

# Socialist Worker

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism

Nicky Kelly is free but -

## THE CRIMINALS STILL IN CONTROL

THERE can be few socialists anywhere in Ireland whose hearts didn't give a little leap of joy at the news that Nicky Kelly was out.

But what about all the other Nicky Kellys. North and South? That's the question now.

Over the past four years Nicky Kelly in his Portlaoise cell had become the most powerful symbol of repression in the country. Tortured by the Heavy Gang, denied trial by jury and convicted by corrupt judges on the basis of perjured police evidence, the Kelly case exemplified everything that is rotten in "justice" in Ireland.

The danger now is that some might think his release makes repression a less urgent issue. But it doesn't. On the contrary, it should focus our minds on the fact that repression is part and parcel of the system. North and South, and will be until the system itself is overthrown.

The same hack judges will sit in the no-jury courts, sanctioning police brutality and packaging people the politicians want out of the way off to prison. Like they wanted Gerry Roche out of the way. And - for the want of anything else - got him for the Embassy riot.

### YARN

Like the authorities in the North want people in droves out of the way. And get them on the basis of any incredible yarn they can find a supergrass to stand over.

This doesn't happen because judges in Ireland are a

more nasty bunch of people than judges in, say, Britain or France. It happens because judges everywhere, and the courts they preside over, are at the service of the State.

And when the State wants them to ride rough-shod over "human rights", and even over their own alleged principles of "justice", they do it with a will.

The Southern State feels shaky. It has been shuddered to its foundations by the impact of the war in the North. Economically, its in bits. It sees tens of thousands of young - and not so young-working class people more and more alienated from the "political process" and some of them beginning to turn to republican and socialist ideas.

### CONTROL

The State, and the ruling class politicians who run it, have an unnerving sense that maybe they are losing control.

That's why they turn to repression.

Without the foggiest idea how they might solve the problems they face, they arm themselves with weapons to deal with the results of their failure. Anyone considered a danger must be "dealt with" and no messing about "civil liberties" or the "rights of the individual".

The cops are given the go-ahead to put the boot in or even the bullet, as in the case of Eamonn Byrne.

The courts are rigged and their rules of evidence re-written so that "political"

defendants can be rail-roaded into Portlaoise with scarcely the pretence of a fair trial.

And to add to the arsenal of repressive weaponry, the new Criminal Justice Bill is introduced to match the Prevention of Terrorism Act in the North.

The capitalist state has gone down the road to repression because it has nowhere else to go. It cannot be deflected from this path by appeals to the conscience (!) of those who run it.

The only way to fight against repression is to confront the State itself. And that means building an organisation capable of doing it.

It means mobilising all those, North and South, who are fed up to the back teeth with hassle and harassment from the cops, with the political corruption of the courts, unemployment and deepening poverty, wages screwed down and social services slashed back. It means mobilising all these not for a series of separate, well-meaning campaigns, nor for a wild fling or a futile, frontal assault, but patiently to build a revolutionary party on the basis of solid, socialist ideas which can draw all these struggles together and lead them towards victory.

### FREE

"It must be wonderful to be free", somebody is alleged to have said to Nicky Kelly after his release.

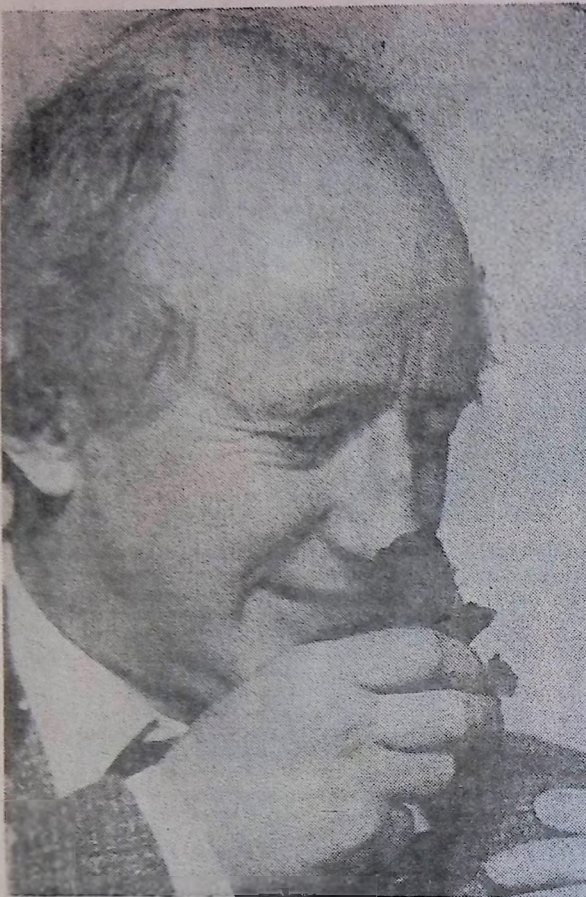
He might have answered by quoting Brendan Behan: "So it must".



photo: Derek Spairs (Report)

Inside: What's wrong with Michael D?

# WHERE MICHAEL D STOPS SHORT



Michael D. - not as left wing as he's made out to be.

MICHAEL D. HIGGINS is the best known figurehead of the Labour Party left. Look at the list of speakers on any impeccably left wing platform and you will be sure to find Senator Michael D Higgins. As the crisis in the Labour Party deepens the role of anti-coalitionists like Higgins will come to the fore. Their politics, therefore, deserve some examination.

It may surprise some but Senator Higgins is not opposed to Coalition in principle. In an interview in 1982 with the now-defunct "Graltion" magazine he stated:

"The Labour Party should stay out of any cabinet for the immediate years ahead. We should be in a different situation if the major parties had broken up or if the Labour Party had increased its strength to 30 or 40 seats."

For Higgins, Coalition is a tactical question that depends on Labour's bargaining strength. Noel Browne, the previous standard-bearer of the Labour Left, held a similar position. Neither Higgins nor Browne before him oppose Coalition with the bosses' parties on the principle that it does damage to independent working class politics.

The reason why the Labour Left is soft on Coalition is simple. What they share with their more right wing colleagues in the party is a belief that "socialism" can only be ushered in gradually through the parliament. Both look on their "socialist programme" — not as a guide to working class action — but as a collection of goodies to be given out by socialists in government. The problem is that Coalition is the only way that the Irish Labour Party will see the inside of the cabinet in the foreseeable future. For that reason, Left Wingers like Higgins can never rule it out.

But what is this "socialism" they fight for? Throughout all the fine speeches that Michael D Higgins makes, the theme is the creation of state industry under the guidance of a National Development Board. There are also vague suggestions about the need for more "workers' participation" in the state industries. But there is not the slightest hint that socialist politics is all about bringing ordinary men and women into taking full control of industry and society.

What distinguishes left wingers like Higgins in Ireland is in fact, the total lack of any reference to the working class. There is plenty of talk about poverty and "the poor" — But, that class, the working class, which will not always be victims, hardly figures. It is no accident. The rottenness of the official Labour Party affects the brand of reformism that its left wing offers. Higgins dares not attack the Labour ministers who have sent the army in to scab on the bus workers' strike. He refuses to support unpopular strikes lest it might lose a few votes. The party as a whole has no connection with the day-to-day struggles of industrial workers.

There is another area where the rot in the official party affects all sections of the left. It is on the issue of the North and the consequent repression in the South. In the seventies, Higgins was appointed a Senator by the then Taoiseach, Liam Cosgrave. It was the period when the "Heavy Gang" were operating in the gardai and Cosgrave was passing a whole series of repressive laws. One of those laws was the Offences against the State

(Amendment) Act which allowed for detention up to 72 hours. (It was used to beat Nicky Kelly and Osgur Breathnach black and blue after the Sallins train robbery.) Higgins absented himself from the Senate rather than vote against the act.

