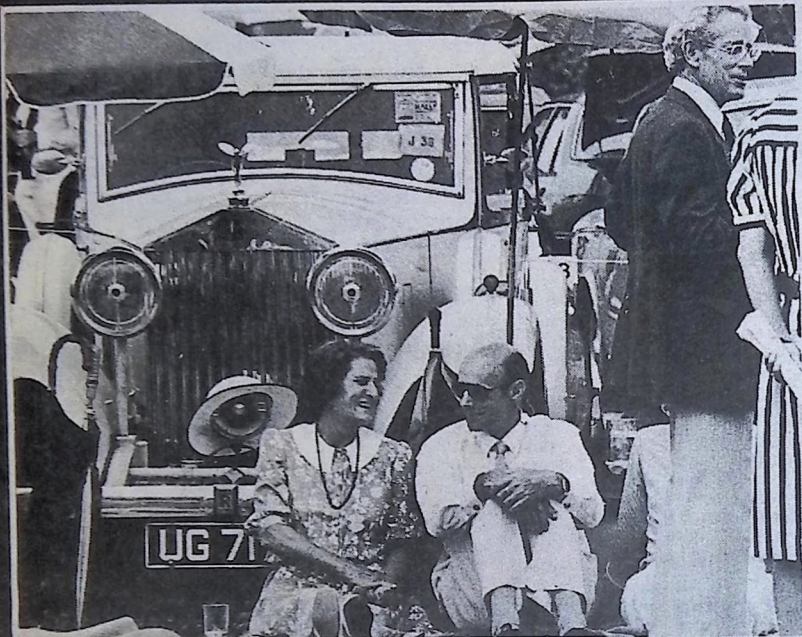


Socialist Worker

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism



Ten children die every minute from starvation while the likes of these toffs flaunt their stolen wealth at every opportunity. Robert Sangster, the millionaire playboy, for example recently paid £13.1 million for one racehorse!



Support this strike

by ANNE WINTERS

ELEVEN workers at Dunnes Stores in Henry Street, Dublin have been on strike for 13 months. They are fighting for their jobs having been sacked for blacking South African products in accordance with IDATU policy.

Recently a step forward was made when a support group comprising many different groups, Telecom workers, IDATU officials and various individuals was set up.

However to be of maximum effect, as many shop stewards as possible — in other Dunnes branches and other relevant workplaces — must be involved.

The aims of the support group are to black all deliveries from unionised distributors, to prevent scab deliveries to the store by means of mass picketing and to generate support for sympathetic industrial action in other Dunnes branches.

MASS PICKET

The first action of the support group was to organise early morning mass picketing of the store on two successive Thursdays.

Over fifty people attended the pickets and successfully prevented any deliveries being made.

These actions must be seen as only a beginning in the stepping up of the campaign. The mass pickets must be maintained and strengthened. Shop stewards in companies still supplying the store must be approached and canvassed with the aim of blacking all deliveries. Similarly the shop stewards in other Dunnes branches must be canvassed to initiate sympathetic strike action.

Dunnes management will only respond when they are hit where it hurts — in the pocket. Solidarity action is the key. For too long the winning of this dispute has been left in the hands of those who ultimately stand to lose by a workers' victory.

It is now time for workers to go on the offensive.

For full report and comment, turn to PAGE 7.

FEAST AND FAMINE

THE reason some people are desperately poor is that other people are disgustingly rich.

And the rich—who run the world economy—use all their power to keep things that way.

Last month there was a massive outpouring of sympathy for the people of Ethiopia who are at death's door from starvation. Millions of working class people rushed to pledge money. But the capitalist system which is directly responsible for the plight of Ethiopia's poor wasn't affected in the slightest.

Garret FitzGerald, the chief political representative of Free State capitalism, hot-footed it to RTE during the Live Aid concert to pledge £250,000. Of course it wasn't his money. It was tax-payers' money, 84% of which comes from the working class PAYE sector.

But that figure is put in perspective when we compare it with the £2,157 million handed over to the private sector by his government in 1984 in the guise of direct grants, equipment and training subsidies, tax concessions, etc.

And having pocketed a massive share of this loot, the multinationals will—according

to the Central Bank—"repatriate" £1,000 million in profits out of the country this year.

Meanwhile, having gathered a few votes with his Live Aid gesture FitzGerald, with Dukes, Spring and the rest of them, will rant on about greedy workers and continue to slash spending on health, education and social welfare.

THIRD WORLD

The world is awash with wealth, while workers in the West have their living standards cut and the landless masses of the Third World die in droves.

The system which FitzGerald represents in Ireland and Thatcher in Britain has the starving people of Ethiopia by

the throat. Even if all the money collected by Live Aid was handed over to Ethiopia for famine relief without a penny deduction, it would amount to less than one twelfth of what the western bankers are demanding that the country cough up.

Ethiopia is in hock to the US and European banks to the tune of 1,252 million dollars. It is by no means the worst case in Africa. Sudan, for example, is, per head of population, four times more deeply in the red. And out of the interest repayments on those debts the billionaire bankers are making money hand over grasping fist.

No matter what angle you

look at it from what you see is the capitalist system bleeding people dry so that the capitalists who run the system can remain bloated rich. There is no way this system can be ended by workers giving money from the little they have to alleviate the suffering of those in the Third World who have even less—generous and all as the instinct to do that might be.

CONSCIENCES

In the end, only the overthrow of the capitalist system will end the suffering the system creates. The system can't be overthrown by appealing to the consciences of the capitalist class. Where other

people have consciences, capitalists have calculators.

What is needed is for working class people to organise together to defend themselves against attacks on their living standards and their rights, whether it be on wages, jobs, water rates, rents, whatever. To stand firm and fight back, and in the course of such relatively small struggles to develop an understanding of the system under which we live. That can't be done by relying on the type of Labour leaders who stand shoulder to shoulder with the likes of FitzGerald.

Ultimately, it can only be done by developing a revolutionary consciousness and building a revolutionary party.

NO-ONE could deny that women in Ireland, North and South, are greatly oppressed. Just a glance at the facts would convince anyone who wasn't sure.

Women make up only 27% of the workforce in the 26 counties, slightly more in the North. On both sides of the border, women still earn only 67% of men's wages. Everywhere, sexism is rife, women are seen as second class citizens, the property of their husbands, child-like people with no right to control their own lives.

