

# Socialist Worker

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism

# THE RICH ARE LIVING THE LIFE OF REILLY



Photo: Derek Speirs (IFL/Report)

**RECESSION** how are ye!  
The well-dressed scumbag on the right doesn't know the meaning of the word.

He's Tony O'Reilly, the Heinz Bean Baron and bossman of the gutter Independent Newspaper group.

And while the rest of us have been listening to the shower up in Leinster House telling us we're too greedy for our own good, O'Reilly and his rotten-rich cronies have been making a mint - for doing sweet fuck-all.

Alongside his other perks and positions, O'Reilly is a big wheel in the oil outfit Atlantic Resources, which plans to drain all the oil out of the Celtic Sea for the benefit - not of "Ireland" - but of the crooks and

financial cut-throats who hold all the Atlantic shares.

And the same Leinster House hypocrites who have been talking about the need for everybody to tighten their belts are right behind him.

Here is what O'Reilly told the US business magazine *Forbes* a couple of months back.

## FORTUNE

He described how himself and a couple of mates realised there was a fortune to be made out of Irish oil. The problem was to get the licence for the most likely patch of the sea-bed.

"We chose six blocks we believed in. Since I own 35% of the newspapers in Ireland,

I have close contacts with the politicians. I got the blocks we wanted".

Now you know why O'Reilly contributes so massively to the ruling Fine Gael party. It's an investment. With a return of literally thousands of per cent.

Atlantic Resources went on the market with a value of \$7 million. Within nine weeks, it went up to \$86 million.

Seventy-nine million dollars in two months. For doing nothing! Except bribing politicians!

Whatever oil wealth there is out there was supposed to be great for "the country". Instead it has passed into the bulging bank accounts of bloated bourgeois bribe merchants, wasters who neither work nor want!

And these people tell us the country's going to rack and ruin.

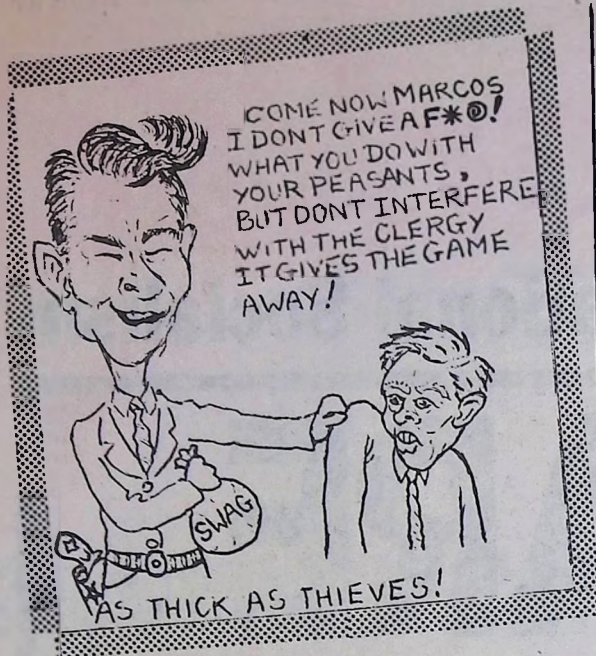
It's the people he pays to put into power who tell the unemployed they can live on £30 a week; tell public sector workers they can't have a

penny extra this year; who are cutting the health and education services; who say that they can't afford to provide contraception free on the health service; who want to slash jobs in the ESB.

The rotten rich are getting richer while the poor are left to rot. That's O'Reilly's Ireland, 1984.

The time has come to stick the boot in them - hard.

Why Reagan is not welcome here - page 3



## FATHER WHO?

THERE is nothing superficial about the Marcos regime in the Philippines. It is openly corrupt and repressive, unlike the more subtle forms we have come to know so well.

Support for this repression comes from the Mad Ballyporeen Bomber, and his administration, who pay billions of dollars to Marcos and his cronies. The money pays for the stick with which the Mad Bomber, through Marcos, can beat the shit out of the Filipino working class, to try to stop them organising. But the approach isn't working.

General strikes, protest marches, occupations etc., are becoming a frequent occurrence. These are the weapons that workers can use most effectively, and it works. It hits the capitalists where it hurts most - their pockets.

What's going on in the Filipino working class is being ignored by the media in their blow-by-blow account of Fr. Niall O'Brien's case. This is probably for the same reason that they usually ignore our Irish version of Fr. O'Brien - a man in jail without a fair trial, convicted on the basis of a confession got out of him by torture;

left in jail by a government which refuses to meet international human rights groups - a man every bit as innocent as Niall O'Brien.

Of course, we're talking about Nicky Kelly. And it's not just that Nicky Kelly isn't a priest (although that would probably help him). But he's an embarrassment who shows just how crooked our 'justice' system is, just how 'non-political' our judges, just how 'fair' the Gardai who beat him up.

All the hype about Fr. O'Brien is nothing more than hypocrisy as long as Nicky Kelly is in jail.

By: EAMONN LEWSLEY



## Divide and Rule

WORKERS IN DUNDALK are angry at their treatment by the American-based Weyenberg Ltd. The company was established in 1969 to make shoes for the American market. It employed 300 workers at its peak.

In 1979 it put its workforce on short time. In 1983, redundancies were announced. The company was never the most generous. One of the companies scheme was an annual bonus of £100 a year to be raffled between the entire workforce!

Just as the company was running down its Dundalk plant, the Steadfast Ltd shoe company in Carrickmacross was closing. Weyenberg saw their opportunity. They bought out the Steadfast company and began trading in their name. They began to

transfer production from Dundalk to Carrickmacross.

The ITGWU played a scandalous role in the whole affair. They negotiated lower piece rates at the Steadfast plant and agreed to no wage increase for a year to make the company viable. The workers in Dundalk and Carrickmacross were set in direct competition with each other. The Carrickmacross workers were pressured into cutting the rates of those in Dundalk - with union connivance.

Weyenberg have now decided they can ride rough shod over the union altogether. They have sent out a new offer over the union's head to re-open the Dundalk plant - provided piece rates are lower and wages are frozen.

It is literally a case of divide and rule.

# WHY WE LEFT LABOUR

The Ballymun Estate Branch of the Labour Party has decided with reluctance to disband. But they felt they had no choice, considering the role of the Labour Party in coalition and its total lack of interest in the welfare of the residents of Ballymun.

Socialist Worker interviewed Barney Hartnett who was branch secretary in Ballymun and has been a long time activist and fighter for socialism. Socialist Worker: What brought on the decision to disband the branch?

Barney Hartnett: Well, first I want to say we have always been opposed to Coalition and up to some months ago, were willing to fight within the Labour Party for a majority Labour government. But over the last couple of months it has become increasingly harder to justify our

selves staying members of a party that was so blatantly selling out the working class.

S.W. What is the record of the Labour Party with the residents of Ballymun?

B.H. Terrible. Any issues affecting the residents of Ballymun, the local branch had to fight alone. We never got any support from the Labour Party. The reality is they don't give a damn about the people in Ballymun. The only time you see the politicians is at election time. We believe that Spring, Desmond and the rest are traitors to the labour movement and to the socialist ideals of Larkin and Connolly. They should do the decent thing and join O'Leary in Fine Gael.

S.W. What about the left wingers like Halligan and Michael D. Higgins?

# BUGS INFEST FREE STATE 'DEMOCRACY'

SOME ASPECTS of the Mallon bugging affair are so ridiculous that it's been hard to take it seriously.

But one very serious thing does emerge from it. That the guards are out of control.

Or, to put it more accurately, that the guards are out of democratic control.

It's still not absolutely certain who did it. But it is certain that neither Garret Fitzgerald nor justice minister Noonan knew for definite whether or not the guards were involved.

Even after his so-called investigation, Noonan had to admit in the Dail that perhaps a "maverick" group of gardai had been up to their necks in it.

The Gardai are not a democratic institution. They exist not to enforce the rule of the people, but to enforce rule over the people.

The Police are getting a bad name' Garda Thomas Quinn was fined a mere £100 for running a brothel. The Garda has a keen sense of capitalist management, Clints paid a £12 entrance fee. £9 went to Garda Quinn and his wife; £2 went to the receptionist and £1 went to the women who entertained the guests. Garda Quinn was previously the chairperson of the 'Castlenock Residents Association'. He spent much of his time complaining about 'immoral parties' in the area

That's one of the main reasons socialists oppose giving any more power to the guards.

Funnily enough, that came in the same week as Paddy Cooney - Justice Minister from '73 to '77 - wrote a letter to the Irish Times denying that he knew anything about the Heavy Gang.

He didn't go so far as to deny point blank that the Heavy Gang had existed. Just that as far as he knew they never existed.

## SECURITY

What all this reveals is that the guards regularly get up to things - usually in the name of "national security" - which their "democratic" masters don't know about. Or rather don't want to know about.

There's even an official name for this type of activity in garda and security circles. They are called "Plausibly Deniable Operations". Things done on a nod and a wink basis so that if they go wrong the garda chiefs and the government ministers can put their hands on their hearts and swear blind they knew nothing about it.

## GARDAI

This is very handy. Because they know that if they had to defend these things in public they'd be on a very sticky wicket.