Times have changes. The efforts of the H Block movement in the South mean that the hard right of Fine Gael no longer have the same freedom to pile on repression. Nowadays even the Labour Party can pass a resolution calling for the release of Nicky Kelly and no one on the platform opposes it.

But the same tradition remains. The Labour left — Militant Tendency included — have never taken a position on defending Republicans from repression and fighting to scrap the obnoxious Special Criminal Courts. Resolutions will be passed on Nicky Kelly because it is widely recognised that he didn't do the things of which he was accused. But the likes of Gerry Roche gets locked away for two years for a H Block march on the British Embassy and there is not a whisper of protest from the Labour Party left. Left wingers like Higgins do not believe that it is necessary to stand on the same side as Republicans against the British army and the Southern state. To do so would be to put a fundamental question over the role of the Southern state. And no section of the Labour Party will do that because they see that state as a possible vehicle for reform. They will always be ambiguous on the question of repression.

In recent times Senator Higgins has taken to denouncing the likes of the Socialist Workers Movement as "shrunk economic Marxists". By that he means that there is a failure to appreciate the politics of feminism. Indeed Senator Higgins won the fullsome praise once of being "the best feminist in the Dail". The problem is that the "best feminists" are fantastically cautious when it comes to fighting for the women's issue. There is no record of openly arguing a woman's right to choose abortion; there is no fight to demand the provision of free creches in working class areas. The sort of feminism that M D Higgins supports is one that treats women as victims, as the conscience of Irish society, rather than fighters in their own right. Having written off the industrial working class, left reformists invariably look to groups like women as a constituency with which to revive left wing pressure group politics. It is a strategy that condemns the mass of working class women to waiting around for the likes of M D Higgins to deliver reforms from above.

Because the tradition that flows through the heady rhetoric of Higgins is a tradition of socialism from above. "Politics" — real serious politics — happens at the ballot box and the parliament. Emphasis on industrial struggles is denounced as "mere economism". But the truth is that those, like the Socialist Workers Movement, who argue for raising revolutionary politics in the workplaces have a very different vision to Senator Higgins. We are aiming for a society controlled from the bottom; we are for arguing for a revolution made from below. That means breaking with the illusion that "socialism" can be handed down by a few left wing TDs in Dail Eireann.

BY KIERAN ALLEN

## Poland: Jailed socialist once had the answers



Jacek Kuron

In 1965, Kuron together with Karol Modzelewski, published a pamphlet called "Open Letter to the Party". In it they demonstrated — by using Marxist analysis — that Poland, far from being a socialist paradise, is a class society. With a wealth of facts and figures they showed that like the more familiar capitalist societies of the West, Poland's entire productive capacity in industry and agriculture was dedicated, not to satisfying human needs, but to accumulation.

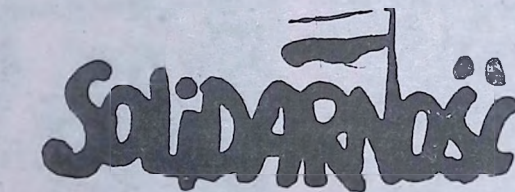
### ACCUMULATION

By subordinating workers' consumption to accumulation of means of production, Polish Party bosses — like their western counterparts — seek to maintain and expand their domination of society and with it their privileged position. The workers in Poland have been deprived of all say in the running of society and are — like workers in the West — mere appendages of production.

Kuron and Modzelewski criticised the leaders of the 1956 workers' uprising for placing their faith in the liberal wing of the bureaucracy.

They saw the only solution as workers organising for the overthrow of class society, not only in the East but also in the West. They ended their pamphlet with the slogan "Workers of all countries unite!"

For publishing this pamphlet



let them were imprisoned. On their release they threw themselves into the student agitation that rocked Polish as well as Western society in the late sixties. They were again jailed.

However, by the late 1970s and the rise of Solidarity, they had retreated from these revolutionary positions. They joined others in KOR in calling for mere reforms and warned of what they saw as the dangers of directly challenging the bureaucracy.

This idea of a "self-limiting revolution" was to dominate thinking inside Solidarity and was precisely the line Kuron and Modzelewski had criticised in 1965. But faced with the huge crisis of Polish state capitalism, reforms were just not on the agenda during the Solidarity period. Either the movement recognised this, and organised to take power, or it would be forced to concede the "leading role of the Party", run out of steam and sink back. At which point the regime, which had been nearly paralysed while Solidarity was in the ascendancy, would rally its morale and seize the time to crush the union. This is

tragically what happened.

Solidarity has been defeated but the crisis of Polish state capitalism continues. So even the now-reformist criticism of Kuron and the KOR activists is too dangerous for the Party bosses to tolerate. A systematic round-up cannot be excluded.

Socialists must offer — despite our criticisms — full solidarity to the hounded oppositionalists in Poland. And when the workers' movement



in Poland revives — as it will — there is every hope that the original revolutionary-socialist ideas of Kuron and his comrades will be rediscovered. Such ideas could arm a workers' party to lead the working class to finally settle accounts with all the Jaruzelskis of East and West.

by KEVIN WINGFIELD



# NO HOPE FOR CHARITY

YOU'LD THINK the "Blackbabies" would have got their act together by now. After all, they've been getting our hard-earned pennies for years. The fact that the problem is still very much with us, or rather with them, just may be a reflection on the approach taken to solve it.

The "Blackbabies Box" may have been replaced by the sophistication of the Trocaire Lenten Campaign, but it's the same "dig a well and stick your head in" approach. Gorta, Trocaire, Concern, etc., are doing all they can, fighting injustice and oppression on all sides, well, most sides, and they even go on hunger strike at Christmas. But 40,000 people are still going to die from hunger tomorrow and the combined forces of all the relief agencies in the world can do nothing about it. There is only one way to end the tragedy of the Third World, and that is to get rid of capitalism.

The capitalist system thrives on exploitation and multi-nationals are having a field-day in the Third World. And reaping quite a profitable harvest from it too. Capital-intensive agri-business has proved a real money-spinner with expensive machinery and fertiliser ensuring greater and greater yields of profit. Last year 85 per cent of world exports of coffee were sold by multi-nationals, the same figure applies to tea.

In many cases the field labourers are impoverished small-farmers and families, forced off the land because of inability to compete with the new plantation

owners. The more people they grind into the ground, the more ground they have to grow luxury goods for the lucrative western markets. The high price we pay for these commodities feed the greed of such companies, not the half-starved inhabitants of the "country of origin".

Of course something is being done to "help these victims of injustice and oppression". The World Food Aid Convention is one example. This worthy body meets every four years to allocate food donations from developed countries (that includes us). If you're into dabbling in the Third World, this is the place for you to rub shoulders with the needy and greedy. They also dream up development schemes for poverty-stricken nations.

The fact is, however, if the



Trocaire's Bishop Casey

food aid arrives at all it is usually a year late and often remains at the port of arrival because of transport difficulties. Development programmes are pie in the sky for bankrupt countries up to their eyes in international debt, much of which is tied to acceptance of aid. But it looks very nice on paper, and the little bureaucratic hiccups will sort themselves out in time. Meanwhile the only thing being done is the population of one poor country after another.

Then there is the other side of the coin, the threatened or actual withdrawal of aid from Third World countries who step out of line. This particular facet of US foreign policy is a favourite tactic of big bully Reagan and gang.

Ethiopia under Selassie used to be the largest recipient of US aid in Africa. It has received nothing since the "socialist" Lt. Colonel Mariam seized power. This, in spite of the fact that he carried on the terror. Ripe conditions for US aid you'd think.

Today, with a population of 40 million, Ethiopia gets the smallest amount of aid in the world. This year the government there estimated they'd need 900,000 tonnes of grain to off-set large-scale famine. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Commission granted them 125,000 tonnes. The incidental fact is that the 86% written off represents 2.6 million people.

