

Workers of all countries, unite!

# IRISH SOCIALIST



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## ★ MAY DAY GREETINGS ★ BEANNACHTAI NA BEALTAINNE ★

By EUGENE MCCARTAN

**DURING THE RECENT** visit to Britain by the Soviet president, Mikhail Gorbachov, the whole question of Britain's human rights record in regard to Ireland and Irish people received much public attention.

During the course of the week of the visits, a delegation from the families of the Birmingham Six and Guildford Four met a leading representative of the Soviet delegation, Andrei Gratchov, deputy head of the International Relations Department of the Soviet communist party.

As a result of the meeting and the many requests both before and during the visit to raise the whole question of Britain's violations of human rights, the Soviets promised that they would raise the cases at future human rights conferences such as the one taking place in Paris this month.

This is an important advance in making international public opinion aware of the plight of these Irish victims of British injustice. Britain cannot be allowed to criticise others and claim to speak with unsullied hands with regard to human rights abuses.

During the visits, members of the prisoners' families and support groups held a number of vigils to highlight these two important cases and to draw British public attention to the fact that their prime minister is a hypocrite and liar.

Unfortunately, they were prevented from doing so by the English police, who arrested the peaceful protesters and locked them up for four hours, then released them without charge. Their banners were taken from them.

## Integration process condemned

**JOINT ACTION** against the common danger posed by the developments within the EEC was called for in a joint statement issued by the French Communist Party and the Communist Party of Ireland, following a visit of a French delegation to Ireland last month.

Jacques Denis, international secretary of the French Communist Party, was visiting Ireland at the invitation of the Irish party. While here he met a wide range of political activists, including Sinn Féin, Labour Left, and the Workers' Party, as well as trade unionists and peace activists.

At the talks between the two parties, both agreed on the serious dangers to national sovereignty posed by the very existence of the Common Market. They agreed that it was essential to mobilise the maximum forces possible to fight against the so-called integration process and to unite workers to assert their own interests.

The class issues involved in the Common Market, it was agreed, were those of the democratic forces, led by the working class, on one hand, and the multinational monopolies, for which the Common Market was established, on the other.

The two parties, in conclusion, agreed to strengthen their common links and activities in the fight against monopoly capitalism, for democracy, national sovereignty, and socialism.

## British hit on human rights

Of course, if this had happened in the Soviet Union it would have made the BBC and ITV news headlines: just another example of the abuse of human rights in the Soviet Union. The British press would have had a squad of

reporters around to cover the incident.

But, alas, when it comes to their own government, they turn the other way: they see no evil, hear no evil, and speak no evil.

It is perfectly right that the

Soviet government should raise the cases of the Birmingham Six and Guildford Four at international conferences on human rights; but the primary responsibility lies with the Irish Government. It is clear that these cases

have strong international support.

Our Government must take the lead and not hide behind others.

It is up to all those who are interested in the case here in Ireland not to allow the Government off the hook. They must put the pressure on now and get a public commitment from the Government to use every international forum to highlight the case and demand justice and freedom

## • UNEMPLOYMENT • EMIGRATION • POVERTY •

# SOCIALISM IS THE ANSWER

**THE WORKING CLASS** is deeply affected by a massive frustration and despair as the wave of emigration and unemployment continues to take its toll on blighted lives, separated families, and the loss of so much human potential. There is only one way out of this economic and political crisis, and that is socialism.

For the ruling circles of our country, things are going well. They are buying more expensive houses than ever, for them there is a real consumer boom, and the rewards for sturdy individualism and enterprise are theirs for the taking.

For the vast majority of people, however, capitalism is a failure. It is becoming harder and harder to make ends meet; but even worse is the all-pervading fear that we are caught in a trap and that there is no way out.

For the ruling class, of course, socialism—with its emphasis on sharing equally society's produce, and the right of everyone to work—is something only to be jeered at.

But there is no other answer to our problems.

It is so obvious that what we need is the creation of a massive number of jobs. Private enterprise, no matter how sturdy, has never carried out that task—the opposite: it is private enterprise à la Larry Goodman that strips our existing enterprises of jobs and condemns thousands more daily to poverty and emigration.

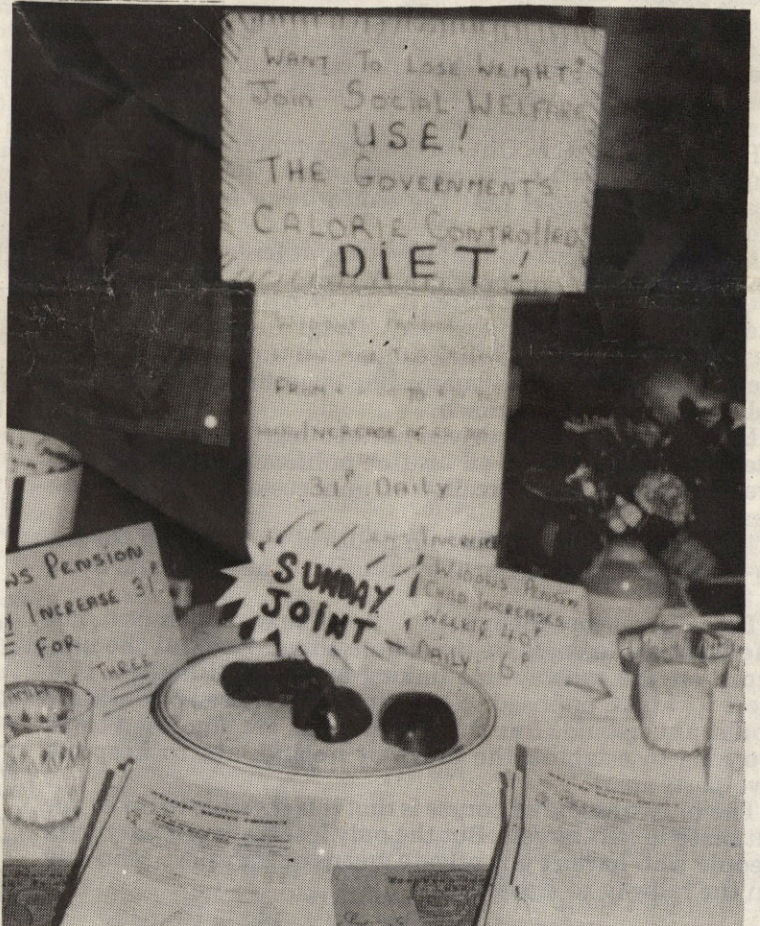
Nor will private enterprise suddenly change its character; be-

cause, as Marx pointed out a hundred years ago, capitalists must always invest where the profit returns are greatest. That is the law of the capitalist market.

Only a socialist society will take control of investment, through state ownership of banks and finance institutions. Only a socialist society will plan that investment to solve our social needs, to create jobs, and give to the economy the dynamism to generate more jobs out of its own natural process.

And only socialism can act collectively, to replace the anarchy of individual greed with balanced development.

Neither Fianna Fáil nor Fine Gael have any perspective of serious job creation. Fine Gael actually go so far as to argue that emigration is a good thing; they have accepted the "inevitability" of our lack of industrial development.



For there are many things that need to be done. We need more hospitals, more teachers, better education equipment, improved social assistance. But all of this can only be produced when we pool our resources together, using the country's resources for the common benefit and building the industrial base that can pay for it all.

Quite simply, we cannot afford the rich any more; they are eating us out of hearth and home. If anyone has to emigrate, let it be the yuppies and the parasites who have brought the country to its knees while they have grown fat on the wealth they won't share with the majority.

Socialism, by contrast, as the existing developments in the Soviet Union show, is full of potential. There, the working class is on the move.

Fianna Fáil haven't quite gone as far, but they too have no ideas about manufacturing jobs. The services sector will provide our salvation, they say. But to be viable a services sector must itself be based on a successful manufacturing base.

The capitalist parties know themselves that they cannot do this job, and so they have removed this issue from their political agenda.

But it remains on the agenda for the thousands of people who need jobs now and who will need jobs in the future.

### CONNOLLY SUNDAY

The annual Communist Party of Ireland tribute to James Connolly will take place at Arbour Hill on Sunday 14 May at 3:00 p.m.

Orations will be made on behalf of the Communist Party of Ireland and the Connolly Youth Movement

All welcome

### BODENSTOWN COMMEMORATION

Sunday 18 June

Assemble at Sallins and march at 1:00 p.m. to the grave of Wolfe Tone in Bodenstown for ceremony at 2:00 p.m.

Speaker from the French Communist Party

As this is the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution, which so inspired Wolfe Tone and the United Irishmen, it is fitting that the main tribute be paid by a French communist.

Buses from Dublin, Belfast, Cork, and Galway

For information, phone Dublin 711943, Belfast 230669, Cork 276183, Galway 51388, Sligo 45490

Organised by the Communist Party of Ireland

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## Ireland lags behind in provision of childcare

By AVILA KILMURRAY

**I**N THE HEADY days of the October Revolution, Alexandra Kollontai was already raising the important issue of adequate child care provision for working parents; but in Ireland and the Common Market countries, recent reports underline how far we have to go before provision of child care is seen as a priority.