And that lack of control is most obvious when it comes to control over their own bodies. After all how can a woman decide what job to do, where and with whom to live if she cannot decide for herself if and when to have children.

Yet access to contraception is limited in the twenty-six counties. Abortion is totally illegal in the South and only available in very limited circumstances in the North.

As if all this wasn't bad enough, SPUC, the Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child, are trying to stop women living in the South going to England for abortions. They have taken a court action, under the anti-abortion Amendment to the Constitution, against the Well Woman Centre and the Open Line Counselling Centre.

Both these centres counsel women with unplanned pregnancies. Unlike places like CURA, ALLY or LIFE, they tell women about all the options available to them—motherhood, adoption and, crucially as far as SPUC are concerned, about abortion. Without pushing the women in any direction, they help her to come to a decision about whether or not to continue the pregnancy. If she is going ahead, they put her in touch with the organisations that can help—Cherish if she's going to keep the baby, an adoption agency if that's what she wants.

So far, all is OK by SPUC. But these centres go further. If a woman decides she doesn't want to continue the pregnancy, they will refer her to a clinic in England where she can have an abortion

SPUC OFF!

safely, easily and relatively cheaply.

That's what SPUC want to stop. They have seen a great change in recent years in society's attitude to women and women's rights. Greater sexual freedom, increased participation in life outside the home, more education, new ideas and better standards of living—all these have given women the desire and the ability to have more control over their own lives.

ABORTION

More and more Irish women know that they have a choice when faced with an unplanned pregnancy. More and more they are choosing either to have an abortion or to become single parents rather than adopt. Official figures now estimate that over 50,000 Irish women have had abortions in England since it was legalised there in 1967.

About 100 women leave Ireland every week to seek abortions. These women come from every age group—from 15 to 55; they come from every walk of life—they are workers in factories, hospitals and offices, they are housewives and unemployed. Many already have children and cannot afford, or simply don't want, another child.

In certain age groups—(22-25 years old)—an Irish woman is as likely to have an abortion as an English woman of the same age.

What effect will the SPUC attack have on these women if it is not stopped? For rich women it will make no difference at all. They have always been able to get safe abortions—legally or otherwise—through their private doctors. If the pregnancy counselling centres are closed down, their doctors will still refer them—very privately!—to Harley Street clinics where they can pay up to £1,000 for the operation.

For working class women

it will be disastrous. The centres refer them to clinics which have the highest medical standards. They are generally those "charity" clinics set up in Britain to cater for women unable to get abortions on the NHS. There the abortion costs about £120 sterling. That's a lot of money to get in a rush but only a fraction of what it could cost in a profit-making clinic.

In effect, what SPUC are trying to do is to stop working class women from obtaining safe, legal abortions at the least possible cost. As we have seen in the past, this would not stop women having abortions.

It will simply mean that they will put themselves in the hands of backstreet abortionists, many of them greedy and unscrupulous, most with no medical, technical or hospital training.

This was the situation in Ireland before women were able to go to England for safe abortions. SPUC make out that no-one had abortions in Ireland until the Well Woman and Open Line set up, just like there was no sex before the Late Late came on the telly! In fact, as far back as Eighth Century Ireland, when



Nuala Fennell



Picket of High Court during first court hearing

the country was known as "the island of saints and scholars", abortion was an accepted method of birth control, with laws about when it was and wasn't legal.

If we don't want to see women dying from backstreet abortions, if we want to stop SPUC pushing women's rights back even further, if we want to break the hold of the Catholic Church on the working people of the 26

Counties, then we have to fight this attack.

WORKING CLASS

The fight against SPUC won't be won by appealing to liberal consciences through talk of the "right to information" or by appealing to ruling class politicians who just happen to be women. Experience during the Anti-Abortion Amendment Campaign proved that. It can be won by

mobilising the growing numbers of working class women and men who support the right of women to control their bodies, their lives. That means that the emphasis must be to insist that, in the absence of legal abortion in this country, Irish women have the right of access to the cheapest, safest abortions available to them in England.

—GORETTI HORGAN

Nairobi feminist shambles

GREAT news! Cancerous Raygun's daughter Maureen, Murdering Marcos of the Philippines' wife, "our own" Nuala Fennell and women of their ilk from all over the world have got together to advance the cause of women's liberation!

No, truly, that's what the recent UN Women's Conference in Nairobi was all about.

It was obvious right from the beginning that a conference attended by such scum would do absolutely nothing for the mass of women. So an "alternative" conference was organised,

also in Nairobi.

About 10,000 women attended this alternative conference. Most of them went home bitterly disappointed. Why? Because of "lack of unity". It seems the Palestinian women were being very disruptive, demanding their right to a homeland and suggesting the Zionist women—of whom there were quite a lot, especially in the American delegation—might be more at home with Ms Reagan and Ms Marcos.

Many of the African women were being similarly "divisive". They insisted on

talking about the different interests which black working class women have in Africa—to black or white, middle class women. They were even cheeky enough to suggest that they had more in common with working class men than with bourgeois women!

There was nothing really surprising about all this to Marxists. As long ago as 1907, at the first International Conference of Socialist Women which took place in Stuttgart, Alexandra Kollontai declared "We must cross swords with all the bourgeois women". The conference overwhelmingly passed a resolution that "Socialist women must not ally themselves with the bourgeois feminists but lead the battle side by side with the socialist males."

The women at the Conference from Africa, Palestine and Asia recognised that liberation of the mass of women in their countries requires a socialist revolution. They came from countries where the priorities are to get food into people's mouths and clean water for them to drink. Palestinian women don't even have a country to come from.

Things are very different for the western feminists that attended. Most of them make their living from feminism—they're involved in feminist radio/TV programmes, publishing feminist books, working for feminist organisations. It's very important for them to promote the idea of "sexual unity"—their good living depends on it.

As for Musses Reagan, Marcos and Fennell they know that sisterhood is not enough. That for class power you need class unity—working side by side with the men of your class. The bottom line is that it is precisely because working class women are doubly oppressed—as women and as workers—that they have most to gain from socialism. And because socialism offers women most women are as much, if not more, divided by their class interests as men are.

NEWS FROM SWM

New pamphlets out

Every month Socialist Worker carries its up-to-date arguments of the issues of the day. But if you want to have a broader look at the politics behind the paper, you could do worse than read two new pamphlets the organisation has produced.