There are 800 million people in the world who don't have enough to eat. There is plenty of food in the world for everybody to eat. Under the present system it is impossible to simply share the food around because human need comes close to bottom on the capitalists' list of priorities. As long as we allow capitalism to continue we will never be rid of injustice and exploitation. That's as long as we allow it to continue. . . .

by JEAN CROSS

# Workers Party face both ways in Tallaght



Travellers and settled people confront each other in Tallaght

THE TRAVELLERS situation in Tallaght, is yet another scene where the Workers Party are being their cautious "Democratic and Tolerant" selves. Here we have a party who claim to represent the working class, yet they are afraid to state clearly what their position is until the coast is absolutely clear.

They're not about to scare anybody off with their "Left Wing" politics and are making sure that they'll get a many votes a possible in the event of an election.

This goes a long way to explain their attitude to the

travellers. If the Workers Party had condemned the settled people in Tallaght for using the Travellers as a scapegoat, their votes in the EEC election might have dropped in the area. So they played safe, lay low until the elections were over and are only now beginning to discuss the issue openly.

The problem in Tallaght is not the Travellers, but the Workers Party are unwilling to say this. Nor are they willing to use their influence in the Residents Association or Tenants Organisations (the WP

are prominent in both ACRA and NATO) to argue what the problem really is.

The problem is the lack of facilities for all working class people in Tallaght, lack of proper housing, jobs, school facilities, health care facilities, etc. And unfortunately this problem is not restricted to Tallaght. The settled people and the Travellers are all victims of the capitalist society we live under. The Travellers are much more of an ally to the settled people of Tallaght than the likes of the Workers Party will ever be.

by CREA RYDER

# RUSSIA: WHAT SORT OF SOCIETY

## Teach yourself MARXISM

by JOHN MOLYNEUX



What sort of society finally emerged from the Russian revolution?

THE WORKERS' revolution announced by Marx gained its first real victory in Russia in 1917. Tragically the devastation inflicted on Russia by the civil war of 1918-21 so weakened the Russian working class it was not able to retain power in its hands for more than a few years.

Instead, control of Russian society passed into the hands of a privileged bureaucracy headed by Joseph Stalin.

As a result, the society which eventually developed from the Russian Revolution bore no relation to the classless communism envisaged by Marx and Lenin.

Rather it became a totalitarian police dictatorship in which inequalities reappeared and widened, and all the vestiges of workers' rights and workers' democracy were destroyed.

This presented Marxist theory with a major problem, perhaps the most important problem it has faced since the 1917 revolution itself. It was to analyse the nature of this new society, and see if it could be categorised and accounted for in Marxist terms.

By far the most widely

adopted answer to this question was that of the Communist Parties and their supporters (and shared by many left social democrats). This was that the Soviet Union constituted a more or less unblemished socialist society.

This solution had a great advantage. It provided millions of would-be socialists with the comforting illusion that 'over there' the workers' paradise had already been achieved. But it had three great disadvantages.

First, it involved deliberate blindness as to the reality of events in Russia. Secondly, it fundamentally compromised the Marxist concept of socialism, reducing it to a matter of state ownership regardless of what happened to the working class. Third, it subordinated the international workers' movement to the leadership of Moscow.

This leadership had lost all interest in world revolution and were concerned only to manipulate the Communist Parties as tools of its state diplomacy.

Far superior in terms of realism, Marxist theory and revolutionary politics was

Trotsky's position that Russia was not socialist but a 'degenerated workers' state'.

This view involved ruthless criticism of the anti-socialist crimes of the Stalinist bureaucracy. It insisted the goal of international revolution would have to be pursued independent of that bureaucracy, and of its puppets in the Communist Parties.

However, despite these merits, Trotsky's position contained a basic flaw. If it was admitted, as it was by Trotsky, the Russian state was in no way controlled by the Russian workers, how

was it possible to call it a 'workers' state', even a degenerated one?

Trotsky's answer was the nationalisation of the economy made it a workers' state, which accepted the fundamental basis of Stalinism and left open the possibility that a so called 'workers' state' could be imposed on workers from above, without their consent or participation.

This possibility became a reality with the Stalinist takeover of Eastern Europe at the end of World War 2, and it threw the Trotskyist movement into confusion.

It was in this situation



Workers' power in 1917—destroyed during the rise of Stalin

that some of Trotsky's followers at last arrived at a satisfactory Marxist analysis of Stalinist Russia. The leading role in this process was played by Tony Cliff, the founder of the International Socialist tradition of which the SWM is a part.

Cliff's argument was the rise of Stalinism produced not socialism, nor any sort of workers' state but bureaucratic state capitalism. Russia was state capitalist because the bureaucracy exploited the working class, in order to accumulate capital in competition with the rest of world capitalism.

Thus, despite its state ownership Russia remains a society in the grip of capital and it is this fact, not any 'Communist doctrine', which gives rise to the brutal dictatorship.

The most important feature of the state capitalist analysis is that it emphasises above all else the self emancipation of the working class.

The overthrow of capitalism requires workers' revolution. The building of socialism requires workers' control of industry and the state. In both it is the working class that is central.

ONLY SOCIALISM, and nothing less, could save Europe from slaughter.

That was Connolly's position — as it was Lenin's and Luxemburg's — at the outbreak of World War One.

It was in stark contrast to the attitudes of the "moderate" Home Rulers who joined in the war hysteria with a will and backed Britain all the way.

And it was different, too, from the line of militant Republicans like Pearse and MacDonagh. Connolly wasn't saying that "England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity." There was nothing nationalist about his argument.

"I believe that the socialist proletariat of Europe in all the belligerent countries ought to have refused to march against their brothers across the frontiers," he wrote in *International Socialist Review* in March 1915.

FRIENDS

Britain had declared war on Germany on August 4th 1914. Immediately the constitutional nationalist leaders like John Redmond and John Dillon agreed to back the British war effort in return for a half-hearted promise of "home rule" after the conflict was over.

Dillon told a mass meeting at the Mansion House that Ireland would be "united in our determination to prove ourselves brave and efficient friends to the British Empire and to England in this struggle."

Redmond cast caution and common decency to the winds and told a recruiting meeting in Wicklow that the war had been "undertaken in defence of the highest principles of religion and morality and right" and that it would be "a disgrace forever to our country and a reproach to her manhood" if young Irishmen "shrunk from proving on the field of battle that gallantry and courage which has distinguished our race all through its history".

This demented drive worked. Within a year, there were 132,500 Irishmen serving in the British Army. More than 80,000 of them were Catholic nationalists. They died in droves on the western front.

CASUALTIES

And many of them did display the suicidal "gallantry and courage" which Redmond had demanded. The casualty lists were crowded with the names of the Irish Regiments: the Dublin Fusiliers, the Munster Fusiliers, the Royal Irish, the Irish Rifles, the Leinster Regiment and so on. Seventeen Irishmen won VC's in the first 13 months of the war, by which time there had been more than 15,000 Irish casualties. The Home Rulers gloried in this slaughter and boasted in the British parliament about the numbers of Irish dead.

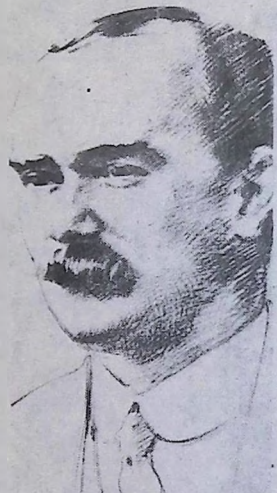
Invecting against "the drunkenness of the war fever", Connolly reacted with outright horror to the carnage of the battle-fields: "Every day news will come to some Irish home that this young son or that loving father has met his doom and out there

under a foreign sky the mangled remains, twisted, blown and gashed by inconceivable wounds will lie, each of them in all their ghastly horror crying out to heaven for vengeance upon the political tricksters who lured them into their fate"

IDEAS

But Connolly recognised, Redmond and Dillon didn't cheer their followers into the slaughter because they were "political tricksters" stupid or cynical or easy marks for British blandishment — although all that might be true as well. Essentially they backed the British war effort because of their political ideas.