In *Childcare in Ireland*, Dr Anna Mc Kenna pointed out that "the contemporary idea of the worker as parent is one that has not yet been absorbed in most work organisations, and it is still felt as more comfortable to keep these two roles in separate compartments."

The idea of the parent as worker, particularly the mother as worker, is one that has not yet been translated into practice in the more equal sharing of the task of child-rearing between mother and father.

Thus the woman's life is still artificially split by society into worker and mother, imposing often contradictory expectations and conflicting responsibilities.

### INSIDIOUS

More insidious even than this is the attempt by the state to use lack of child care facilities to force women out of employment altogether when the unemployment figures start to increase.

This ploy is sometimes accompanied by the psychological war on working mothers, which claims that their children are more likely to be deprived, delinquent, disturbed, and so on.

Dr McKenna compares the Irish situation with that in Portugal—a country that ranks even higher in the poverty league than Ireland—and highlights the fact that child care in Portugal is offered on a more systematic and organised basis.

Indeed, Ireland and Britain are the only two EEC member-states that continue to apply the requirement that a child be socially disadvantaged or "at risk" as the sole basis for admittance to a state-funded nursery.

The social stigma that this position gives rise to does little for women on low pay or the status of child care workers.

Again, the 1988 figures for the pay in such jobs (largely held by women) underline the situation:

- Nursery supervisor: £132
- Nursery assistant: £114
- Child minder: £70
- Playgroup leader: £45

### North 'enjoys' worst levels

**F**RONT BENCH British Labour speaker Marjorie Mowlam, while addressing a women's affairs conference in Belfast last month, declared that Northern Ireland had the worst child care facilities in the whole of Europe.

The conference, consisting of 150 representatives from over thirty groups in the North, discussed education, social welfare, health, poverty, unemployment, and the danger of low pay following the abolition of the wages councils.

The British Labour spokeswoman said that these were the issues that needed proper attention, being part of the harsh realities that women here face daily.

Also speaking at the conference, the British Labour shadow minister for women's rights, Jo Richardson, stated that the meeting was an attempt to raise issues that women here were interested in.

It is intended that the views expressed by conference delegates be published in a booklet and presented to the British Labour Party.

Compare these with:

—Clerk-typist: £140

—Average woman's industrial wage: £137

—Average man's industrial wage: £229

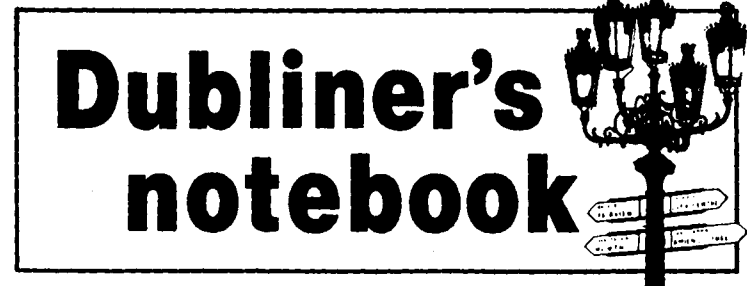
### NORTH

The position in Northern Ireland is little different, with low-paid women workers paying low wages to other women.

Alongside this—apart from very few facilities—much child care is

offered on a two to three-hour basis, thus leaving paid child-minders or sympathetic women relatives as the only feasible alternative for mothers who want to have employment outside the home.

It may not be an exaggeration to suggest that the value that any society places on equality for women may well be reflected in its policy for the provision of child care.



## Free advertising for leading businessmen

By GEOFF PALMER

**T**HE PROGRAMME sponsored by RTE last month, while very commendable as a means of raising money for those terribly in need and the homeless, is only hitting the tip of the iceberg.

Apart from proving, if proof were ever needed, the enormous generosity of the Irish people when the call is sent out, it also did two other things.

Firstly, it helped to take the Government off the hook as far as their responsibility for the poverty, destitution and homelessness of our own people is concerned. The cut-backs, the failure to spend money on providing housing and of course jobs for the ordinary people, all add up to one thing: a complete disregard and uncaring attitude for those in need by a Government that never ceases to preach and extol Christian values.

The RTE money-raising also provided free advertising for a whole string of leading manufacturers, retail stores, such as Brown Thomas, and banks and other financial institutions.

Not by any means were these numerous firms delving into their profits. Oh, no, they were on the screen to tell the public how wonderful and generous their staffs were in response to the call. All wonderful propaganda for the likes of Ben Dunne, the directors of Allied Irish Banks, etc.

What does it all add up to? Well, even if three million pounds is raised, it is only a short-term effort on the part of the staff of numerous firms and the general public.

As stated in this column, the problem of the homeless could be solved tomorrow by the Government taking over some of the many office blocks or factories that lie vacant and converting them into a night shelter. But no, that would be a crime of the first dimension committed against the sacred code of property in this country.

### JOBS TO GO

IF rationalisation in production and distribution is not now introduced in the bakery trade to face foreign imports, there will be no Irish bakeries left.

That was revealed in the Dáil last month by Mr Dunne, who, you may recall, was the main instrument in the closing down of one of our leading bakeries.

When foreign bread is dumped on the Irish market, undercutting bread prices here, there won't be much Irish bread sold in Dunne's Stores or anywhere else.

Just another reason why the trade union and whole labour movement had better lose no further time in coming out and resisting our entry into a single European market, for it is not alone the bakeries that will close down but the clothing industry.

Three clothing companies in Dublin last month closed because of the massive imports of ready-made clothes. Seventy jobs went with the closures. How many more are to come?

### Looking for information

Dear sir,

Could we please use the letters page of your newspaper to announce the following?

The Resource Centre, part of a non-profit-making workers' co-operative, is to undertake the publication of a fourth (1989-90) edition of the *Alternative Ireland Directory*. This guide to alternative groups and activities in Ireland is designed as a tool to assist people in the creation of a human-scale non-exploitative society.

The directory is heavily dependent on information supplied to it by individuals and groups. If any of your readers have listings for inclusion in this new edition, they should write immediately to us and we will forward all the relevant details.

Yours sincerely,  
Joe Finnerty

Resource Centre  
24 Sullivan's Quay  
Cork

## CASUALTIES?

**I**T SEEMS that there is to be no end to the series of wanton civilian deaths that continue to mar the political scene in the North.

To a considerable extent the killings are sectarian. Loyalist gunmen shoot Catholics in an effort to intimidate the whole community; the IRA retaliates against suspected loyalists and against RUC men, UDR men, and reservists, but the Protestant community sees it all as just an attack on them.

Sectarian killings can be planned against, if the will is there, and if the understanding is there. For the IRA, which professes to uphold the republican ideal of uniting the Irish people in independence from Britain, there can be no excuse for any tinge of sectarianism.

But many of the killings are the consequence of the armed campaign: if you are going to have such a campaign you will sometimes at least have civilian deaths, such as the tragic killing of Joanne Reilly in Warrenpoint.

But what political point do the IRA think they are pursuing? We can read and re-read their statements of position; but apart from asserting the right of the Irish people to carry out armed struggle, they have no perspective whatever that this line of struggle will bear fruit.

Indeed, the most common "justification" for continuing the armed struggle is that too many have died to stop now. This is not just political bankruptcy. This is moral bankruptcy as well.

The taking of life must always be a very serious thing. To continue a useless, aimless, endless campaign of death because people have died in the struggle so far cannot be excused. The only justification for an armed struggle is that people have no other way to advance their just rights and that the way chosen has the potential of success because it has the political support and political clarity of objective that makes victory possible.

But what do the IRA say? They pretend that British imperialism—one of the cruelest, most vicious and most heartless oppressions that the world has ever known—will grow war-weary.

Margaret Thatcher will get upset about Irish policemen getting killed? Whoever heard such nonsense!

Of course, there are those in the Provisionals' ranks who are looking for a political way. There are fine resolutions passed at Sinn Féin ard-fheiseanna, and Sinn Féin president Gerry Adams has made many fine speeches charting out a valid and political approach.

But in the end he is driven back to regretting the endless litany of mistakes; and all his fine political words and hopes are lost in the sordid reality of unnecessary and pointless deaths.

The Provisionals can find no political justification for the so-called armed struggle: they must bite the bullet and bring it to an end.

For it is not just the horror of death that condemns it, but the total aimlessness of the whole thing. Look at the nonsense on the railway line linking Dublin and Belfast. If it were loyalists, opposed to the unity of North and South, we could understand. But the Provisionals are supposed to be working to establish the unity of Ireland, not to keep the two parts apart.

The only "reason" of course is that it is possible to do it: the ultimate in soft targets. But the only losers are ordinary Irish people who haven't got private means of transport, who rely on the railway to travel.

## Gaelscoileanna

**T**HE DEPARTMENT of Education, under prompting from the leadership of the Irish National Teachers' Organisation, has begun a new attack on parents' attempts to set up all-Irish schools.

