

Socialist Worker

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism

NORTH AND SOUTH

THEIR GAME IS UP

THE PROVO vote in the Euro election has sent a shudder through the establishment parties in the South.

Despite Danny Morrison's relatively poor showing against Hume, the 91,000 Sinn Fein first preferences show that support for the Provos is still solid in Catholic working class areas. That stark fact stands out above all other aspects of the Northern result.

It means that the 'constitutional nationalist' parties cannot deliver up the Northern Catholics.

At the same time the British have made it clear that they are not going to make the concessions Haughey, FitzGerald and Hume would need to give their Forum any chance at all of success.

There isn't going to be any reform in the North. Thatcher's not interested, the Loyalists won't have it



John Hume: a massive personal poll—but politically nowhere to go

and masses of the Catholic working class have by-passed Forum-style reformism anyway.

At the same time the South is staring economic disaster in the face, with investment at a virtual stand-still, the army of unemployed swelling by the day and discontent gathering among the working class as a whole. And Fianna Fail and the Coalition are as empty of ideas for dealing with this crisis as they are in relation to the North.

These two factors, taken together, mean that the ruling class parties in the South don't just have problems on their plate. They are facing a fundamental crisis.

Ambition

In the North, it's not just the last 15 years of repression which are at issue. More immediately, it's incidents like the judgement in the Toman murder case, in which it was suggested that sectarian trigger-happy cops are salt of the Orange earth.

After that, no Catholic worker with half an ounce of sense can believe that it's possible ever to get justice inside the Northern State. From which it follows that it's futile to keep on calling for "reform". But the possibility of getting the Brits to bring in reform is all that the Leinster House parties have ever had to offer on the North.

The reason for this is that they can't break with Britain. Fianna Fail and Fine Gael



Garret FitzGerald (left) reacts to a vision of an upturn in the economy while Haughey (above) greets the latest British initiative on the North in typical style

represent a class which is tied tightly in to the world capitalist system. They can't detach themselves and have an open breach with the closest big capitalist power. So they are stymied which ever way they turn.

And it's the same with the economy. All the major parties and their economist hangers-on admit that unemployment is going to keep on rising for the rest of this year and well into the next. Whether it levels off after that depends on whether there's an upturn in the western economy generally—like the ruling class of any other small capitalist country—something over which the Irish capitalist class has no control whatsoever.

If this wasn't the case they

wouldn't be so threatened by what's happening in the North.

If they could give young working class people jobs—or even a realistic hope of a job—the anger and aggro spreading from the Six Counties could maybe be checked at the border. But it can't.

Nationalism

The bottom line in all this is that this country, North and South could possibly be headed into the most decisive period in its political history since partition and the civil war.

In this situation it is very important that workers keep in mind that parties like Fianna Fail and Fine Gael have failed on all fronts, not

because they are led by opportunist bowsies and cynical pro-Brits, but because they represent a class which can't handle the national question or the economic crisis or anything else in the interests of working class people.

Because their class has interests which are opposed to the interests of our class.

It's because Republicans don't see it like that, because they don't accept that in the end it's all a matter of class, that Sinn Fein, despite its strong showing, can't provide a real answer.

The capitalist class can only be taken on by the working class organised against it.

And that's just not the way the Republican Movement organises.

What we need is a revolutionary socialist alternative: which is what the Socialist Workers Movement exist to create.

THE PERFORMANCE of the Labour Party was so pathetic in the Euro-elections that its hardly worth commenting on.

It lost largely to Fine Gael and no wonder. Why vote for the monkey when the organ grinder is on the ballot paper as well?

Socialists still inside the Labour Party (if any) should realise now that they are fastened to a dying animal.

The message is: get out - and get into the fight to build a real revolutionary socialist party.

Teach yourself MARXISM



Reform or Revolution

WHENEVER I find myself arguing with people who are on the left of the Labour Party, we usually start by agreeing on a number of points.

For instance, Labour's appalling record of sell-outs in order to maintain a coalition government. We agree about unemployment and the savage attack by the ruling class on workers' right to earn a living.

On the cuts in education health and social services there's no disagreement. We both see that there is everywhere a division between rich and poor. That it is class interest which decides what happens to the wealth produced by the workers.

At this stage, our differences quickly emerge. They revolve around the question of how to replace capitalism with a socialist society. The Labour Left, or Workers Party members will always use the reformist argument that the change from capitalism to socialism will begin when a majority of left-wing TDs are elected to Daíl Eireann.

This view is based on the notion that real power in this society is held by the elected governments. All the facts show that this is simply not the case.

Capitalism today is an international system. Capital is lent and borrowed on money markets that are outside the control of any government.

By switching money from one currency to another multinational corporations can play these markets and force governments to change policies.

We can see many examples of this in other countries.

In 1981, Mitterand and the french Socialist party swept into power. Their attempt to implement a programme of nationalisation resulted in an acute financial crisis. Mitterand then had to turn on the working class and impose vicious wage cuts.

These governments wanted to change society all right, but the unselected powers of big business stopped them.

Our own government backed this argument recently. They told us that jobs would be lost if we demonstrated against the international terrorist Reagan. They told us that a lot of money would

leave the country, that the effect on the economy would be disastrous. They were wrong, of course. But by saying all this they were admitting that decisions affecting the Irish economy and the lives of Irish workers are made, not in the Daíl but in the boardrooms of multinational corporations.

Probably the most tragic example of the dead-end road of reformism is Chile. Salvador Allende's socialist government was elected in 1970; it promised to transform society by peaceful, constitutional means.

This did not suit the international boss class. With the aid of American multinationals and the Chilean middle class, they tried to bring down Allende's government. When this did not succeed the army, backed by the CIA, seized power on the 11th September 1973. Tens of thousands of socialists and trade union militants were slaughtered during and since the coup.

The problem with Allende's government was that they thought the state was neutral. It's not. It is organised in a way which reflects and protects the interests of big business. At the heart of the state is its repressive arm—the army and the police. Their job is to defend the existing system against any threats to it.

It's not too difficult for Irish workers to see the role of the state. We're getting used to seeing workers thrown in jail for fighting for their jobs—Ranks, Talbot, Ault and Wiborg, Moracrete and now Ranks again. It's obvious whose side the cops and courts are on. And it's not the side of the working class.

There is no reason to believe that the class that owns the wealth will hand it over to the workers who produce it just because the Daíl says so. No parliament—however left-wing—can "introduce socialism". No one will ever bring socialism FOR workers—whether through parliament or armed struggle.

Socialist society can only come "from below"—if the mass of workers, through strikes and mass agitation SEIZE the means of production, smash the capitalist state and run society in our own interest.

by JOHN BYRNE

WATER IN WATERFORD

A MASSIVE wave of opposition is developing in Waterford to the attempts by the local council to introduce cuts and impose charges on water. Tenants associations there are marching against the charges on June 25th.

The corporation are looking for an average £50 per household on the water charges. The unemployed and Social Welfare recipients will also be forced to pay part of the charges.

The water charges are accompanied by major cuts in services. The housing list has grown and housing starts have been delayed drastically. Waterford has the oldest housing stock in the country. Yet tenants have to wait two years for basic housing maintenance. At the same time corporation workers have been sacked.