Constitutional nationalism — represented today by the likes of FitzGerald and Hume — holds that there is no real need for conflict between Britain and Ireland: that if only a sensible constitutional arrangement could be worked out the Irish ruling class could and would protect the interests of the British ruling class within Ireland. Which was and is perfectly true.



James Connolly

In acting as recruiting sergeants for the British Army in 1914, Redmond and Dillon were simply trying to prove this to the British Government, to demonstrate their reliability, in the hope of getting a measure of independence in return.

It didn't work, of course. The Northern loyalists weren't having it and the British Tories were as reluctant then as now to confront Orange reaction. And, anyway, 1916 was to intervene and to transform Irish nationalist attitudes. But at the time it was an absolutely logical expression of the constitutional nationalist position. Redmond and Dillon were representing their class.

SLAUGHTER

Connolly — an unconstititutional internationalist — spoke uncompromisingly for his class. Despite the fudging and twisting of his words since, he did not claim to be a "better Irishman" than the Home Rulers, but a different class of Irishman.

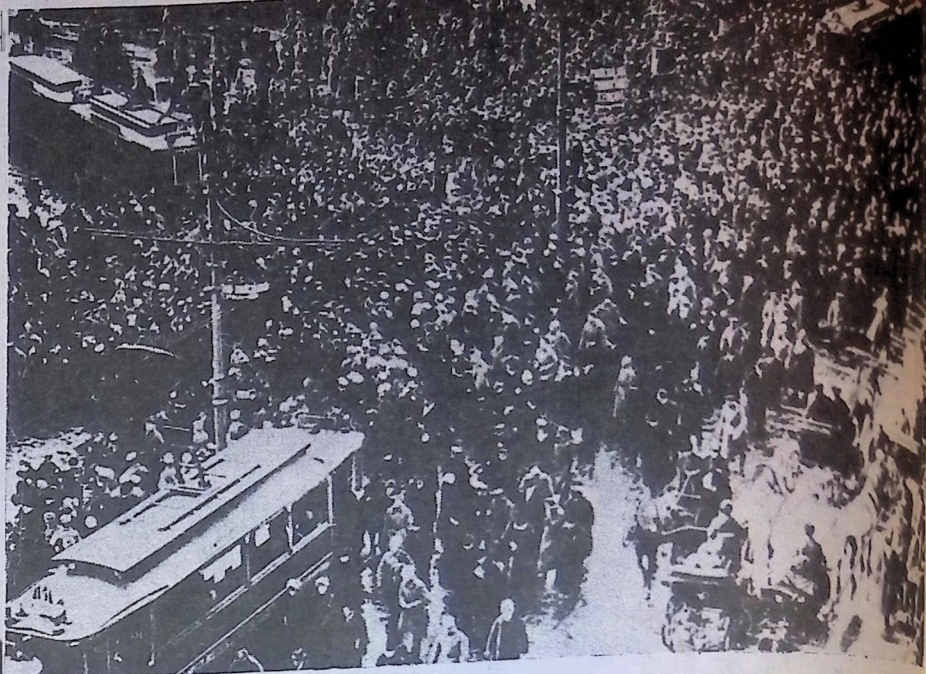
Four days after the declaration of war he wrote in the *Irish Worker*: "Should the working class of Europe, rather than slaughter each other for the benefit of kings and financiers, proceed tomorrow to erect barricades

THE FIRST World War was declared seventy years ago on 4th August 1914. Millions of workers died in the trenches, sent out by their ruling classes to fight on behalf of the bosses who exploited them.

The war brought the historic sell out of the reformist social democratic parties who, in spite of their anti-militarist rhetoric in the years, months and even days before the war broke out, quickly fell in behind their ruling classes with talk of "patriotism" and "defending the fatherland".

But there was another response - the revolutionary anti-war position held by Lenin, Luxemburg and Connolly.

Here EAMONN McCANN and GORETTI HORGAN look at that tradition.



SLAUGHTER

all over Europe, to break up bridges and destroy the transport service that war might be abolished, we should be perfectly justified in following such a glorious example and contributing our aid to the final dethronement of the vulture classes that rule and rob the world".

He ended that article with a paragraph which is frequently misplaced in accounts of Irish history:

"Starting thus, Ireland may yet set the torch to a European conflagration that will not burn out until the last throne and the last capitalist bond and debenture will be shrivelled on the funeral pyre of the last war-lord."

This was not written about the 1916 rising. It was written in a call for a general strike against the war.

A week later he lashed out at the "patriots" again who were whipping up war hysteria:

"I make no war upon patriotism; never have done. But against the patriotism of capitalism — that patriotism which makes the interests of the capitalist class the supreme test of duty and right — I place the patriotism of the working class... To me the socialist of another country is a fellow patriot, as the capitalist of my own country is a natural enemy."

HAMMERED

Week after week through the first months of the war Connolly hammered away with ferocious eloquence about the urgent need for internationalism and class action as the only answer to the capitalists' war. But it wasn't to be. The big

social democrat parties all over Europe had collapsed into mindless "patriotism", each backing its "own" capitalist government.

By March 1915, when he realised that "the nations are now locked in this death grapple and the issue is knit", he tried to analyse why the high hopes of mass working class opposition to the war had come to so little.

FAILURE

"In all the belligerent countries of western and central Europe the socialist vote was very large: in none of these belligerent countries was there an organised revolutionary industrial organisation directing the socialist vote. The socialist voters having cast their ballots were helpless, as voters, until the next election... No socialist party in Europe could say that rather than go to war it would call out the entire transport service of the country and thus prevent mobilisation. No socialist party could say so because no socialist party could have the slightest reasonable prospect of having such a call obeyed... the failure of European socialism to avert the war is primarily due to the divorce between the industrial and political movements of labour."

Connolly argued in detail that the set of ideas that leads to a belief in a "parliamentary road to socialism" also involves an acceptance of the legitimacy of the parliament concerned — and, by extension, of the bourgeois state which the parliament runs. And "socialists" with such a set of ideas

will tend more or less inevitably to support their "own" state when it is put at risk by war, no matter what anti-war statements and policy commitments they may have made in the past.

Moreover, the style of operation which flows from such a set of ideas — the concentration on mobilising for elections and on manoeuvring within the parliamentary set-up — rules out building an organisation in the workplaces on the basis of the day-to-day struggles of workers. Thus the social democrat leaders in Europe wouldn't lead the workers in direct action against the war: that ran counter to their ideas. But on top of that they couldn't: that ran counter to the shape and purpose of their organisations.

A weakness in Connolly's analysis was that he never quite put these two aspects of the social democrat sell-out together. He argued against the ideas of the social democrat leaders for a mass, political organisation in work-places.

But he didn't take the one step further which would have led him to Lenin's position. He didn't argue for a revolutionary party based in the workplaces. Partly this was a reflection of the syndicalist belief he had developed in the United States. And, anyway, at the time only a minority of Marxists in Europe and elsewhere — and Trotsky wasn't among the minority — saw the need for a revolutionary party.