The Gaelscoileanna, as the schools are known, are increasingly popular among working-class people who wish to ensure that their children will be able to speak Irish. Statistics show the sad fact that whereas children from whatever background who go to all-Irish schools learn to speak Irish fluently, very few children who go to English-language schools can speak Irish at all.

The department, always hostile to demands for Irish-language education, has now revived a long-forgotten rule that in future such schools will only be sanctioned where the children come from Irish-speaking homes.

It is obvious that the majority of parents from the working class who want an Irish-language education for their children do not themselves speak Irish, and this rule is designed to stop the growth of Gaelscoileanna.

Parents have a free choice as to whether or not to send their children to such schools; and it is an affront to democracy that the department should seek to take that choice away.

Even more shaming is the fact that Gerry Quigley and the INTO, who are refusing to stand beside the discriminated-against teacher Brid Nic Dhomhnaill, in Recess, urged the department to take this shameful action.

## WORKERS' PARTY ARD-FHEIS SEES MAJOR CHANGES IN POLITICAL ORIENTATION



● PROINSIAS DE ROSSA ... leading the workers astray.

# Sturdy individualism replaces socialism

**P**ROINSIAS DE ROSSA's presidential address to last month's Workers' Party ard-fheis heralded a fundamental change in Workers' Party policy in relation to the meaning of socialism and the short-term strategy of the party.

He discarded party commitments to nationalising industry and, by implication at least, played down the significance of the role to be played by state industries.

He developed his theme by declaring that the Workers' Party now stood for "enterprise and innovation, sturdy individualism, risk-taking, and competition."

He rejected the idea that he said was commonly put against the Workers' Party, that they stood for "featherbedding a cosy civil service and ever-burgeoning bureaucracy."

He went on to declare that he was against a policy that people saw as saying, "If it moves, nationalise it, and when it stops moving then we can get down to organising trade unions properly."

De Rossa argued that this charge had to be answered straight on: "This party is not for nationalising anything that does not need nationalising. This party is for public ownership only where the public want to own something."

The reasoning put forward behind this was that socialist ideas have to be constrained by democracy. If the people want a particular system, then it's undemocratic to oppose it.

On this basis, he said, "socialism is first and last about the political rule of the majority in society ... A democratic socialist government must do the will of the people."

He went on to explain: "It is clear that the people ... do not at this time want public ownership of the means of production. They want a market system ... mediated by the price mechanism."

"If that is what they want," he declared, "we will not stand in the way."

This can only be read as a clear acceptance of the capitalist system. It was qualified by calls for public honesty and open scrutiny of the activities of capitalists; but, quite frankly, Fine Gael and the PDs would have no problem in accepting these qualifications.

### CONTRADICTIONS

There are, of course, several contradictions involved.

In the first place, if something is right because people want it, one could argue that people want Fianna Fáil in government and therefore it would be undemocratic to oppose them.

This emphasis on private enterprise and individualism clearly calls into question the state's role in industrial development.

This has been a major plank of Workers' Party policy up till now. Of course communists have argued that it was inconsistent to call for state development while working in favour of the Common Market; but whatever our differences about the EEC, the Workers' Party had a good line on the role of state industries.

Will this now change? Logically it must; but the speech must also have caused great internal confusion and concern. How this will express itself, time will tell.

### LOGICAL

In some ways, of course, this new "re-definition" of socialism is the logical outcome of the acceptance of the EEC, which has now

been formally endorsed.

The political question needs, however, to be put again. Enterprise, energy and the get-up-and-go attitude have not created secure industrial jobs for our people; and the state remains the only mechanism that can force a planned investment such as we need. That role for the state is incompatible with EEC membership.

And, contrary to Joe Sherlock's view, the debate about the Common Market is not over. It has been re-opened.

As regards the North, the Workers' Party has now gone further in opposing attempts to raise the national question.

Not just the armed struggle is attacked, but any challenge to the sectarian state system established there.

Or again, people voted in a majority in a referendum against divorce; using the same logic that has made acceptance of the market obligatory, divorce should also be opposed.

Another contradiction arises from his declared attitude to capitalism. It is inconsistent, to say the least, to argue that capitalism must be "tamed, caged and starved until it withers away" moments after he has come out in support of the market system and the price mechanism.

Indeed, de Rossa forthrightly declared that because he wanted to extract "a few rotten teeth" did not mean that his party was "against enterprise, against money, against going out and doing your own thing."

### SOCIAL WELFARE

This "sturdy individualism" that he has now embraced then expressed itself in a deplorable attack on those living on social welfare.

"The lazy will be penalised," he declared; "and that means dole spongers as well as tax dodgers, short-day shirkers as well as bosses."

Let it be said that, for all the rhetoric, social welfare abuse is a minor problem in our country. A mere five or ten per cent are involved; and none of these are living in luxury.

Even if the phrase "dole spongers" refers only to those claiming benefits they are not fully entitled to, it is impossible to equate them with tax evaders, who have deprived the state of millions and millions of pounds.

But here came the main message of the speech. "We know that wealth must be produced before it can be distributed. We know that enterprise, innovation and risk-taking should be rewarded. We want growth."

"But we also know that if socialism does not humanise society, then we are on a fool's errand."

### CAPITALISM

In the view of the Communist Party of Ireland, this is not a statement of socialist principles: it is "capitalism with a human face".

These theoretical concepts, put forward with such detail in his first presidential address, are not mere intellectual abstractions.

They are the framework of a political philosophy whose focus is not the rule of the working class but the rule of the majority—which may or may not be the same thing.

## Department loses case in Jobsearch challenge

By JENNY DELANEY  
[Reprinted from *Brú*]

**S**INCE THE advent of the "Jobsearch" programme, many social welfare recipients have found themselves arbitrarily cut off the dole without notice or adequate explanation. One man's courage in challenging the minister for social welfare and the Department of Social Welfare's right to use the "Jobsearch" scheme in this way may have important spin-offs for all of us.

With the help of Mary Robinson SC, Gerry Durcan BL, and the Limerick Unemployed Centre, Thomas Thompson, who was disqualified from receiving payment because of his refusal to take part in a "Jobsearch" training course, took a High Court action against the minister for social welfare, Michael Woods.

In the later part of 1987 and the early part of 1988, a series of decisions was made in Mr Thompson's case under the provisions of the Social Welfare (Consolidation) Act, 1981, by deciding officers and an appeals officer that had the effect of terminating for the time being his entitlement to payments of unemployment assistance.

These decisions were made on the grounds that Mr Thompson refused to take part in "Jobsearch"—which, he felt, was of no use to him and would not increase his prospects of gaining employment.

At 49 years of age, with over thirty years' work experience behind him, most of us would be inclined to agree with him. Apart from the fact that he was not impressed with the "Jobsearch" training programmes, taking part would have meant a loss of income for him.

Thomas Thompson is a widower. He has four children. His eldest has already emigrated, his oldest daughter is doing well in UCG, and both his younger children are still in school and live at home.

To take part in "Jobsearch" would have involved finding and paying a baby-sitter, and subsequently a loss of income.

His question now goes back to the appeal. This time, hope-

fully, with assessors present. One of the points raised by Mr Thompson's legal representatives in court was the fact that his appeals claim form had been tampered with: his request to have assessors present at his appeal had been deleted. The appeals officer admitted this, and claimed that it was an error.

Although the judge agreed that there were a number of irregularities in the Department of Social Welfare's treatment of Mr Thompson, he also agreed that Mr Thompson had not conclusively proved that he was genuinely seeking work.

The most important paragraph in Judge Hanlon's statement for unemployed people generally was: "I am satisfied, however, that before a deciding officer proceeds to a decision that an applicant who has been in receipt of unemployment assistance for some time should have continuing payment disallowed, he should inform the person concerned that

the position is being reviewed by him and the grounds upon which he is considering disallowing further payment; and the person concerned should be given an opportunity to answer the case made against him."

This should bring about a change in Social Welfare's procedure that will affect anyone whose entitlement to benefit is questioned.

Costs were awarded against the Department of Social Welfare.



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North

COMMUNIST PARTY CALLS FOR THE ANGLO-IRISH AGREEMENT TO BE TRANSCENDED

# Key to peace lies in a British withdrawal

**T**HE "REVIEW" of the Anglo-Irish Agreement is almost complete. Before the last words are written, the final adjustments made, we urge the ministers of the two states involved, and the people of the two countries, to look reality in the face: understand what the Hillsborough treaty is, understand how it has failed to solve our problems, understand how it must be transcended.

In order for this to happen—in order to stop the killings, to bring peace with democracy, to begin to heal the sectarian divisions among the people of Northern Ireland—there must be a new departure: a *British disengagement from Ireland*.

That is why our party makes the demand on the British Parliament that it should declare its intention to withdraw from Ireland, in political, military and economic terms, by a stated date, and leave the people of this island to determine their own future.

## Sectarianism divides people

**T**HE COMMUNIST Party of Ireland condemned the sectarian attacks in which a County Antrim father of four was murdered by loyalist gunmen and an off-duty RUC reservist escaped an IRA shooting.

