOR two months the Tony O'Reilly controlled press argued that the Waterford Glass strike was about "bonanza payments".

But the only people to get "bonanzas" from the company have been former top managers such as Paddy Hayes who walked away with £450,000.

The real issue at stake in the Waterford Glass strike in Ireland can understand:

Socialist Worker says

IN virtually every strike in Ireland, workers are told that if they continue the multi-national companies will move elsewhere. The marvellous thing about the Glass strike is that for over two months they have resisted this threat.

And quite rightly. Despite some of the myths propagated by the "new realists" in the trade unions, multi-nationals do NOT have full freedom to move around the globe at will.

An investment analyst from Rlada Ltd, the top Irish stockbrokers gave three reasons why he thought the Glass company would not move production. They would have to write off assets of £50 plus. They would incur considerable costs assembling such a large skilled workforce elsewhere. They would also allow a gap in the market to develop which their competitors would fill.

The hysterical news management about closure that has built up in recent weeks with the help of the O'Reilly press—is therefore more a reflection of the panic in management circles about the strength of the strikers.

Now is the time then for every socialist and every militant to work flat out to win a victory at Waterford Glass. A defeat for the jewels of the Irish elite—O'Reilly, Kilroy and Galvin—will spur every worker forward.

Two things now are necessary. First, the ATGWU leadership must now pull out all the stops. A circular from the union HQ must be issued to every ATGWU workplace, North and South of the border, seeking weekly collections. ATGWU officials in every area should be pushing their local Trades Councils for open meetings to set organise practical support. This applies particular to the Dublin Trades Council, which after 8 weeks of strike, has still not lived up to its commitment to give practical assistance.

Second, support groups must be established in every town to take the Glass strikers around the workplace for collections. These support groups should pull in local shop stewards and the best militants in the area.

By securing victory at Waterford Glass, socialists in the trade union movement will show that there is a better alternative to the political cowardice that has led to the Programme for National Recovery.

resistance to a management offensive on wages and conditions.

Just before the Xmas holidays in 1989, the Glass workers were presented with the Plan 90 from managing director Paddy Galvin. Galvin has a particular liking for "the Plan". As a manager in Guinness, he presented the workforce with a "Plan for Survival" before he set about axing over a thousand jobs.

PROPOSALS

The Waterford Glass Plan 90 has fifty four separate clauses, most of which called for "give-backs" from the workers to management. Among the proposals were the following:

■ **An increase in the age of retirement from an original 55 years to 63.** A particularly vicious clause as Glass workers suffer from burn-out in their fifties after intensive piecework. Galvin also demanded an increase in pension contributions.

■ **Total flexibility and interchangeability across sections.** Management demanded the right to re-deploy surplus craftsmen onto general workers jobs.

■ **Abolition of the Summer and Xmas bonus.**

■ **Longer hours.** Galvin wanted the working week increased from 37 and a half hours to 39.



Paddy Galvin



Skilled workers cannot be replaced overnight

■ **Cut back in trade union facility time by the shop stewards.** One of the managers, Brian Patterson, even demanded a return to the old Works Council system where the job of the shop steward was to co-operate with management.

■ **Wage Cuts.** Despite the lies about the over-paid Glass workers, general workers in Waterford Glass can take out as little as £147 a week. The Plan 90 would have cut this wage by £34.38 per week. Galvin also wants the blowers to take a cut of £54.20 a week and the cutters a reduction of £76.20 a week.

PRODUCE

The last clause, Clause 54, stated that if these cut backs did not produce a profit of £10 million, the company could seek further cuts.

Despite every effort to foster division amongs the workforce -- between Dungarvan and Waterford; between cutters and others -- the Glass workers have stood firm. They have fought for the simple demand no wage cuts. That is why, despite the media lies, they are beginning to galvanise the trade union movement in Ireland back into action.

Solidarity with the Glass workers grows

TRADE unionists are now looking on the Glass strike as the equivalent of Ireland miners strike. And they are determined that this one will win.

In CORK, the local Trades Council is planning an open meeting to build support for the Glass workers.

At the CPSU conference—which organises low paid civil servants—over £300 was raised. At the LGPSU conference, over £300 was also raised.

In DUBLIN, a support group of shop stewards, Trades Council delegates, and socialists has been formed. Workplaces such as St Brendan's hospital, Conyngham Rd CIE, Guinness, Computer Fab have already committed themselves to regular collections.

In LIMERICK strikers have addressed the local trade council and a tour of workplaces is being organised.

In DERRY the Trades Council has given full backing and workplace visits have been organised. In PORTADOWN, the Glass workers will address the local Trades Council.

DUNGARVAN SOLID

ONE thousand people attended a march in support of the Glass workers in Dungarvan. Speaking afterwards from the platform, veteran trade unionist, John Horgan, described the march as the "biggest I have ever seen in Dungarvan".

The local branch Secretary of the ATGWU, Tony Mansfield read out a long list of trade unions

that were backing the Glass workers. They included virtually every union in the town.

The biggest roar came when Jimmy Kelly denounced the attempts by reporters such as RTE's Michael Ryan and the Cork Examiner's, John Murphy to spread lies about the Dungarvan workers wanting to break the strike.

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism

Stevens' report another whitewash

Left must give lead on North

THE publication last month of the Stevens report into collusion between the RUC/UDR and loyalist paramilitaries was greeted on all sides in the North with a huge dose of cynicism.

Nobody in the North doubts that such collusion has been going on for years on a wide scale.

The enquiry was set up last August amid controversy following the sectarian murder of Co. Down Catholic, Loughlin Maginn. It emerged that Maginn's killers had used intelligence information supplied by the "security forces".