Lacking a revolutionary party and without a perspective of building one Connolly's options were severely limited once he recognised the futility of looking to the social democrats of Europe to take class

action against the war. It was from that point that he began as an alternative, to look for allies among the Irish Republican Brotherhood to prepare an insurrectionary strike against the war. The IRB was a clandestine, minority organisation operating within the Irish Volunteers to bring about an insurrection as soon as was practicable while the British Government and armed forces were distracted by the world war. The IRB was not socialist, although some of its leaders were occasionally given to flights of "radical" rhetoric. It did not have an anti-war position, nor did it analyse the war



Rebellion in Berlin. The placard reads 'All power to the workers and soldiers' councils'



# WINTER

## The socialist answer

in terms of the class forces at work. At bottom, it simply saw the war as providing an opportunity for "Ireland" to launch a surprise attack on the British presence. Insofar as they looked to other countries for assistance it was not to the working class to rise against their rulers, but precisely to those rulers: as witness the attempts to enlist the support of the Kaiser.

Connolly retained the idea of mass working class action to back up the insurrection, but was hampered by two things. First, the IRB and Volunteer leaders with whom he was now collaborating had not given full-hearted support to the organised working class when it was under attack in the 1913-1914 lock-out. Indeed, the leader of the volunteers, Eoin MacNeil was openly hostile to the working class movement. So workers' support for a Volunteer-dominated rising was far from assured.

On top of that the working class movement itself was in tatters. It hadn't recovered from the defeat of the lock-out and had been hit hard by the British Government's wartime measures. The ITGWU paper, for example, was suppressed under emergency legislation and almost all trade union rights were suspended under the 1915 Munitions of War Act.

These factors added to the pressure on Connolly to "go for broke" with the IRB in a desperate strike against the imperialist war machine. The key to it all was the absence of a revolutionary party.

And the need for such a party is the key lesson to be learnt today from what happened in Ireland then.

"The class conscious German proletariat raises a flaming protest against the machinations of the war mongers. . . Not a drop of any German's soldier's blood must be sacrificed to the power-hunger of the Austrian ruling clique, to the imperialist profiteers." 25th July 1914.

"For our people and its peaceful development much, if not everything, is at stake in the event of the victory of Russian despotism. . . Our task is to ward off this danger to safeguard the civilisation and independence of our own country. . . We do not leave the Fatherland in the lurch in the hour of danger."

4th August 1914  
JUST TEN days separated these two statements from the German Social Democratic Party (SPD). The SPD was by far the biggest working class organisation in the world. With its one million members, 90 daily papers, trade unions, co-ops, sports clubs, youth organisations, women's organisation and hundreds of full-time officials it seemed like a working class "state within a state".

In the 1880s the SPD had declared itself "revolutionary" with "no illusions" in parliamentary methods. But decades of concentration on electoral activities and the decidedly non-revolutionary type of activities associated with trying to win votes, inevitably had an effect on party members. The revolutionary Marxist ideas of the 1880s came to seem something for May Day rallies and Sunday afternoon soap-box oratory, not particularly connected with what the

party actually did.

As Connolly pointed out, all this meant that when war did come the SPD, like all the reformist parties of the Second International, not only would not but could not lead workers into direct anti-war activity.

But there was a minority who opposed the war and stuck to the principle of internationalism, opposing all sides in the war and calling on workers of all countries to reject the war and use the opportunities to overthrow "their" national governments.

This principled opposition to the war, articulated here in Ireland by James Connolly, was led by Lenin and the Russian Bolshevik party and by the German revolutionary Rosa Luxemburg.

Lenin outlined the socialist position on war: "Socialists have always condemned wars between nations as barbarous and brutal. Our attitude towards war, however, is fundamentally different from that of the bourgeois pacifists. . . We

understand the inevitable connection between wars and the class struggle within a country; we understand that wars cannot be abolished unless classes are abolished and socialism is created; we also differ in that we regard civil wars, ie wars waged by an oppressed class against the oppressor class, by slaves against slaveholders, by serfs against landowners, and by wage-workers against the bourgeoisie, as fully legitimate progressive and necessary."

Like Connolly, Lenin pointed to the opportunity which the war gave to the working class: "In all advanced countries the war has placed on the order of the day the slogan of socialist revolution. . . The conversion of the present imperialist war into a civil war is the only correct proletarian slogan."

And Lenin didn't fudge the issue. To aim at overthrowing one's own ruling class through civil (class) war one must, he said, welcome the defeat of one's own country:



Soviet—workers' council—Russia 1917

"A revolutionary class cannot but wish for the defeat of its government in a reactionary war, and cannot fail to see that the latter's military defeats must facilitate its overthrow. . . the socialists of all belligerent countries should express their wish that all their 'own governments should be defeated'."

Lenin and the Bolsheviks proved that their ideas were totally correct when in 1917 they won the argument with the Russian working class that only the overthrow of the capitalist state would bring peace. The Russian Revolution not only mobilised millions against war, it actually stopped armies in their tracks.

This was all very well, some will argue, in 1917. But today faced with the enormity of nuclear war surely the only correct approach is the pacifist "non-violent, direct action"

exercises uncontested, its class hegemony. The sole means of successful resistance and the only guarantee of peace in the world, is the capacity for action and revolutionary will of the international proletariat to hurl its full weight into the balance."

She knew that pacifism encourages passivity in the face of warmongering and therefore is counterproductive in the fight to end war: "All ruling classes have fought with savage desperation for their prerogatives. . . The struggle for socialism is the mightiest civil war that world history has ever seen, and the proletarian revolution must prepare the necessary tools for this civil war, and must learn to use them—to fight and win."

The only way to ensure lasting peace is to get rid of capitalism and establish true proletarian democracy.

But such democracy, Luxemburg argues "is to be found only where the million strong proletarian mass seizes supreme power in its calloused fist in order to use it, as the god that used his hammer, to smash the heads of the ruling classes."

Luxemburg saw that as capitalism progresses so too would its methods of enforcing its rule, and deciding which of the rival capitalist power should get which slice of the world cake, get more horrific. She could not foresee the horrors of nuclear war, but she recalled Engels saying that "capitalist society faces a dilemma, either an advance to socialism or a reversion to barbarism. . ."

### VICTORY

In the middle of the war she wrote:

"We stand today. . . before the awful proposition: either the triumph of imperialism and the destruction of all culture. . . depopulation, desolation, degeneration, a vast cemetery; or the victory of Socialism, that is the conscious struggle of the international proletariat against imperialism, against its methods, against war. This is the dilemma of world history, its inevitable choice whose scales are trembling in the balance, awaiting the decision of the proletariat."

In the shadow of nuclear holocaust, the words of Rosa Luxemburg, and those of her comrades Lenin and Connolly, shine out as even more relevant than when they were written.



ROSA LUXEMBURG:

stance adopted by the Greenham Common women and CND?

Rosa Luxemburg was a "peace woman" when it was neither popular or profitable. She spent over three years of the war in prison for her anti-war activities. On her release at the end of the war she plunged into intense political activity for what she clearly understood was the only way of preventing a repetition of the slaughter. Because of that political stand she was brutally murdered less than three months later.

Luxemburg argued fiercely against pacifism: "World peace cannot be assured by projects Utopian, at bottom reactionary, such as tribunals of arbitration by capitalist diplomats, diplomatic "disarmament" conventions. . . and other illusions. Imperialism, militarism and war can never be abolished nor attenuated so long as the capitalist class

## 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 .....

# The ugly face of French fascism



Mr Le Pen

THE BOREDOM of the Euro-election results was shattered when it came to France. The Front Nationale, or Nazis, had won over 2 million votes.

Just three years ago they hadn't been able to get enough signatures to stand a candidate in the presidential elections. It was Mitterand's victory in that election and the election of the Socialist and Communist coalition immediately afterwards that gave the Front Nationale the boost it needed.

The government had an ambitious plan to re-plate the economy, create jobs, cut the working week and push through reforms in education.

As happens with any attempt to gain socialism through parliament, it failed miserably. Within one year Mitterand dropped all this in favour of an austerity package of which FitzGerald would heartily approve.

There was a wages and prices freeze - you know the sort of thing where wages somehow get more frozen than prices. Precious few jobs were created and redundancies rose.