What we stand for was originally written for a group of left wingers in Dundalk who were interested in finding out more about the politics of the Socialist Workers Movement. It has just four articles. It explains why we say that Russia and the Eastern Bloc countries are not socialist in any sense—but state capitalist. It argues the revolutionary socialist position on women's liberation against the feminist analysis. It spells out how socialists should organise in the unions—not to grab positions in the bureaucracy but to organise in the rank-and-file. It points to an alternative to republican politics for all who think the struggle against the Northern state cannot be ducked by socialists.

Why we need a revolution in Ireland is a very readable introduction to the politics of the SWM. (It is reviewed in this issue of Socialist Worker.) Both pamphlets put the case for revolutionary socialism straight. They cut through the lies about the marxist tradition in Ireland. You can get both for £1 from our national address.

Solidarity

Dublin South branch of SWM held a social for the Prince O Burren strikers. A packed house raised £100 for the strike fund.

Dublin Central branch held a public meeting on the Dunnes strike with Eamonn McCann. Over sixty people attended to hear Eamonn argue for taking the strike beyond a moral crusade to winning solidarity from other workers. In line with this SWM members have been on the mass picket every Thursday morning to halt supplies being delivered to Dunnes. And solidarity is not confined to Ireland. The Harlesden branch of our sister organisation, the Socialist Workers Party, raised £60 for the Dunnes strikers at a public meeting on South Africa.

Teach Yourself Marxism

Starting in September, SWM in Dublin is organising a six-part course in Marxist ideas. Each week there is a talk and discussion after. Anyone attending the course is asked to do a small amount of reading and there are pamphlets and back-up material available on each topic. If you support the politics of Socialist Worker and want to register for this course write to SWM PO Box 1648 Dublin* for details.

Joining the SWM

If you want to join the SWM you can do one of two things. Fill in the coupon on page 4 or come along to one of the branch meetings and find out for yourself how the organisation works.

SWM, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8.

IRA denies 'Marxism'

THE IRA Army Council's recent confirmation of what Socialist Worker has long been saying about republicanism has, it seems, surprised some left republicans.

The IRA, in response to a remark of the British Home Secretary Leon Brittan, stated that it was not seeking to establish a marxist government in Ireland.

And any republicans who thought it strange simply haven't been reading even their own publications.

For example, the July issue of *Iris* printed Gerry Adams' speech on the fourth anniversary of Bobby Sands' death. In his speech he talks about republicanism as defined by himself, Bobby Sands and their comrades in cage 11 of the Kesh during the mid 70s.

Republicanism, says Adams, is a combination of "isms". He lists them, expanding on and explaining each. "There's separatism, the separation of Ireland from Britain. There's nationalism, the whole business of culture and identity as well as the belief in national unity". What he and his comrades meant by each "ism" is explained. Except for the final two: socialism and inter-

nationalism. These he can't expand on.

The reason he can't explain what he means is simple. He says that all these "isms" have been "developed over the decades and centuries by people who have been active in the Republican Movement".

While it is true that the other "isms" have always been hallmarks of republicanism—separatism, nationalism, secularism and anti-sectarianism, it is simply untrue to say that socialism or internationalism have ever held sway in the Republican Movement.

Quite the opposite. The founding father of Republicanism, Wolfe Tone, begged his middle-class peers to join him and warned that otherwise they would force him into a position where, in the last instance, "I will depend on the men of no property." A thought Tone did not relish. He wanted an independent Ireland which would allow the creation of a healthy capitalist economy, not one where "the men of no property" would rule.

The Fenian movement of the last century found itself unable to fuse with the rising trade union movement or even with the radical elements

WORLD VIEW

UNITED STATES

THE last few months have seen the biggest wave of student protest in American universities since the Vietnam era. In colleges across the country, normal activities have been disrupted by dozens of occupations against Apartheid in South Africa. Over 1,000 students were arrested at Cornell when students and faculty members occupied the main administration building. Similar sit-ins have occurred at Albany, Madison, Harvard, UCLA, and most of the leading colleges and universities.

In Columbia, one of the hot-spots of '68, nearly 2,000 students blockaded the main administrative and classroom building. This was organised by the Coalition for a Free South Africa to try to force the college authorities to withdraw their 34 million dollar investments in companies doing business in South Africa. The college clerical staff and local trade unionists lent support to the protest. The trustees of the university, many of whom have links with the relevant companies, denounced the blockade and have instituted disciplinary actions.

The protests continue . . .

ARGENTINA

THE trial of nine senior former-officials in the security forces including General Galtieri continues with each day bringing new revelations of atrocities committed after the military coup in 1976. At least 9,000 people "disappeared" in an anti-subversive crackdown over the following five years. Most of those who vanished were trade unionists and members of left wing groups.

As the trial progresses it becomes increasingly clear that the top-brass were well aware of the secret torture-chambers and detention centres. The question many observers are asking, however, is whether the civilian government of President Alfonsín is really committed to nailing such prestigious figures. The trial is expected to last until late August.

INDIA

FOR the past five months the state of Gujarat has experienced horrific inter-caste violence in which nearly 250 people have been killed. The trouble was triggered by protests against a state government policy of reserving jobs and college places for underprivileged classes and castes. This policy was initiated in 1982 by the new state Chief Minister Solanki. Amid riots, he reserved 21% of college places for "scheduled Castes and Tribes" (the Untouchables) and 10% for "Backward Castes". In February of this year he proposed to increase the latter figure to 28%. This resulted in a vicious back-lash by the upper castes.

A general strike was called in the civil service, schools were shut down and rioting swept the state. Mobs, armed with daggers, petrol-bombs and spears fought pitched battles daily in the streets of the largest city, Ahmedabad. On a policeman was killed in the riots which resulted in the rest of the force going berserk and attacking all and sundry. Eventually the army was called in, the police chief and Solanki dismissed, and the proposed increase dropped. At the time of writing the trouble continues with many of the rioters demanding an end to all reservations.

NICARAGUA

THE second largest of the counter-revolutionary groups fighting to overthrow the government is on the point of giving up. Since the Sandinistas launched an offensive in May against the Costa-Rican-based Arde group, five of the rebels' eight bases along the border have been overrun. Leaders of the group have admitted that they are on the verge of suing for peace unless funds become available in the immediate future. This is unlikely since the Arde group commanded by ex-Sandinista Eiden Pastana is not on good terms with the CIA or right wing US millionaires. Pastana has said that if the government refuses to negotiate, he will have no option but to declare a unilateral ceasefire.

