

South Africa

## An historic compromise?

An 'historic compromise' is on the South African agenda. As the ANC and the government hold regular talks about talks, the Nationalists have declared that there can be no turning back: in the words of Barend Du Plessis, the Finance Minister: "If you think we are going to cancel this, forget it. We've jumped." He's right, the Nats have no way to go but forward and for this they need the ANC.

As the *Financial Times* put it, after thirty years of representing the 'swart gevaar' (the black threat), the ANC has re-entered centre stage as the white man's saviour. De Klerk and Mandela outdo one another in mutual courtesies; the SABC, the public voice of the government, broadcasts a hagiography of Mandela after 27 years in goal; Afrikaaner nationalism has found in African nationalism a potential blood brother. In the words of one National Party MP: "They are like Siamese twins; neither can survive on his own."

Both parties to the new deal confront alienated radical constituencies which oppose negotiations, but both these forces are at present weak. The ANC face the 'lost generation' of youth whose militancy they egged on but a few moments ago. Black Consciousness and the Pan African Congress are making determined efforts to win them over, but the incoherence of BC and PAC politics is likely to divert their militancy down a blind alley of radical black nationalism and non-collaboration. If so they will pose little political threat to the ANC.

Further, there is the South African Communist Party, which is making its own attempt both to present a left face to the youth and to lead them firmly down the path of negotiations. *Work in Progress*, for example, has reports of meetings between SAYCO (the youth Congress) and the Communist Party and COSATU. My own assessment is that there is such a strong groundswell of popular support for some kind of 'normality' after the murderous years of the mid-1980s that any party which opposes negotiations *tout court* will only be able to pick up on the wilder side of the movement and will be extremely vulnerable.

The anti-negotiations left will also find themselves isolated from the trade union movement, most of which is for negotiations and much of which supports the ANC leadership. The *Financial Times* reported one NUM (miners') official enthusiastically saying that "we're meeting ministers almost every day". There have indeed been numerous meetings between government officials and COSATU over



Nelson Mandela

the reform of industrial relations legislation and broader political issues like privatisation of state enterprises (which the unions are opposed to but which, apart from ISCOR, the Iron and Steel conglomerate, are unlikely to go ahead).

These trade union initiatives are very important, if political change is to bring workers improvements in their material conditions and capacity for self-organisation. The level of industrial action is high at present, four times as high as 1989, with major strikes being waged particularly among low paid public sector workers, including hospital

workers, teachers, civil servants and postal workers, and among better-paid metal workers.

The government has its own agenda for labour reform, based around the proposals of the National Manpower Commission of "less governmental involvement in labour affairs". What deregulation seems to mean is the decriminalisation of strikes but the extended use of civil law remedies. In practice, workers are finding employers as intransigent as ever.

What is key for the working class is that its own material and political demands are put on the negotiating agenda; both by themselves directly and by the central political negotiators. A lot depends on the political struggles being waged within the trade union movement.

There have been reports of Communist Party gains at all levels of the trade union movement, the CP presenting itself as the 'workers' party' and asserting a degree of independence from the ANC. In the absence of any rival workers' parties, it would be surprising if the CP, now legalised, did not win some support as the representative of 'anti-capitalism'.

The Communist Party is what it is. If in the 1990s Stalinism were to succeed in South Africa when everywhere else it is on the run, it would be a sign primarily of the weakness of the anti-Stalinist left. These are important times for the trade union movement to assert its independence from the existing politicians: not stupidly by rejecting negotiations (which would be a thoroughly retrograde step taking the movement back to its pre-Mandela-release days), but in a socialist way, by placing working class interests at the centre of the agenda.

Robert Fine

## Happy Birthday, dear pill?

The contraceptive pill was 30 years old in June 1990.

Over those thirty years, we've been told so many contradictory things about the pill: it causes cancer, it prevents cancer, it prevents PMT, it causes depression, it's perfectly safe, it's a health risk. We've never had the unbiased truth.