Refuse collection has been cut back to once a week. There is now a charge of £5 to enter the city dump. But not everyone loses. The Lord Mayor's beano has just gone ahead and city councillors show no embarrassment about taking their junkets to far away places.

The common excuse for the cuts and the water charges is that there is no money left in the kitty. It is absolute nonsense.

The multi-nationals have been given full freedom to repatriate profits to the tune of £500 million and the Irish state pretended not to notice.

SPECULATE

Our local oil barons such as Tony O'Reilly, Pat Hughes and Michael Wymes are allowed to speculate to their

heart's content and pay the minimum in tax. The money can be found provided the rich are forced to cough up.

The argument is simple. Working class people already pay more than enough in PAYE and PRSI. The employers pay virtually nothing in profits tax. It is time they were made to fill up the kitty.

CREDIBILITY

But how is it to be done? The local branch of the Socialist Workers Movement has consistently pointed out that there should be no reliance on the councillors to oppose the schemes. Every single party, including the Workers Party has voted for the cuts in the past. The recent move by the Workers Party to establish a "Stop Water Charges" campaign sits

uneasily with the history of Councillors Gallagher and Walshe voting for cuts in the past. The campaign is geared more to win credibility to increase their votes in the Euro-election than anything else.

The only way the cuts can be beaten and the water charges reversed is to create an organisation in the town that links the resistance in the committees with the strength in the factories. There should be a 100% refusal to pay the charges. The Trades Council must now give a commitment to call industrial action if anyone who refuses to pay is hauled before the courts. Delegation from Tenants Association should be touring the factories now to put the arguments for solidarity if the state decides to come the heavy.

LGPSU – Copouts



PHIL FLYNN

Left, Right and Centre

EVERYBODY who believes in free trade unions will be pleased that Phil Flynn fought off the efforts of Dublin Government ministers to stop him becoming general secretary of the LGPSU.

But the row over whether a vice-president of Sinn Fein was a suitable person to be leader of a public service union revealed a lot about the politics of everybody involved.

Hardly any of them come out of it with credit.

And that goes for Sinn Fein as well as for the witch-hunters who tried to force Flynn out.

Worst of all, naturally enough, were the leaders of the Free State Labour Party. It was Spring and Barry Desmond who were most determined to twist the arms of LGPSU members and intimidate them into choosing someone more acceptable to the government.

Their excuse was that, as a leading Sinn Feiner, Phil Flynn was "associated with violence". Of course this didn't stop the same hypocrites embracing the blood-soaked mass murderer Ronald Reagan. And it doesn't stop them doing business with the heroine of the Belgrano engagement Margaret Thatcher, or with James Prior, the leader of the political wing of the UDR.

The immediate reason Labour took the leading role in trying to isolate Sinn Fein is that, electorally, the Labour Party is in bits, particularly in Dublin, and desperate to discredit any challenger on the Left.

In other words, it's got nothing to do with principle and everything to do with Labour's usual sordid scramble for more seats.

Of course we don't expect anything else from the likes of Spring and Desmond. But some of the Labour "Left", including the Militant group, weren't much better.

We wouldn't expect them to endorse Phil Flynn's Republican politics. We don't endorse them ourselves. But we might have expected them to take a clear stand against a witch-hunt when they have been screaming blue murder for months themselves about the right wing's campaign against their own position inside the Labour Party.

ARGUMENT

Yet in branches like Dublin Corporation where they have members, Militant took the attitude that while in principle they were against witch-hunts, in practice they weren't going to oppose this particular one. They left it mainly to people who are to the right of them politically—but who clearly

have a more highly-developed sense of union democracy—to put the argument against a government attempt to dictate who should fill a union position.

This wasn't just opportunism. It reflected Militant's politics, their cop-out position on the North which leads them to regard any opposition to the British presence as "divisive". Consistent with this position Militant does not in practice oppose repression of anti-imperialism North or South.

So in a perverted sense it was logical enough for them not to oppose repression when the Dublin government tried to extend it into the trade union movement.

POLITICS

The controversy also exposed the weakness of Sinn Fein's own politics as far as union activity is concerned.

Throughout, Phil Flynn's basic defence was that he had never introduced his politics into the union. And neither he had. At the LGPSU conference in Bundoran even tight-wingers testified that Flynn's Republicanism had had no effect whatever on the way he conducted union matters.

This was one of the chief reasons he won the day. Dele-

gates accepted that his Republicanism was irrelevant.

And that tells us a lot about Republicanism.

It tells us that politically Phil Flynn doesn't really represent anything in the LGPSU. Crucially, he has no rank-and-file political base. As he says himself, in his own defence, he has never tried to build one.

RANK AND FILE

The reason being that Republicans don't put rank-and-file workers at the centre of their politics.

Thus politically, it is possible for a Republican to rise without trace within the structure of the trade union movement.

He has given so many assurances that he would never dream of bringing his politics into the union that he can never go back on it. If he ever tries to argue within the union that, say, there is a direct connection between the struggles of trade unionists in the South and the struggle against imperialism in the North he will be slapped down harshly by people reminding him that he guaranteed not to bring his politics into the union.

By failing to fight openly at rank and file level, he has become a political prisoner of the Right.

EAMONN McCANN

THE GIANT AWAKES —

500,000 German Workers Strike Back

THE STRIKE by German metal workers over the 35-hour week now involves nearly half a million workers. Most car factories in Germany have been closed by the strike.

Car factories in Belgium and Holland which depend on German components have been put on short time. Vauxhall plants in Britain are likely to be hit soon.

In Germany itself the strike's impact has been enormous. In the first week of the strike, the bosses were shaken by the militant response of the workers. 250,000 were locked out or laid off, but instead of accepting it passively, many workers spontaneously joined the strike, angered by the intransigence of the bosses and the government (which has just changed the rules to prevent them getting benefit).

The anger and militancy could have been used to ex-

tend the industrial action still further in that first week. Instead, the leadership of the unions—both the giant 2.6 million strong IG Metall and the DGB (the German equiv-

alent of the ICTU)—chose to adopt a policy of token action.

They emphasised the build up for a giant "political" demonstration in Bonn. The

demonstration was the biggest post war workers' protest West Germany has seen. But it provided an excuse for the union leadership to argue against the need for further

industrial action.

Certainly with 2,25 million "officially" unemployed in Germany and the government quite openly colluding with the employers, there is no



doubt that workers would be prepared to fight much harder given the right leadership.

The much closer integration of industrial production today—above all in the car industry where the effects of stoppages can take on worldwide proportions—has given the working class enormous economic power.

But instead of using this to bring the employers to their knees within days, the union leadership is holding back.

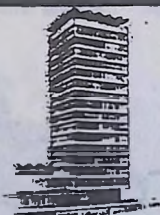
They aim not to extend, but rather to limit the industrial action, and the token demonstrations are part of this strategy.

And the leadership have already indicated that they are prepared to abandon their demand for a 35 hour week and do a deal for a slightly shorter working week.

The bosses have climbed down from their earlier refusal to make any reduction in the working week of 40 hours. With the dispute now costing the employers more than IRE75 million a day and with German Gross National Product already down 1/2% as a result of the strike, it looks like the government and the employers will be forced to compromise further.

More importantly, the strike marks the return of the German working class into struggle. The impact of that could well be felt beyond the country's borders.