Meanwhile the government has taken over six estates owned by the president of the Private Enterprise Council because he refused to participate in land reform. The land is now being occupied by peasants.

PORTUGAL

THE trial of more than fifty left wing guerrillas which opened in late July has been adjourned until October 7. In the dock are alleged members of the group FP-25 named after the date of the successful revolution on April 25 1974. Among those charged is Lieutenant Colonel Otelio de Carvalho, one of the leaders of the revolution. The group came to prominence in 1980 declaring that the left wing revolution had been betrayed.

Since then they have assassinated six people, all owners of companies that had fired workers or had not paid wages for some weeks. They also fired rockets at NATO ships in Lisbon harbour. The trial was adjourned after an ex-guerrilla-turned-informer was shot and wounded. The date of the new trial is one day after general elections in the country. The ruling Socialist-Social Democrat coalition collapsed on July 12.

The fall of Red Ken

KEN LIVINGSTONE, leader of the Greater London Council, won quite a reputation in Ireland. It wasn't any wonder. He shocked the British Press by claiming that the Irish had suffered in 800 years as much as the Jews had under Hitler. He stood firmly by his decision to invite Sinn Fein leaders to visit London. He funded Irish groups in Britain to combat anti-Irish racism. Red Ken was clearly on the hard left of the Labour Party.

Today Livingstone has turned. He is now telling of the virtues of Neil Kinnock. In a recent interview he said: "We have in Neil Kinnock a Labour leader who is infinitely open to persuasion". This is the same Kinnock who denounced the "picket line violence of the miners", the same Kinnock who called Irish republicans "animals".

In line with his new policy Livingstone has resigned from the hard left paper *Labour Herald*. He has accepted the Tory policy of rate-capping on the GLC—despite a prior agreement between Labour councils to stand together and fight the issue.

The fall of Red Ken is important for the politics of the British left. Livingstone seemed to show how useful it was for left wingers to grab positions inside "the mass organisation of the British working class". Moreover, Livingstone tried to change the style of left politics. His aim was to build a new constituency for the left among women, black and gay activists in place of the "declining" manual working class. This was reformism with a new face.

TRANSPORT

Livingstone was hero worshipped by sections of the left. Yet his actual record was far from impressive. Even in his early days as GLC leader, he opposed the wage claim of London Transport workers. It was a fatal decision. The cornerstone of Labour's policy in London was a reduction in transport fares. But even this limited measure ran up against the Tory judges who deemed it illegal. Livingstone had to choose between complying with the law and tearing up his own policy—or turning to the very workers he had opposed, for industrial action against the courts. He chose to obey the law.

When the Tories set out to



KEN LIVINGSTONE

abolish the GLC itself. Livingstone embarked on a massive poster campaign to win public opinion. "Defend the GLC and save democracy" was the message. By stressing the issue of local democracy Livingstone opened the door for an alliance with the SDP and Tory moderates. He took his case to the SDP Conference, the Confederation of British Industry and the House of Lords. The campaign "to win public opinion" was a massive success according to every opinion poll. But it lost because it had not tried to mobilise the only muscle that could have made Thatcher turn—the industrial power of local authority workers whose jobs and conditions were threatened.

Yet despite these failures, Livingstone maintained his left face until the very end. Many are still puzzled by his sell-out. One explanation was

that he was bought with a safe Labour seat in the largely Irish constituency of Brent. But that is too simple. The fact is there has been a thread that ran through Livingstone's politics from the very start that led to the sell-out.

Livingstone shared one belief that is common to such diverse currents as radical feminists, left republicans or revamped Eurocommunists. Namely that the industrial working class has lost its capacity to challenge capitalism. There are many elements to the belief. The oppression of women and blacks is supposed to be of benefit to white male workers. The working class is inevitably "economistic"—it can never rise beyond economic struggles to giving a political lead. As a result it can only play a progressive role when it is just one part of an alliance with other groups. This is the politics which deny

the central role of the working class

The pessimism about the power and potentially revolutionary potential of the working class—a pessimism that captures the mood of the faint-hearted in the wake of the miners' defeat—can lead only to an appeal to the powers that be. It means staying quiet until such time as a Labour government returns. Increasingly, the radical new reformers around Livingstone are growing desperate for the return of Labour at any price. That price tag is called Neil Kinnock.

Yet it is precisely the most oppressed groups in society that suffer most from this revival of reformist policies. It is, for example, the Algerians and the Arab workers of France who bear the brunt of Mitterrand's policies as they are scapegoated by both Mitterrand and his fascist enemies. As the crisis deepens it will be the rights of women and gay workers that will be first under attack by reformist governments desperate to keep their heads above water. Livingstone's invitation to those groups to revive the Labour Party under Neil Kinnock is an invitation to the chopping block.

RESPECT

There is a lesson here for us in Ireland. Despite his betrayals, many republicans will hold up his record on Ireland as worthy of respect. (How long he will continue to urge anything useful on Ireland is another question.) But the truth is that no matter what Livingstone says about the British army, the fact is that all his actions are directed to the return of a right wing Labour government. Such a government under Kinnock will play an equally pro-imperialist role as their Tory counterparts. The unspoken strategy of Sinn Fein for an alliance with the Labour left is therefore in bits as the lefts like Livingstone move ever closer to Kinnock.

The fact is that the hopes of Irish workers fighting the British army as for British workers fighting their own bosses lie in the building of a revolutionary socialist alternative outside the Labour Party. Conditions have never been so ripe

KIERAN ALLEN

Catching the boat

EMIGRATION has become a fact of Irish life since before the famine.

Statistical information on migration, the inflow and outflow of people from this island, is hard to rely on. It's based on data that itself is inaccurate because of the way its gathered—random sampling of travellers at ports, Labour Force surveys, population censuses. There have been two recent reports by respected and respectable bodies in this country. One by the Central Statistical Office published in "Population Trends", March 1985; the other in "Focus", the publication of the Youth Employment Agency, issue No. 11, July 1985. They

make interesting reading. Interesting too were the comments on the latter by a spokesperson for "action group for Irish youth" on the radio recently. This is a London-based agency which came into existence to cope with the phenomenal rise of young Irish emigrants who find themselves jobless, homeless and living rough in "the Smoke". She made the point that the article in "Focus", scholarly as it may be, suggests the net migration to the UK 1981-84 is only 6,000. This figure falls well short of estimates made by those dealing directly with the problem. They reckon 10,000 for the past year bound for London alone

would be nearer the mark. By effectively ignoring the quantity, let alone the qualitative changes in the lot of Irish emigrants, reports like that in "Focus" breed complacency by down-playing the problem.