Usually those doing the talking represent some vested interest. Drug companies have fallen over themselves to tell us how safe the pill is. Meanwhile, the morality brigade, worried about 'promiscuity' and access to sex, have played up fears about the pill's dangers.

There may be some truth in everything we have been told, but clearly we have not been getting the whole story.

We cannot trust drug companies to give us unbiased information on their products. Under capitalism, a drug company's first concern is not health, but making money. Health can be sacrificed, profit cannot.

Hence contraceptives deemed unfit for women in the USA and Europe are still made and shipped to women in the Third World. One company, Upjohn, tested the safety of a contraceptive injection suspected of causing cancers of the reproductive organs, on beagle bitches — after giving them hysterectomies.

The pill's major beneficial effect is undeniable: as a contraceptive it's extremely reliable. But many women suffer side effects: nausea, vomiting, headaches, depression, loss of libido, and more rarely, thrombosis.

Many women who take the pill suffer none of these. And

maybe as (apart from thrombosis) these are not fatal, they are not considered serious problems. However, any one of these can be completely debilitating for the sufferer.

Of course what we want is a contraceptive that's completely reliable and safe for our health (and doesn't spoil our enjoyment of sex). Given the state of science and technology it doesn't seem much to ask.

However, such a contraceptive doesn't exist, and until it does women need to be able to make an informed choice about which contraceptive to use, weighing up the pros and cons of each method for ourselves, using unbiased information.

We don't need doctors set up by drug companies to glorify the pill and gloss over its faults, any more than we need unjustified scaremongering about possible dangers. We need clear, honest information.

Rosey Sibley

# SURVEY



Teachers on strike against 'Poll capping' Bristol, June 1990. Photo: John Harris

## Poll Tax

# Twelve million defy the law

Probably not since the New Poor Law of 1834 has a British government introduced a major change so widely and vigorously resented.

Since the poll tax started in England and Wales in April 1990, pitifully small amounts of it have been collected.

In London, 75 per cent of what should have been paid so far hasn't been. In some boroughs the figure is higher.

Attempts by councils to get tough have collapsed in chaos. Tory-controlled Medina council in the Isle of Wight was the first to go to court; the cases had to be called off because the council had not given non-payers enough notice. Across the country, if even a small proportion of non-payers keep their nerve and demand a hearing in court, the courts will be swamped.

Hackney council, in London, has collected only £1.5 million of the £8 million it expected so far. Camden has only

received 4 per cent of its poll tax revenue. In many other areas, 40 or 50 per cent have paid nothing. Leeds has no idea how many non-payers there are, as a failure in its computer system has meant no reminders, or revised bills taking account of rebates, have been sent out.

21 Labour councils have been "capped", i.e. had their budgets cut by government decree. After the failure of a court appeal against the "capping", they face administrative chaos as all bills have to be revised and sent out again.

In Scotland the tax started in April 1989. Around 15 per cent of people there have *still* not paid any tax. Only one per cent defaulted on rates.

The Scottish councils have been slow to move against non-payers, for fear of public reaction. But by now they face a shortfall in income of nearly £200 million. They will have to make more and more attempts to send bailiffs to seize people's property, and the tax will become even more unpopular.

But the deep popular revolt against the poll tax is not matched either by an organised militant response from the labour movement or a strong coordinated campaign in the communities.

The Labour Party's attitude has been appalling. Its leaders are resolutely in favour of people paying the poll tax and of councils pursuing those who don't. After the March demonstration in London which finished with violent confrontations between demonstrators and police, Kinnock did his best to denounce the "anarchists" even louder than the

Tories.

The trade union leaders have been no better. When the conference of the National Union of Teachers voted for national strikes against job cuts arising from the poll tax's squeeze on council finance and from "Local Management of Schools", general secretary Doug McAvoy promised sternly to ignore the decision altogether.