NO Comment



"YOU'VE come a long way, baby," as the saying goes. This year is the 75th Anniversary of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union. Born in travail in 1909, Ireland's single biggest working class organisation reaches its seventy-fifth birthday in elderly respectability, comfort and conservatism. On Monday 28 May, the eve of the Union's Annual Conference, a "75th Anniversary Celebrity Concert" was held in Liberty Hall.

It was a cultural reflection of the political and social position of the latterday leadership of the ITGWU. For the Concert's content was almost wholly made up of establishment culture—and its MOR (Middle Of the Road) wing in the main. After a newly-composed "Anniversary Fanfare" the ITGWU band kicked off with some light numbers from Cole Porter musicals. Then came Brendan Cavanagh (tenor), the RTESO Brass Ensemble and the Rory O'Connor Dancers. Any Christian Brother over forty would have had a splendid evening.

Niall Torbin ended the first half of the evening and went over time probably because the audience responded so well to the concert's only departure from a programme that would not have been out of place on one of the National Concert Hall's more relaxed soirees. Even so, Niall's satire was mild enough on this occasion. It may have the dickie-bow around his neck that restrained him. All the male artists wore this curious garb not often found

at working class do's. Except the uniformed band of course.

Whether the evening was titled a "Celebrity Concert" because of the people performing or the people invited along is a question that must have occurred to some of the Conference Delegates present. Among the celebrities seated around Union President, John Carroll, in the auditorium were Ruairi Quinn, Minister for Labour, other government ministers, the Lord Mayor of Dublin, Michael Keating, Charles J. Haughey, assorted heads from the bureaucracies of Congress, other Unions and the Labour Court, employers including Mr P.V. Doyle.

How would you expect people who are ranged against the establishment to conduct a similar celebration? Well, in the same week there was a "Rock Against Reagan" gig. That's one alternative. You would expect at least a folk night with a few Wobblie ballads and the like. Some strike benefits have had boozy cabaret as the entertainment—hardly alternative subculture, but still on the other side of the tracks from the "music for middlebrows" with which the ITGWU chose to celebrate the 75th year of the One Big Union of Larkin, Connolly and 1913.

At least one ITGWU member was spending that evening in the style of the founders. Harry Fleming was spending it between Ranks Mill and Liberty Hall—in Mountjoy Jail. Larkin and Connolly never saw the skyscraper, but they saw the inside of Mountjoy Jail.

by DES DERWIN

Playing political games

IS POLITICS ruining the Olympics?

Four years ago the Yanks didn't show up for Moscow. Now the Russians have refused to go to Los Angeles.

And many are complaining that the games are being destroyed, that we should try to get back to the good old days of innocence, before politics and commercialism besmirched the Olympic ideal.

But when were the "good old days"? The Olympic games have always been political, some times more clearly than others, but always political. All aspects of society—its institutions, ideas, literature, newspapers, entertainment, sport—reflect the nature and values of that society, mainly those of the ruling class.

Whether in Ancient Greece or modern L.A., this is true of the Olympics too.

The ancient Greeks were the most fanatical players and organisers of games the world has ever known. The original Olympic Games were not just a games, but a religious celebration of the god Zeus and used to include poetry, reading, drama and oratory competitions. Like Greek "democracy", the Games were for the ruling class only, not for the slaves. Successful athletes were given houses, ate at public expense, exempted from army service and various taxes and immortalised in statues and poems.

Under the Roman Empire the Games took a different form. Where the Greek Games had been primarily a contest between privileged athletes, the slave-owning Roman Empire saw the Games as

another form of entertainment for an idle decadent population tired and bored by constant titillation.

The result was not very pleasant for the athletes. They were in a "heads we win, tails you lose" situation.

The crowds demanded blood and gore, any trickery by the athletes in order to avoid injury or death meant a one way trip to the mines. Bribery was commonplace and the Emperor Nero used his own early version of the mafia to intimidate opponents and win chariot races even when, as in one instance, he fell out of his chariot.

When the wars of the Middle Ages took over in Europe organised sports and games disappeared. It wasn't until nation states emerged under fully developed capitalism that the Games reappeared in their particularly modern form.

With capitalism came also the working class and the re-emergence of the games was meant at least partly, as Trotsky said, to divert the workers from politics.

From 1860 onwards golf, football, cricket, baseball and tennis organisations were founded. The high point was of course, the founding of the modern Olympic Games (1869) by a French aristocrat, de Coubertin.

Since then the Olympic movement has been run by a self-elected, self-perpetuating elite and most Olympic Games have been used to make a political or ideological statement—"Our way of life is the best": Berlin (1936), Moscow (1980), Los Angeles (1984); or—"We've just

killed millions in a war but now we're nice guys": Paris (1924), London (1948), Rome (1960), Tokyo (1964); or—"We have now arrived as a country and we are now to be reckoned with": Mexico (1968), Montreal (1976), Melbourne (1956).

Politics cannot be removed from the Games but corruption, manipulation and abuse can. This will only happen when the society in which we live does not have these features. It is only in a socialist society in which power and wealth are widely shared that the Games can become the festival/spectacle of all that is noble and human in man, and maybe then will poetry and drama take their place beside running and wrestling.

by JOHN STITT



Fascist salutes at the Berlin Olympics, 1936 and (above) Black Power salute at the Mexico Olympics, 1968.

15 MILLION children die each year and an equal number are disabled by malnutrition according to Unicef's 1984 'State of the Children' report.

Meanwhile the EEC and US spend fortunes servicing their food surpluses. At least the wine lakes, butter mountains and dried milk mountains are stored. Fruit and vegetable 'surpluses' are simply destroyed.

In the US farmers are subsidized to leave land idle rather than increase the grain surplus.

In Britain, the government paid farmers to destroy about 2,000 tons of foodstuff in one year alone so that prices wouldn't fall.

The obscenity to destroy food while millions starve is caused by the simple fact that food like every other product is produced for profit, not need. Food prices can be kept artificially high because people will go to desperate lengths to pay for it. Those that can't afford it simply starve.

C.A.P.

The Euro-candidates who looked for your vote on June 14th won't have mentioned the abolition of starvation world wide among their promises. They tell us that Ireland benefits from the Common Agricultural Policy. The workers in Ireland certainly don't see these benefits as they pay more and more for basic groceries with wages which in real terms fall each year.

Workers on the dole find it almost impossible to feed themselves and their children.

RICH

The Irish people who gain from CAP are the rich large farmers. Small farmers and farm labourers see very little of the profits. Like city workers, they suffer the effects of the enormous increases in food prices since Ireland joined the EEC.

The farm improvement grants have led to increased farm sizes and less jobs on the land. The years of CAP has seen an exodus from the land all over Europe. In France, for example, numbers employed in agriculture have fallen from just over four million in 1960 to 1.8 million in 1980.

BIG BUSINESS

In the EEC as a whole (excluding Greece) farm employment fell from 17 million to 7.7 million over the same 20 years. Three quarters of the world's food production is controlled by big business in North America and Western Europe.

In 1982, the US government was holding enough dried milk for each person to have 4lbs, enough butter for everyone to have 2lbs and enough cheese for 3lbs per person. The storing of this food cost tax-payers \$250,000 per hour.