Between '73 and '77 the Cosgrave Government was on a law and order kick, with Paddy Cooney kicking hardest of all. They wanted "subversives" rounded up wholesale



"Merces and Perks" in the Labour Party

B.H. At a recent constituency meeting, when I questioned Spring about the savage increases in rent in Ballymun, Halligan didn't open his mouth once, or give me any support at all.

S.W. Would you see the Workers Party as a serious socialist alternative?

B.H. Never. I have no time for their brand of socialism, to me a socialist party has got to represent the working

class internationally. Their response to the workers fighting against the Polish regime in 1981 and their support for the Russian regime which exploits workers as does capitalism, betrays the whole idea of socialism.

S.W. What about Sinn Fein?

B.H. I don't think that nationalism offers anything to the working class. International socialism is the only answer.

and put away. It didn't matter much whether the "subversives" were actually guilty of anything - as witness the Nicky Kelly case.

## HEAVY GANG

So the Heavy Gang went into action and kicked confessions out of people. The Government - Cosgrave, Cooney, O'Brien, Donegan etc - knew full well what was going on.

But of course they didn't know "officially". Which is why Cooney can now act the innocent.

It's the same thing with garda bugging activities. It happens on a massive scale, organised from offices on the second floor of the Technical Bureau in Phoenix Park. Phones are tapped, listening devices are planted, films made secretly, all sorts of personal information gathered, coded and computerised.

Every justice minister knows in general terms that this is going on, and will even be aware of the specific details.

But we only find out about the real dirty work when somebody makes a names of an operation and it suddenly bursts onto the front pages of newspapers.

The Mallon business isn't of vast importance to socialists. Seamus Mallon has powerful friends and is well able to look after himself.

It's all the rest of it we should worry about - the existence of a highly organised and massively financed political police force whose activities are never subjected to open examination or direct

democratic control.

It's then that the concept of the Plausibly Deniable Operation comes into its own - as may well have happened in the Mallon affair.

EAMONN McCANN



Mr Michael Smurfit

I'd say that toasts to Mrs Thatcher's health were proposed and drunk in many an Irish boardroom on the evening of the British budget. Thanks to Mrs. T. Irish companies with subsidiaries in Britain will benefit from the proposed reduction in Corporation Tax.

Among the companies that stand to benefit are Smurfits, Cement Roadstone Holdings, Waterford Glass and the Abbey Group.

We hope that the workers in these companies will take note of their bosses little windfall when they are negotiating their new pay deal.



# REAGAN - HEAD HIM OFF AT THE PASS!

REPORT BY STEWART DOWIE

REAGAN is not just a nasty old man who doesn't care about people. He is the symbol and representative of American capitalism. His war-mongering, his foreign policy and his economic policies in America are all designed to protect and expand American capitalism.

Since Reagan became President of the US, his administration has spent more money on arms than any other country in history. In fact, every year since 1977, there has been a large increase in US arms expenditure; the increases have been massive

since Reagan took over in 1980.

And the Americans aren't satisfied that they are spending hundreds of billions of dollars every year on nuclear missiles, they are insisting that their NATO allies do the same. Putting Cruise missiles in Europe is only part of their strategy. They're also demanding that other NATO countries spend millions on their own armaments. So all over the West health services, education services and unemploy-

ment benefits are being cut while spending on arms is increasing daily.

Spending so much money on war (they call it 'defence') has to be justified. The occasional war or threat of war is the only way it can be justified. So Reagan is willing to invade Grenada, back Thatcher's war in the Falklands and even bring the world to the brink of nuclear war in order to show that his arms spending is 'necessary'. This war mongering is clearly dangerous - someday he may just go over the brink and destroy the world.

what's spent on "aid" to Central American regimes) has been cut from social spending - welfare, unemployment benefits and food stamps have been slashed. Benefits for single parents were removed completely at the same time as abortions were taken off Medicare - which for many working class women has meant a return to the dangers of backstreet abortion.

## US UNIONS

And he's also been attacking the organised working class. This attack wasn't started by Reagan. It began in earnest in 1979 with the Chrysler contract - which dropped the wages of Chrysler workers to about £2.50 below those of other carworkers. Predictably, this led to other major car companies insisting that their workers agree to a drop in wages as well.

But the attack on the working class was stepped up in 1981 by Reagan himself, when he summarily fired 11,700 air traffic controllers in the PATCO strike.

## IRELAND

It was really sickening. As the TV news showed scenes of PATCO union leaders being taken off to jail, Reagan was praising Solidarnosc in Poland. The right to strike, according to Reagan, should exist everywhere except where it might hurt American capitalism.

Which brings us to Ireland. Successive Irish governments have told us that US investment will be our saviour. That's a real con-trick. Their multinationals are only here for tax-free super profits, which are subsidised by the PAYE worker. That's why they so often close their factories and pull out of Ireland when the IDA grants run out. Anyway, it makes no sense to import into this country policies that have led to the soup kitchen and the dole in the States.

Reagan is up for re-election this year. The Irish vote is always important in American elections. That's why he's visiting Ireland. We have to show him - and workers in America - that we do not welcome the man whose policies kill thousands in Central America, create unemployment and poverty in his own country and bring war and famine to many parts of the world.

## CENTRAL AMERICA

Reagan's foreign policy in places like El Salvador, Nicaragua, Guatemala, South America, the Philippines is about making those countries safe places for American capital to invest.

That is why Reagan has poured billions of dollars into "aid" for the regimes in places like Central America. Its why American 'military advisers' are training the 'contras' in places like Honduras and Guatemala to try to destabilise Nicaragua. Its why the US has been pushing for elections in El Salvador which will pave the way for a land reform without which the mass of the rural population cannot be wooed away from active or passive support for the guerillas.

## STARVING

Reagan is clearly not worried about the scale of repression in places like El Salvador and Guatemala. He is not concerned by the death squads who nightly massacre hundreds of socialists, trade unionists, students and church workers. If that's what must be done to keep those right-wing regimes going, that's fine by Reagan.

After all, Reagan is doing his bit at home too for American capital. There are about 230 million people in the US. Official figures say that over 35 million of these are living below the poverty line with another 50 million living just on it. That's why they've had to set up soup kitchens in all the cities to feed those who are starving in the richest country in the world.

Some \$ 25 billion (about



I spent 33 years and four months in active service as a member of the marine corps. And during that time I spent most of my time being a high class muscle man for big business, Wall Street and for the big bankers. In short I was a racketeer for capitalism.

Thus I helped make Haiti and Cuba decent places for National City Bank. I helped purify Nicaragua for the international banking house Brown Bros. I brought light to the Dominican Republic for American sugar interests .... I helped make Honduras "right" for American fruit companies ....

General Smedley D Butler  
(in his memoirs, 1935)

## WHAT WE THINK

THE VISIT of Ronald Reagan to Ireland should be an occasion for mass anger. There should be thousands on the streets to demonstrate disgust. The Reagan Reception Campaign has been formed to organise that anger.

The Campaign was formed out of a meeting called on the initiative of the Socialist Workers Movement. It aims to build itself as a broad-based and militant campaign. In its statement the RRC stated:

*We are against Reagan's visit for the following reasons:*

1. We oppose U.S. foreign policy and in particular the nuclear strategy of the present administration;
2. We support those fighting U.S. imperialism in Nicaragua, El Salvador and other parts of the world.
3. We oppose any present or future collaboration between an Irish government and NATO.
4. We think the visit is a waste of tax payers' money when working people are being asked daily to tighten their belts.

The Campaign holds its first public meeting on April 4 in the CIE Hall, Marlborough Street, Dublin. After that the aim is to build the campaign in the local areas - around Dublin and around the country.

The key for the campaign are the two months prior to the visit. It is vital that there is not just a once-off demonstration. Successive Irish governments are moving closer to dropping their sham neutrality and working towards closer collaboration with NATO. The bosses solution to crisis in Irish capitalism is to push for more U.S. investment. Even on the North, the elite in Ireland seek to involve U.S. imperialism as a lever on the British.

For all these reasons, a massive propaganda campaign must be conducted in the run up to the visit. Public meetings should be held all over the country to hear clear socialist arguments on why there should be opposition to US imperialism at home and abroad.

For these reasons the SWM urges all its readers and supporters to back the Reagan Reception Campaign by :-

1. Raising resolutions at trade union branches to commit them to support demonstrations against the visit.
2. Leaflet your workplace and sell the badges and pamphlets.
3. Join in building the campaign in local areas and work for public meetings.
4. Raise money for the campaign and send donations to the RRC. c/o

## THE PRICE OF RESPECTABILITY

THE Reagan Reception Campaign is not the first attempt to organise mass opposition to the visit. An initial attempt to launch a broad campaign floundered when a coalition of pacifists, radical feminists and church representatives demanded that everyone joining the campaign 'must give a commitment to non-violence'. The SWM, amongst others, refused to embrace this pacifist outlook.

We refused, not because we wanted to see a violent demonstration. We argued that it is the police and the state who determines whether a demonstration is violent or not. The issue cannot be solved by training people in 'non-violent techniques'. That only leads to a form of elitism, where only the chosen few know best how to protest and to cope. The aim of any campaign should simply be to

mobilise the largest numbers of people for a disciplined demonstration.

We were prepared to operate in the campaign as a minority. But even this was not acceptable.