The report found that some individuals within the "security forces" had leaked information. It would have been difficult for it to find otherwise since the UDA had plastered walls in loyalist areas of Belfast with photocopies of classified documents picturing suspected Republican "subversives".

But the bulk of the report is a PR job for the RUC and UDR.

It exonerates the RUC and claims that "no significant proportion of UDR soldiers are involved with paramilitaries".

Not surprisingly, the British Army found this conclusion about its most controversial regiment very acceptable. Likewise, the RUC and the NI Police Authority.

Said RUC chief constable Annesley: "There has been no evidence given to me by Mr Stevens in respect of RUC officers being guilty of anything... My force is innocent."

Ironically, just like the Stalker enquiry before it, the Stevens enquiry *did* expose the RUC—although not in the way intended. RUC officers were openly hostile and aggressive towards the Stevens team. Loyalist paramilitaries were warned by the RUC about planned arrests by Stevens' men.

Most telling of all, the enquiry centre, within RUC premises and totally secure from "outside" disruption, was burned down.

All this was part of a well-established pattern.

The *Irish Times* journalist Kevin Myers has written that early in 1973 the UVF showed him restricted and "massively documented" files on alleged IRA members.

ENQUIRY

Down through the years the UDA, too, has commonly and casually displayed intelligence documents supplied by RUC and UDR personnel.

What caused the fuss last year was that the UDA "blew the gaff" by publishing the intelligence file on which it had based the murder of Loughlin Maginn.

The fundamental fact is that there has always been a massive overlap in sympathy and a varying overlap in membership between the Northern "security forces" and loyalist paramilitaries. After all, the state forces in the North were originally set up simply by putting sections of the "old" UVF into uniform.

Since then, it hasn't just been that the state forces and the loyalist gangs have been largely

drawn from the same community. The motives for joining have been largely similar, as well—to put down any challenge to the Northern state.

This reflects the fact that loyalty to the Northern state is an expression of commitment to a single dominant community. It is thus impossible to defend the state on a non-sectarian basis. And so, any attempt to compel the RUC, for example, to operate along "proper" and non-sectarian lines threatens the very viability of the force.

That's what Stalker found out, and what Stevens chose not to face up to.

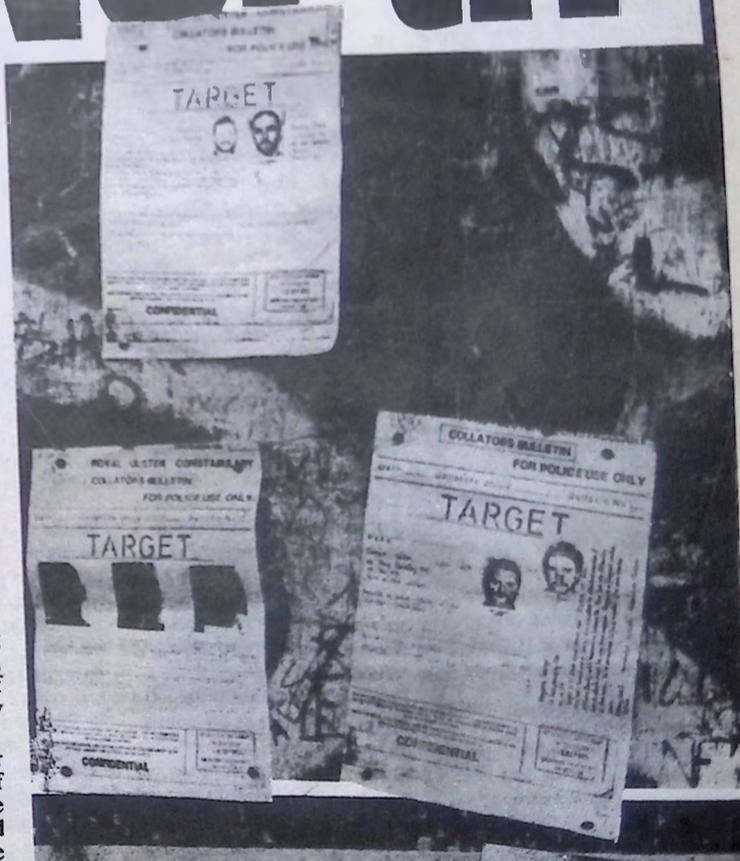
This is what the SWM is referring to when we speak of the North as "irreformable". It is not a matter of abstract analysis but of practical experience.

Because they are as unwilling as Stevens to face up to this fact, the reaction of many sections of the Left has been predictably inadequate.

Neither the Labour Party nor the Workers' Party, nor any of the strains of labourism in the North, have come out and said that the RUC and UDR are neither accountable, reformable or acceptable.

Irish Labour said that the report showed the need for "root and branch reform"—while making no effort to explain how this could be brought about. The WP welcomed the report as marking an increase in "public accountability for the police".

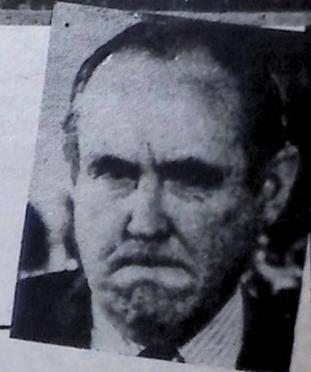
It is this type of cop-out from the major groups describing themselves as socialist which leads thousands of young working class Catholics in the North to conclude that it's nationalism rather than



socialism which offers them a way forward.

This is one of the reasons the nationalist cul-de-sac is crowded while relatively few opt for the socialist road, the only road which could lead on to the defeat of repression and sectarianism.

The task of smashing the Northern state desperately needs to be taken up by socialists, North and South.



Above: Loyalist paramilitaries posted classified documents and Below: Brooke remains tight-lipped