Anti-poll-tax unions have been set up in many areas. Some are active groups with a large membership; but many exist only on paper. "Mass non-payment" has been their slogan; but the mass non-payment actually happening is more spontaneous than a result of the campaigns.

What is needed is a campaign linking non-payment to action by trade unionists against the implementation of the poll tax, and pressure on Labour councils to refuse cooperation. There have already been scattered strikes by Town Hall workers over staffing and conditions for collection of the tax.

Councils are going to lurch further and further into chaos as the tax is not collected. If they try to get heavy, protest will grow. Coordinated national action could force the Tories to withdraw the poll tax, and force them out of office.

Cate Murphy

## France's NF

# Nazis of the '90s

**Most French people, according to opinion surveys conducted after the attacks on Jewish graves at Carpentras in May 1990, think Jean-Marie Le Pen's National Front is anti-semitic. And almost all French people say they deplore anti-semitism.**

Yet the National Front has solid support. The latest opinion polls give it 15.5% of the vote. Since it broke out of far-right fringe status in 1983-4, it has consistently had between 10 and 15 per cent. In June 1984 it got 11 per cent in the Euro-elections; in the 1986 National Assembly elections, 10 per cent. Le Pen won 14.5% in the presidential election of April 1988. The National Assembly election of June 1988 gave the NF 10 per cent (but only one seat, as against the 32 it had in 1986, because in the meantime proportional representation had been abolished). In the June 1989 Euro-elections the NF got 12 per cent.

It has fallen below 10 per cent in local government elections, but it has also had some spectacular triumphs. The NF's first breakthrough was gaining 17 per cent of the first-round vote for the town

# SURVEY

council in Dreux (some 50 miles east of Paris) in September 1983, and then securing a winning coalition with the mainstream right for the second round. On 3 December 1989 it won again in Dreux, securing 61 per cent of the vote in a run-off against the mainstream right-wing RPR for a National Assembly by-election.

The NF is indeed anti-semitic. Le Pen and many of his close associates were long active in neo-Nazi crank groups before 1983. In November 1989 the NF's paper declared: "We are on the eve of a great confrontation, a great battle on the world scale between the Jewish international and the Christian, in the first place Catholic, international. Depending on the outcome of this battle, which is the great religious and political contest of the year 2000, either Christianity will manage to maintain itself in the face of the fantastic strength of the Jewish world; or, believers and non-believers alike, we will live under the law of the new religion, that of the Shoah." ("Shoah" is the Hebrew term for the Holocaust.)

Le Pen himself told an interviewer in August 1989: "The great internationals, like the Jewish international, play a not negligible role in the creation of this anti-national spirit." In October 1983 he said that "four superpowers" were "colonising" France — "the Marxist, the Freemason, the Jew and the Protestant..."

Such outbursts are revealing but exceptional. Since 1983 the NF has sought a non-violent, respectable, electoralist image. It bans skinheads from membership. It denies being racist or anti-semitic. Le Pen responded to the Carpentras attacks by appearing with a leading Jewish member of the NF to condemn the attacks — and to denounce much more forcefully, the "use" of the incident against the NF by other parties, hinting even that the attacks had been staged as a provocation against the NF.

Nowhere near all the people who vote for the NF are fascists or anti-semites. Anti-semitic incidents have actually declined in France since the early '80s (though there has been a rise since 1986), and a typical response from voters in the Dreux by-election to surveys of their opinion was that they "just wanted to give the government a warning".

The NF does not rule the streets. It mobilised 12,000 for its "Joan of Arc" demonstration on 1 May 1990, which is a lot, but tiny compared to what the French labour movement could mobilise. The NF Youth claims 12,000 members, and is a growing force on university campuses, but it has not driven the left off the campuses.

So this is a fascist movement which is still only beginning to develop its power. That it is fascist, however, was well

demonstrated by a survey of the opinions of the 1500 delegates at the NF congress on 30 March/1 April 1990 (*Le Monde*, 8 April).