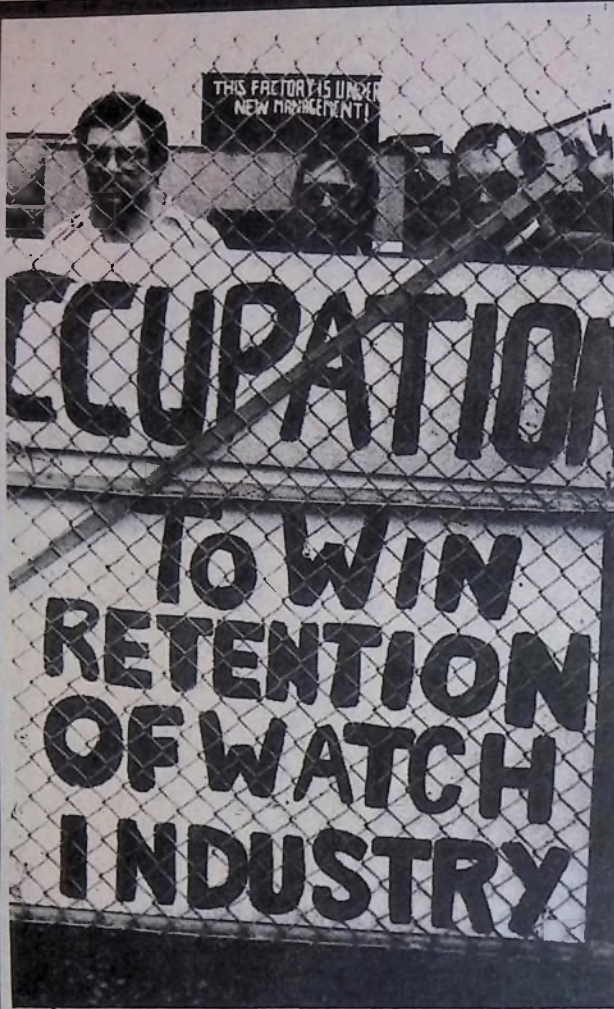
The campaign was dissolved because of the failure of groups like SWM to renounce their own views and adopt a pacifist outlook.

We consider this an extremely sectarian and stupid response. We believe that it has more to do with distancing themselves from the forces of the revolutionary left.

Apparently it is more acceptable to work for those in other countries who are engaged in armed struggle - but over here the price of respectability demands a resort to witch-hunting.

The Reagan Reception Campaign, by contrast, will be open to all and sundry.

# OCCUPY



## DATSUN WIN

The Datsun workers who occupied the factory to save their jobs showed how to win. They immediately sent delegations out to other workers looking for solidarity. They organised blacking of Datsun cars at all the ports and closed Datsun subsidiary companies through their picketing. Jean Cross talked to Harry Barton, one of the workers who occupied and now has his job back about how they won. Harry had this to say:

"Factories are built with money got from exploiting workers. So factories are not the property of the bosses to do what they want with them. Workers have to have a say.

Workers have a right to save their livelihood, and to stop employers from closing workplaces. Occupations are a legitimate form of trade union activity to safeguard jobs.

Jobs are not personal property for workers to sell. If young people are going to have jobs, we must occupy every factory and workplace when jobs are threatened.

The success of the Datsun occupation was definitely due to the solidarity of other workers across the 32 counties. This enabled the blocking of attempts by management to import and forced them to keep the jobs.



Carrigaline, for example, workers gave up their occupation to establish a co-op. Unfortunately, they had support of all the respectable elements in Cork but what they saved in the end was less than a quarter of the jobs at the factory.

### WORKERS CO-OP

The IDA, the banks, the press, will support co-ops because they know that it means workers clubbing in their money to buy out the boss. Normally, workers have less capital than any capitalist. A factory they put into operation is forced to work hard for worse conditions in order to compensate for the lack of capital. The militant trade union spirit that leads to this resistance is done away with as agreements are ripped up in order to make the co-op viable. The harsh truth is that the feelings for workers control cannot be realised in the co-op.

The co-op leads only to the class capitalism.

The other way that workers often turn is to the trade

LAST YEAR a Chilean refugee, Carlo Lopez, spoke at a Socialist Workers Movement public meeting to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the Chilean coup in 1973. He explained some of the events leading up to the coup like this:

"The workers in the hospital where I worked occupied the building. It was tremendously exciting. We ran the bosses and their managers out of the place. In a short space of time we the workers had the hospital under our control. I was asked by one particular comrade what socialism really meant. I could not but say 'Just look around you. This here is socialism'."

The action of occupying your own factory is one of the most advanced forms of action workers can take. It takes the

struggle far beyond the simple battle for wages and conditions. Potentially it strikes at the very heart of the capitalist system. It is a direct challenge to the bosses control over production - over their 'rights' to do what they please by virtue of owning private property.

But we also have to hold on for a second and realise the circumstances in which occupations take place. In Chile, and in Italy in 1920, the occupations occurred at the height of a mass struggle where militant and moderate workers were fighting together. The bosses room to manoeuvre was closed off. They could do little about the occupations. Unfortunately though, the workers did not move from their power over the factories to destroying the bosses state machine.

Here in Ireland, there is not a great wave of militancy at the moment. In fact the numbers of workers engaged in struggle has dropped as the fear of unemployment grows. Those who are in occupation are doing so while most other workers organisations are under attack; they're on the defensive. As a result their ability to win much is limited when they cannot win the solidarity of other workers needed to take the struggle forward.

### RANKS

Take the case of Ranks. They have been in occupation for a year and a half. They were jailed under the Forcible Entry Act; while they were in jail, they could get other

workers to strike in their support. These strikes managed to stuff all the legal jargon down the judges throat and get the Ranks workers freed. Since then, however, they have not managed to win the same support to fight for their jobs.

When the bosses are on the offensive the tactic of occupying becomes a symbol of

resistance. But symbols do not lead to victories unless they can move very quickly on to winning wider solidarity. When those who are occupying at the moment find themselves isolated, there are two ways they tend to turn.

sometimes a powerful momentum moves towards establishing a workers co-op. In

## When Italy's workers

WHEN RUSSIAN and German workers brought the slaughter of World War One to an end, revolution seemed poised to sweep across Europe. The period 1919-20 in Italy has gone down in history as the Biennio Rosso - the two red years.

The highpoint of these years was the occupation of the factories by some half a million workers in September 1920.

On the eve of the war 57% of the Italian population were still dependent on the land. But the war produced a new industrial working class. Trade unionism grew enormously. The membership of the Socialist union federation, the CGL, swelled from a prewar figure of 400,000 to over two million in 1919.

A massive wave of strikes secured an eight-hour working day that same year. Demonstrations and strikes over food prices bordered on insurrection. And there was a two-day national strike in solidarity with Soviet Russia.

A network of factory councils sprang up in the Northern industrial city of Turin. In the south the peasants occupied the land. And there were mutinies in the army. The Socialist Party (PSI), a mass party with a membership of over 200,000 won a third of the votes in the 1919 elections.

It was apparently a very left wing party. Virtually alone

of the parties of the Second International it opposed the war. In 1919 it affiliated to the new Communist International.

The leading group in the party were known as the maximalists. They were very strong on revolutionary rhetoric, far surpassing anything Sinn Fein, the Workers Party or the left of the Labour Party might be saying today.

But all this left wing talk remained at a distance from the struggles taking place on the ground. When the peasants seized the land, the maximalists dismissed the action as 'petty bourgeois'. They stood by in April 1920 and watched as half a million workers in Turin struck in defence of their factory councils and were defeated.

The party which these self-styled revolutionaries worked within was dominated by reformists. Yet they refused to be directed by Lenin and the Communist International to kick out the reformists.

The real test of the Socialist Party came three months later with the occupation of the factories. The dispute grew initially out of the metal workers wage claim which was put forward in May 1920. Negotiations continued until August when the employers adopted a completely intransigent position.

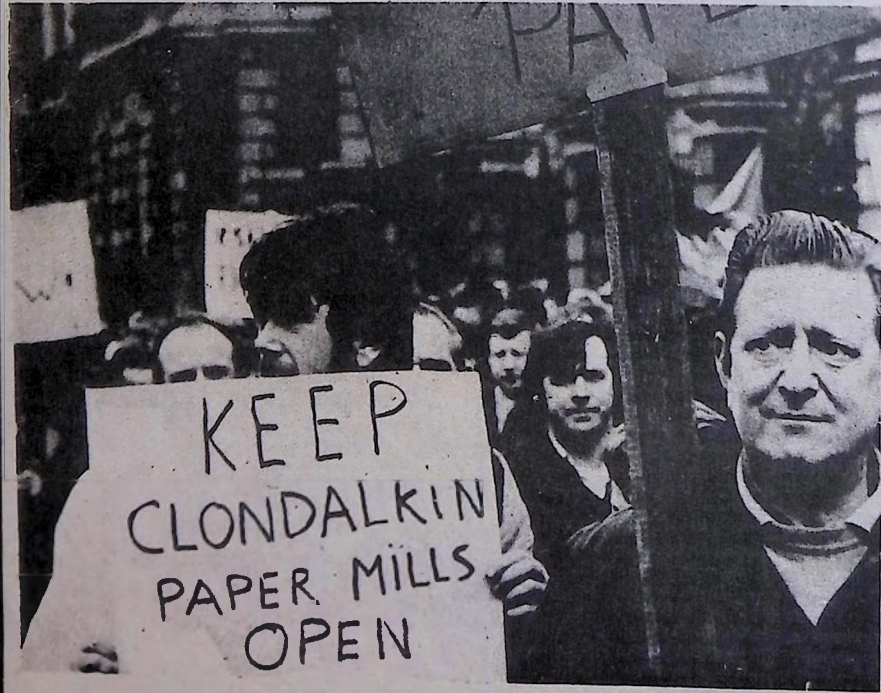
The new confidence which characterised the working class after the war was by 1920 matched by an equal feeling of strength on the part of the employers. The formation in 1919 of the Confindustria - the equivalent of the FUE - had given them a new sense of national power. By the end of August they simply tired of negotiating with the metal workers and dug their heels in.

