

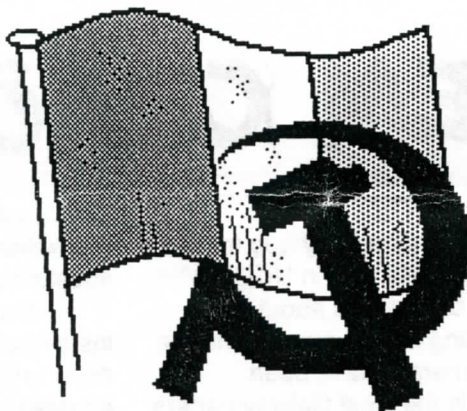
AFTER WARRINGTON

PROVOS IN A CUL-DE-SAC

The recent IRA bombing of Warrington in England resulting in civilian deaths and the subsequent moral outrage throughout Ireland once more brings into question the call for continued support of the Republican struggle. It is necessary to criticise the IRA for this mindless act of violence, but we need to point out the irony of the situation where politicians and groups north and south of the border condemn the act while ignoring and shunning the protest of Republican mothers whose sons and daughters have been killed in huge numbers (121 children dead) over the past 25 years.

Why did Warrington happen? It happened because of the IRA's misguided strategy for national liberation. The turning of the guerilla tactic into their key strategy means that the great mass of the oppressed nationalist population is reduced to the role of passive spectators. What have the tactics of the Republicans achieved in over 20 years of struggle? The bombing of civilian and economic targets, rather than putting fear into the hearts of their imperialist oppressors, merely gives the regime in Northern Ireland the green light to launch a stronger and more overt military campaign of repression while leaving the anti-unionist masses defenceless.

If we look at the history of the struggle against partition we see that since the highpoint in 1972, when London was forced to dissolve the Stormont Assembly, nothing of substance has been achieved. Sinn Fein has shown a consistently opportunist face in approaching the question of partition. During the H-Block campaign, Sinn Fein appealed to a pan-nationalist alliance with the SDLP, Catholic hierarchy and Fianna Fail rather than building a campaign which would mobilise the working class nationalist communities. In their attempts to dissolve partition, they have even resorted to appeals to the imperialist United Nations to monitor a "decolonisation process". Sinn Fein



has an abysmal record in the struggle for the needs of the workers and masses and has disgraced itself on the woman question, where even a timid pro-choice position passed at an annual conference was overturned by the Ard Comhairle.

Though the Republican movement contains serious flaws in make-up and strategy, we must place them within the wider international context of the struggle against world imperialism. Worldwide, a handful of powerful nations brutally oppress and dominate the rest. Britain is one of the leading powers of imperialist capitalism and from the perspective of the oppressed workers of the world, the national struggle against British rule in Northern Ireland is essentially progressive.

Therefore, even though the Republican movement is misguided, we must not neglect the call for unconditional support for the progres-

sive aspects of their struggle and for the right to self-determination of the Irish people. 'Self-determination' asserts that it is the right of the Irish people *as a whole* to determine the future political organisation of their country.

It is the issue of self-determination that raises the key question and points the way forward for a successful struggle against British oppression. Real self-determination for the Irish people as a whole can only be fully realised through the creation of an Irish workers state.

The IRA's bombing of civilian and economic targets lends a sectarian aspect to the campaign and consistently destroys the chances of ever appealing to the Protestant working class masses and pointing out the northern state, the loyalist and unionist parties, and British Imperialism as their real oppressors. The real way forward is for workers, socialists and republicans to unite in a campaign of mass mobilisation and working class solidarity to directly confront the authorities.

We call for an end to all repression and repressive legislation, for the release of political prisoners, and for British troops out now. All armed tactics must be subordinated to the campaign of democratically controlled mass mobilisation. Supporters of the Republicans must call for an end to the bombing of civilian and economic targets and an end to the shooting of construction and other service workers at security bases.

If the struggle is to move forward, the broader goal of working class action must be pursued. Only in this way can it hope to link with protestant workers by showing them that their interests will be served by creating a workers republic as a stepping stone towards international socialism.

FIGHT THE DOLE CUTS!

Students nationwide are bracing themselves for the effects of the new Social Welfare Bill passed in the Dail by our elected politicians.

As you'll no doubt remember from the pre-election hype, the Labour party are supposedly representing the working classes and underprivileged. Yet they say this measure is needed as students are abusing the dole system.

Tell that to the majority of the 10,000 students in Ireland who are totally relying on the dole this summer. Tell it to the students who must now forsake their independence and return to their parents apron strings. Tell it to the poorest families who must now support their sons and daughters while still reeling from the crippling debts they were forced to pay to support them in college. This is our free education system! This is our 'caring' government!

This bill is just the initial step for

eventually making everyone work for their dole. Even for the few students that may get work this summer, they will be forced to feel privileged just to have work, yet they will suffer even further exploitation from bosses, through ridiculously low wages, poor working conditions and unsocial working hours. They will become complete 'noddies' for their bosses, afraid to say a word out of place for fear of losing their jobs.