In a statement, the Communist Party called for the trade union campaign against sectarianism to be stepped up and for members of the local communities to put their weight behind support for an anti-sectarian campaign and to reject and isolate the paramilitary

the community they come, have more in common with each other than they have dividing them," the statement said.

"Unemployment, poverty, declining living standards and a denial of basic human and democratic rights affect us all.

"The sectarian murderers are only serving to divide the people further, and it is the people from deprived working-class areas who suffer all the time.

"The time has come for the majority of the people, who want a peaceful and better future, to state that this can only come about by dialogue and by united working-class struggle," the statement concluded.

## Call for a ceasefire

**T**HE COMMUNIST Party of Ireland unequivocally condemns the IRA bombing in Warrenpoint that killed 19-year-old Joanne Reilly and injured thirty-one other people, wreaking havoc in the small County Down community.

Such incidents, apart from the humane aspect of misery, only serve to highlight the futility of the Provisionals' so-called armed campaign, which effectively polarises the community further and lets the British government off the hook, giving it a justification for the escalating repression in the North.

The continuation of violence by the Provisionals will not succeed in bringing about their stated objectives. As the Communist Party pointed out, "as each bomb explodes with innocent Irish people being the victims, it puts back further any strategy for peace and independence in Ireland."

The recent events have been further evidence of this.

The Provisionals' best contribution to the overall struggle in Ireland, the Communist Party said, would be to call an immediate ceasefire.

For it accepted the partition forced on the country by war in 1920; it accepted the colony status of government in the North; it accepted total collaboration between the armed forces of Britain and the forces of the Irish republic.

The reality of the situation after the Anglo-Irish Agreement is that Britain now dominates the whole of Ireland more successfully. By binding the Southern state and the big majority of nationalist elements in Ireland to it, and gaining their acceptance of partition and the consequent denial of the full right to self-determination, Britain has extended its direct political domination over the whole of Ireland.

For Britain, it has been particularly important to get this alliance cemented as the consolidation of western European capitalism continues apace. Within the context of the EEC and the changes brought about by the Single European Act, Britain wants Ireland as an ally, not as an enemy. The military neutrality of the Republic is

## West Belfast condemns RUC

**T**HE SECRETARY of the West Belfast Branch of the Communist Party of Ireland, Kevin Barrett, and unjustifiable assault with plastic bullets on a group of football supporters on the Falls Road last month.

Writing to complain about the incident to the chief constable of the RUC, he said: "Once again the RUC has used its lethal plastic bullets in flagrant violation of their own guidelines for their use.

"There was no riot... there was no threat to the lives of the RUC or to the public. The only life-threatening action on the Falls Road that evening was that by the RUC."

The letter went on to call on political parties, community and other groups to support the relatives and victims in the United Campaign Against Plastic Bullets in their work to have these weapons banned.

also to be weakened and compromised, both by the treaty itself and by pressure to join NATO or some other western European military alliance.

What have been the local consequences of the agreement? It has not brought peace, nor has it answered the hopes of nationalists in the North. On the contrary, attacks on basic human and democratic rights have increased. The catalogue of new, permanent legislation designed to deprive the people of Northern Ireland of basic civil liberties for ever is well known to the ministers who have introduced it, and to the people who have helplessly watched.

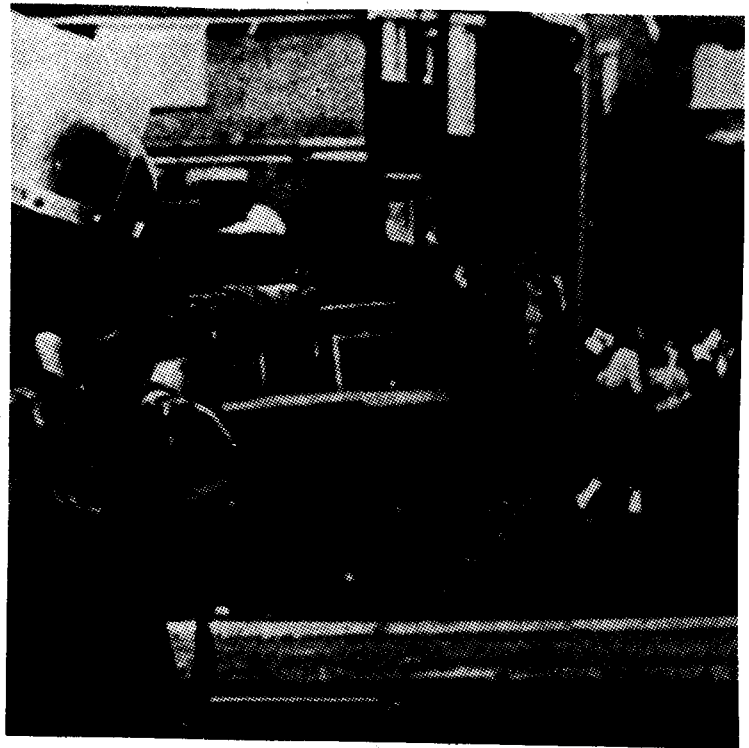
### DISASTROUS

In sum, the Anglo-Irish Agreement marks just another stage in the history of British domination of Ireland. Its results have been just as disastrous as any of the previous stages of our bloody history. The only way out of the impasse, the only way to solve the political crisis, is to end the unequal relationship between our two countries. We do not want to go back to Unionist rule in the North; but we do not want to live under continued British domination. Let us transcend the agreement with a new one that will finally allow for equality between Britain and Ireland, based on full

The history of relations between Ireland and Britain has been the history of the domination of Ireland by Britain. That is as true today as ever. The Anglo-Irish Agreement was not a solution to our political strife, nor a belated recognition of the dignity and importance of the Irish republic. On the contrary, it was a new expression—it marked a new form—of the domination of Ireland by Britain.

The first Anglo-Irish Treaty was forced on the national independence movement at gun-point. Under the threat of "immediate and terrible war", the country was partitioned and a sectarian statelet, still a colony of Britain, was set up in the North.

Britain supported the reactionary forces in the Civil War, and



when the losers of that conflict eventually came to power, waged economic war against them.

The Irish state was bullied and despised for the next thirty years. The Unionists in the North were Britain's staunch allies on this island, and they were allowed to run the region in their own uniquely brutal and sectarian fashion.

But many things have changed over the years. The North exploded with the demands for civil rights, and the unionists were unable to handle the subsequent crisis. By 1985 all Britain's attempts to impose a military solution or construct an internal political settlement had failed.

The ruling circles in the South had fully committed themselves to dependence on international big-business in the economy, to involvement in the EEC, and to close political operation with Britain.

The second Anglo-Irish treaty marked a shift in alliances. Now the "nationalists" in the South and the North were offered a new relationship with Britain through a new treaty with the Irish state. The unionists were to be coerced, through their lack of political influence, into a junior partnership in the new system of alliances.

### BRIBERY

Agreement to this second great treaty was secured, not at gun-point but by political bribery. With the promise of some influence over the North, a new deal

for Northern nationalists, and a permanent advisory role to the British government, the signature of the Irish state was obtained. But it was nonetheless an unequal treaty, a formal acceptance of Irish subservience to Britain.

This is the necessary foundation for a new agreement: a settlement that would allow for a transition to a peaceful, stable, united Ireland.

We propose that the following be the basic points of the agreement.

During a planned British withdrawal, there should be an end to all coercive legislation and repressive measures carried out by the British army, RUC, and UDR.

Following a declaration of a phased British withdrawal, a date should be set for the election of a 32-county parliament from all

To enable the unification of Ireland to proceed peacefully and to protect the rights of the working people, north and south, there should be a transitional devolved assembly in Northern Ireland elected by the people of the Six Counties, within the context of an all-Ireland sovereign parliament.

This devolved assembly in Northern Ireland must specifically have for a fixed period: sufficient powers to enable a radical, democratic programme of economic development to be undertaken, and jurisdiction over all social policy and legislation, including health and social services, education, family and child policy, divorce, contraception, abortion, and matters of personal sexuality.

Alongside these measures a financial settlement must be reached between the British and Irish governments to ensure minimum disruption and to improve the living standards of working people, north and south.

It lies within the power of the ministers of the British and Irish states to make such an agreement. It lies within the power of the people of Ireland to make a transition to a new Ireland as peaceful as possible. It would then lie within the power of all the people of Ireland, those presently unionist and those presently nationalist, to construct a new society. We hope such a new society will be socialist, and we will work for that. But the first step is the empowerment of our people.

We urge an end to the Hillsborough agreement that enshrines the domination of Ireland by Britain. We demand a new agreement that will organise the disengagement of Britain from Ireland and the creation of a new, sovereign and independent nation of Ireland.

# 'French Principles' still valid

**T**WO HUNDRED years ago, the French Revolution and the values it affirmed changed the history of the world. "Liberty, equality and fraternity" rallied men and women of many nations in their struggle for democracy. The "French principles" for which Wolfe Tone and his comrades were attacked in their day are still worthy of celebration and reaffirmation, according to a statement issued by "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity Today" (LEFT).