In the US half a dozen huge corporations dominate the production of food. It's a multi-billion pound industry—bigger than cars, steel and chemicals put together. These companies such as United Brands, are able to heavily influence government policies on food and aid. This influence leads to governments around the world tying aid to underdeveloped countries to political considerations. In Chile the election of a left-wing government in the 70s was greeted by US aid being abruptly stopped.

VIETNAM

Vietnam and other poor left-wing nations receive no aid from the West. In Nicaragua child mortality has been dramatically reduced by Unicef and the World Health Organisation's programme of Oral Rehydration Therapy. This program is backed by the popular government since the end of the civil war in July 1979, but no food aid is received from the US. The reason for this is the Nicaraguan government's 'left-wing' policies. These policies include fighting hunger, illiteracy, disease and poverty. Medical Aid to Nicaragua from the US has also been cut.



LEFT: This huge stack of dried milk has been stored by the Common Market as one way of keeping prices up. BELOW: A way to keep the price of apples up in France. Dump them in pits

IT'S A DOG'S LIFE

RECENTLY opened in the South of France is a gourmet Restaurant for dogs. Three course meals costing up to £12 a go are served — on real china of course!

Among the delicacies on offer are "beef fillet with artichoke", "sliced turkey with fresh pasta", "poached trout with steamed rice", or "fish mousse with skimmed milk and fresh green beans". The dogs are served in individual kennels by white coated waiters under the supervision of a veterinarian, a professional dog handler and a dietician...

No wonder millions in India believe in re-incarnation... they are all hoping to become bourgeois dogs in their next life...



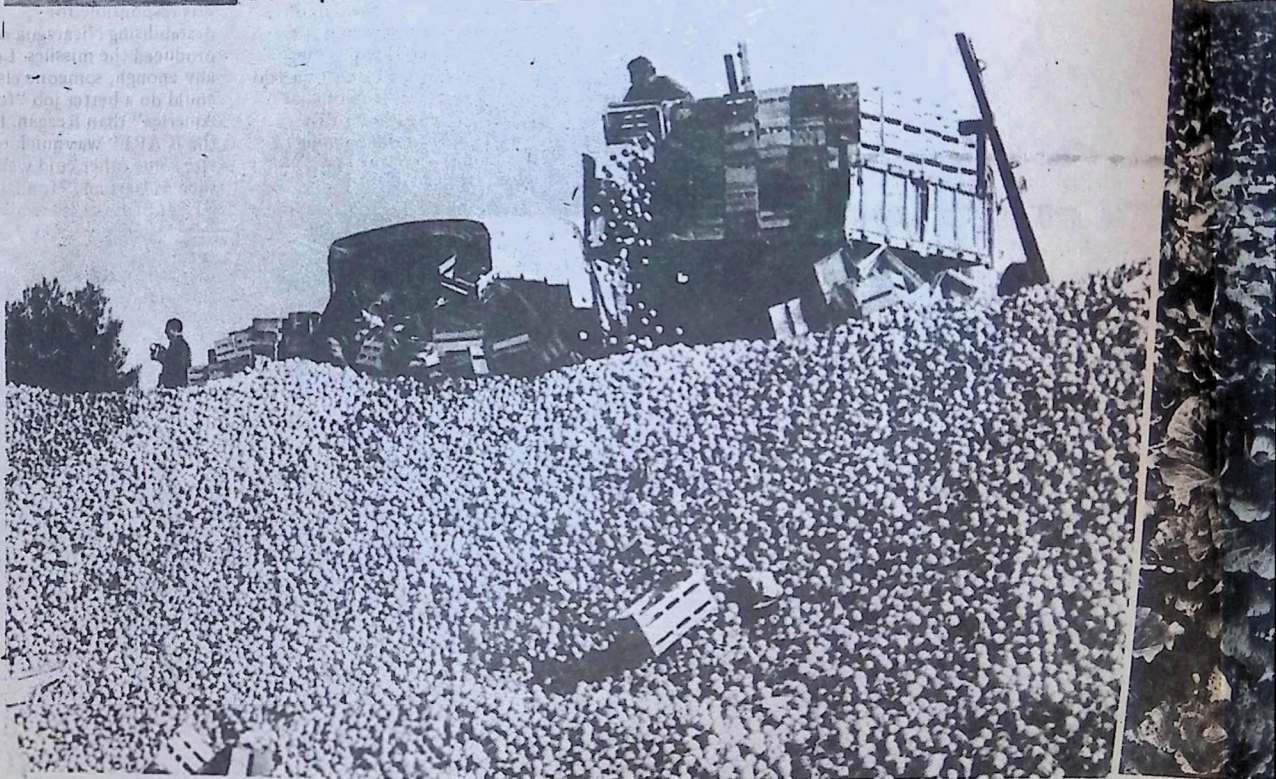
This resulted in 1980 in thousands of children dying from immunizable diseases like Measles and Whooping Cough.

If Aid was the answer to hunger, none of these children needed to die. They could have been well nourished by food destroyed or stored in the US, and strong enough to fight disease.

If medical aid was not also used as a political weapon by the Right, they would have been immunized.

AID

But aid is not the solution to the problems of world hunger. Half the foreign aid in the world is, in fact, loans. Repayment of these loans, with interest of course, leads to even greater debt problems for the countries concerned.



Three-quarters of all aid is given on the condition that it must be spent on goods from the donor country, regardless of their cost.

Aid is a golden opportunity for big multi-national companies to swindle the starving and extract even more profits for themselves.

One country, Honduras, reported that the grain sent to hurricane victims under the US "Food for Peace" programme was so contaminated that it had to be dumped in the sea. The U.S. grain companies made about £300 million on this racket over five years.

A U.S. Federal Government inquiry discovered in 1977 that some of the leading American grain companies were involved in a vast racket to substitute dust

for the grain contracts. It's all a bit like one of J.R.'s schemes. But in real life millions are left to die as a result.

Aid is no solution to hunger. There is only one solution and that is that food should be produced for eating, for satisfying people's hunger, instead of being produced for profit.

There is no shortage of food in this world. The problem lies with the sort of society and economic system we have.

Knowing of the devastation effects of aid restriction during Ireland's Great Famine, many Irish workers are duped by the Church, and the powers that be into thinking that charities like Concern can change things. Like government aid, charity

will never make much difference to the world's poor.

Unicef's James P. Grant admits that starvation and malnutrition will only be abolished by education, food supplements, family spacing, proper clinics and the most important necessity — a revolution for children.

Revolution is the only possible solution. Aid charity only scratches at the surface of the problem.

Only when Capitalism is abolished in the West and State Capitalism smashed in the USSR will everyone go to bed with a full belly. Then food will be stored only for disaster relief.

Only then will everyone be able to eat as much as they need, and hunger and hoarding become history.



HUNGER

and GREED

FER nd EED



AFTER REAGAN - SINK OR SWM!

JF KENNEDY'S visit to Ireland in 1963 brought thousands of well-wishers on to the streets. By the time Reagan arrived the demonstrators outnumbered the supporters by two to one.

The change had little to do with Reagan's lack of charisma. Kennedy's visit coincided with the opening of Ireland to foreign capital. Ireland was hitched onto the rising star of a world economy that was then at the height of its longest boom ever. Kennedy presided over a system that seemed to offer opportunities to all.