54 per cent wanted "a government of authority" or a "monarchy", against only 32 per cent favouring a republic. 96 per cent thought that a hierarchy and leaders are essential in society. 88 per cent said that Jews have "too much power" in France. (The NF isn't "anti-semitic", you see: it's just defending the French people against the "superpower" of the "Jewish international"!)

83 per cent were for curbs on abortion rights, 74 per cent for ending France's wealth tax, 67 per cent for abolishing the minimum wage, 88 per cent for privatisation, and 77 per cent for cutting welfare benefits.

The electoral base of the National Front is typical of fascism: strongest among the self-employed and professionals, with some support also from the unemployed and workers. (The common story that the NF has taken the CP's working-class base is not true. That base has gone largely to the Socialist Party. But the NF has taken the majority of the working-class base of the mainstream right wing, and a chunk of the SP's worker base too).

The NF's strongest plank is racism directed against immigrants, mostly from Africa. Le Pen calls for the forcible repatriation of all immigrants who have

entered France since 1974. Since 1984 opinion polls have shown a consistent 25 to 30 per cent of French people supporting Le Pen on immigration.

In 1981 the National Front together with other far-right groups could get only 0.35 per cent of the vote for the National Assembly. Its dramatic rise began with the Socialist Party government's turn away from reform and towards cuts, in 1983; and its continuing support has been nourished by the bleak pro-capitalist policies pursued under President Mitterrand ever since then. The equivocal stand of the Socialist Party and the Communist Party on racism (both favour a complete ban on immigration, and the Socialists have repeatedly back-tracked on promises to give immigrants the vote) has further helped the NF.

In a period of relative economic boom (as these things go these days) the NF has built and sustained a base. Unless that base is cut away now, it could launch the NF into tremendous, and much more openly menacing, growth as soon as a slump comes.

The NF threat should also be a warning to the labour movement in Britain. A Labour government with the sort of policies Neil Kinnock is advocating would almost certainly produce the same effects as the Mitterrand regime in France: a rapid growth of the far right.

Chris Reynolds

## Labour: towards a one-faction party?

As we go to press, our associates round the weekly paper *Socialist Organiser* are apparently about to be banned from the Labour Party.

We do not know for sure, and what we do know is gleaned from the capitalist press. That fact in itself tells much about the present regime in the Labour Party.

Labour's National Executive decided in February to "investigate" *Socialist Organiser*. Or so we understand from the press: the editorial staff of *Socialist Organiser* have not been officially informed or contacted, or even had their phone calls to Labour Party HQ returned.

The "investigation" was instigated by maverick right-wing MP Frank Field, as part of his campaign against his deselection by Birkenhead CLP. The best information available (again, the capitalist press) is that Field will probably lose his seat, but the banning of *Socialist Organiser* will be offered up as a compensation.

Sentence first, charges later, evidence and trial never! As the one-party states collapse in Eastern Europe, Neil Kinnock and his friends are driving Labour towards a one-faction party.

They think they can do it because the

working class is depressed after eleven years of Thatcherism, and willing to support almost anything which promises relief. They think they *must* do it because they want to protect and buttress a future Labour government against pressure from the working class.

At the same time as moving against the political left in the shape of *Socialist Organiser*, they have moved to try to forestall trade union militancy by committing a future Labour government to keep almost all the Tories' anti-union laws.

*Socialist Organiser* has been in the forefront of the fight on union rights. It launched the project of a Workers' Charter of union rights — fought for by Nottingham East, Wallasey and other CLPs at the 1988 and 1989 Labour conferences, and endorsed this year by the London and North West region Labour Party conferences and the NALGO union conference. October's Labour Party conference may vote down Kinnock on this issue.