Ireland in 1989 needs not only to recall the historic influence of these values, the statement said, but to test and maintain them against the prevailing social philosophy, which denies and is hostile to liberty, equality, and fraternity.

Liberty is an ideal that challenges us to ask what is the true meaning of freedom. Do we see it solely as a question of national independence, or as something to be shared equally among all our citizens? How authentic is our

concern for the freedoms and rights of individuals, of women, of minorities, of the disadvantaged and marginalised?

These freedoms and rights are the true spirit of the French Revolution—in contrast to the "freedoms" of the market, economic individualism, and exploitation. And as the revolution also celebrated freedom of thought, through reason and imagination, rejecting all authoritarianism and the abuse of power and privilege in church and state, so we today are challenged to set the human spirit free from the narrow bonds that cripple it.

Equality, the great value on which the concept of "citizen" is based, calls for reassertion at a time when individualism is extolled: true citizenship demands the pursuit of equality in all aspects of life. A society of privilege that rejects and oppresses so many must be replaced with one that recognises the right of all citizens to develop to their full

potential, and to participate in society on equal terms.

Fraternity is the great challenge to uphold peace at home and abroad, to invest in development rather than arms, to preserve and enhance the earth's environment, to restructure world trade and create a new economic order. This challenge proclaims the value of fraternity in and for our time. "Faoi scáth a chéile a mhairimid" is an Irish assertion of mutual interdependence.

Recognition of this interdependence among the peoples of the earth requires not only a positive neutrality in the cause of world peace but a solidarity with all who struggle for liberty, equality, and fraternity. Fraternity requires that our own economic needs must not deflect us from that solidarity.

The LEFT Committee invites all who share the values of the French Revolution to join not only in celebration but in making this year a new beginning for Irish democracy.

# Gorbachev hits the right note

By MARGARET BRUTON

**IT WAS** a great, if hectic, week for the Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, beginning with his short visit to Ireland and his talks with the taoiseach, Charles Haughey, then a three-day visit to Cuba, where Soviet-Cuban relations were strengthened, and his visit to Britain.

Gorbachev stated that his visit to Ireland was not a "stop-over" but a "milestone".

And the historic visit showed

## Soviet links with Cuba strengthened

**SOVIET LEADER** Mikhail Gorbachev on his visit to Cuba last month predicted "a tremendous future for Latin America".

Democratic processes taking place in Latin America would gain force and would usher in a tremendous future, he told reporters soon after his arrival.

Soviet friendship with Cuba was strong, sincere, and time-tested, said the Soviet leader, expressing delight that he was "in the embrace of friends".

Recent positive changes in the international arena and in internal processes in the two countries opened up new prospects for Soviet-Cuban co-operation, TASS news agency said.

### PEACE

The issues of war and peace, environmental security, bilateral co-operation and economic development were among the topics discussed by Mikhail Gorbachev and Fidel Castro.

High on the agenda was the problem of debts, which burden the countries of Latin America, and both Fidel Castro and Mikhail Gorbachev agreed that these countries' debt of 420 billion dollars to industrialised countries amounted to "effective robbery".

The Soviet leader has put forward the opinion that the best way of handling this would be for the creditor states to declare a 100-year moratorium on repayments.

The two leaders also discussed the problems created for Latin America by drug smuggling.

Soviet spokesman Gennady Gerasimov said that Gorbachev had expressed his fear that while producing illegal drugs mainly for the American market, Latin American countries "are also becoming narcotics consumers, so making the problem even more acute."

### WREATH

Mikhail Gorbachev and Fidel Castro laid a wreath at the Lenin monument, after which they visited the "Expo Cuba" exhibition, which sets out the social and economic development of socialist Cuba.

They studied a micro-analytical blood testing system that has been worked out by Cuban scientists. The Cuban medical team that went to Armenia last December to give assistance to the earthquake victims had this system with them.

Another visit was to a bio-engineering research centre, featuring bio-engineering computers, automated planning and management, automated research work, and theoretical and nuclear physics.

that glasnost is penetrating through to Ireland: there was significantly no protest, as there might have been some years ago.

This was in stark contrast to Ronald Reagan's visit to Ireland, where he met some of the most massive demonstrations ever seen in Ireland, in protest against his warmongering attitudes and his foreign policies, particularly in relation to Latin America.

### PEACE

It was not surprising that the subject of peace was high on the agenda, with the Soviet leader strongly emphasising the importance of an expansion of positive trends and a lessening of confrontation, especially military confrontation.

It is also not surprising, given the diplomatic aspect, that Gorbachev stated in relation to Northern Ireland that the Soviet Union was "sympathetic to the efforts to solve that problem consistent with the feelings of the people of Northern Ireland," but the two leaders had "no practical discussion of the problem itself, only the humane aspects."

These "humane aspects" were followed up on Gorbachev's visit to Britain.

As Charles Haughey said, the Soviet leader is well briefed on

## Water issue still active

**TO MOST** people in the Dublin area, the water rates battle ended when Dublin City Council decided not to impose service charges any more.

It should be noted that the council was instructed to remove the charges by the minister for the environment—this at a time when, by withdrawal of finance, the same minister was forcing other councils throughout the country to impose service charges.

This was an extremely clever if somewhat dishonest and unjust decision. The opposition built up in the Dublin area was becoming too strong and was giving heart to others, and taking it out of the battle weakened the campaign nationally.

What is even worse is that the trade union movement has also lost some of its original enthusiasm, and we wonder if this is connected with the fact that most unions have their head offices in Dublin.

At present nobody is more aware of the lack of commitment by the unions than the people of north County Kildare, who are under constant attack by Kildare County Council—a body that is cutting off water supplies every day and vandalising stop-cocks in the process.

This has only been possible because scab workers have been carrying out the cut-offs, and doing so with vindictive joy in some cases. These people belong to some union or other, and those unions are doing nothing to curtail this despicable behaviour. What ever happened to class solidarity?



● MIKHAIL GORBACHEV ... raised the issue of British violations of human rights in the North of Ireland.

the circumstances of such issues as the Guildford Four and the Birmingham Six.

Central Committee member and deputy head of the International Relations Department Andrei Grachov at a press conference said: "The issue of human rights has become two-way traffic, a two-way street."

### FIRM

"It has a firm place on the political agenda in the east-west discussions, and it has been there for some time."

No longer can Margaret Thatcher get away with her hypocritical stance on the question of

human rights, with her own house in such disorder.

And the Birmingham Six organiser Paddy Mc Ilkenny met a Soviet delegation in London to seek support for the men's release.

The historic, if brief, visit of the Soviet leader to Ireland will be followed by a visit by members of the Government for further discussions.

This could provide a unique opportunity to strengthen the ties between Ireland and the Soviet Union, cultural, political, and commercial.

This opportunity must be grasped firmly.

## Goodman puts more workers on dole

**LARRY GOODMAN'S** successful take-over bid for Westmeath Co-op has had plenty of publicity. However, it would be useful to examine the situation in this same company in twelve months' time.

Since Goodman's take-over of Bailieborough there have been big changes, which have meant considerable job losses. According to a recent article in *Alpha*, the engineering works attached to the former co-op was closed, with the loss of 46 jobs.

In the creamery the office staff was cut from 61 to 15, and 57 workers in this section were paid off. Ten will be re-employed on a casual basis.

In the milk powder section of the co-op, the entire staff of 35 lost their jobs. It is expected that 28 are likely to be re-engaged on a contract basis.

### DISASTER

In job terms, the sale of the Bailieborough Co-op to Larry Goodman was a disaster, with a total of 184 people losing permanent employment. At the most, 38 of them will be given casual work, which seems to be a feature of Goodman's meat factories.

Casual or contract labour usually means low pay but extremely high profits. One has only to look at the profit returns of Dunne's Stores, one of the kings of low pay. It is estimated that the company's profits will hit the £60 million mark.

One of the principal reasons for Dunne's success is that wage costs are low. In contrast, directors' remuneration is high: in 1987 it amounted to £100 000. The directors include numerous members of the Dunne family.

It is reckoned that Ben Dunne has accumulated a fortune of several hundred million.

Low pay is good for some.

## How blind is justice

**MANY PEOPLE** were disgusted to read that the First National Building Society was attempting to evict John Ryan and his wife and family from their home in Avondale estate in Trim, County Meath.

What made the case more newsworthy was the fact that Mr Ryan was ill, disabled, and unemployed, and his crime was that he was unable to keep up the payments on his mortgage.

Mr Ryan had attempted to renegotiate the terms of his mortgage, but this was refused by the company. Strangely enough, Mr Ryan's solicitor decided to appeal to the courts, on the grounds that building societies are money-lenders, not landlords; and then the company offered to renegotiate, but this time it was turned down by Mr Ryan!

What remains to be seen is what will be given preference: the right of this and every other family to protective justice, or the need to protect the financial empires that rule our society.

Let us see just how blind justice really is!

## Living is dangerous for you!

**THERE CAN** be no doubt about it: living can be dangerous to your health. For years we were all aware of the dangers to us all from the nuclear fall-out still hanging around since the explosions in Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

This fear has been partly responsible for curbing the enthusiasm the major powers used to show for testing nuclear weapons.