Reagan belongs to a different era. The system he represents is in desperate crisis. Today a mountain of third world debt and high interest rates threaten to choke off the tiny recovery the system has undergone recently. As a result American imperialism wears a more war-like image. Gone is the talk of detente and peace. Now it is the time for mass production of nuclear weapons and the constant flexing of military muscles.

Those dramatic changes in the world economy underlay the scale of protests against Reagan. For upwards of 20,000 people took to the streets to protest against the visit—making them one of the biggest shows of strength by the Irish Left (apart from protests about the North). The issues that were thrown up by the campaign against Reagan are also of lasting interest to socialists.

Two major campaigns came into existence. The Irish Campaign against Reagan's Foreign Policy was by far the bigger—winning support from the Churches, solidarity groups, radical feminists, the Workers Party and Labour Party. The other campaign, the Reagan Reception Campaign, was composed mainly of the revolutionary left, principally the SWM.

What was the difference? Many have seen it in terms simply of shouting and militancy of demonstrations. There was a lot more to it.

The ICARFP separated Reagan's policies from the system he represented. It was as if Reagan as an individual was responsible for destabilising Nicaragua or produced the missiles. Logically enough, someone else could do a better job "for America" than Reagan. Hence the ICARFP was quick to invite some other cold warriors such as Hart and Mondale to stay at Slane Castle while Reagan was at Ashford Castle.

In order to win support in Ireland the ICARFP hid any radicalism in order to appeal to the middle ground. Pride of place in their campaign was given to the Churches. All traces of secular protest were forgotten as those going to Ballyporeen were asked to bring crosses. The opposition to Reagan was presented in purely moral terms that could lead to no opposition to Reagan's friends in Ireland.

The ICARFP was above all a pacifist campaign. In reality though the red herring of non-violent protest provided a useful smokescreen for hiding the immense violence of Reagan and the Irish state itself. The ICARFP demanded that everyone give a commitment to non-violence and ruled out all co-operation with the Reagan Reception Campaign because of the RRC's refusal to embrace pacifism. The Coalition followed it up by declaring that "it was worried by the prospect of violence scaring away investment." The media was able to make more of the potential violence of the protest than the actual violence of Reagan. And while the ICARFP praised the co-operation from the Gardaí, other less fortunates were suffering the real violence of harassment from the same forces.

The Reagan Reception Campaign represented the minority of those who wanted to oppose Reagan from a revolutionary socialist point of view. The establishment of the RRC was forced on us by our exclusion from the larger campaign. But once built, the

RRC openly opposed the activities of U.S. companies in Ireland; it affirmed its full SOLIDARITY with those fighting that imperialism around the world; it pointed to Reagan's alliance with Thatcher in the North. In all its local action groups, the issue of support for the fight of Ranks workers and the British miners was raised. And it mobilised thousands for the march on the Dail.

What does it prove? Firstly that there is a small but growing audience for revolutionary ideas. Scattered around the country are odd individuals and groups who are far to the left of the Workers Party.

RRC

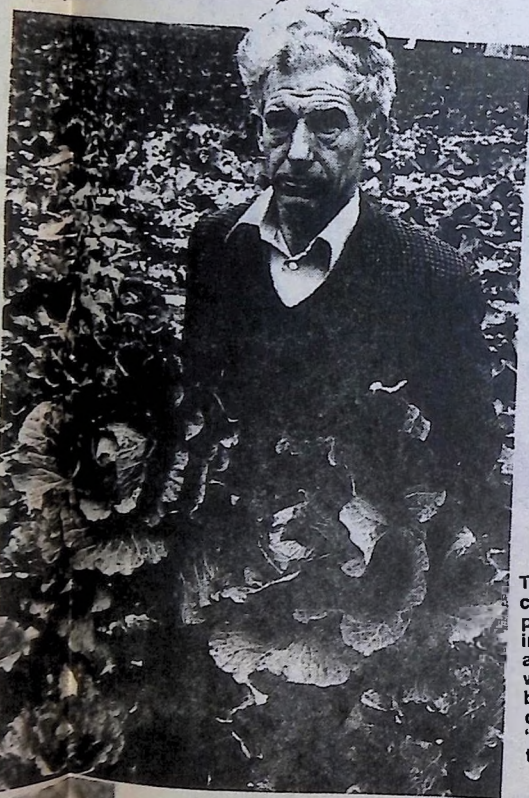
Secondly, it is possible for these forces to organise independently of the liberals. For years the scattered elements of revolutionaries have contented themselves with joining campaigns to encourage a bit of backbone from

the same liberals. During the H Block Campaign they donned suits to awaken the conscience of radical FFers; during the Amendment they intrigued with the young tigers of FG.

The RRC was an exceptional development in one other way. It is not often that a small revolutionary organisation can initiate a campaign that can move thousands. The scale of the opposition to Reagan and the sheer soggy-ness of the ICARFP gave us opportunities we will not see again for some time. Nevertheless, it was a glimpse of the possibilities that arise if the revolutionary forces in Ireland can be organised around a disciplined and determined party.

Which is why we in the SWM unashamedly put that as our priority. Therefore we appeal to those who fought Reagan's visit and want to bring the fight further to join the SWM.

by KIERAN ALLEN



THESE cabbages were ploughed back into the ground after this picture was taken because it was 'uneconomical' to harvest them



WOMEN: FIGHTERS NOT VICTIMS



The International Women's Day March 1917 which sparked off the Russian Revolution.

Class Struggle and Women's Liberation by Tony Cliff has just been published by Bookmarks. Here GORETTI HORGAN reviews this important new work.

THE LAST few years have seen the publication of dozens of books about the relationship between marxism and feminism. These books asked, and attempted to answer, questions like should marxists be feminists, can feminists be marxists, can marxism and feminism be reconciled.

Tony Cliff's *Class Struggle and Women's Liberation* starts from a totally different position. With no apology to reformists, Cliff makes the central argument of his book — that the fight for women's liberation cannot be separated from class struggle, from the struggle for socialism.

And this was not an argument that was pulled out of thin air. Having stated this revolutionary position, he goes on to demonstrate the point over and over again, by talking about the real struggles in which women have been involved since 1640 to the present day. Time and time again we're shown that

once working people move into struggle, women get involved and women's position in society is challenged.

Much of the material in the book was new to me, for example the chapter on the English Revolution of the 1640s was a real surprise — I mean you just don't expect to be able even to talk about women's liberation at that time. But women are shown taking their part in that Revolution. And we see them in the French Revolution, and the Paris Commune and of course the Russian Revolution of 1917 which was sparked off by the women textile workers of Petrograd.

And Cliff does not shrink from discussing the reality of what these revolutions meant for women. The Paris Commune, while it made significant advances for women's right to education, child-care and sexual freedom, did not give women the vote. In Russia in 1917, the Revolutionary Government

could pass a law making abortion available free on demand — but while the Civil War raged it was not possible to equip the hospitals to train the doctors to make this provision a reality.

Cliff explains these, and many other, shortcomings in clear class terms. His account of the counter-revolution in Russia in the 1920s shows how totally linked women's liberation and workers power were, and how a retreat from one went hand in hand with the defeat of the other.