STAGNATION

One thing which we can say with certainty about emigration is that it is a feature of life for workers under capitalism. The fifties and sixties were a period of mass unemployment and economic stagnation in Ireland. Native capitalism was trying to shift into new gear

and hadn't yet made the change. In the UK, USA, Australia, it was boom-time with jobs for all-comers. And they came. The population of the Republic fell to an all-time low of 2.8 million in 1961. And it wasn't just the Irish unemployed who left home looking for work. West Indians and Asians went to Britain, Algerians to France, Turks to Germany, Mexicans and Southerners went to the USA—vast movements of people all over the globe catering to the requirements of capitalism

Now, of course, we have what's called the "recession"—the predictable crisis of capitalism—factories shut down all over the world, borders all closed, job-seekers adding to the numbers of native unemployed, immigrants now the scape-

goats for all societies' ills. Ireland's "mini-boom", the delayed and somewhat artificial flowering of Irish capitalism in the late seventies and early eighties, is over. For a while we saw the return of some of our previous emigrants. Now there are more people than ever looking for fewer jobs on the world market. We have semi-legal emigrants to the US going through all that hassle, mostly for bar work. And changes in welfare legislation in Thatcher's Britain have reduced many job-hunters to virtual vagrancy.

DISCONTENTED

It suits the government that unemployed young people should emigrate, rather than stay on and add to the numbers of those who are

growing discontented on the dole. That's why there is a certain level of unofficial approval for, and even encouragement of, young people working illegally in the US.

Worse than that, government agencies are now actually planning for emigration. The Youth Employment Agency has commissioned a study in London to find out which skills are going to be in demand there over the next few years. They want to know so they can train Irish youngsters for emigration!

This is proof positive of the hypocrisy of the government when they worry out loud about young people being forced to emigrate. They are clearly doing everything in their power to keep the safety valve of emigration open and working efficiently.

—MARY SMITH

What we stand for

The Socialist Workers Movement is a revolutionary socialist organisation that fights for a workers' republic and international socialism.

The system under which we live, capitalism, is based on production for profit—not for human need. It leads to poverty and war; racism and sexism. It is a system that can only be destroyed by the class which creates all the wealth—the working class.

REVOLUTION NOT REFORM

Capitalism cannot be patched up or reformed—it must be overthrown. That cannot be achieved through parliament as the Workers Party and the Labour Party argue. The real power in this society lies in the boardroom of big business. The structures of the present parliament, courts, army and police are designed to protect the interests of the ruling class against the workers. At most parliament can be used for propaganda against the system—it cannot be the instrument by which workers destroy the power of the rich.

We therefore stand for a workers' revolution which produces a different and more democratic society—one based on councils of delegates from workplaces and areas who are democratically elected answerable to assemblies 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.

AGAINST PARTITION

The six county Orange state is propped up by British imperialism. That state divides the working class by the guarantee of marginal privileges in housing and jobs to Loyalist workers. The struggle of Catholic workers to rid themselves of sectarianism and bigotry can only succeed by smashing that state.

The slow task 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 differences of programme.

We stand for:
 The immediate withdrawal of the British Army
 The disbandment of the RUC and UDR
 No to extradition and collaboration on border security

Connolly wrote that partition would bring a carnival of reaction. He was absolutely right. Irish workers confront two reactionary states. The Southern ruling class have no longer any fundamental conflict of interest with imperialism. They have become junior players in the world capitalist system. Their state props up partition—despite their occasional nationalist rhetoric.

The 'national question' will only be solved in the course of mass working class struggle against both states. Republicanism, by limiting the struggle to nationalist goals, by appealing to all classes in Irish society, can never defeat imperialism. Only a revolutionary socialist organisation that fights openly for the Workers' Republic can unite sections of the working class who have nothing to gain from a bourgeois Eire Nua.

AGAINST ALL OPPRESSION

Revolutionaries oppose all form of oppression that divide and weaken the working class.

We are for real social, economic and political equality for women.
 We are for an end to discrimination against homosexuals.
 We stand for full separation of the church and state.
 We stand for secular control of the hospitals and the schools.

THE UNIONS

Today the trade union movement is dominated by a caste of bureaucrats whose principal aim is to make their compromise with the system. They have destroyed solidarity between workers by the two tier picket system. They have failed to lead any fight over tax, wage cuts and unemployment.

We stand for:
 100 percent trade unionism
 A 35 hour week to reduce unemployment
 The election of all union officials, subject to recall
 Against redundancies. We say: occupy to demand nationalisation under workers' control
 Full independence of the unions from the state. No reliance on the Labour Courts or the arbitration schemes in the public sector

We fight for the building of a national rank and file movement that links together the best militants to provide an alternative leadership to the trade union bureaucrats.
 We fight for the formation of Right to Work committees that link the unemployed to the power of the trade union movement.

THE PARTY

To achieve socialism the most class conscious sections of the working class have to be organised into a revolutionary socialist party. The SWM aims to build such a party around its activity in the working class movement. It stands in the tradition of Marx, Lenin, Trotsky and Connolly. We urge all those who agree with our policies to come in and join the SWM.

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, PO BOX 1648, Dublin 8

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Name
 Address

APARTHEID

THE Dunnes strikers made Apartheid an issue in Ireland for the past year. Now the increasing unrest in the black townships of South Africa has put Apartheid on the political agenda all over the world. Here, JEAN CROSS and GORETTI HORGAN examine the possibilities of workers taking power in a socialist revolution in South Africa. . . .

SOUTH AFRICA is like a powder keg just waiting to have the fuse lit. Over the last few weeks this has become clearer than ever. Even the powers that the state of emergency has given Botha's government can do no more than delay the explosion—perhaps making it all the bigger when it does come.