"Since the war we've done nothing but drop our pants", said their spokesman. "Now it's your turn".

The metalworkers union decided on a go-slow from 2 August. Their leaders however had no stomach for a fight. They were quite prepared to call off the action provided the bosses came back around the negotiating table.

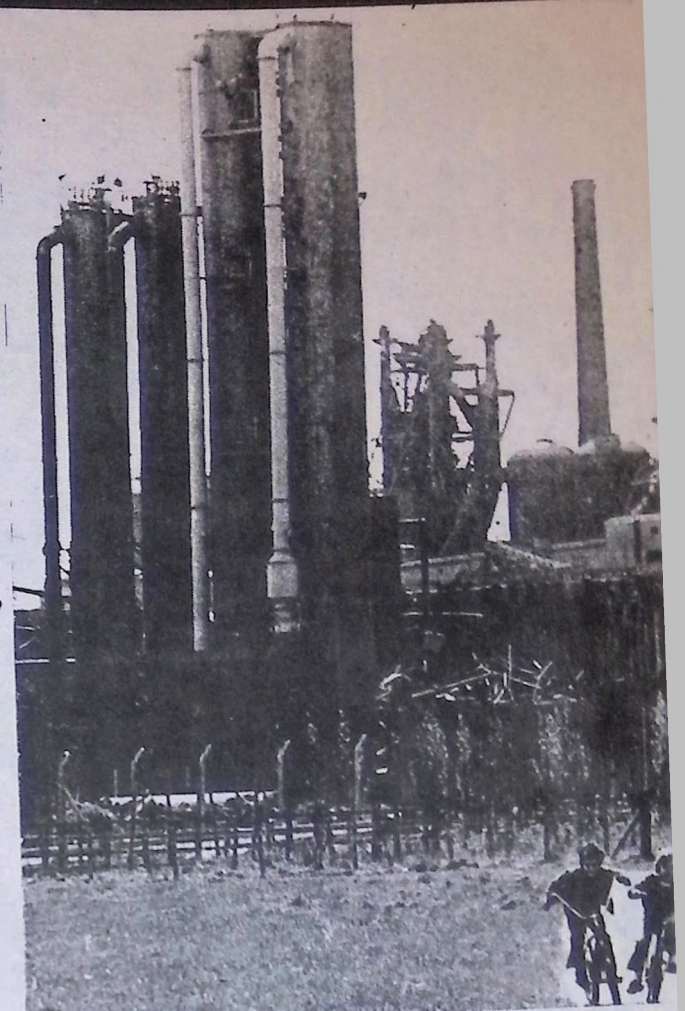
But resumed negotiations were the last thing the employers had in mind. They embarked on quite a different course of action. The boss of the Romeo plant in Milan led the way. When the workers arrived at the plant on Monday 30 August, they found the gates closed and the factory guarded by troops.

While the local officials debated whether Romeo's lock-out was his own decision or part of a national bosses plan, the workers lost no time. All over Milan metalworkers occupied their factories.



Union leaders sold Clondalkin down the river

# CUPPED!



REPORT COMPILED BY MICHAEL BERRY  
AND KIERAN ALLEN

Carrigaline, for example, the workers gave up their occupation to establish a co-op. Unfortunately, they had the support of all the respectable elements in Cork but what they saved in the end was less than a quarter of the jobs in the factory.

## WORKERS CO-OP

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The co-op leads only to working class capitalism.

The other way that workers often turn is to the trade

union leaders to break out of their isolation and 'deliver' solidarity. In Clondalkin, two workers, Myles Speight and Brian Nolan went on hunger strike to break the deadlock in their occupation. At a meeting in Clondalkin John Carroll, Matt Merrigan and Brian Anderson pledged their support. They even called for a stoppage in Dublin to support the workers. But they were careful to time the stoppage for the day after the Dail vote on the issue.

The union leaders were also in a good position after that to argue for the agreement that Bruton and the Coalition finally concocted.

The result: 35 jobs saved out of over 400.

The union bureaucrats have no sympathy with occupations. Their style is to send deputations with the

local TDs 'up to see the Minister'. When they are forced to act they confine themselves to threats and gestures. Any reliance on them will not deliver the solidarity that is required.

The wave of occupations that hit the South over the last year is beginning to recede. Many workers will look at the long struggles that produced limited results. The Coalition threat to punish workers who occupy to save their jobs may also put off others. The few exceptions that do stand out as victories - like Datsun - may not be sufficient to swing the tide back.

## LESSONS

However there are many lessons that can be learnt from the tactic of occupying to make it a more effective

and determined attempt for the future. In the first place, occupying of itself does not lead to victory. It is rather the most militant disregard for the bosses rights. To win you still need solidarity. The Datsun workers have shown that that's the way to win. For that reason, the occupation has to be used as a

base for organising. Every member of the workforce should be involved in the running of the protest. There should be regular open meetings and an occupation committee elected. Delegations should be organised to other factories to raise collections and to invite their reps down to visit the occupation. There should be no reliance on the union officials. Token occupations end up with a minority of work-



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# When Italy's workers look over the factories

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of the parties of the Second International it opposed the war. In 1919 it affiliated to the new Communist International.

The leading group in the party were known as the maximalists. They were very strong on revolutionary rhetoric, far surpassing anything Sinn Fein, the Workers Party or the left of the Labour Party might be saying today.

But all this left wing talk remained at a distance from the struggles taking place on the ground. When the peasants seized the land, the maximalists dismissed the action as 'petty bourgeois'. They stood by in April 1920 and watched as half a million workers in Turin struck in defence of their factory councils and were defeated.

The party which these self-styled revolutionaries worked within was dominated by reformists. Yet they refused to be directed by Lenin and the Communist International to kick out the reformists.

The real test of the Socialist Party came three months later with the occupation of the factories. The dispute grew initially out of the metal workers wage claim which was put forward in May 1920. Negotiations continued until August when the employers adopted a completely intransigent position.

The new confidence which characterised the working class after the war was by 1920 matched by an equal feeling of strength on the part of the employers. The formation in 1919 of the Confindustria - the equivalent of the FUE - had given them a new sense of national power. By the end of August they simply tired of negotiating with the metal workers and dug their heels in.

'Since the war we've done nothing but drop our pants', said their spokesman. 'Now its your turn'.

The metalworkers union decided on a go-slow from 21 August. Their leaders however had no stomach for a fight. They were quite prepared to call off the action provided the bosses came back around the negotiating table.

But resumed negotiations were the last thing the employers had in mind. They embarked on quite a different course of action. The boss of the Romeo plant in Milan led the way. When the workers arrived at the plant on Monday 30 August, they found the gates closed and the factory guarded by troops.

While the local officials debated whether Romeo's lock-out was his own decision or part of a national bosses plan, the workers lost no time. All over Milan metalworkers occupied their factories.

The morning papers described the scene: 'The factories yesterday presented a singular spectacle. One reached them through crowds of women and children, coming and going with dinners for the strikers...Entrances were strictly guarded by groups of workers. Not the ghost of an official or police officer in sight. The strikers were complete masters of the field. Whoever passed in car or cab, was subjected to control as if he was crossing a frontier, control exercised by vigilant squads of wokers and their enthusiastic companions.

The bosses responded by making the lockout nationwide. But again the workers were ready. In city after city metalworkers moved into occupation of their factories and the scene described above became typical of scenes all over the country.

There was an air of revolutionary confidence as workers took over the running of the factories and kept production going. A transport firm phoned Fiat in Turin trying to speak to the manager:  
'Hello, who's there?'  
'This is the Fiat Soviet'.  
'Ah!...Pardon !!! I'll ring again...'

The government was powerless. Any real attempt to stop the occupations would have meant civil war. The prime minister, Giolitti, said later:

'How could I stop the occupation? It is a question of 600 factories in the metallurgical industry. To prevent the occupation, I would have had to put a garrison on each of them ... To occupy the factories I would have had to use all the forces at my disposal! And who would exercise surveillance over the 500,000 workers outside the factories? Who would guard the security of the country? Once the occupations had happened, should I perhaps have cleaned out the factories by force? It would have been civil war'.

## UNION LEADERS

In fact, what Giolitti did was to go on holidays! His instincts told him another solution was close at hand. He looked to the trade union leaders to bring the situation under control.

His instincts were of course right. As the occupations spread and revolutionary fervour mounted the union leaders were beginning to quake with fear.

First they turned to the Turin workers and suggested they might like to lead an armed insurrection. These workers, remembering how the same trade union leaders had left them to fight alone in April, not surprisingly smelt a rather nasty plot. They politely declined the offer.