Young people with only the dole to look forward to were angry. They demonstrated violently against the proposed educational reforms. As the revolutionary left had failed to keep a clear independent stance from the so-called socialist government, the fascist students made the running in the street battles.

Soon afterwards small businessmen, shopkeepers and even the police marched through Paris and each time Jean Marie Le Pen and his Nazi followers were among them with a ready audience for their poisonous ideas.

### GROWTH

Nazis grow and eventually gain power by attacking immigrant workers, Jews, gays, socialists and by travelling huge distances to gather in big military style marches.

Their propaganda is against big business as well as against communism and blacks.

The class they appeal to is in the middle in the struggle between the working class and the ruling class. In a real economic crisis, these people who are normally conservative can be won over by a fighting working class to socialism. Equally, if the working class

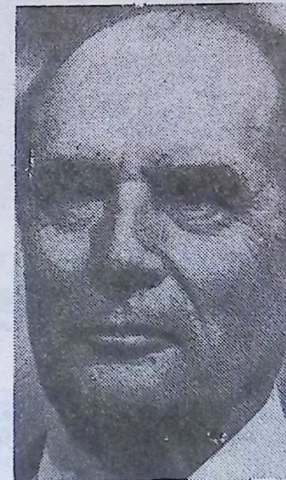
is demoralised and not providing leadership, they can be swung to support the Nazis in their anti-union, anti-big business (Banks, multinationals etc) and anti-democratic stance.

The blacks, unemployed and petty criminals in the country can be made into scapegoats for all the economic ills that anger the petit-bourgeoisie. Where Nazis have come to power big business has given support and consequently reaped vast profits from the system.

### SMASH

The Front Nationale are still relatively small. In the last schools demonstration, only about 3,000 followed the Nazis out of about 1/2 million marchers.

Now is the time to smash them. The ideas they stand for - racism, sexism, nationalism etc must be fought against by all french trade unionists. No platform should be available



President Mitterand

for Nazis; their meetings must be vigorously broken up; their propaganda - posters, booklets and leaflets must be torn up.

The revolutionary left in France are the only ones in a position to smash them and to build a socialist alternative.

LIZ BUTLER



Dylan at Slane

THE WAY the papers put it you would think Bob Dylan started the riot. As I drove into Slane the village was so crowded that fans had to sit on the road. Even though cars could get by one sergeant was kicking ass (literally) for fans to move off the road.

Just how the riot started is controversial, but from what I heard it started in a public house (with bar extension till One O' Clock) when gardai dragged three fans out of the pub. Their mates - about seven - gathered outside the station to see what was going down; other fans passing by stopped to see what was happening and before you knew it there was about a hundred fans and things took off from that. When the riot started, two friends of mine went into the Garda Station for "protection" from the "neutral" force. And they were told to get out or they would be PUT OUT!

When they went outside one hid in a bush. Then a Garda came over to him and hit him with a baton - a few times. And as for the question who started - who knows?

### Day 2

In the middle of this "battlefield" of Slane, there was a castle, a nice little home

## Dylan: Slain Slane

— out of the way — picturesque in a sense. Owned by a Lord Henry Mount Charles, a nice type of bloke: "Just can't understand why it takes some students so long to work their way through college". Throwing a party for his close friends.

Inside guests who had at their disposal a bar which eventually ran dry (wonder if they were drinking cider?). A restaurant which charged £4 for lunch and one quid for strawberries - and a grand view of the show.

Meanwhile in the other room guarded by a lad with a red book (no, not Eamon Andrews) were the Lord's special friends. God it must have been like a Fine Gael conference, with the likes of Mary Banotti; George Birmingham; Dick Burke; Ted Neelson; Mary Flaherty and Hubby Alexis FitzGerald. And not forgetting Michael D Higgins, dressed in a class of his own with leather jacket.

Panic struck with the "guests" when UB40 ended - yes, the beer had also ended. But what was this in the next room... Beer and free food.

And as the ordinary guests quite logically moved in among the elite few, there were a few expressions unlike the ones seen on party political broadcasts! by DEREK HANNON

## The road to 1917

WHAT STEVE Wright set out to explain in his pamphlet, *Russia: The Making of the Revolution* (75p from SWM) is not to give all the dates and events of the Russian Revolution.

It is a pamphlet on a chapter of working class history that shook the world, culminating in the first successful proletarian revolution. It was the politics of the Bolsheviks which made the revolution successful. But as Wright points out, there were times leading up to the 1917 revolution when the Bolsheviks seemed a total loss. Times like 1905, when the conditions of class struggle changed so rapidly that many comrades could not keep pace. There was a tendency to be slow in changing gear. So slow indeed that the revolutionary potential of the Soviets, first set up in 1905, was almost completely underestimated.

The pamphlet points out how many Bolsheviks resented the soviet initiative on the grounds that it was the Mensheviks who were in the majority - a symptom of the frustration with the toughness required in arguing revolutionary politics. It was Lenin's firmness in arguing the total independence of the working class that led to a recognition of the importance of the soviets as institutions of working class democracy and a consequent growth in membership for the Bolsheviks during this revolutionary period.

### ORGANISATION

By 1907, the working class were smashed. Class demoralisation was rampant following its defeat. The establishment of the Russian parliament (the main bourgeois demand) was a mere token. The Czar could override its decisions anyway. But its very existence created more problems for the Bolsheviks. Should they participate within it, or boycott.

On this question of how revolutionaries operate in a period of working class demoralisation, the pamphlet brings out the similarities between the 1907 - 1912 period and today. It analyses the problem faced by a revolutionary organisation when the main ingredient for winning socialism - the working class - suffers defeat after defeat.

But of course the working class does not stay defeated for long and in 1917 when the class rose and overthrew the czar they learnt the lessons of 1905. And the revolutionary party was there, built during the downturn. It was the Bolsheviks who argued to carry the revolution through to workers power and to start building socialism.

Just as the Russian working class needed to learn from the experience of 1905, so all those who want to fight to overthrow capitalism today need to know how in 1917 the Russian workers revolution brought the world closer to the achievement of socialism than ever before or since.

That's why this pamphlet is worth reading.

MICK BERRY



## ITGWU CUTS BACK

THE IRISH Transport and General Workers Union have announced plans to scale down the apparatus of the Union. They intend to do this by sacking 50 staff, clerical workers and officials, and closing down some branch offices.

The reason given is the loss of up to 20,000 members and the cost of the equal pay claim won by women clerical workers in Liberty Hall.

The decision has been taken by the National Executive Council, though it is most certainly on the initiative of the President and General Secretary John Carroll and Christy Kirwin.

It seems this has been discussed at the highest level within the Union for the last year, yet the membership were only informed in July. This was just five weeks after the Annual General Conference, where nothing was said of the plan, let alone allowing the members any

say in the matter.

Worse, it was announced only weeks after most workers pay round had ended. It has given the employers an obvious answer to an group of ITGWU workers who are in dispute — "If your own union is making cuts because of falling income, so are we!"

There are two categories of workers involved in the redundancies. The bulk are clerical workers who have a right to fight for their jobs and refuse any redundancies, just as any other group of workers have.

The position of the union officials is more complex. On the one hand they represent their members in their struggles with the bosses, but also they seek to compromise with the bosses in finding a solution to the problems. They stand between the workers and the bosses. Their jobs or conditions do not depend on victory

or defeat in any particular struggle. Their interests are different and sometimes opposed to those of their rank and file members. They are usually appointed and not elected, and hold the job for life. Their wages are better in nearly all cases than the workers they represent.

The only way that union officials can be made responsible to the members is for the election of all officials who should be paid the average industrial wage. Officials can then be replaced if they do not represent those who elected them.