The ruling classes of the rest of the world are running almost as scared as the white S.A. rulers. All their fine resolutions to the UN condemning apartheid and calling for economic sanctions are prompted more by self-interest than by their opposition to the obscenity of apartheid.

Apartheid is a brutal, inhuman, oppressive and racist system. It was set up to ensure that the vast wealth of South Africa remains in minority hands and to facilitate the blatant exploitation of those who labour to produce it. It is not some kind of African peculiarity. It is a system which any ruling class in the world would be quite willing and able to introduce faced with similar circumstances and resources.

France, the country which led the call for sanctions at the UN, has put a ban on all future French investment in S.A. but it already has considerable investments in S.A.

and this capital will continue to brutally exploit black workers.

The governments, like France, which seem to have suddenly woken up to the oppression of Apartheid have been quite happy to ignore it for the past 25 years. But they are terrified of what a socialist revolution in S.A. could mean for the rest of Africa and the world.

BOARDROOM

Real power in the Southern part of the African continent lies in the boardrooms of multi-nationals like the huge Anglo-American Corporation of S.A. It not only controls 30% of the gold; 22% of the Uranium and 44% of coal production in S.A. but also 57% of Zambia's copper and it holds investments worth hundreds of millions of pounds in many African countries including Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique and Tanzania.

The economies of these countries are colonial, weak and depend heavily on S.A. for survival. Their leaders, therefore, are in no position to reject the dictates of Pretoria.

The fact that the Republic of South Africa is the economic anchor of the continent is what gives the S.A. working

class the incredible potential they hold not just to emancipate themselves, but for the liberation of millions of workers beyond their own borders.

And it is this massive potential power which has the ruling class around the world scared that S.A. really will explode—an explosion in which black hands do more than just seize the reigns of power, instigating a more civilised, less obvious form of oppression like our own. The sight of black hands holding power, wielding the batons to break up the picket lines, as has been the case in one black nationalist state after another, is no danger to capitalism. But if the working class of S.A. was to take power for itself—that revolution would almost certainly spread to the rest of the countries of Southern Africa.

INSPIRATION

And workers taking control of society and running it in their own interests in that vast region would not only shake the world economy to its roots but would be a shining inspiration to the workers of the rest of the world to follow their example and overthrow the bosses.

Just ten years ago, the possibility of workers' power in S.A. seemed remote. Organised black resistance was extremely weak. The 1976 Soweto rising, for example, was largely spontaneous. Discontents which had accumulated over a decade and a half of apparently unbreakable white supremacy suddenly exploded in June of that year.

CONSCIOUSNESS

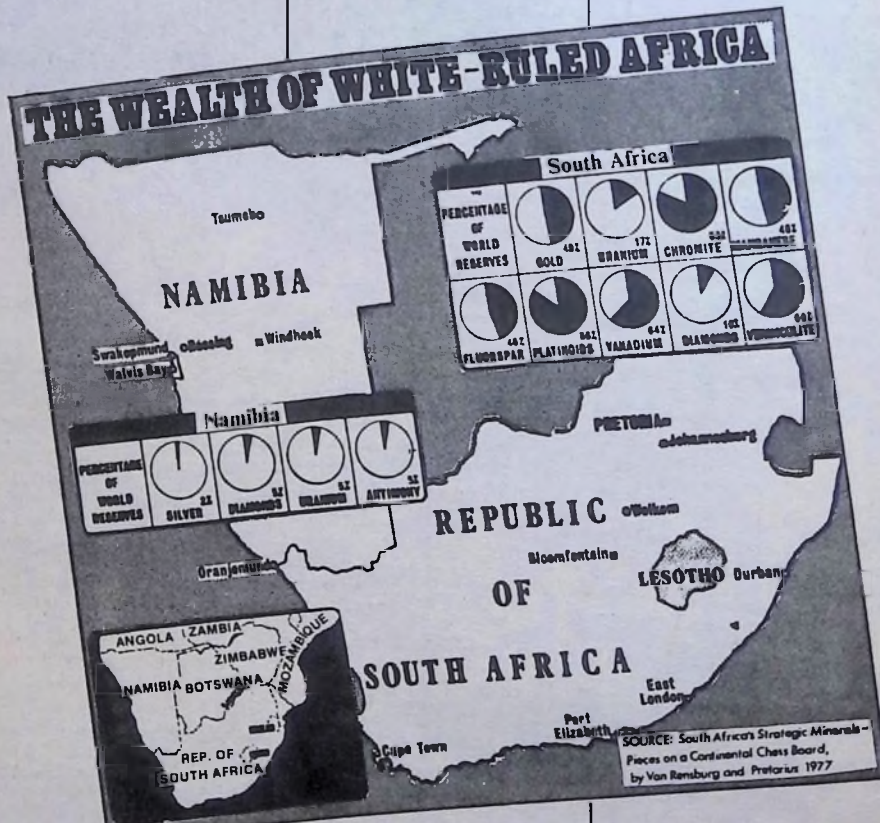
The underground organisation of the banned African National Congress (ANC) was in disarray, having just been hit by a wave of arrests. Leadership was largely provided by the intellectuals of the black consciousness movement (BCM).

Steve Biko and other BCM leaders had neither the strategy nor the organisation needed to give the rebellion a coherent direction. As a result, despite the heroism and energy of the youth of Soweto and other townships, the movement eventually fizzled out, hammered by increasingly severe repression.

The situation is very different today. The past eight years have seen the growth of a variety of black community and trade union organisations. There has been a new surge in black political life. And the revival has been given some cohesion by the United Democratic Front (UDF).

The UDF was formed in 1983 to co-ordinate opposition to President PW Botha's new constitution. Under the constitution, which came into force last September, the minority Asian and Coloured (mixed race) communities have been given chambers in the previously all-white parliament. One of the UDF's chief successes to date was to organise an 80% boycott of the elections to the new chambers by the 3½ million Asian and Coloureds.

The UDF is heavily influenced by the underground ANC. The ANC became very popular after 1976, recruiting many black youths radicalised by the rising who wanted to serve in its armed wing, *Umkhonto we Sizwe*. Since then, the initiative for liberation in S.A. was largely seen to be in the hands of the guerrillas of the ANC. But the ANC's guerilla strategy suffered a severe blow after the loss of its main base in Mozambique when that country signed a non-aggression pact with South Africa at the Nkomati river



HEID PANICS



President Machel of Mozambique and Botha sign Nkomati pact; One of the recent UDF demonstrations.

in March 1983. As a result of the Nkomati pact, the ANC was expelled from Mozambique. Botha, however, did not carry out his side of the bargain and continues to support guerillas fighting inside Mozambique.