The union leaders then turned to the Socialist Party and offered them the leadership of the movement. The party leaders sidestepped neatly, claiming it was ...'too grave a responsibility'.

## DEBATE

Finally these brave socialist souls gathered together at a special congress of the CGL on 11 September. They decided to formally debate whether or not to have a revolution.

There were two resolutions. The first, from the union leaders, called for a struggle for 'union control' of the factories. They realised that they were beyond the point where the occupations could be ended with a simple wage solution.

The second resolution, from the party leaders, called for the occupations to be put under their control. They would lead the struggle towards 'the maximum solution of the socialist programme'.

## TURNING POINT

Predictably, the union leaders' resolution won. The revolution was rejected by a majority vote.

That was the turning point of the struggle. All that was needed now was someone to get the employers back to the negotiating. Giolitti knew what he had to do. He got them all together, pushed

through a settlement which gave the metalworkers a wage increase and set up a commission to draft proposals for legislation for 'union control'. With all the steam knocked out of the movement, the metalworkers accepted the deal. By the end of September the factories were back in the hands of the bosses.

## DISASTER

The Italian Communist Party was born out of this disaster. But when revolutionaries like Bordiga and Gramsci split away in 1921, they took only a quarter of the Socialist Party with them.

The events of September had temporarily stunned the bosses. They were all for inviting the Socialists into the government. Agnelli, the boss of Fiat, even proposed turning the factory into a workers' co-operative.

But their paralysis did not last long. Unemployment was beginning to soar, not only in Italy, but all over Europe. The employers got ready to put the boot in.

The 'Union control' scheme proposed by Giolitti was conveniently lost in a hierarchy of committees. The bosses started pouring money into the coffers of the fascists whose armed squads were growing day by day.

By the end of 1922, Mussolini was in power.

# WANTED!

REPORT COMPILED BY MICHAEL BERRY AND KIERAN ALLEN

Union leaders to break out of isolation and 'deliver' solidarity. In Clondalkin, two workers, Myles Speight and an Nolan went on hunger strike to break the deadlock of their occupation. At a meeting in Clondalkin John Merrigan, Matt Merrigan and Ian Anderson pledged their support. They even called for stoppage in Dublin to support the workers. But they were careful to time the stoppage for the day after the Dail vote on the sue.

The union leaders were also in a good position after that to argue for the agreement that Bruton and the Coalition finally concocted.

The result: 35 jobs saved out of over 400.

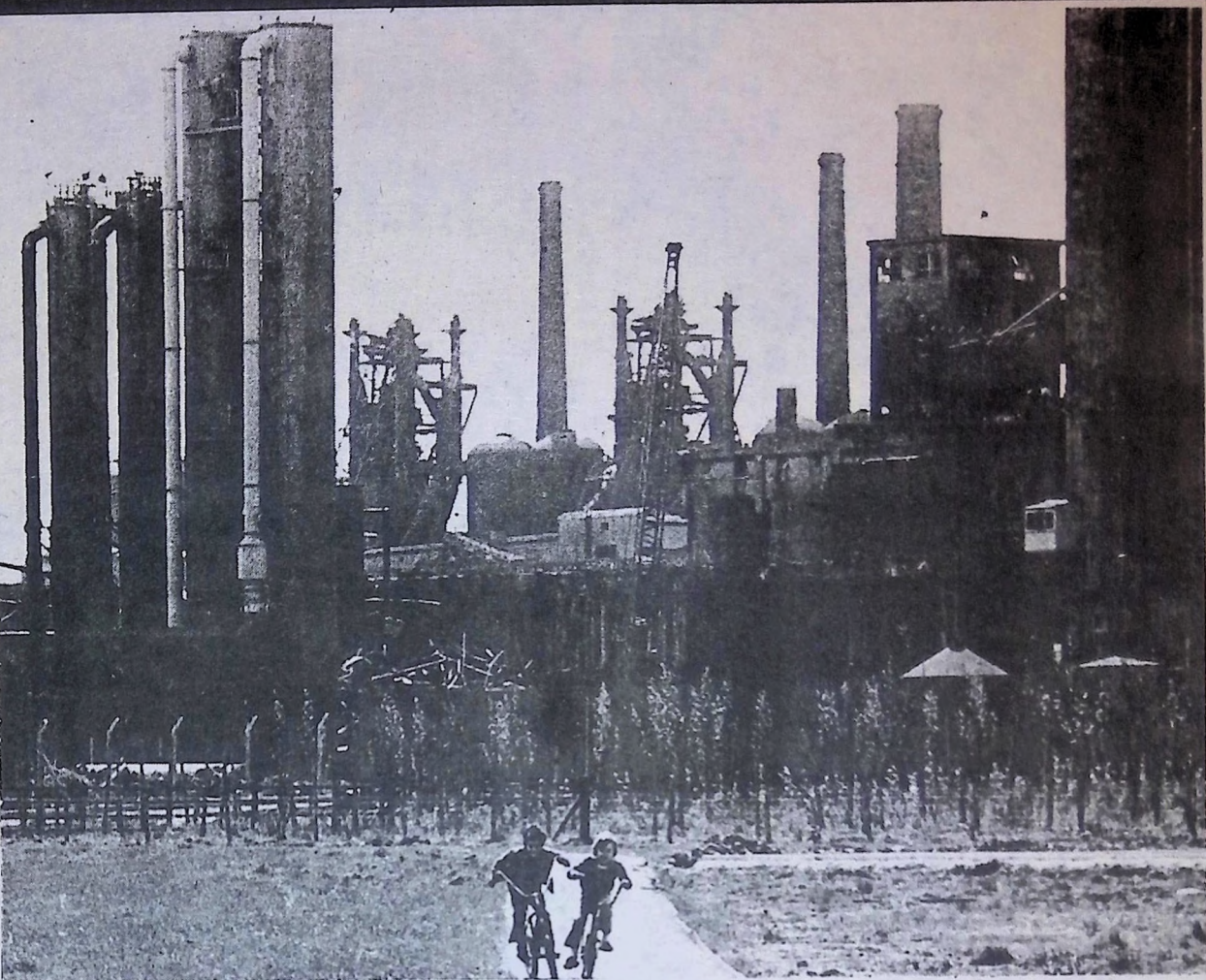
The union bureaucrats have no sympathy with occupations. Their style is to send deputations with the

local TDs 'up to see the Minister'. When they are forced to act they confine themselves to threats and gestures. Any reliance on them will not deliver the solidarity that is required.

The wave of occupations that hit the South over the last year is beginning to recede. Many workers will look at the long struggles that produced limited results. The Coalition threat to punish workers who occupy to save their jobs may also put off others. The few exceptions that do stand out as victories - like Datsun - may not be sufficient to swing the tide back.

## LESSONS

However there are many lessons that can be learnt from the tactic of occupying to make it a more effective



and determined attempt for the future. In the first place, occupying of itself does not lead to victory. It is rather the most militant disregard for the bosses rights. To win you still need solidarity. The Datsun workers have shown that that's the way to win. For that reason, the occupation has to be used as a

base for organising. Every member of the workforce should be involved in the running of the protest. There should be regular open meetings and an occupation committee elected. Delegations should be organised to other factories to raise collections and to invite their reps down to visit the occupation. There should be no reliance on the union officials. Token occupations end up with a minority of work-

ers involved. Militant active occupations will spread solidarity and maintain the involvement of the workers.

The only reason for occupying is to defend jobs. The only effective demand that can save jobs is nationalisation. That means putting the pressure on the state to preserve the jobs. It does not mean winning an island of socialism. Quite the reverse. The basic trade union organisation will be needed as much

against state managers as private managers. But nationalisation is the only way of forcing the failures of private capitalism on to their state.

The wave of occupations that hit the South last year were one of the first breaks with the passive acceptance of redundancy. The wave may recede temporarily. But despite the threats of the Coalition and the IDA, it will revive. Because there is no alternative but to fight.

# Workshop over the factories

The morning papers described the scene: 'The factories yesterday presented a singular spectacle. One reached them through crowds of women and children, coming and going with dinners for the strikers...Entrances were strictly guarded by groups of workers. Not the ghost of an official or police officer in sight. The strikers were complete masters of the field. Whoever passed in car or cab, was subjected to control as if he was crossing a frontier, control exercised by vigilant squads of workers and their enthusiastic companions.

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Workers Power in Italy 1920



Germaine Greer on a sober Sunday afternoon!

# LOONY LIFE-STYLE FEMINIST

I FOR ONE, wasn't all that surprised by Germaine Greer's new book. Lots of people are really shocked by her 'New Chastity' emphasis. It wasn't all that surprising because I've come to the conclusion that what many feminists, like Germaine Greer, are talking about is not women's liberation but lifestyles.

Right from her first book, *The Female Eunuch*, Greer was into lifestyles. In fact, her 'solution' to the problems faced by millions of women living in this sexist world was to buy a farm in Italy to which she and her friends could escape. I remember thinking, ten years ago when I first read the book, "A lot of use that is to me, or my mother or friends".

True, at that stage she was into sex. She wanted women

to be able to enjoy sex without the worry of pregnancy and the economic dependence on men which that can so often mean. So she was then in favour of contraception & abortion being available to all women as easily and freely as possible. Sex was something separate from having kids. And she knew that she would be attacked for her 'denial of the Holy Family'.