In more recent times we have become aware of dangers created by such places as Sellafield. Though presenting a much more immediate threat to the lives of British and Irish people, the establishment's concern for the protection of profits has made protests less than 100 per cent successful.

We have been inundated of late with reports of the destruction of the ozone layer. Once again the pursuit of profit has first of all obscured the enormity of the real problem, and then prevented the taking of even minor precautions.

Talking about such things as the "greenhouse effect" makes people note the problem but puts it in a wrong perspective. It makes people think of it as something that might be a problem tomorrow. It's a problem now!

Now a nuclear-powered submarine has sunk in seas where it could contaminate all the fish in European waters. Exactly how great a danger this latest development presents is hard to say. Nobody tells the public the truth in such cases.

What we do know is that if they could, for the sake of profit, recover the valuables from the *Titanic* after all these years, why can they not, for the sake of preservation of life, recover the nuclear reactor from this latest disaster, which is the cause of the threat that produces our worry?

The Government has a duty to protect the people of this country by demanding in all the international forums open to them that environmental protection be given international priority over profits.

They also have the duty to ensure that decisions are taken that protect our national environment.

As a first step they could stop playing games with their friends who are profiteering out of the smoke-controlled areas scheme in the Dublin area.

We can be sure that the Government won't do this voluntarily. Maybe this year the ICTU will face up to some real problems and demand the economic changes that will weaken the power of those who continue to make profit out of the destruction of life.

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# Student unrest about sacking

IN THE PAST, the UCG Student Union has been involved in some radical campaigns. In November 1980 it initiated industrial action by postgraduate research students over their demand for better pay and improved conditions of employment. This strike, the first by Irish students, lasted five bitter weeks before adequate concessions were extracted from the college.

Then in 1984, when UCG decided to bestow an honorary doctorate on an imbecile and mass murderer, a certain Ronald Reagan, the Student Union worked actively in the broad campaign.

Since the heady days of the anti-Reagan protests, things have changed somewhat. Indeed, they have altered so much in the last year that many people are beginning to believe that Ronald Reagan never left Galway but is alive and well, studying and working actively in UCG student politics!

Late last year, at the second attempt, the present leadership of the student body narrowly won a vote to leave the national

## sacking

students' body, USI. Since then, things have gone from bad to worse, culminating in the implementation of Reaganomics in the student finances.

At the beginning of April, the student executive, including the president, supposedly a former Fianna Fáil member, Cathy Grieves, and the vice-president, Deirdre Fotrell, took the decision to abolish the entertainments debt. This meant sacking three members of the staff, one full-time and two part-time. They were paid in lieu of notice.

It would seem that the decision to close this most active of departments was taken without any real consultation. People who oppose the move claim that both the union's administrator and the

general membership should have been consulted before such a serious decision. They weren't.

Instead, a union executive that has only a further two months to run made this decision. According to some, this decision is quite in character. They cite the fact that there have been very few general meetings of the union membership as an indication of this.

The sackings caused considerable concern among other staff employed by the student union. However, it seems nothing could be done, as the three were not members of a union.

It is unbelievable that at a time when education is more than ever under attack, a students' body would prefer to dabble in this kind of activity rather than try to mobilise the student membership in its defence and in favour of free education for all.

## Galway tenants take on the city landlords

By NIALL FARRELL

THE GALWAY campaign against absentee landlords, which has united twelve residents' associations and a local tenants' rights group, could have important lessons for other parts of the country.

Between 25 and 30 per cent of houses in the city are in the private rented bracket. Despite this, there is a complete lack of regulations to govern this sector.

Rather weak by-laws do exist, but they have never been implemented. However, this may all soon change, because of the campaigning efforts of the above-named groups.

They have discovered that, under section 70 of the Housing Act, 1966, the city council has the power to draw up and implement new by-laws.

So they have now set about preparing new by-laws themselves, which will deal with the general upkeep of private rented dwellings and will also offer protection to the tenant.

One major feature of life for the tenant in the private rented sector is the insecurity of tenure: arbitrary eviction is commonplace. It was felt that what was needed to offer protection for the tenant was a letting agreement. Such a document has been produced, and will be presented to the council as one of the suggested addenda to the by-laws.

At present, under the Housing Act, 1966, a fine of £25 is the maximum that can be imposed on a landlord for breaking a by-law. This paltry sum would have little impact on an offending landlord.

Therefore the residents' associations are suggesting that a £1000 fine be imposed, to be followed by fines of a similar figure until the offence has been rectified. The problem with this demand is that such a decision would have to be taken in the Dáil, not at council level.

Nevertheless, the city council members, their officials and the auctioneers will feel under pressure when they receive their invitations to attend a public meeting hosted by the residents and tenants. At this meeting they will be presented with these new proposals.

On top of that, the elected representatives will also be handed a computerised data-base of landlords in Galway. Attached will be a request that the council set up a register of all owners of rented accommodation in the city. Only by means of such a register will landlords be made publicly accountable.

The fact that twelve residents' associations have united on this issue will certainly be cause for alarm among the invited guests. Already in the Tirellan area, where the residents' association

has been especially active on this issue, 20 per cent of the absentee landlords have taken cold feet and sold out.

Council officials are taking notice of this association's activities too. For years, derelict sites in the area, which were not only unsightly but also dangerous, had been ignored by the council.

However, since the local association discovered the Derelict Sites Act, 1961, things have changed. The reason is that the act empowers the local authority not only to clean up a derelict site and bill the owner but, if need be, to confiscate the site! It would seem that the council officials have been prompted to take action by fear that someone might suggest that they do the latter and appropriate the offending site.

## Language militants must become political

THE IRISH language movement will continue to see its efforts fail so long as it remains divorced from the political realities that the demand for the language revival makes, said Tomás Mac Siomóin, editor of *Comhar*, at last month's Dáil Uí Chadhain, held in Dublin.

Dáil Uí Chadhain held the weekend seminar to examine the legacy of Máirtín Ó Cadhain, the Irish language militant, socialist, republican, and great writer.

Mac Siomóin pointed out that the movement as a whole had not taken up the theme that Ó Cadhain pointed out in his pamphlet *Ghuaiseacht na Gaeilge: Gluaiseacht ar Strae* (translated into English by the Communist Party of Ireland), in which he argued that the Irish language movement had to be a socialist one, that the revival of Irish was part of the reconquest of Ireland that James Connolly had proposed.

Proinsias Mac Aonghusa, the well-known broadcaster, spoke on Ó Cadhain's development as a socialist and republican, a political aspect so basic to Ó Cadhain



● JAMES GRALTON ... commemorative school in Mohill, Co. Leitrim.

## Leitrim looks at French Revolution

THE ANNUAL school in commemoration of James Gralton, the Leitrim communist who was deported from Ireland by Fianna Fáil in the Thirties, will take place in Mohill, Co. Leitrim, on the weekend of 20-21 May.

In this, the year of the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution, it is natural that the theme of the weekend school will be the legacy of that revolution in the ideas of democracy and national freedom.

Among the speakers will be the communist economist Tony Moriarty, who will discuss the question, "Can we survive 1992?", and Emmet Stagg TD, who will speak on "The Organisation and Definition of the Irish Nation".

The weekend begins on Saturday morning in Kelly's Hotel,

Mohill, when the school will be opened by Councillor Declan Bree of Sligo. Tomás Mac Siomóin, the editor of *Comhar*, will give a talk on "The French Revolution and its influence on Ireland" at 10:30 a.m.

He will be followed by Leitrim historian John Rooney, who will discuss "The influence of the French Revolution on County Leitrim".

At 12:10 p.m. Tony Coughlan will speak on "The French Revolution and the sovereign state", followed at 2:45 by Daltún Ó Ceallaigh on "The non-sectarian republic". Tony Moriarty will speak at 4:10 p.m., and Emmet Stagg will speak on Sunday morning at 10:30.

In the afternoon, at 3:30 p.m. there will be a commemoration of Jim Gralton in Efferagh, at the site of the Pearse-Connolly Hall, burned down by a mob in 1932.

Further information is available from the Gralton Committee, 1 High Street, Sligo; telephone (071) 45490.

## Bree stands in Sligo-Leitrim

SLIGO COUNCILLOR Declan Bree has been selected by the Sligo-Leitrim Independent Socialist Organisation to stand as the candidate in the Sligo-Leitrim by-election due to be held on 15 June.

Councillor Bree ran a very strong campaign at the last general election, and it is believed that he will strengthen his position in the by-election, caused by the departure of Ray Mac Sharry to Brussels.

Councillor Bree will be standing on a platform of opposition to Irish membership of the Common Market, which has caused devastation to the constituency, where emigration is at an all-time high.

He demands investment in new jobs, with the state taking the leading role in direct job creating, and the main emphasis on jobs in the manufacturing and industrial sector.