In the ITGWU the members should be allowed to decide who their officials are, how many there are and what subscriptions are necessary to fund the union. There is now a great opportunity to discuss these ideas in the ITGWU and in the process argue for rank and file control of the union.

by PAUL O'BRIEN

# Storage heating up

TALKING ABOUT American investment being the saviour of us all, here is how one US company treats its employees.

Storage Technology Products, originally called Documentation has its premises in Finglas. It recently made 140 workers redundant, and is using the threat of more to come to intimidate the workforce.

Last Christmas the company employed one Ultan Feighery as Personnel Manager.

Feighery did for the workforce what Ian McGregor is trying to do for the British miners. He has sacked seven workers since Christmas, more than have been sacked in the company's five years of operations.

One of the workers sacked was a shop steward and now he is in the process of getting rid of another shop steward. This Feighery character has completed a 14 page dossier on this steward, recording how many phone calls he makes, and even how long he spends in the loo.

The majority of the workers are represented by the FWUI. Mick Dowling, the Official, told the steward, after a meeting with management that even if he took the case to a third party it would be thrown out.

It is quite obvious to the workers and the union that this is an organised witch-hunt against militants.

The majority of workers have been sickened by the lousy so-called representation by the union. But it gets a lot worse than this.

Recently one of the workers intercepted a memo sent to department managers asking

for a list of militants in each department. Don Archer, the Managing Director, addressed the workforce one morning and let them know he had no time for unions. Even the workers in the Personnel Dept. itself had to join a union to protect themselves — again something that has never been done in the history of the company.

With such a concerted effort by management to smash

the union, and with the union officials seemingly unwilling to do anything, the workers will have to organise themselves.

There is an "underground" magazine out which has called for action to be taken. But it will take a united workforce, using strike action, to stop management in its tracks. And that means arguing with every worker on the shop floor of the need to fight back in unity together. by PADDY CARROLL



## Solidarity can beat army strikebreaking

CIE BUSWORKERS in Phibsborough Depot, Dublin, have been on strike since the end of June. And the government is using the Army to break the strike.

Over the past few years in response to the high level of unemployment, management have adopted an increasingly high-handed disciplinarian policy. In depots, local managers have been suspending and sacking workers on the slightest pretext. In Phibsboro, the Depot manager, Mr. Walsh has achieved a reputation for being particularly zealous and unyielding in his attitude to even trivial breaches of discipline.

In June, matters came to a head when some workers were sacked unfairly as their mates thought. Shop stewards next morning mounted a gate check - each bus leaving the depot was checked for defects and sent back to the garage if any were found. Contrary to management claims, these defects were not trivial but included missing stop lights, no tax disc etc. Drivers have been prosecuted by the Gardaí for operating buses with these defects in the past.

### CUTS

More serious faults included badly adjusted brakes and steering. Previous cuts in maintenance provision has meant that the condition of buses, even the new Bombardiers, is sub-standard.

Management escalated this dispute by withholding wages for the days of this action. Pickets were mounted, and in spite of a Conciliation Officer recommendation to pay up, management held firm.

This dispute takes place in an ominous atmosphere. The Dublin Rapid Rail scheme due to come into operation this month is being used by management to force in a great expansion of driver-only buses.

The financial crisis faced by the state and consequent under funding of CIE leads everyone to draw the conclusion that yet more massive cuts than those already implemented earlier this year cannot be long delayed.

### WEAKNESSES

The new overall boss of CIE, Paul Conlon, was given the job because he's a hatchet man. He cut hundreds of jobs in NET when he was there. The government obviously intend that he should do the same now with CIE and no doubt he'll try to oblige.

CIE workers face the fight against these plans with serious weaknesses in their organisation. Divisions are rampant. Maintenance pickets have to be passed regularly - on official trade union instructions - by the drivers and conductors. The childish rivalry between the NBU and the ITGWU plays into the hands of management. The decision by Union officials not to spread the Phibsboro strike to other depots, but instead to levy working members, unnecessarily prolongs this dispute and breeds demoralisation.

The use of the army to strike break should remind all CIE workers of the need for solidarity. There must be no picket passing, whatever the officials say: action must be spread to all grades and departments and the union leaders must be told to do so.

Management are preparing a great offensive - we must be prepared.

# SHOP WOMEN WEIGH IN

THE OCCUPATION of Dunnes Stores in Waterford by the twenty women who worked there is over. And as we go to press, workers in Dunnes Stores, Henry Street, Dublin are on strike.

In Waterford, the dispute began when the workers were put on "indefinite suspension" for attending a mandatory union meeting during working hours. The women decided to occupy the store, threw out the security men and the management and each one of the occupiers were on 24 hour shifts each day, every day.

In Henry Street, the strike began when a shop steward was sacked - sorry, put on "indefinite suspension" - for carrying out a union instruc-

tion not to handle South African goods. The other union members came out in her support.

Both of these disputes are very significant. They have broken many of the stupid sexist images of women. Notions that women "only work for pin money" or that they "can never be relied on for a militant battle" have been shown up for what they are - pure rubbish.

### MILITANT

The Dunnes women are the most militant section of the shop workers in Waterford. The Henry Street strike is on a very advanced political issue -

the women there are striking in support of oppressed black workers in South Africa.

It is the first anti-apartheid strike in Ireland. This strike, even if it lasts only a few days, will do more to damage the South African regime than years of the Anti-Apartheid Movement gathering support from individuals. Because this kind of action, if it were widespread would threaten the economic survival of the regime.

The union which organises all these women - the IUDWC has undergone some major changes in the last year or two. Traditionally one of the most conservative "proud of

our no-strike record" union, it has changed at the top.

The new breed of left wing officials sanction and indeed encourage militant strikes, occupations etc. The decision not to handle South African goods, for example, came as an instruction from the top rather than from the workers themselves. The women in Dunnes of Henry Street didn't handle the S. African goods on principle which is why they are now on strike. But many other IUDWC members will ignore the union instruction because the anti-apartheid argument hasn't been won with them on a rank-and-file level.

### OFFICIALS

And this points to the principal weakness of the IUDWC left wing officials - they lack any strategy for building the rank and file solidarity which is necessary if workers are to win.

If the women in Henry St. are to win they need to:

- \* Send delegations around to other shops to get support.
- \* Visit workers in Dunnes throughout the country and argue with them for solidarity action.
- \* Organise blacking of all Dunnes' suppliers by all shop workers.

Everyone who has ever supported the Anti-Apartheid Movement, or who opposes the racist South African regime, should organise to support the fight of the Dunnes Stores workers.



BLACK unions are growing fast in S. Africa but the regime reacts with predictable brutality.

# Socialist Worker

## Joint Security -the next solution

THE IRISH ARMY SCREENING teenagers on the Falls Road?

Plastic bullets being fired at Catholics from vehicles flying tricolours as well as union jacks?

Southern judges hearing supergrass cases in Diplock courts?

Regular British Army patrols deep inside the South? A glimpse of life in the far distant future? No. Unfortunately not.

These are a few of the ideas already drifting along the corridors of power in London and Dublin as the two governments get ready for another attempt to solve their "Irish problem".

Their aim, as always, is to maintain a stable situation in Ireland so that investment and profit-making can continue. Both the British and Irish governments see the Provos as a continuing and growing threat to that stability, particularly with the recent electoral successes of Sinn Féin. North and South. Their proposed solution is being privately discussed, but glimpses of it can be found in the Forum Report, in the recent Commons debate, and in remarks made by politicians.

Their solution is twofold. *First*, they don't want to upset the loyalists. Therefore they will do nothing to damage the link with Britain. *Secunda*, they must defeat the Provos. To do this they want to give something, however meaningless, to the Catholics, on the assumption that Catholics will then move away from supporting the Provos.