Things have changed with her new book *Sex and Destiny*. "The Holy Family" is back with a vengeance - this time its the extended family. And sex is out. At least, it seems to be something no longer to be enjoyed. The Catholic Church should like a lot of what she has to say - abstinence is the best contraceptive, followed by coitus interruptus. *Coitus interruptus?*

By: Goretta Horgan

I hope the woman jests. The problem is, of course, that she's not on her own having these weird ideas. Last year, in the middle of the Amendment campaign, Angela Phillips (co-author of the health book for women, *Our Bodies, Ourselves*) came to Dublin to talk at a Woman's Right To Choose meeting. What was she saying - that women must fight for free abortion on demand - the right to choose? No, she was talking about how abortion can exploit women, how it can be used against them.

Its not that what she was saying wasn't true. It was. But for women in Ireland who cannot get abortions under any circumstances; for women in England, for that matter, who have to pay privately for abortions bec-

ause of the cuts in the health service, to be talking about the ways abortion can be used against women is a bit like talking to a starving person about the dangers of a high cholesterol diet!

But then again, Angela Phillips is like Germaine Greer these days. Like many lifestyle feminists they have forgotten about women's liberation and are interested only in their own liberation - in the way of living which will give them the greatest amount of freedom while leaving the rest of their sisters in the misery of the poverty and unemployment, bad housing, no childcare etc. that most women live under this rotten capitalist system.

What Greer and Phillips and all those likeminded feminists forget is that women's liberation, real emancipation for all women means doing away with the society which makes women into second class citizens, which denies us the right to choose if and when to have children, which makes us workers or mothers depending on what suits their economic needs. That can't be done just by changing your sexual behaviour or by how we bring up our children.

It will take the whole of the working class, women and men, fighting together, to tear down the society we live in and build a new one. A society which workers control, in which we make the decisions. That means Socialism. That means liberation for ALL women. Not just those who can afford "liberated" lifestyles.

# HOW DEV DUMPED NORTH



JIM BLAKE

DEV WAS for many the personification of the Irish Free State. Rigid, scholarly and mystical himself, he tried to impose that image on the emergent bourgeois state.

Dev is reputed to have said that "Labour must wait". What this actually meant was that he saw his task as that of building an independent Capitalist Ireland separate from Britain.

At an ideological level he succeeded in this very well but economically the separate state was a disaster starved as it was of capital.

Labour waited while Dev got on with assembling the trappings of "freedom" but eventually they had to take the boat en masse (500,000 between 1951 and 1961) to the Imperialist heartland where the surplus extracted from Irish workers continued to be invested.

But John Bowman's book is not concerned with all that. The book is a scholarly piece of research for academic cud-chewers. Was Dev an "enigma or an open book?"

The book repeatedly reveals from a wealth of sources that Dev for all his mathematical genius and dedication to Ireland was as thick as two short planks when it came to understanding that a United Ireland was just not negotiable either with the Northern Unionists or the British

government.

Dev was caught up in the contradiction of having rejected the physical force movement of the IRA but still feeding off its rhetoric while at the same time like all bourgeois politicians, needing to compromise.

Dev had other problems too - not least of which was the fact that he "consistently promulgated the notion that Ireland was a Catholic nation" and at the same time sought to woo the Northern Unionists into a United Ireland. His 1937 Constitution was welcomed by fellow Fianna Failers who saw it as adopting "the fundamental teachings of the Holy Father."

Bowman examines whether there was a separate "Nation" in Northern Ireland but concludes that to arbitrate "whether the Unionists comprise a separate nation is beyond the scope of the present study". Chicken!

NATION

The question would not arise of course if one accepts that the idea of "nation" is not something fixed and invariable but a nebulous thing designed to camouflage exploitation and cover

up class differences. Socialists support Nationalist struggles only insofar as they are expressions of the working class fight against Imperialism which in turn is nothing more than a higher development of Capitalism.

CONNOLLY

Karl Popper, the anti-Marxist is quoted "The oppression of national groups is a great evil, but national self determination is not a feasible remedy". Our reply to that is of course that the struggle for self determination must lead to class demands being raised. It was Connolly who said that the Irish working class was the only class that had not betrayed Ireland.

OPPRESSION

Mr Bowman's book is not concerned with all that. It consists partly of a psychological study of the man who was a contemporary of Salazar, Franco, Mussolini and Hitler and shows that he was indeed a product of his age. It ends up as the study of a Nationalist but essentially from a Nationalist point of view.

Dev was able to leave what he called "the left wing" in

what he called "the trenches" as he left Sinn Fein and took Fianna Fail into the Dail. He offered positions in the Free State Army to IRA leaders and when that had only limited success, he outlawed the whole organisation in 1936, just four years after taking the reins of government.

His 1937 Constitution was in part a sop to his Republican support in that it lay claim to the 32 counties of Ireland.

If you want to understand all the arguments about "unitary" state, "federal" state or "joint" sovereignty etc. then the book is worth reading but as Socialists I think we have our minds focussed on the emergence of the working class as the force who will come to lead the struggle and a Socialist awareness will not be satisfied with anything less than a full blooded Workers Republic.

There may well be some people in the New Workers Republic who will find Dev's enigma a suitable case for study but I am sure there will be more pressing problems to be solved.

De Valera and the Ulster Question 1917 - 1973

John Bowman, Oxford University Press, £6.95

# TALE OF 2 DEAD REDS

DANIEL is a great film. It's entertaining, it's funny, it's gripping and it's political.

The plot of the film is built around the famous Rosenberg case. The Rosenbergs were a New York couple who were convicted in 1951 of passing atomic secrets to the Russians.

Despite the ridiculously thin case for the government, the Rosenbergs were executed and became the most famous victims of the witch-hunting terror of the McCarthy years.

The really good thing about the film - what makes it so powerful - is that half way through you suddenly realise that it doesn't matter whether he "clears their name" or not. What matters is that his parents were good communists, fighters for the working class, and the negro - and the Soviet Union.

And the film makers are obviously in no doubt about the failures, the twists and turns of American Stalinism. All the big about-turns of the Party are shown. Three short scenes in succession show, the very - much - in - love Isaacsons dizzily toeing the Party - line. In 1938 they're on an anti-fascist march; in 1940 they're cheering the Nazi-Soviet pact; by 1942 Paul is in the army looking forward to defending the Soviet Union on a second front.

And the failure of the Party to its members on a personal level is shown also. When Paul is arrested the family live in absolute poverty - no relatives, friends - or comrades - come

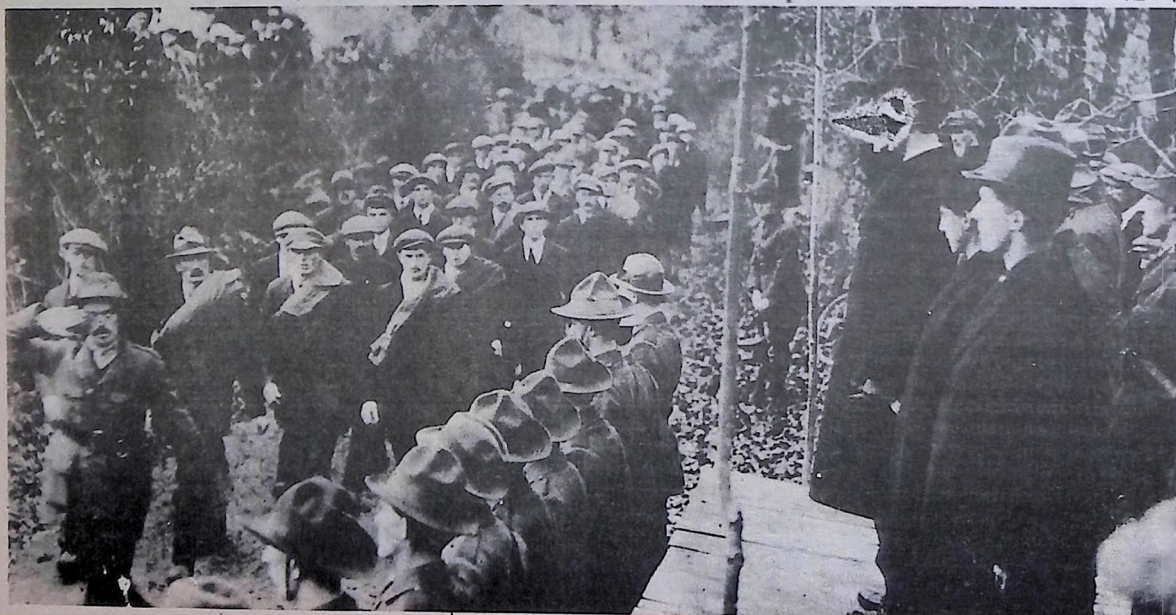
near. When the mother is arrested the children are left on their own in the flat - no comrades come to take care of them. The Party has decided to ignore them.

Only after they've been sentenced to death and the propaganda value of the case is clear, does the Party "rally round."

But the Party failures are not the theme of the film. Unless you already knew the history of the Stalinist U-turns in the period, you would miss them. And rightly so. Because the film is talking to right wing Americans. And outright criticism - even from the left - would seem like making excuses. Instead the film shows, very clearly but very gently, why the Isaacsons are Communists.