### GRALTON SCHOOL

*The relevance of the French Revolution to contemporary Ireland*

20-21 May 1989

Kelly's Hotel,  
Mohill, County Leitrim

Speakers will include: Emmet Stagg TD, Tony Coughlan, Tomás Mac Siomóin, Antóin Ó Muircheartaigh, Tom Durkin (London).

# Racists try to sabotage settlement in Namibia

By AVILA KILMURRAY

**S**OUTH AFRICA is rapidly moving to frustrate the negotiated movement towards Namibian independence. Last month the apartheid government in Pretoria joined with its puppet administration in Namibia to declare a "de facto suspension" of the United Nations peace plan for the area.

This move compounds the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa and the brutal repression that the South African regime has used to maintain its rule.

Over the period of this repression, martial law has been imposed in over half the country, while a heavy military presence resulted in one member of the occupying armed forces for every ten or twelve Namibian citizens.

Countless atrocities have also been reported, particularly at the hands of counter-insurgency units such as the infamous "Koevoet" unit.

The deliberate sabotage of the UN peace plan seems designed to ensure that South African tactics of intimidation and terrorism will be continued in the foreseeable future.

## RESOLUTION 435

Security Council resolution 435 (1978) provided official blessing for a series of agreements between the South-West African People's Organisation of Namibia (SWAPO) and South Africa, laying down that there should be "free elections for the whole of Namibia as one political entity with an appropriate UN role."

It was envisaged that a Namibian constituent assembly would draw up a constitution for an independent Namibia, and that the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) should both monitor this process and oversee the many Namibian refugees.

With the benefit of hindsight it might be held that the first of April—April Fools' Day—was a

poor choice for the beginning of this plan.

Contrary to the agreement that hostilities would cease and that both the South African military and the SWAPO liberation forces would be restricted to base, over 280 SWAPO fighters and 27 Namibian police and soldiers have died in clashes since 1 April.

While the South African foreign minister, Pik Botha, quickly alleged that the fighting was a result of the incursion of SWAPO forces across the Angolan border into Namibia, eye-witness reports conveyed through the Council of Churches in Namibia suggest that the situation is different.

It now appears that SWAPO were seeking to regroup under UN supervision, thus enabling them to make a formal input into the eventual settlement. It is in South Africa's interest to prevent this development.

It now seems that South Africa has opted for the course of provoking further hostilities in a deliberate attempt to limit UN effectiveness, to launch attacks on SWAPO members, and even to frustrate the whole peace plan.

The United Nations itself will also carry a serious burden of responsibility if South Africa is allowed to continue its criminal occupation and activities unchecked.

Not only has there been an element of confusion over the details of the peace package, but it has been claimed that UNTAG operation in Namibia has been both inefficient and considerably underresourced.

It is for example iniquitous that South Africa has been allowed to introduce ex-Koevoet "hunter-killer" teams into "Swapol" (the local police force, who attacked SWAPO last month).

Alongside this, South Africa has been mobilising the so-called Citizen Forces—local vigilantes—in support of its military action against SWAPO.

A curfew was imposed in the northern Ovambo region, and South African jets bombed SWAPO units.

## COMPLICITY

Apart from the complicity of allowing the South African occupation of Namibia for so long, western countries have collaborated with the brutal repression of SWAPO and of the Namibian people.

Sanctions demanded in the past by the General Assembly were never imposed, because of the veto exercised in the Security Council by the three western powers, and even the mandatory UN arms embargo against South Africa was not tight enough.

Indeed, it has been alleged over the last few years that ex-members of the Ulster Defence Regiment were actively recruited for service in the "Koevoet" units in Namibia.

It will be interesting to see what Margaret Thatcher, George Bush

## Afghanistan stays firm

**A**FGHANISTAN has warned Pakistan to keep out of its affairs, charging that Afghan rebels backed by Pakistani troops had launched an all-out attack on the city of Khost.

"If the Pakistani military intervention continues, it will have grave consequences for them," said a Foreign Ministry representative, Mohammad Amani.

Kabul reserved the right to attack rebel positions near the border with Pakistan, despite a "Scud B" missile missing a rebel target and going over the frontier, he added.

But he said that Afghanistan was ready to negotiate with Pakistan to iron out differences and improve relations.

In Islamabad, Afghan rebels said that they had launched a second major attack on the city of Jalalabad, and had come under heavy bombing attack from government planes.

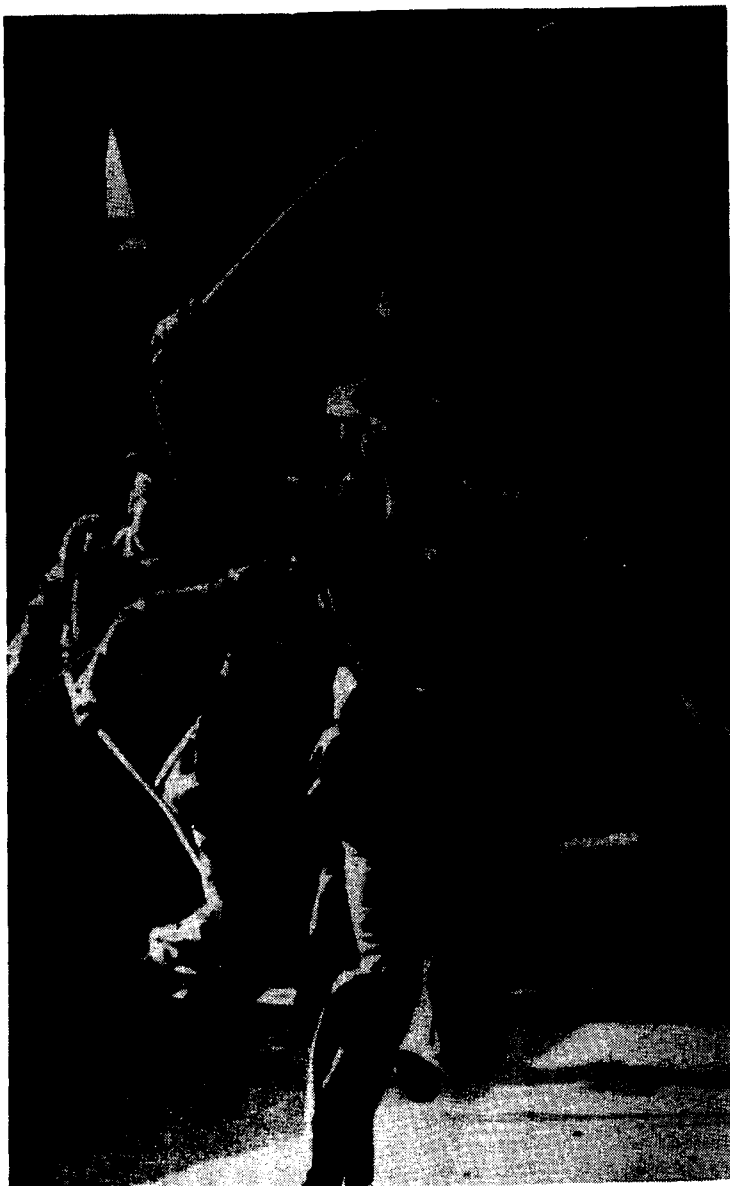
Meanwhile, the US government plans to close down the Afghan embassy in Washington, after appointing a special envoy with ambassadorial rank to the rebels, according to a television report.

## Bush advised to keep out

**T**HE BUSH administration should seek neither to help nor to hinder the programme of the Soviet president, Mikhail Gorbachev, US foreign policy advisers have recommended.

Reports in the American press said that this was the advice given to President Bush in three confidential policy review documents.

The review documents also said that the United States should oppose any dramatic reductions in NATO forces or any sharp expansion of economic ties with the socialist world.



● APARTHEID ... the real crisis in South Africa is the racist regime.

and other western leaders have to say in the light of Pik Botha's recent "de facto suspension" of the peace plan, and this despite the fact that South African troops have effectively been given the go-ahead to hunt down SWAPO guerrillas.

Thus it would seem that the liberation forces are to be sacrificed, yet again, for fear that South Africa might be upset by the United Nations taking a stand.

In the face of vacillation and lack of adequate resources, the United Nations is being relegated to the sidelines, in a country that is officially a UN trust territory, illegally occupied by South Africa.

It is clear that it is now vital to mobilise maximum support for securing the independence of Namibia—both by mobilising solidarity with SWAPO and by exposing the South African attempts to sabotage the implementation of resolution 435.

# Palestinians elect Arafat president

**T**HE PALESTINIAN leader Yassir Arafat was elected president of Palestine last month by a unanimous vote of the Central Council of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, meeting in Tunis.

The vote serves to renew Arafat's mandate to pursue the course charted by the Palestine National

Council last November.

The PNC proclaimed the state of Palestine, and authorised the Central Council to vote in a provisional government.

Some ninety countries have so far recognised Palestine, according to the PLO.

A full provisional government is unlikely to be set up, because of the problems of naming ministers who live in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Arafat's appointment came just before the Israeli prime minister, Yitzhak Shamir, was due to visit Washington, touting the idea of local elections in the occupied territories. These would be meant to produce compliant, non-PLO negotiators for talks on Palestinian autonomy, not independence.