Unfortunately, the politics of the ANC is to separate the struggle against Apartheid from the struggle for socialism. This strategy, known as

the "stages" theory of development—first the battle for democratic rights (or national independence) and only then talk about anything more—leads to the building of alliances between classes and a concentration on pressure politics aimed at the influential and respectable.

But the black working class of S.A. while largely supporting the ANC, have

left it behind somewhat. The upsurge of workplace activity in the last ten years and the formation of independent militant black trade unions has greatly upset the stages theory.

Instead of waiting for the first stage to be completed, as the theory suggests they ought, black workers have asserted their class interests.

There are now some

550,000 black workers organised in independent trade unions as well as millions of workers who, while not members of unions, support their strikes. Over the past three years, strikes have occurred at the rate of one a day. The amazing growth of black trade unions can be seen in the fact that in 1973 there were only 40,000 black workers organised in independent trade unions. Now there are full time organisers and offices, with a range of legal, educational, and health and safety services.

Over 100,000 car, metal, transport and food workers belong to the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU), while the Council of Unions in South Africa (CUSA) claims 148,000 members including the increasingly active 70,000-strong National Union of Mineworkers. The African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU) is a political union involved not only in factory issues but in related community issues like transport and rent. Inevitably it is much persecuted by the state. It was the SAAWU which organised and sustained the 11-month Rowntree strike in 1981.

BARGAINING

The number of strikes which have been victorious, the number of union recognition disputes which have been won, and the rise in wages and bargaining power of sections of the black working class, have awoken a sense of power and political organisation.

One of the best examples

of this power was seen last November during what the bosses' magazine the *Economist* called the biggest political strike in the country's history. Some 70% of the black workforce stayed at home.

The strike was called by a committee of 38 community organisations and trade unions. Most importantly, FOSATU and CUSA backed the call in spite of leadership worries about crossing the line between trade unionism and politics.

Involvement in the strike was massive. Some factory managers reported that only 10% of their employees went into work. Support was estimated to be highest in the Vaal Triangle, where 90% stayed away. In the East Rand, where the FOSATU-affiliated Metal and Allied Workers Union has a strong base, 85% of the workforce backed the strike. The stay-at-home was weakest in Soweto itself.

RESPONDED

The regime, of course, responded with the vicious repression which black workers have come to expect.

24 people were killed during the two day stay-at-home. The strike was followed by the arrest of FOSATU and CUSA leaders and the sacking of 6,000 workers at the two main plants of the state coal-oil corporation, SASOL. Their offence was to have taken part in the stay-at-home.

The black working class of S.A. is now more skilled, more in demand and a

permanent feature of the economy. Added to this, the two years which all young white men have to spend in the army and the fact that all white men are on call-up until 65 reinforces the massive labour drain which opens the way for black workers to increase their bargaining power, and their wages.

DEMONSTRATED

This collective economic strength increasingly exercised by black workers in production represents the only force capable of overthrowing the regime. This power underlies the growth of the black unions.

The riots and demonstrations of recent months are settling in to a hopeless pattern of vicious circles—riots-shootings-funerals-riots. The proposed strike this month of over 500,000 gold mine workers will present the opportunity to break out of the riot pattern which the regime's formidable security apparatus has long experience of dealing with. It will show the power of organised black workers. In the long run, it is only if this power is mobilised against the white state that Apartheid will be smashed.

South Africa has all the ingredients for a revolution—one that would shake the world economy to its roots. One that will show up all the weaknesses of the ideas of stages and pan-nationalist movements. One that will show workers all over the world that it is possible to smash capitalism. It will be a chance for the ideas of international socialism to be seen at work.

The opposition

The Western press *Bishop Tutu* as the leader of the black majority of South Africa. In fact he is an extreme moderate who is losing support quickly.

When most of the other black leaders were on the run or in prison due to the State of Emergency, Tutu was asking for "talks" with the butcher Botha. When anger in the black community erupted into violence against police informers, Tutu threatened to leave the country. That was only two days after he had given the militant black power salute for the first time! Tutu will play the same role in the South African revolution that Hume and Fitt played in Northern Ireland.

The leading organisations inside the black community are the *African National Congress* led by Nelson Mandela who has been imprisoned for twenty years, and the *Pan African Congress*. The ANC differs from the PAC in holding out the hope that "progressive" whites can be won to opposition to the Apartheid regime. The PAC and the black consciousness movement generally rule this out and see the battle against Apartheid in purely racial terms. Alongside these organisations, are local movements such as *PEBCO* in the Eastern Cape which has been actively involved in the car workers' strikes. At present the politics of the ANC are dominant. They organise everyone from open right wing nationalists to hard Stalinists. The "stages" theory of the ANC (see above) will act as a block to revolution unless a revolutionary socialist alternative is built.

Heavily influenced by ANC politics is the *United Democratic Front (UDF)*. This is a loose alliance of many opposition forces to the government—churches, community, sporting, youth and professional bodies. As well as organising last year's boycott of the Asian/coloured elections, it has used its connections via the churches to campaign for disinvestment among ruling class politicians in the US.

Last year they invited Senator Ted Kennedy to S.A. as part of this disinvestment campaign. The *National Forum Committee (NFC)* organised massive black protests against Kennedy. The NFC politics draws heavily on those of the PAC.

But there are also a number of small revolutionary socialist organisations—some of them operating within the NFC. They were evident during the protests against Kennedy's visit, carrying placards denouncing him as an agent of imperialism and calling for a "socialist Anzania". It is the politics of these uncompromisingly socialist organisations, combined with the economic power of the independent black trade unions, that hold the hope for the future.

JOE O BRUADAIR REVIEWS 'THE COMINTERN'



Workers of the world—unite!

THE PUBLICATION of this new book by Duncan Hallas will be greeted with a resounding welcome by socialists and students of revolutionary history alike. As the author states in his introduction it is the only available history of the Comintern in the English language, and certainly the only one written from a revolutionary socialist viewpoint.