The swish of Kinnock's sabre, aimed at the Marxist left (*Socialist Organiser*) and at the most elementary practices of trade union solidarity, should concentrate minds. If the party of the trade unions accepts that all trade union action other than the most tame bread-and-butter single-workplace action should be banned, then the working class is not going to achieve much in the near future. If *Socialist Organiser* is successfully banned, then every other newspaper or pressure group of the Left can be prohibited at Kinnock's whim. On these issues the Left must unite; and if we unite we can begin to regain ground.

Colin Foster

# SURVEY

Industry

## A tale of two struggles

The present state of trade unionism in Britain can be quite usefully gauged by comparing two recent struggles: the September 1989-March 1990 ambulance dispute, and the national engineering dispute which was one year old by mid 1990.

Both campaigns were examples of 'new look' trade unionism, with great emphasis put on public relations. The ambulance unions pooled their respective press officers under the auspices of 'PE's Lyn Bryan, while the Confed (Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions) brought in an outside PR firm that specialises in union promotion.

Both were led by 'new realist' bureaucrats — NUPE's Roger Poole representing the 'left' face of new realism, the AEU's Bill Jordan unashamedly right wing.

Both disputes were carefully designed to stay within the Tory union laws, and militant posturing (these days fashionably derided as 'Scargillism') was avoided like the plague.

It was generally agreed that the ambulance unions won the PR battle hands down. Roger Poole, the identikit modern bureaucrat (well-groomed, young and reasonable) rang rings round the bumbling Duncan Nichol and the fatuous Kenneth Clarke. The ambulance workers already had a massive reservoir of public goodwill to call on, and with Poole's smooth presentation they quickly won 80%-plus in the opinion polls.

And yet the final deal at the end of February was clearly a victory for the government. The ambulance workers achieved no more than a 'repackaging' of the original offer. 6.5% over 12 months became 13% over two years.

The rank and file were plainly not taken in by Poole's dishonest bluster about a 'staggering' deal. But after six months of stalemate, and with no apparent way forward, they reluctantly accepted.

The national engineering dispute, 'Drive for 35', started out much less auspiciously. The 'drive for 35' did not arise from any obvious rank and file pressure, but was cooked up by Jordan and Laird of the AEU together with Alex Ferry of the Confed.

The unions' PR efforts were, in fact, aimed more at their own members than at the general public, and the employers (in the words of the *Financial Times*) "scoffed" at the threat of strike action. Support for the campaign was under-



Ambulance drivers leaflet Tory Party Conference. Photo: Paul Herrmann (Profile)

mined right at the start by Bill Jordan's announcement that the unions would be prepared to settle for 37 hours — a 'compromise' that meant that the vast majority of white-collar engineers, already on 37 hours, felt they had nothing to gain from the campaign.

Only selected groups of workers were called out, after being balloted on an individual plant basis so as to stay within the law. Only 12,000 workers and seven plants have been involved in strikes. The Confed leaders encouraged local deals that initially fell far short of the official demand for 35 hours *without strings*.

For these reasons, and because of a general dislike and suspicion of Bill Jordan, the left has been noticeably unenthusiastic about the campaign, with some militants even arguing that *no support whatsoever* should be given.

At first it looked as if the pessimists would be proved correct. Early settlements at NEI Parsons, Rolls Royce Glasgow and Smiths in Cheltenham all involved a lot of strings like bell-to-bell working and the removal of washing-up time. By the end of 1989, the national levy that financed strike pay was in deep trouble, and the entire campaign looked to be on the verge of collapse.

Then the tide began to turn. British Aerospace was crucial. The company had been hit by strikes at three plants, Preston, Chester, and Kingston. They had responded by imposing extensive layoffs and by using in scabs. The scabbing was defeated by a mass picket at Preston, and the company was forced to scale down the layoffs.

Preston and Chester stayed out until March, while Kingston held out for 23 weeks and saw off most of the company's strings. Since then Lucas component workers at Pontypool and Cwmbran have won 37 hours without any strings, and engineers at Weir Industries have achieved a two-hour cut plus a 10.9% pay deal.