In an apparent attempt to create the illusion that Israel can find Palestinians to talk to, even if it has to force them to do so, twenty-five West Bank activists received a summons to meet the occupation authorities last month. But those who met the senior occupation administrator, Brigadier-General Shaikha Erez, told him that there was no alternative but to talk to the PLO.

Underground leaders of the fifteen-month-old Palestinian uprising warned against meetings with the authorities, which were used for Israeli propaganda purposes.

## Cork girl meets Arafat

**A** LESSON in diplomacy could be learned by many of the world's politicians from a 15-year-old Cork girl, Sarah Neary.

As part of a school project on peace, Sarah wrote to Yassir Arafat, requesting a meeting to discuss his views on the subject.

In answer to her request, Sarah and her teacher, Sister Rita Twomey, received an invitation to travel to Tunisia to meet the PLO leader. After the meeting she said, "He was very friendly, nicer than I expected ... When I go back to school I'll tell my friends that they are not terrorists and they want peace."

Sarah added: "I told him I wanted peace, and he replied that he wanted peace, both for Palestinian and Israeli children."

Sister Twomey was also positive on the visit. "It has told us much about the sufferings of the Palestinian people in their home country and about peace in their homeland. We have a responsibility to help so that peace comes to them as soon as possible."

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# Anti-EEC forces rally for election campaign

AS THE DATE for the Common Market election on 15 June gets nearer, the anti-EEC campaign is getting more and more organised and active.

There are two anti-EEC candidates standing on platforms that clearly oppose the integration process brought in by the Single European Act: Raymond Crotty in Dublin and Joe Noonan in Munster.

Of course, the Common Market election is not a proper one, as the miserable number of people who bother to vote in it shows. The Strasbourg "parliament" has no legitimacy, no power, and no support.

For this reason, the Communist Party has opposed the involve-

ment in the charade of political parties, since such involvement only serves to bestow credibility to an institution that is fundamentally anti-democratic.

By contrast, the broad anti-EEC campaigns being run by Crotty and Noonan have succeeded in drawing in mass support from a wide range of forces. Their central message is a democratic one: that the integration process is subversive of our national sovereignty and neutrality.

The pro-EEC elements are willing to resort to any slander to try to damage the anti-EEC campaigns; but the numbers of people turning out to work in the campaigns is the surest refutation of

these efforts.

It is vital, of course, that the one-third of our people who objected to the Single European Act ensure that their opposition is given backing. Only support for the Crotty and Noonan candidacies can achieve that.

The Workers' Party, for example, despite its valuable original opposition to the SEA, has now come out extremely strongly in favour of the EEC and the integration process, while Labour is standing on the basis of a manifesto that commits the party to support of a common "European" army and other measures that will eliminate our neutrality.

If the anti-EEC vote remains



● ANTI-EEC CANDIDATES ... RAYMOND CROTTY (left), standing in Dublin, and JOE NOONAN, who is contesting the Munster constituency.

solid, there is every possibility that Crotty and Noonan will be elected. That is a result devoutly to be wished by all democrats.

## Anti-EEC candidate can win

DUBLIN anti-EEC candidate Raymond Crotty has welcomed the opportunity of advocating opposition to further European integration before the Dublin Trades Council, the oldest organisation of the Dublin labour movement.

Delegates voted by a two-to-one majority to have presentations of all the Dublin Euro-election candidates at the trades council, after a vigorous discussion on a letter from the Crotty campaign to the council's executive committee seeking an opportunity to address the trades council.

In his letter to the council, Mr Crotty said: "It now looks as if I shall be the only realistic candidate of radical democratic opinion in the Dublin area in this election—indeed, the only candidate with a prospect of being elected who will stand for the traditional democratic values of the Labour movement."

"This follows from recent regrettable developments in the Labour Party and the Workers' Party in relation to the EEC. The Labour candidates will be standing on the joint programme of the EEC socialist parties, without any of the reservations insisted on in the joint programme by the Danish and British social democratic parties."

"This means that the Labour candidates will be standing on a manifesto—endorsed by Dick Spring and Barry Desmond in Brussels last February—that advocates an EEC political union, a monetary union, a European central bank, more powers for the EEC Commission and Parliament, and closer co-operation on 'security', without the qualification that this excludes military matters—even though these key issues have never been discussed by the Labour Party annual conference or its members."

"I am also left as the only realistic radical candidate in Dublin", he says, "because of the decision of the Workers' Party and the Labour Party to embrace an uncritical 'Europeanism', in spite of the honourable role that party played in being the only Dáil party to oppose ratification of the Single European Act."

"How can the Workers' Party claim to stand for democracy while advocating giving legislative powers to the European Parliament, an assembly of foreigners in which the people of Ireland, north and south, have 18 votes out of 518?"

"How can it look for 'socialism' from Europe when the Treaty of Rome is a contract *not* to have socialism, but rather enshrines a commitment to a capitalism run on such out-and-out laissez-faire lines as Adam Smith and Malthus might have envied?"

RAYMOND CROTTY, the anti-EEC candidate in Dublin, delivered a letter to the Austrian foreign minister, Dr Alois Mock, during his official visit to Ireland last month. In the letter, Mr Crotty stated that "pressure is coming on Irish neutrality from all sides. Arms procurement and development are areas where the EEC is developing its competence, and we can expect co-operation in this with the Independent European Programme Group."

"The European Parliament keeps passing resolutions calling

## CROTTY WARNING

for co-operation with the assembly of the WEU, or even on occasions for a joint assembly.

"Jacques Delors, president of the European Commission, recently suggested that since Sweden did not want to give up its neutrality, it could not become a member of the EEC. The West German chancellor has said that a federal European army and police force are at the end of the road to European union."

He also pointed out that "Garret Fitzgerald of Fine Gael, who was taoiseach at the time of the SEA negotiations, recently said on British radio that Austria would have to give undertakings similar to those given by Ireland at the time of joining the EEC and since repeated by our leaders."

"The undertakings were to the effect that our neutrality would not stand in the way of an eventual political union. They were

given, may I say, without any popular mandate or parliamentary approval."

Raymond Crotty concluded by saying: "It is our firm belief that Irish neutrality is being gradually given away, by virtue of the EEC, over the heads and against the wishes of the Irish people, 86 per cent of whom want it. We would advise the Austrian people and government to be acutely aware of the real character of the EEC, which they are reported to be contemplating joining."

# Can the Government ignore the Gibraltar facts?

UP TO NOW, five civil liberties groups have produced reports on the Gibraltar killings and the subsequent inquest. All five have expressed considerable concern regarding both the use of lethal force that day in Gibraltar and the inadequacy of the inquest.

The most recent report comes from Amnesty International, which makes it clear that the inquest failed to answer the "fundamental issue ... whether the fatal shootings were caused by what happened in the street or whether the authorities planned in advance for the three to be shot dead."

The reason this was not answered lies with the British government's use of its "public interest immunity certificates", which severely restricted the evidence made available: in particular, why the SAS, a "military assault force", was employed to carry out what should have been an arrest operation, rather than specially trained armed policemen.

The Amnesty report reiterates much of what had been said at the

time of the inquest by the families and their legal representatives: the biased nature of the inquest proceedings, which left lawyer Paddy Mc Grory at a distinct disadvantage.

For example, he did not see witnesses' statements in advance. Therefore he was unable to cross-examine witnesses on the basis of what other witnesses, who testified at a later stage, said about the same incident.

"Thus", states Amnesty, "he was not able to question the soldiers, who testified in the second week of the inquest, about information that was presented in later weeks by police officers and civilian eyewitnesses."

### CRITICAL

The Amnesty report is also extremely critical of the follow-



● Relatives of the Gibraltar dead call for Government action.

up police investigation, and it sees similarities between the Gibraltar killings and those carried out by the so-called security forces in the North.

"The suspects' identities were known, and they were under surveillance just before they were killed; there was contradictory evidence about whether there had been an attempt to arrest them; the security forces personnel responsible for the killings were not formally interviewed by detectives immediately after the incident; and standard forensic/investigative procedures were not followed."

A number of freak coincidences, or a shoot-to-kill policy? According to Amnesty, the best way to answer this question is to hold a judicial inquiry.

And they cite examples of two previous inquiries: amongst them is the Widgery Inquiry into the thirteen murdered in Derry on Bloody Sunday!

Amnesty needs to be reminded

that the British paratroopers in Derry on Bloody Sunday were commended by Lord Widgery, while the coroner described what they did as "sheer, unadulterated murder".

They should also be reminded of the result of the Birmingham Six appeal and, of course, what happened to honest cop John Stalker when he tried to unearth the truth. The simple fact is that Irish people cannot expect a fair trial from a British judge.

This is particularly true of cases such as the Gibraltar and Armagh killings, where any honest judgement against the British government would show that they have been pursuing a murderous campaign.

There is a need for an international inquiry into Britain's shoot-to-kill policy. And the Government should start the ball rolling by bringing an action against the British in the European Court of Human Rights over the Gibraltar killings.

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