Don't be fooled by 'opposition' politicians claiming to support student

causes. If they get the chance, they'll only stand on students as they have done so many times in the past.

Action must be taken immediately. This must be militant not passive. Petitions and such will merely find their way to government bins with, at best, replies that the government are "Concerned" and "sympathetic"!

Recent marches in Galway and Dublin have provided the lead for a campaign that has to continue with strikes, marches and occupations. Above all, links have to be made with the campus workers' unions. This is the only way to ensure our voice will be heard.

Don't take this oppression any longer. Every politician knows where their next meal is coming from, how many students do?

CANTEEN CHAOS!

Trying to get a seat in the college canteen at lunchtime is like trying to find space on one of the Titanic's lifeboats and the result is either drowning or an uncomfortable squash. Not 100 metres away there is a building which for the most part lies empty - the College chapel. Why should students be subjected to discomfort in an overcrowded canteen while buildings like the church are underused?

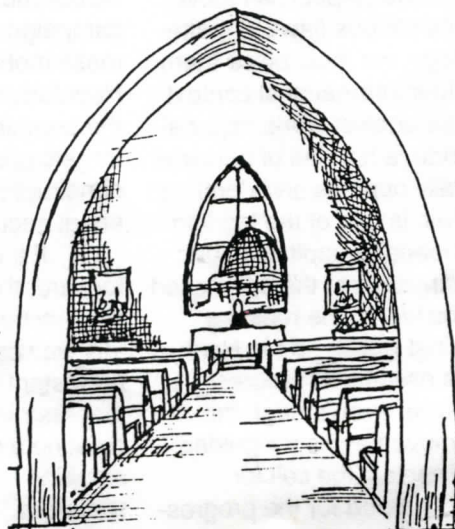
Indeed why is there a Catholic church within the campus grounds at all? Is not space valuable? The Catholic Church were sold the land by the college authorities to circumvent the Universities Act which made the Queen's colleges non-denominational. There are two priests, employed by the college as Deans of Residence. A replacement for a priest who had resigned was promptly appointed even though a general embargo on recruitment in the Public Sector was blocking appointments for long periods in the French, Classics and Spanish Departments.

The canteen on the UCD campus is like a dream compared to

the canteen in Galway and it manages to charge only 30p for a cup of tea. Why is tea 36p in UCG? What is wrong? Complaints about the overcrowding in the canteen and the College generally have been published in the local Galway papers by the Students Union in recent times - apparently to no avail.

What does this situation signify? It would appear the College authorities believe the welfare of the Catholic Church and the reinforcement of religious

COLLEGE CHAPEL



brainwashing is more important than the welfare of the students by whom substantial fees are paid each year.

Maybe its time for action instead of just words. Why should we allow university funds and resources be used by the Catholic church when students can't get seats in the library and have to eat their food sitting in corridors? Fight for joint workers and student action to stop overcrowding and separate the church and University!

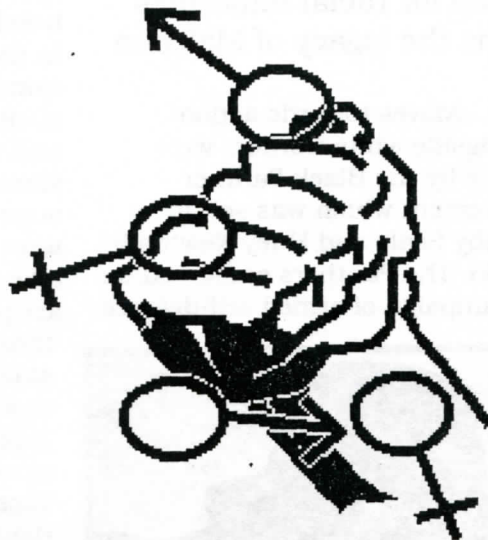
... AND CANTEEN



SEXUAL OPPRESSION

Many lesbians and gay men are subjected to brutal oppression under capitalism. Abuse, derision and violent assaults are common. In seeking employment, gays and lesbians are discriminated against and, at work, they face the constant threat of dismissal and victimisation. Because of this, millions feel obliged to conceal their sexuality or repress it completely.

Bourgeois society claims that homosexuality is not merely abnormal, but also 'unnatural'. To understand the development of lesbian and gay oppression it is necessary to dispense with the categories of natural and unnatural in matters of sexuality. They are arbitrary in the extreme. Historically, there were many different views of what was natural and unnatural in sexual relations. Moral codes for regulating sexuality are determined by the needs of the ruling class in a particular society.



The feudal aristocracy generally married for purposes of property and to continue the family line. By the end of the 17th century the rising bourgeoisie, on the other hand, celebrated the ideal of the individual love match. Any sexual relationships outside of the heterosexual love marriage were increasingly viewed as a threat to the bourgeois family. Homosexuality in particular became an offence not simply against nature in the physical sense, as had been the case in feudal times, but also against the natural, that is bourgeois, family.