They were Communists for the same reasons we are in the Socialist Workers Movement today. They meet on a picket line which is being baton-charged by the police. They spend their lives fighting for their class. There is a really beautiful scene of the father explaining the class struggle to his child in the simplest terms. We see the enthusiastic naivete of new Communists and the half - cynical though wholly committed stamina of the old-timers. With all their mistakes they were fighting the same fight that socialists are fighting today.

It's no wonder that Daniel didn't go down too well in America. It's a true "Reasons why you should be a socialist, number 3,970" film.



De Valera reviewing the IRA in East Clare

# NUM FIGHTS TO UNDERMINE TORIES

THE National Union of Mineworkers have launched the most significant fight the Tories have yet faced and Thatcher is worried. Ian Mc Gregor, the boss of the Coal Board, brought the new Trade Union legislation into play to force the Yorkshire miners executive to stop the flying pickets but has climbed down rather than risk inflaming the situation in the whole British coalfield.

In the second week of the strike, the Tories spent almost £4million deploying some 20,000 police to kill the effectiveness of picketting. But slowly but surely, the mood began to harden and day by day the number of working pickets fell to those flying pickets that got through the massive cordon of police.

However it is crucial that socialists and trade unionists in Ireland know precisely the source of energy for this massive struggle.



NUM President, Arthur Scargill



Flying pickets in Britain's coalfields make their point and save the day.

It did not come from the National Executive or Arthur Scargill. It did not come from the Area Executives and in many cases it did not even come from the Lodge Committees many of whom had become rusty in their ability to organise at the pithead.

Instead it came from the militant minority on (and below) the ground of rank and file activists who immediately took to the picket lines. It was their energy and enthusiasm and man-to-man arguments on the picket line that transformed the mood.

Take the South Wales coalfield as an example. On the Sunday of the first week the vote was 3-1 against the strike but miners from militant pits in the Rhondda and Rhymney valleys picketed out the entire South Wales coalfield in just 3 days. But what is more, the miners who fell into line and agreed with the pickets then went on to become flying pickets themselves and in the following week were travelling to Nottingham, North Wales and other parts of Britain.

It is these workers who, often despite the instructions

of their Area Executive, have kept up the momentum of the militancy and set the pace of events. For them the lessons of the 1972 strike were easily remembered. At the end of that strike it was the support of workers in other unions that provided the essential solidarity that smashed through the Tory government of the time.

As Harold Hopkins, a South Wales miner, told *Socialist Worker*:

"Some people think we are the strongest union in Britain. We are not. We're just the best organised. We are the best at fighting for the support of other workers in the British labour movement".

With the large coal stockpiles at power stations and many large factories, it looks as if the miners are locked into a long struggle. The solidarity of the 1972 strike will have to be regenerated and miners have employed the only guarantor of support - the flying picket.

And what is more, they CAN win.

KEVIN DOOGAN

## CIE - RAILROADS WORKERS

TEN workers who were dismissed during the CIE operatives strike last year are fighting their case. The men will appear before the Unfair Dismissals Tribunal. Weekly collections are being taken up in the Broadstone and Inchicore depots to fund their defence.

Three of the former strikers are also up before the courts on charges arising out of battles with the police and scabs. They have elected to stand before a jury trial.

Management at CIE have done everything to press home their advantage after winning the strike. And the leaders of the ICTU group of unions have done everything to collaborate with their attempts.

After the strike the management insisted on making a number of changes in work practices. The ICTU group of unions advised workers to accept the changes on the basis that they would be paid later for the productivity concessions.

The company is now trying to push through a full productivity package. The rumours are that parts of the package will include an early start for the labourers on the Dublin city services; increased flexibility between different grades of workers and an end to working on rest nights.

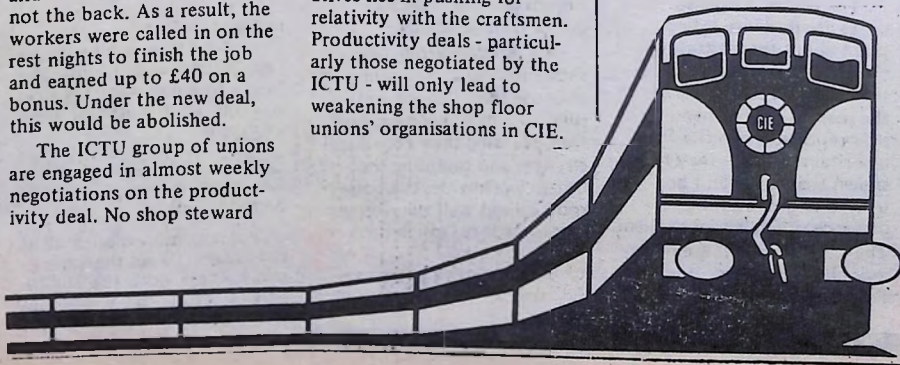
In 1974 the CIE introduced a new bus washing machine in the depots. Typically, the machine washed the fronts and sides of the buses - but not the back. As a result, the workers were called in on the rest nights to finish the job and earned up to £40 on a bonus. Under the new deal, this would be abolished.

The ICTU group of unions are engaged in almost weekly negotiations on the productivity deal. No shop steward

are involved in the negotiations. The AGEMOU union which now has 300 members in CIE has been effectively excluded.

At the moment, the ICTU in a show of militancy are balloting for strike action to force the company to produce the productivity deal by the end of the month. It is fake militancy designed to regain a bit of respect.

The future for CIE operatives lies in pushing for relativity with the craftsmen. Productivity deals - particularly those negotiated by the ICTU - will only lead to weakening the shop floor unions' organisations in CIE.



## What we stand for

The Socialist Workers Movement is a revolutionary workers' organisation which aims to organise the working class in the struggle for power and for the overthrow of the existing social order.

The system under which we live, capitalism, is based on production for profit and not for human need. It is a system that leads to poverty and war, racial and sexual oppression.

Only the working class can destroy capitalism and build a socialist society based on workers' control of production.

Our political action to prepare the working class for that is based on the following principles:

### REVOLUTION NOT REFORM

There is no parliamentary road to socialism as the left in the Dail believe. The system cannot be changed by piecemeal reform. The state machinery - the courts, parliament, the police and army - are used to maintain the dominance of the ruling class. The real power lies in the boardrooms of big business.

We stand for a workers' revolution which produces a different and more democratic society - one based on councils of delegates from workplaces and localities who are democratically elected and subject to recall at any time.

### NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR MOSCOW

That kind of socialism does not exist anywhere today. Workers have no control over countries like Russia, China or Poland. They are exploited by a state capitalist class. A workers' revolution is required in those countries too.

### A SOCIALIST ANSWER TO THE NATIONAL QUESTION

The six county Orange State is propped up by British imperialism. By bribing loyalist workers in the past with privileges in, for example, housing and jobs, Protestant workers have come to see their interests as being served by the British-backed Unionist boss class. This divides the working class and delivers a section of the workers as allies of imperialism. The Northern state is sectarian in essence and must be smashed.

The slow tasks of building working class unity against imperialism must be begun. However imperialism must be fought in the here and now and we support all forces engaged in that struggle regardless of our difference of programme.

We stand for: Immediate withdrawal of the British Army. Political Status now. The disbandment of the RUC and the UDR.

In the South, the bosses are junior partners with other European and American bosses in world capitalism. The main enemy is the boss at home. Nationalism or a united capitalist Ireland offers nothing to workers. The only republic worth fighting for is a workers' republic.

### WOMEN'S LIBERATION

We believe that only through socialism can women achieve full emancipation and that their struggle is part of the whole class struggle for socialism.

### FOR A RANK AND FILE MOVEMENT

The main area of political action for socialists is the mass organisation of the working class, particularly the trade unions. We fight for the independence of the unions from state interference, democratic control of all union affairs and the election of all union officials.

We oppose all anti-union legislation and all forms of national wage understandings and wage restraint. We oppose all redundancies. We say: Occupy to demand nationalisation under workers' control. Fight for a 35 hour week. We support the building of a rank and file movement which draws together militant trade unionists to oppose the class collaboration of the union leaders.

### FOR A REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY

The SWM is a democratic centralist organisation open to all those who accept its principles and objectives. The struggle for a workers' republic in Ireland is inseparable from the international struggle. The SWM fights to build a mass party of the working class as part of a revolutionary international of working class parties.

**SOCIALIST WORKER** is produced by the SOCIALIST WORKERS MOVEMENT. If you would like more information on our activities and policies, would like to become a member of the SWM or would like to take out a subscription to **SOCIALIST WORKER** - £3.50 for a year - clip this form and post to SWM, 41 Herberton Park, Rialto, Dublin 8.

I want to join;  I want a subscription and enclose £3.50.

I would like more information about the SWM

Name .....

Address .....



# Socialist Worker



The Four Courts seat of injustice in the South

## Bill to break Workers

THE RULING class will sleep sounder in their beds at night if the Criminal Justice Bill is passed.

We already have one of the most repressive court systems in the West, but the rate of conviction still falls short of what the ruling class want.

Sure, they've now changed the bill by introducing amendments which are supposed to

quieten opposition. But the changes are nothing more than whitewash. The bill is still the most repressive piece of law we've seen in a long time, giving the cops even more power than they already have to abuse.