The other way in which the relationship between women's liberation and class struggle is shown is by the history of the women's movements from the nineteenth century to today. Most of these movements tried to unite women across class boundaries. Such "unity" inevitably meant that working class women's interests were subordinated to those of bourgeois women. The International Women's Rights Congress held in Paris in 1900 had 500 delegates made up of socialists and bourgeois feminists. The conference actually rejected a resolution calling for the unionisation of domestic servants!

The modern-day women's movement did start with a concern for working women's rights. The early demands of the Women's Liberation Movement (WLM) for example were for equal pay, equal education and job opportunities, free contraception and abortion on demand and free 24-hour nurseries. These aims were for changes that would have had a real effect on the lives of working class women. And they were political demands on the state.

In the late 60s and early 70s there was an upsurge of working class struggle in Britain — including strikes that involved hundreds of thousands of women. During this time, the WLM grew and was able to bring some working class women into its ranks.

But as the 70s progressed and the bosses offensive against the working class began, the WLM moved further and further in the direction of "personal politics" and life-styles. While all working people, but especially women were hit by the cuts, unemployment and the drop in standards of living, reformist feminists were evermore concerned with finding their own personal "solution" which usually meant some form of separatism — i.e. seeing men as the problem rather than capitalism. Seeing men, rather than bosses (male or female) as the problem ends up with even one-time socialist feminists like Bea Campbell attacking the trade union movement because it is part and parcel of the "patriarchal system" by which men oppress women and attacking strikes as an outdated "disputes practice"! (*Guardian*, 9 August 1982)

The article by Campbell was written in the middle of a long and bitter dispute involving one million hospital workers (the majority of them women). It is but one of many examples of how bourgeois and working class women are far more divided by class than they are united by sex. *Class Struggle and Women's Liberation* also shows that it is in the interests of working class women and men to unite together in common struggle for their class interests. It demonstrates clearly that any separatism between working women and men will do damage to both but with women suffering the most — since they have more to gain by smashing capitalism, with their double chains to lose.

It must at this stage be obvious that this is a book which must be read by anyone who professes a commitment to women's liberation. And it is a welcome change to read a book about women's liberation which sees women not as victims or as objects of history but as fighters and the makers of history.

It's a Steal

IF CHRISTY MOORE didn't exist it would be impossible to invent him.

Over the past 18 months the gruff big man in the sweaty tee-shirt has become the most popular solo singer in Ireland — bar none. And done it without compromising or covering up his radical, Republican ideas.

His new album, "Ride On", is the best he's made yet. If you can't buy it, steal it. It's not a crime to steal record albums since after the revolution, music will be free. Christy Moore would agree with this himself.

He's been making albums — solo albums, Planxty albums, Moving Hearts albums — for 15 years. This is his 17th. And it is, to put it crudely, his most "left-wing".

This in itself is pretty remarkable. The history of folk and rock music is littered with people who started out as raging revolutionaries and then moved 10 degrees to the Right for every thousand albums sold. And when their albums started to totally sell out, they sold out totally.

Christy Moore has moved in the opposite direction. The more successful he's become the more he has giggered around the country and, particularly in the North, come into contact with people involved in struggle. And that seems to have stiffened his political commitment. His is the first name that springs to the mind of any left-winger trying to get a benefit gig together and no petition for the

release of prisoners or against sectarian stunts to do with the constitution would be complete without his signature.

That comes through in the music, too. Until the mid-70s Christy's music was political to the extent that "progressive" Irish folk was political. Songs of urban building sites, rebel songs from the past and, with Planxty, a lot of music that was revolutionary in its implications but which didn't grapple with the revolutionary politics of right now. That's what the new album does which makes it different.

It has two songs by Bobby Sands, one of which — about a group of Derrymen transported to Tasmania early in the last century — is as fiercely eloquent an exiles' lament as has ever been written in Ireland. Which is saying quite a lot. The other Sands' song, about a poteen-maker, isn't bad. "Vive La Quinte Brigada," about the Irish who went to Spain to fight with the International Brigade, pulls no punches about the role of the Church and political establishment here in backing Franco, and is a long overdue tribute to the few — mainly Republicans — who resisted the propaganda of the scoundrels and sky-pilots and took their place in the fight against fascism in the 30s.

"Lisdoonvarna" is a sort of Celtic acid-folk stream-of-consciousness celebration of political and alcoholic excess at the Festival freak-out in Clare. You can read a political message into it if

CORK'S MARX

WILLIAM THOMPSON was born in Patrick st. Cork in 1783 and died 150 years ago at Rosscarbery in West Cork.

So while Marx was still running around Trier in short trousers, Thompson was addressing himself to the industrious classes" with a book entitled "How to secure to Labour the whole product of its exertions". In it he argued for a "total change in the present principle of society regarding the production, accumulation and distribution of wealth". As long as the system of capitalism remained he argued, "crisis will succeed crisis at intervals more or less distant".

He wrote that "inasmuch as those who live on the interest or profit from capital do not themselves personally aid in the production of wealth, they ought on that account to be debarred from sharing any part of that wealth".

Thompson addressed himself to "the industrious classes" which was in strong contrast to Robert Owen and his Utopian Socialists who appealed to the rich to hand over their wealth in acts of philanthropy. Thomson believed the rich and wealthy would resist

any expropriation of their wealth implying therefore that "the industrious classes" would have to seize it. He does not develop this but he dismissed Robert Owen's ideas as "management for paupers". He is said to have been extremely cynical about Owens visit to Dublin in 1822 to gather support for his co-operative system — especially when the platform at the Rotunda included the Archbishop of Dublin, the Duke of Leinster the Lord Mayor and other such types.

Thompson was an educated member of the Protestant Ascendancy class and admitted that he was of the "idle class".

This didn't mean that he was on the dole of the day. He had a large estate at Rosscarbery and extensive business in the city but he was fired with the ideas of the French Revolution.

He supported Home Rule and Catholic Emancipation in Ireland and in Britain he spoke to British workers on the need for Socialism.

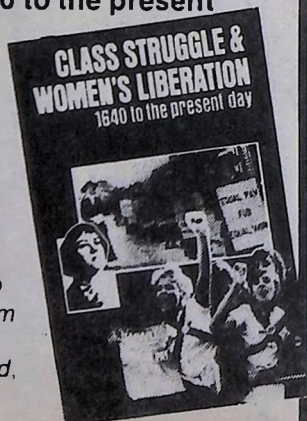
In his books he identified "Surplus Value" and concluded in a rare insight of the time that this belonged to the workers who produced it.

He says "Capital has no skill, no invention and uses no personal exertion" and then goes on to say that the accumulation of capital instead of relieving human misery has instead increased it.

Another aspect of Thompson was his strong defence

Class struggle and women's liberation—1640 to the present day

Tony Cliff



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RANKS - THE STRUGGLE

...re that way inclined. But not mandatory. And so on. Finally, the title track, written by Corkman Jimmy Carthy, is a classic. It's a simple song about being afraid - love or politics or armed struggle or whatever. It's written



with marvellous economy, contains what must be the most vivid image of sensuality ever set to music ("Run your claw along my gut one last time") and Christy sings it like he's decided to become a vocal stylist after all these years.

It's impeccably produced by Donal Lunny who - with Declan Sinott - provides all the backing tracks.