In the period of transition from feudalism to capitalism there occurred a series of moral panics, and large scale persecutions took place against those charged with "unnatural vice". Women suspected of being "unnatural in their affections" were tortured or burned at the stake. In the 18th century persecution aimed at male homosexuals began on an unprecedented scale. Whole groups of men were persecuted in collective trials.

At the beginning of the 19th century the bourgeoisie did not seek to impose its ideal on the newly emergent working class. However, child labour and the horrific exploitation of women created

pressure from the working class for the protection of family life. That, together with the bourgeoisie's need to use the family as a means of regenerating and reproducing labour power led to the spread of the bourgeois family as the bedrock social unit in society. The typical male-female partnership enables capitalism to pay only the male 'wage-earner' and keeps the woman in the home as the partner who reproduces the labour power i.e. by feeding and clothing the wage-earner and bringing up a new generation of prospective wage-slaves. Any threat to the family structure, such as freedom for gays and lesbians, is a threat to the capitalist system. The state deploys all its forces to preserve the laws it needs to run capitalism.

Homosexuals, as the most clearly identifiable deviants from the bourgeois natural order, have been set apart from society and made a target for legal repression. Thousands of gay men have suffered at the hands of the gross indecency laws, prosecuted for a crime which caused nobody any harm at all, to which the 'victim' had consented,

and which was conducted privately.

By the beginning of the 20th century most of Europe and the US had legally sanctioned the oppression of homosexuals. It took over 60 years for any generalised shift in attitude and law reform to take place during the so called 'permissive' sixties. However, this tolerance was short lived. Now even these reforms are under attack as gay men are blamed for the aids virus and turned into modern day lepers.

In this climate of growing moral reaction, the task for socialists in relation to the lesbian and gay question is to provide a communist perspective for liberation. Separatist gay and lesbian action can only be effective within limits. Links need to be made with the working class, the only class in society that has a material interest in destroying the basis of lesbian and gay oppression, capitalist class society, and the family structure integral to its continued functioning.

WORKERS POWER
pamphlet

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MALCOLM X

The past year has seen massive hype surrounding the figure of Malcolm X. The film by Spike Lee has brought Malcolm to a much wider audience, but long before this, he represented radical black militancy throughout the African/Caribbean communities in Britain and America. In light of the recent hype, and with the chronic worsening of conditions for racial minorities the world over we must re-examine the legacy of Malcolm X.

Born Malcolm Little, he spent his early youth as a petty criminal and drug dealer. In prison he was won over to the black Nation of Islam, and after his release he became the right hand man for the movement's self-styled leader, Elijah Muhammad. The movement advocated radical black action and self-defence, and represented a major threat to white capitalism in the early sixties. At the same time as the Nation of Islam was advocating separatism and a reliance on black capitalism and community organisation, Martin Luther King's civil rights movement was advocating the path of peaceful integration into white bourgeois society. The fruits of King's reformist wing of the anti-racist movement can be seen today with black leaders such as Jesse Jackson up to their necks in corruption and collusion with the white capitalist state.

In his last year Malcolm broke with the Nation of Islam and he became influenced to a certain extent by Stalinism and centrist Trotskyism. However any moves he was making towards socialism before his murder in 1965 were held back by a tendency towards black separatism and reformist strategies. X's solution to black poverty proposed access to training for skilled black workers and the creation of a parallel black economy. His strategies never involved any sustained and organised action alongside white workers.

Moves towards action alongside white workers were made by the Black Panther movement which was set up by Bobby Seale and Huey Newton in 1966. The Panthers embarked on a campaign of armed self-defence



and took advantage of the gun laws to directly confront the state police. They also set up community projects to look after the needs of the poor.

The key, however, to the failure of the Black Panther movement was the fact that it never developed a revolutionary strategy which was uncorrupted by black nationalism. The influence of Stalinism could be seen in their belief in the 'stages' of the revolution. First they strove for black liberation, and only then did socialism become the goal.

The lessons are there to be learned from the struggles of Malcolm X, the Black Panthers and others. Racism is a product of capitalist society. In the imperialist stage of capitalism, the great colonial empires systematically oppressed and butchered the native populations. In the post-war boom, vast numbers of immigrants were sucked out of their native lands and used as little more than slaves for capitalism. They were superexploited and their rights were practically nil. The economic advantages of this for capitalism are plain to see. Imperialism, through its accumulation of superprofits, is able to create a strata of privileged workers - the 'labour aristocracy' - and at the same time use black workers as a 'reserve army of labour' with few rights which it is able to superexploit. Also, racism will always be effective as a tool to split the working class on lines of skin colour.

Black separatism and nationalism, as we have seen, will not provide the answer. The only way to combat racism is for the masses of black workers and oppressed to forge links with their fellow-oppressed white workers for the defeat of capitalism, the common enemy. Black self-organisation must be class based and take place within the wider working class movement if it is to achieve success.

WORKERS POWER



Malcolm X & Black Liberation

A collection of articles

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