"Joint authority", first put forward in the Forum Report and much favoured by Garrett FitzGerald, is the basis of the whole plan. It includes a nice list of items acceptable to everyone - Kinsale gas, border development, cooperation on tourism, etc. All of these are already in operation. But the muscle behind the plan is in the idea for joint security.

This is based on the theory that Catholics in the North will never accept the authority of the RUC, the Brits and the UDR. But, it is thought, they would accept the authority of the Northern state if the security forces included Catholics - and Southern ones at that. Maybe they'd even speak Irish! Of course, they'd show the flag - the tricolour as they patrolled Catholic areas, controlled rioters, and maybe, as they killed and maimed with their bullets. In a recent television interview, John Hume, SDLP leader, spoke of the need for institutions of the state that Catholics can give loyalty to. Does he mean the gardai in the Bogside?

### PRESERVE CAPITALISM

It is important to remember that, despite their arguments and attacks on one another, Hume, Molyneux, Paisley, FitzGerald, Haughey and the British Government have one overriding interest in common: they all want to preserve the capitalist system in all of Ireland. Basically, what they are arguing about is how best to achieve this, given the conflicting pressures and electoral bases they operate from.

Since none of them could or would contemplate damaging the capitalist system, it follows that no solution they might agree on would alter the fundamental facts of the Northern system as far as working class people are concerned.

There would still be discrimination and repression and no national self-determination. The shape and colour of the regime applying the discrimination and repression might be changed, but the fact of it remains.

And poverty, unemployment and exploitation would continue unabated.

It is up to socialists and republicans to explain and mobilise against these plans. But one problem for the republicans in doing this is that they don't see things in class terms, in terms of the commitment of all the bourgeois politicians to their own class.

It is not "the people" who will suffer under such a new arrangement. It is the working class in nationalist areas, as they have suffered all the repression of the last fifteen years. They would be asked to console themselves by the fact that the plastic bullets being fired at them and the batons landing on their heads are being wielded by soldiers with tricolours on their caps.

The batons will still be brutal; the courts will continue to send men and women to waste their lives in jail; and the bullets will kill the same as always.

JOAN McKIERNAN



Thatcher visits Drummad Barracks to say "Keep up the good work"

## WHY THE PROVOS CAN'T WIN

THE SWM has always supported any group of people who fight repression and injustice. If we did not we would not be socialists. A workers republic first and foremost means ending exploitation and repression and socialists must unite workers against capitalism at all times. When the system begins to use brute force and naked repression in order to protect the profit system we do not run for cover or hide our politics.

Whether it be the miners in Britain who are struggling or the anti-unionist population in the North, the enemy is very much the same. We must support all struggles against the capitalist state. Unlike the Workers Party or the left labourites, we in the SWM do not ignore the brutal face of capitalism in Ireland and therefore do not ignore the continuing struggle by the oppressed in the North of Ireland. We want to see the smashing of the Orange State and, because of this, we support all those who fight it. Having said that we must ask ourselves how the system can really be broken.

The Republican Movement for example has a strategy which the movement claims will defeat imperialism and bring about a new society. The movement prides itself on the fact that it has not changed its basic ideas for one hundred years or more. Get the Brits out first by armed action and Sinn Féin will introduce what is called by the organisation "Democratic Socialism". Today, of course, it's more to the left of Arthur Griffith but, essentially, Republicans believe in "One Ireland, One People" united against the British aggressor. Republicans, although militant and revolutionary compared to constitutionalist bourgeois nationalists, still offer basic nationalist solutions to smashing the sectarian state in the North: the whole Irish people have one thing in common and that is their oppression by Britain.

More and more, however, it is becoming clear that there is at least one section of the Irish population who wish to continue partition and want to see the anti-unionist revolt crushed.

- the capitalist class of the South of Ireland.

The capitalist class is represented internationally by capitalist politicians. The New Ireland Forum for example was more an attempt to help Britain solve its dilemma in the North and stabilise capitalism North and South than it was an attempt to rid the country of British troops and repression. Barry of Fine Gael, after the report, asked Britain to "have courage" in dealing with the problem. Haughey made an attempt to make out it was really more nationalist than a lot of people thought. It was a joke from start to finish. There is no section of the ruling class or their representatives that would really challenge British strategy in the North. This fact is connected with the reason Britain maintains its troops in the North and props up the Unionist state.

Firstly, both the British government and the Irish government fear that the situation in the North if it were to escalate could lead to mass social unrest on both sides of the border. Massive unemployment and an inability to control the reality of international recession increases the possibility of upheaval should Britain pull out.

### CIVIL WAR

For British capitalists, the fact that 45% of all firms in the North employing more than 500 workers are British owned, and almost half of the firms employing 200 - 400 workers are British owned, is a fact that they don't want to see endangered by civil war and a collapse of the Northern economy. This is not to say that British capitalism is making millions out of the continuing war with the IRA. Britain pumps millions into its war effort. Each baton charge at a funeral and every bullet which kills a civilian costs money.

Nevertheless, Britain because of the direct economic connection between Irish and British capitalism, is forced to find a solution which will on the one hand defeat and isolate the Provos and, on the other hand, draw the Catholic middle class politicians into full partici-

ation in the state machine by giving limited reforms. This essentially was what Sunningdale and the latest Prior Assembly was all about.

The British government is also aware that the ruling class in the South of Ireland want the IRA defeated and "normality" restored. The capitalist crisis is biting harder into the Southern economy. There are sound economic reasons why Southern bosses and politicians remain firm friends of Maggie Thatcher.

The British economy still provides opportunities for the capitalist class in both parts of Ireland. The market is near and accessible. The Southern ruling class since joining the EEC has essentially the same class interests as Thatcher. FitzGerald is well aware that there is a connection between, say, using the Irish army to break a Busworkers strike and Thatcher's trying to deal with the miners and dockers in Britain. The South after Reagan's visit will move closer to NATO. Over the last decade at least it was always within the NATO orbit.

Figures for 1977 show 33% of firms in the South had sister companies in Britain. The Southern capitalist class are not antagonistic to the British and European link. They have grown fat and wealthy on the backs of Irish workers and they do not want to see their position disturbed.

### DEFEATIST

Given all this, it is an outdated and indeed defeatist concept to talk of Britain oppressing the "whole Irish people". There is not one Irish people but two antagonistic classes in our society. British strategy is an attempt to stabilise the situation on behalf of British and Irish capitalists. Each attempt has failed for all the reasons well known to us. There is the Frankenstein monster of loyalist bigotry. There is the fact that the anti-unionist population won't lie down. The North is becoming an econ-

omic wasteland and events may move very quickly indeed.

There is no doubt however that Thatcher & Co. understand that the stalemate cannot last forever. It cannot be left to fester. As the Irish Southern economy is integrated more and more into the world capitalist market, there are a number of attempts that Britain might make at "normalising" the situation. Whether that will be the "two flag" solution for the North or repatriation or some type of "British Isles" federation we do not know.

### DEMANDS

What we do know is that any British solution with or without the aid of Southern politicians will be an attempt to leave imperialism and capitalism intact. Because it will not endanger their class position, it will be jumped on by bourgeois politicians if it seems to have a chance of defeating the struggle by the Catholic masses in the North.

There is only one class that has an interest in defeating capitalism and ensuring that capitalist solutions will never succeed and that is the working class.

Whatever happens in the future it is up to socialists to start arguing now for socialist struggle. The defeats workers are suffering at present in the South will not last forever. Working class industrial and political muscle can begin to shift the balance of forces between the British and anti-unionist population.

There is no longer any nationalist solution. There is no longer "one people" who will fight. But there is one class who will.

British imperialism will not shift until the basis for imperialism is challenged. That basis is to protect Irish and British capitalism. It is only by fighting the capitalist system that real gains can be made. To really fight we need to have clear class demands. More than this, we need a revolutionary socialist party. Now is the time to build it.

DERMOT BYRNE