Dangerous concessions have been made, especially early on in the campaign, but overwhelmingly the balance sheet on the dispute is positive. Strings

can be fought line by line on the shop floor, but a cut in hours is a permanent gain, and the 37 hour week is now established as the norm throughout engineering.

The big difference between the engineers and the ambulance workers is, of course, one of old-fashioned muscle. The ambulance crews could never win on their own, but Poole and the TUC refused even to discuss turning the enormous level of passive support for the dispute into solidarity (i.e. strike) action. Intoxicated by their media success, the unions seemed to believe that public opinion alone could somehow assure them victory.

The engineers had the muscle to win, and in the end it was factors like the firm stand taken at Kingston and the mass picket at Preston that won the day... not slick PR. **Jim Denham**

Israel/Palestine

## Influx and intifada

**The influx of East European Jews, mainly Russians, to Israel is water poured on burning oil.**

By the end of this year, maybe quarter of a million will have come since the beginning of this new exodus last year. Large numbers of the migrants are being settled in the occupied West Bank.

A big majority of the Russians would prefer to go to the USA. But that is no longer an option. They are looking for a home after fleeing oppression, and Israel's is the only door open.

By all accounts they tend to be extremely unsympathetic to the Palestinian Arabs, and certainly the Israeli authorities responsible for settling the migrants in the West Bank know that to the Palestinians such settlement is a brazen political provocation.

The West Bank settlements — about 80,000 Jews have settled there since the late 1970s — are a central issue in the

# SURVEY

Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and in particular in the two-and-a-half year old *intifada*. The settlements are usually built on land taken from Arabs by compulsory purchase or some other means. Most of the settlers are on the right and far right of Israeli politics. The organisations which run the settlements do not consider the Palestinians to have any rights at all over the West Bank and Gaza. Surrounded by hostile neighbours, the settlements are maintained like fortresses, with armed defenders who treat the local Arabs with notorious brutality.

The new immigrants are indoctrinated into a belligerent political culture. It is one factor behind the recent upsurge in the Palestinian uprising. The incident which sparked off a big new wave of clashes in mid-1990 between demonstrators and the army was the cold-blooded murder of seven Arabs by a lunatic Israeli in Gaza.

Deep frustrations are developing among the Palestinians. Despite two and a half years of remarkably sustained political mobilisation, little headway is being made in the "peace process". Indeed, the Israeli government has become more, not less, intransigent.

Largely as a result of the political crisis caused by the *intifada*, the Likud-Labour coalition broke up in April. Labour, which had taken seriously Shamir's "peace initiative", tried to form a new government, but failed. Now Shamir has a slender majority for a coalition between Likud and a few far-right religious parties. Shamir himself is under considerable pressure from the Likud right, to whom he appears a dangerous moderate.

Demands for "transfer" — in plain English, mass deportation — of Palestinians will get louder, given extra force by the arrival of so many Russians.

Socialists should not oppose the migration of refugee East European Jews to Israel. In itself, if other things were equal, their migration even to the West Bank would not be objectionable. But, of course, other things are not equal: Jewish settlement in the West Bank and Gaza is one of the most brutal and mortally threatening expressions of the oppression of the Palestinians.

The migrants should be absorbed into Israeli society. And Israel should get out of the West Bank and Gaza.

Clive Bradley

## Northern Ireland Ulster says maybe

**After the Anglo-Irish Agreement was agreed by the British and Irish governments in 1985 the Unionists of Northern Ireland put their well-oiled machine into gear and prepared to successfully block another initiative.**

The walls of Protestant towns were bedecked with posters bearing the uncompromising legend 'Ulster Says No!' The best piece of graffiti I've seen for some time brightened up one of the entrances to Belfast: 'Ulster Says No!' said one piece of handwriting; 'But the Juice Man from Del Monte He Says Yes' some wag had written after it.