No socialist household is complete without this album. Steal a turn-table to play it on if you have to.

THE FOUR tents on the tiny green patch outside Ranks are not evidence of a cheap, company run, holiday scheme.

What they do represent is the latest stage in a struggle which started eighteen months ago, when the company ran off to a sunnier economic climate and ran 310 workers out of their jobs in the process. Good runners, Ranks. Latest entry in the Multi-national Marathon.

When the strike started on 25th January last year it was sanctioned by the ITGWU. This official support lasted all of one week, when, in a deft piece of 'national balloting' the Limerick and Dublin votes (some of which weren't even in a union) were moulded together to form a neat loophole for the branch secretary Eddie Brown, to slither through. THE RANKS workers in Dublin were forced to fight on for their jobs without official backing.

They occupied the plant until a pre-dawn raid by the police in May. Their shop steward Harry Fleming, was imprisoned in Mountjoy for contempt of court. He was only released after being forced 'to purge his contempt'.

Recent example has shown that the state is increasingly willing to use violence against organised workers who are defending their right to work. Bosses like to be able to play tiddly-winks with other peoples lives, and when their ability to do so is questioned, they call in the heavies to crush the threat.

MASTERMIND

Liquidator, John Donnelly, of Deloitte Haskins and Sells, was masterminded a different type of 'occupation'. There are up to thirty security men on the premises at a given time. "It's hard to tell exactly how many of them there are", said Ray Lyons, one of the workers, "they don't use the front door". C.P. Security Ltd. are in charge of 'operation Ranks' and have enlisted the help of Delta Security and Acme Security in lucrative sub-contracts.

If the bosses can get away with this type of oppression, we can expect a lot more of it in the future.

It's up to workers everywhere to make a serious stand behind the 'jobs, not jail' slogan.



● Harry Fleming is arrested by gardai for his part in the Ranks occupation in defence of jobs

They have already forced the occupation out of the building, but will have to make another move soon. There's more than £1m worth of grain stored at the mill and there would be a flood of great big capitalist tears if it were to go

to waste during the long, hot, summer. The workers are adamant that it won't be moved.

by JEAN CROSS

...AND THE SELL-OUT

THE RANKS case represents the worst betrayal in recent times.

The primary culprits are the ITGWU leadership. The scale of their hypocrisy knew no bounds.

*They applauded to the skies a delegation of Welsh miners who proclaimed the right of every worker to fight for their jobs at a meeting of the Dublin District Council. But they denounced anyone who tried to apply the same lesson to Ranks.

*They threatened a group of Ranks workers with the Forceable Entry Act when they occupied the platform of the ITGWU Conference in protest at a lack of union action.

*They opposed all calls at the Dublin Trades Council for industrial action to win the release of Harry Fleming.

But the lessons of Ranks go far deeper than the betrayal of the right wing labour leadership of the ITGWU. For one thing, there are other left wing officials in the union who kept totally silent on the betrayal.

Take Des Geraghty for one. He had a golden opportunity. A group Secretary of the ITGWU and Workers Party

candidate in the Euro elections, he did not mention Ranks once in the course of his electoral campaign - still less called for action over the heads of Carroll and Kirwan.

Or look at the Dublin Trades Council. For years it has prided itself on providing a left wing lead to Dublin's workers. But its only gesture on Ranks was an offer to mediate. In other words to find a good fence between workers and the police and to sit on it.

The truth is that a left wing reputation of the Dublin Trades Council is well out-dated.

During the tax campaign it filled a certain vacuum left by the inertia of the ICTU. But today it has been brought completely under the control of the union head offices.

The case of Ranks demonstrates the futility of trying to change the unions from the

top. For it is not as if there is a shortage of left wing officials. Indeed the Workers Party and now Sinn Fein have advised their members to get into full time positions by hook or by crook. But once in the club you have to stick to the rules. Hence the deafening silence on Ranks.

Could it have been different? Sixteen months previously the Ranks occupiers were jailed.

They themselves called a meeting of shop stewards in Dublin. Their wives toured the factories demanding solidarity. Within days first the dockers and then other groups of workers came out. The ITGWU was forced to call an official stoppage in case it got left behind.

Fitzgerald had just made a speech about the need to respect the law. Within hours of that speech he sent taxis down to Mountjoy to release the Ranks workers.

Conditions have changed over the last 16 months, but



DID HE KNOW?

Ivor Kenny, former director general of the Irish Management Institute - the bosses advice centre - has just received the \$10,000 award of the U.S. Economic Development Foundation in recognition of his services to free enterprise in Ireland.

There's no doubt about it but that the bosses do look after their own. We wonder if he knew about the £500 million going down the "black hole"?

that direct approach to the rank and file was the only way to win this time around.

Instead, however there was more of an emphasis on the Trades Council and "bringing pressure to bear" through polite telephone calls. The calling of a shop stewards meeting was left in the hands of a sympathetic full-time official.

When few stewards turned up there was no attempt to organise on a different basis.

Some factories were visited, but not with the same urgency as before. It was felt that token unofficial action would strengthen the hand of the left on the Trades Council and so lead to an official call for action.

The fact is any reliance on officialdom is even more disastrous when conditions are tough. There is only one way forward. It becomes more and more necessary to establish a body of socialists around the various workplaces who can argue the politics of why solidarity is needed.

Without that network we will always be at the mercy of the sell-out merchants.

MINER STRIKE VISIT

I WOULD like to thank the Socialist Workers Movement, for arranging my recent trip to Dublin.

They took me around various workplaces, and I was able to explain the miners case to Irish workers who, due to the media in Ireland, knew very little about our current dispute.

I also want to thank those workers for generously donating cash to the miners' strike fund.

Solidarity like this from overseas greatly encourages the miners to keep up the struggle, and ensure this dispute ends in only one thing - victory to the miners.

Ken Scott
NUM Castlehill Colliery

THIS IS a letter we received from a Scottish miner.

The highlight of the tour was a visit to Ranks.

Later Ken Scott and Alan Trimble from Ranks shared a platform at a rally against the Criminal Justice Bill.

Both warned about how police powers could be used against workers.

A visit to Coal Distributors has brought assurances from shop stewards that they would not allow themselves to be used as scabs in the dispute.

A collection of £112 was raised for the miners.

In other areas however, management clamped down on the collectors. In CIE Freight Services they even called the police!



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I want to join; I want a subscription and enclose £3 50;

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Socialist Worker

Courting the killer cops

THE RUC is handing out free holidays to its members who kill Catholics in the North.

All that happens to a cop charged with murdering an unarmed "Republican terrorist" is that he's suspended on full pay until the trial comes round. Then he's acquitted and goes back to work, well rested.

It could almost be described as an incentive.

Now the judges have decided that free holidays aren't enough. Lord Justice Gibson — giving a pat on the back to the police gang which gunned down three unarmed Republicans in Armagh 18 months ago — suggested that they be given formal commendation for "their courage and determination".

Newspapers like the Irish News in the North and the Press in the South have been complaining about this. They should save their breath. Complaining that the cops and the courts in the North are bigoted is like complaining that water is wet. It's just the nature of the thing.

And it's high time everybody who styles themselves as "socialists" faced up to the implications of this.

Ireland is coming down with people who think they have discovered a way of introducing socialism into the North on the sly.