It's worth asking why such a law is being pushed through at this time. You can get the answer any day from the news bulletins on television and radio, or from the newspapers. The bosses system—capitalism—is in crisis throughout the world.

We're already getting used to seeing workers jailed for fighting for their jobs, students for fighting cutbacks in Health. Republicans for fighting against the sectarian state in the North.

Meanwhile unemployment continues to soar. Almost 100 people a day lost their jobs between January and February this year and there are now more than 215,000 on the dole.

The cost of living gets higher every day while the unemployed are supposed to live on a pittance.

It's not at all surprising that crime is on the increase.

The Criminal Justice Bill is supposed to solve this by introducing a five year jail sentence and huge fines for car thieves (the vast majority of whom are penniless young

fellows).

But things can change. We saw recently working class people taking action themselves about heroin pushers, with protests in their own areas and marches to the Dail.

The government don't like to see people taking action themselves like that.

It just might not stop at heroin. They could turn on the pushers of capitalism who everyday inject the misery of unemployment, bad housing, health cuts, etc. into the lives of working class people in order to maintain the bosses profits.

That's where the Bill will come in handy for increasing harassment of socialists and republicans—and anyone who is involved in such struggles.

Fighting back is the only way to defeat any bosses' law.

When workers in Ranks were jailed for fighting for their jobs, other workers throughout the country threatened strike action to get them out of jail. The government forgot all about their laws and sent the workers home in taxis.

That is the one thing the ruling class fear most—the organised working class taking action to challenge their laws, for they know from history that when workers feel their power, they won't change just the laws, but the very system that produces such laws.

## McGLINCHEY HANDED OVER TO MAD-DOG RUC

MOST people were shocked at the indecent haste with which Dominic McGlinchey was bundled from High Court, to Supreme Court, and into the hands of the RUC.

The order for his extradition had been made two years ago and confirmed by the Supreme Court in Dec. 1982. Nonetheless, it had been felt that if and when McGlinchey was arrested, there would be some questioning of whether the Southern government really wanted to hand him over. Particularly when he is wanted by the RUC for the kind of political acts that the mothers and fathers of most Fianna Fail and Fine Gael politicians were involved in only 60 years ago!

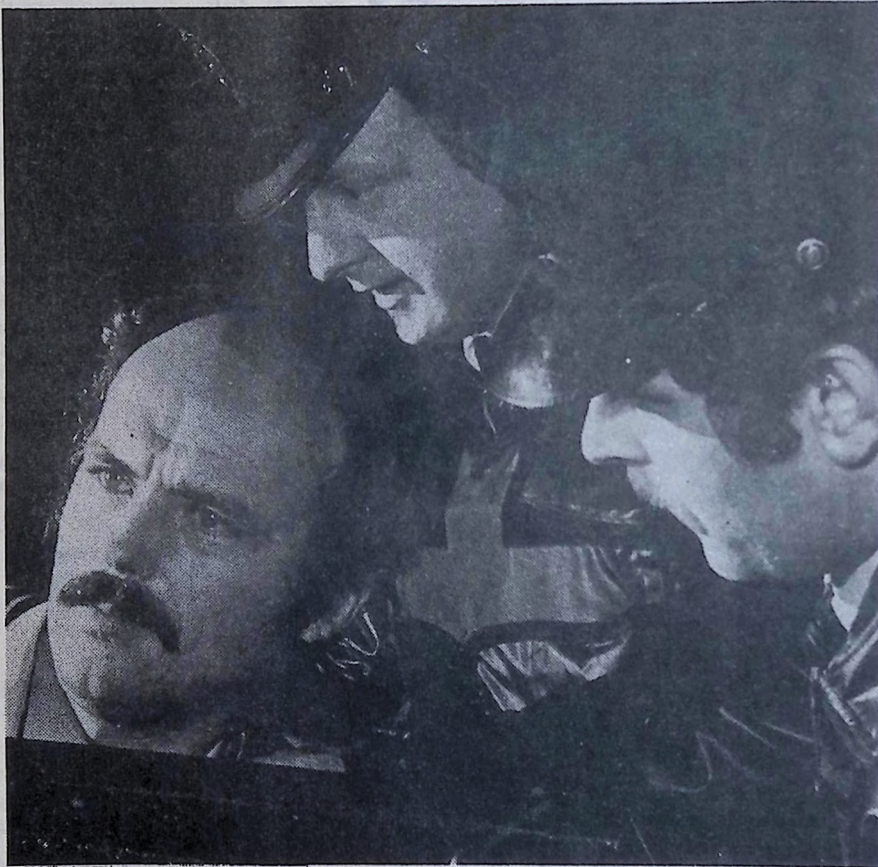
### GROVELLING

Certainly the Free State politicians showed just how much they are willing to Prior and his cronies in order to get some deal with them on the Forum. Both Prior and Thatcher have made it clear that they're not particularly interested with what the Forum has to say. But Garrett and the boys still grovel just in case the Brits might throw a word of encouragement.

Of course the highest courts in the land were involved in the decision to extradite McGlinchey. And they are "independent"—aren't they? Well, socialists always knew that the courts administered only the "justice" that suits the ruling class but this time they've been so blatant in doing the politicians' bidding that they've really blown their cover. They've shown themselves to be every bit as independent of the political system as ivy is of the wall it is growing on.

### POLITICAL ASYLUM

Governments all over the world and especially in Europe are increasingly forgetting about the concept of political asylum. There was, in the past, a policy of not extraditing anyone wanted for a political offence. Lawyers say that this practice grew up in the



The RUC gloat over McGlinchey

late 18th and early 19th centuries on the basis that while all states have a common interest in the repression of 'ordinary' crimes, states did not have an interest in the maintenance of another states political and social system.

### DANGER

In recent years, the international ruling have realised that this is not a good idea. That international capitalism demands international ruling class solidarity against those working to change the system. They know the danger to them of a workers' revolution in one country spreading to become international socialism. So they're effectively doing away with political asylum.

Except for a few right-wingers from Eastern Europe (and you won't find them

giving any of the Solidarnosc militants a welcome) - political asylum between European countries has now almost totally disappeared. This was shown recently when there was a furore because France didn't extradite all of the Basque nationalists that the Spanish government wanted. The uproar made it clear that it is now expected that countries hand over political refugees.

The whole thing also raises another interesting point about the attitude of the Southern government to the Northern state. One of the reasons for not handing over republicans to the RUC or Britain was that they have shown that they can't be trusted to give even the pretence of a fair trial to them.

The Diplock courts are notorious all over the world for their blatant injustice. The

Supergrasses have made them even worse than anyone had thought possible.

Yet the Southern government are now handing over Republicans. On the one hand this is not surprising since their own system of repression is nearly as bad as the North. But its SO obviously kow-towing to the Brits that it ought to be embarrassing to them. Its not. Because they figure its worth it if the Forum gets just a second glance from Thatcher.

The whole episode really shows that while the ruling class use their "divide and rule" tactics to keep workers from realising their collective strength and smashing the system worldwide, the bosses know all too well the strength of international solidarity.

GORETTI HORGAN

## Forum farce flounders on

JUST BECAUSE the Forum for a New Ireland is a farce doesn't mean we shouldn't take it seriously.

It's serious because it shows up the fact that the major political parties haven't a notion between them how to "solve" the Northern problem. And that means the Northern problem is going to be with us for a long time to come.

The Thatcher Government has made it clear that it hasn't the slightest interest in any of the three schemes dreamed up by the Forum parties. These are: a straightforward united Ireland; a federal arrangement with two separate states linked together; and "joint authority", with London and Dublin sharing control over the North.

The only one the Brits will even sniff at is "joint authority". And sniffing is as far as they will go. There's no way they'll swallow it.

Apart from a hundred and one other problems: would the North continue to be part of NATO under "joint authority"?

If it did it would mean that the Dublin Government was linked into NATO and neutrality would be a dead duck. That would blow the lid off Leinster House—and maybe blow the rest of us eventually to kingdom come.

And anybody who believes that Britain would allow the North to come out of NATO is living in a world of their own.

On that consideration alone—and there are many, many others—the Forum is bound to fail.

But an impression is all it can create. To get the Brits to make a real move the Dublin parties would have to confront Thatcher, to break with her and mobilise against her.

And that's something they can't and won't do. The ruling classes in Britain and in the South have far too much in common—close trade links, the "necessity" for British investment in the South, a shared fear of working class militancy at a time of deepening recession, Dublin's fear of incurring outright British hostility in various international

bodies such as the EEC, and so on.

The bottom line in all this is that the Forum cannot bring about real change inside the North. The hard facts are the same now as they were 15 years ago when the British Army first moved onto the streets.

It can't be "reformed" into a democracy. So the Catholics have only two choices: either they keep their heads down and accept that they are going to be second-class citizens for ever, or they fight for Brits Out and an end to the Northern State.

And they can't go for the second option under the leadership of the "constitutional" nationalists. If the constitutional nationalists, all gathered together in their high-powered Forum, can't get the Brits to move an inch on moderate proposals, and have no interest in moving any further, then there's not a hope in hell of them coming up with the goods.

To put it simply: the capitalist parties can't solve the Northern problem. Not now, not ever.

Only the working class, North and South and Catholic and Protestant, has any fundamental interest in defeating the powers-that-be British and Irish. And as far as that's concerned, the Forum parties are part of the problem, not part of the solution.