Ulster Unionists, five years later, are not quite saying yes, but if you listen closely you can hear a faint maybe. Soon they will enter talks with the main nationalist party, the SDLP, about a new form of government for Northern Ireland. After these talks they will meet representatives of the Irish Republic's government to discuss the relationship between any Northern Ireland government and the Republic. If both these issues can be settled to the satisfaction of all parties, the British and Irish governments will reconsider the status of the Anglo-Irish Agreement.

Of course there have been talks in Northern Ireland before, and all of these parties have at some stage been involved. In addition, there are many variables which could put a spanner in any stage of this process: loyalist pressure, the IRA campaign, trigger-happy security forces, etc.

The rock on which Unionists broke all previous proposals was the threat of a role for the Irish Republic. Paisley, above all, would not even talk to anyone who talked to the South. They removed Terence O'Neill on this issue, they removed Brian Faulkner and smashed the Sunningdale Powersharing Agreement in 1974. Now Ian Paisley and James Molyneaux will lead the Unionists into talks with the Republic about the future of Northern Ireland. This, not only foreign but hostile, 'power' is to be

a negotiating partner.

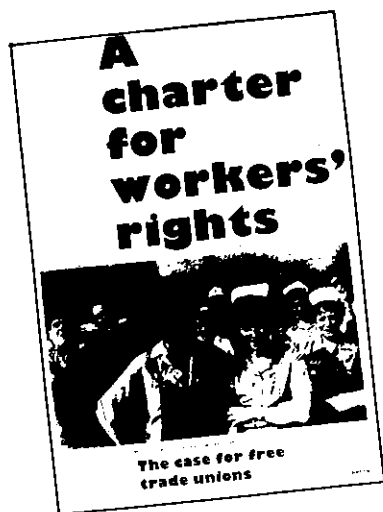
Central to understanding these developments is the fact that militant Unionist opposition to the 1985 Agreement faded dismally. It wasn't that Protestants didn't turn out; they did, in huge numbers. The decisive factor was the determination of the British to pay them no heed. For four years the Unionists were told that they could only begin to affect the Agreement by negotiating an agreed settlement with the Nationalists. The British have got through with the message that they are not prepared to simply shore up Unionism on its own terms.

In the last year Peter Brooke has been conducting a series of talks with the leading parties. The aim, now apparently achieved, was to kick-start a serious advance to an internal settlement. These talks are on much firmer ground than their predecessors, they are hardest on the biggest obstacle, the Unionists. If the talks fail the Inter-Governmental Conference resumes. The SDLP are under pressure to make real gains because of the residual strength of Sinn Fein. The real pressure is on Unionists to concede what they bitterly fought in the past — powersharing and an Irish 'dimension'.

It has become fashionable in liberal circles in Northern Ireland to constrict the stagnation there with the excitement and fluidity of Eastern Europe.

No doubt this background influences popular consciousness. The biggest influence in Northern Ireland, however, like that in Eastern Europe has been the fundamental shift in the policy of the 'regional power'. The British government has changed its attitude to the competing communities in Northern Ireland and has allied itself much more to constitutional nationalism. The seriousness of that shift has finally hit the Unionists, soon it will have to be accounted for in the analyses of socialists also.

Patrick Murphy



Copies available from Wallasey CLP, 11 Egremont Promenade, Wallasey, Merseyside L44 8BG

Workers' Liberty no.14 p.10

£2.50/95

Volume 3, No 1, Summer 1990

## REVOLUTIONARY HISTORY



THOSE WHO DO NOT LEARN FROM HISTORY ARE DOOMED TO REPEAT IT

Summer 1990 issue — just out!

Order from: Barry Buitekant,  
111 Riverside Close, Mount Pleasant Hill,  
London E5 9SS. £2.50 plus p&p (UK:40p).