There's the Labour Party Left and their allies around

by EAMONN McCANN.

Militant who reckon they can unite the working class in the North by organising branches of the British Labour Party there.

There's the Workers Party who think the key is for the Westminster Government to pass a "Bill of Rights" which would outlaw bigotry.

Presumably the courts and the RUC are going to enforce this Bill of Rights . . . !

REFORMISTS

People like the Militant and the Workers Party fail to face up to the most fundamental fact about the North. They think there's some way of getting round, or under, or over, the problem of sectarianism, that you don't have to confront it head on.

ORANGE JUDGE

If Mr Lord Justice Gibson hasn't convinced them otherwise, maybe they should have a hard think about the visits to UDR last year by Margaret Thatcher and the Duke of Edinburgh. It will be remembered that both of them visited the barracks from which seven UDR men charged with killing Catholics had operated.

Why did they do that? This pair doesn't drop in places by accident. Their every move is planned, deliberate.

And what they were deliberately doing was letting us know that they stand by the security forces of the Northern State — not some idealised version of the Northern security forces, but them as they are now, sectarian warts and all.

All Lord Justice Gibson was doing in Belfast Crown Court was underlining the same point.

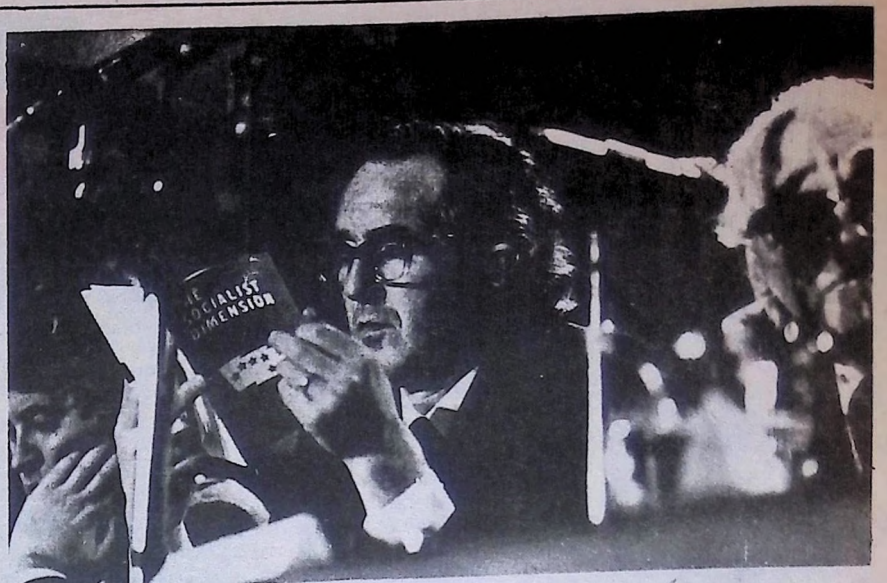
It's not a question of one or two "bad apples" in the RUC and UDR. It's not even a question of one or two Orange judges allowing their hatred of Catholics to blind them to the truth. It's that the British establishment is absolutely committed to defending the Northern State and that, in turn, means defending the armed sectarianism of the Northern security forces.

Against that background, light-minded babbling about getting the British parliament to bring in a "Bill of Rights" is just laughable. As laughable as the notion that building branches of the British Labour Party in Belfast will have an impact on the structure of the state.

The Provos have a lot of things wrong, but about this they are right: that no reform in the North is ever going to work.

In fact, as far as it goes, the Provo analysis of the North is not bad: it's their solutions — as we keep pointing out — which leave a lot to be desired.

About the cops and the courts they are absolutely spot-on . . .



The little Red Book they threw out

EURO-YAWN

THE ABYSMALLY low poll in the elections to the European Parliament was no great surprise. Less than half the voters turned out — and can you blame them!

Most people couldn't figure out why they should be bothered voting to send people to such an irrelevant institution as the European parliament. And even if you were going to vote, no-one gave you any good reason to vote for them.

Tweedle Charlie and Tweedle Garrett told us to vote for them because they are Tweedledum and Tweedlee and don't even pretend to change anything. This, they say, is what's good about them.

LABOUR

The Labour Party informed voters that Labour's voice can make a difference in Europe.

Like the difference that Labour's voice makes to the Coalition government? Like the difference it makes to have a Labour minister closing hospitals rather than a nasty Fine Gael type? Like the difference it makes to public service workers to have a Labour minister tell them they can't have a pay rise this year. What difference?

The same difference as between Tweedlee and Tweedledum.

The Workers Party, mind you, had a wonderful thing to say: "Workers Unite". Now there's something that sounds just like what we're on about, doesn't it? Of course, there was a little problem. While their posters and literature was telling us workers to unite, some of us were trying to get this unity in support of Ranks.

This isn't really what the stickies were talking about. They didn't mean real rank-and-file unity. After all their candidate, Des Geraghty is an ITGWU official. Anq Des wasn't arguing for workers to unite when the ITGWU decided to sell Ranks out.

What the Workers Party meant was that workers should unite in voting for them.

They wouldn't want workers to unite in struggle. Because workers in struggle would quickly see the way that Stickie union officials sell them out. And then they might begin to ask about how the Stickies sold out the Catholic working class in the North.

PROVOS

Fair play to the Provos. At least they told the truth. Laid their politics out fair and square for what they are. No pretence of being socialist — just straight old-fashioned republicanism. Their election campaign confirmed everything that Socialist Worker has been saying about Sinn Fein politics.

ONE PEOPLE

Their very slogan "One Ireland, one people — the only alternative" said it all.

There isn't 'one people' in Ireland, there are two classes, bosses and workers. But the Irish people, they say, must be united by their common nationality, rather than be divided in the struggle of the working class against the boss class.

This shows just how false is the idea that Sinn Fein's left turn can go very far. Because the crucial difference between revolutionary socialists and left-wing nationalists will always be that of class politics.

It's exactly this lack of class politics in the Republican movement which explains why Sinn Fein dropped out of virtually all other political activity except electioneering for the 2-3 months leading up to the Euro-vote. The elections, they explained in An Phoblacht gave an opportunity to place "our principled policies . . . before the people".

RANKS

While they were busy appealing to the "Irish people", Ranks Mills were invaded by a couple of hundred cops; the occupying workers were removed and one worker jailed.

When the official trade union movement turned its back on the Ranks workers, an attempt was made to organise a shop stewards committee which would call work stoppages in their support.

Although Sinn Fein members have been involved in the Ranks occupation, Sinn Fein did not encourage their members to become involved in building for such strikes.

INDIVIDUALS

If members wanted, as individual trade unionists, to support the Ranks workers — fine. But as Sinn Fein members they knew that the priority was the Euro-elections. It's more important for them to get people to show their support for Sinn Fein policies by voting for them than to encourage working class solidarity by building support for Ranks.

LEFT VOTE

It was good to see an increased vote for the Left in the Euro-elections. It demonstrates a degree of opposition to the establishment in Ireland. The sad thing is that there isn't a revolutionary party that can channel that opposition and build on the anger and resentment in the workplaces. The SWM are starting to build such a party. Come in and join us!

GORETTI HORGAN



Families and friends of those held on the word of perjurers picket Crumlin Road Courthouse, Belfast