For a relatively small book—less than 200 pages—it contains an incredible amount of information and minute details on the history of the revolutionary labour movement in the twentieth century. It is indeed a fine work of scholarship, but its achievement is far from being merely academic, it is a handbook of tactics and strategy, and should be read by all those who carry forward the revolutionary socialist tradition.

It can help us to learn from the mistakes we made in the past so that they will not recur in the future. The central theme which runs through the book is the necessity of a mass revolutionary party, tried in struggle and rooted in the working class, so as to capitalise on revolutionary situations which will undoubtedly occur in the future.

On March 4, 1919, a group of 35 delegates assembled in the Kremlin in Moscow to constitute the Third or Communist International, the Comintern as it came to be known world-wide. As early as 1914, Lenin had called for the establishment of a new International. The parties and

leaders of the 2nd International, with a few exceptions—the Bolsheviks in Russia, the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Serbian Socialist Party and some prominent revolutionaries—Liebknecht, Luxemburg, MacLean, Connolly, Lenin, Trotsky and Eugene V. Debs in the USA—had capitulated to the pressure from their own national-capitalist governments.

Millions had died in the battle fields of the Somme, Verdun and Tannenberg and the rat-infested trenches of the Eastern and Western Fronts. They had enlisted after a treacherous sell-out act perpetrated by the leaders of the European Social-Democratic parties and the Labour Party in Britain, acting as recruiting agents at the behest of their masters to support the imperialist-capitalist conflagration which came to be known as the Great War.

HUMANITY

Inspired by the example of the Russian Revolution of October 1917 and the post-First World War period which saw the greatest period of working class upheaval in the history of humanity, Lenin and the Bolsheviks sought to co-ordinate the struggle of the working masses on a global scale, as capitalism itself operated on a global scale, through mass communist parties in the most industrialised countries. This book concentrates mainly on the first four congresses of the Comintern, which were held directly under the auspices of Lenin and Trotsky.

The founding ideals of the Comintern represented a decided break with the bankrupt ideology of the leaders of the Second International. As Hallas writes on page 23: "Mutinous soldiers and armed workers, not voters, overthrew the German Empire. The same was true of the successor states of Austria-Hungary. The Revolution had come, in spite of the Social Democrats". The leadership of the Comintern had to be firmly grounded in the fundamental principles of revolutionary socialism: that there is no parliamentary road to socialism, that the capitalist state must be smashed, that the basic revolutionary organisation

of workers power is the workers' council or Soviet, and that the movement must be internationalist in character.

Hallas then proceeds to describe the subsequent development of the Comintern in the early years, still under the direction of Lenin and Trotsky, ascribing the many failures and defeats to the ineptitude of some of its leading members, but mainly to the lack of a decisive and coherent leadership in the Communist Parties of the various countries.

At this time, Hallas maintains, the basic line of the Communist International was correct, something which was to be very different after Lenin's death.

Hallas discusses in minute detail the fluctuations in the revolutionary situation in Germany, Europe's industrial heartland and the country to which Lenin and the Bolsheviks looked to consolidate their own revolution. Amazing little snippets—like the 50,000 Berlin workers that went on strike when Karl Liebknecht was tried for treason for organising an anti-war demonstration in June 1916, right in the middle of the war!

Great detail is employed in describing the events of lesser-known revolutionary situations in other European countries, such as the massive upheavals in Bulgaria, and the failure of the large Bulgarian Communist Party to capitalise on events.

OUSTED

Hallas argues the difference between the "United Front" as advocated by the early Comintern leadership and the later "Popular Fronts" of Stalin's instigation, which hopelessly failed the working class, most notably in Spain and to a lesser extent in France.

After Lenin's death in January 1924, with Trotsky soon deprived of any position of power, Zinoviev remained as President of the Comintern until he was ousted at the 14th Congress of the CPSU.

Bukharin then took the helm for a period of little more than a year-and-a-half, until he too was deposed in mid-1928.

From this period onwards the Comintern ceased to stand for

any of its original founding principles, and became a straight-forward of Stalin's foreign policy. This period, which witnessed the Comintern's total degeneration into an instrument of counter-revolution, is marked by so many incredible and ludicrous about-turns and changes that would seem laughable were it not for the fact that it left defeated workers' movements strewn all over the continents of Europe and Asia, and opened the door to the rise of fascism and the most horrific war in the history of humanity.

DISSOLVED

In May 1943, Stalin officially dissolved the Comintern at the instigation of his new-found allies

Roosevelt and Churchill—who did not like anything which might remind their workers of the revolutionary years—even if only in name. In point of fact it had already ceased to function.

The only minor criticism I would voice of Duncan Hallas's book is the lack of a list of abbreviations to explain the real plethora of acronyms—SIO, DNA, CGTU, CGT, CNT, etc. etc.—which abound in this otherwise powerful little book which should become compulsory reading for all socialists.

I shall leave the summary to Hallas himself in his final two paragraphs:

"The social democratic organisations, caught up in the renewed crisis of capitalism, face increasing difficulties. Social democratic governments of the eighties in France, Spain, Portugal and Greece demonstrate merely their impotence to solve the economic crisis or even alleviate it.

"That crisis which also affects the Stalinist states in varying degrees, must over time intensify the class struggle, whatever temporary depressing effects it might have. The productive potential of the world economy is vastly greater than it has ever been. The world working class is bigger than ever before. The difficulties facing us are immense, of course. But they are capable of solution. Workers' revolution and workers' power are not utopias. They are the only way forward for humanity."

Why we need a revolution in Ireland

Reviewed by MICHAEL MCCARTHY

THIS PAMPHLET states the case for marxist revolution in Ireland excellently.

It is unusual to find in such a small book the answers to most of the questions put to any left wing activist. It devotes a chapter to explaining why Russia and eastern Europe have become the tyrannies they are today. It quotes Stalin in a speech to the industrial managers in 1931 in which he practically opened the way for the privileges of a full-blown ruling-class to be extended to bureaucrats, secret police and army. From then on, things went down hill towards the farce of a system which insists on calling itself socialist: this has led to wave after wave of workers' revolt.

CONFIDENCE

Chapter 4—"Why the working class?" outlines the history of revolution by workers back to the slave revolts of ancient Greece. The chapter details the effect of school and the media on the confidence of workers, and shows that it is during collective struggle that workers gain confidence in themselves, and in their ability to control their own lives.

The chapter "Can't the system be reformed?" provides an enlightening analysis of Dail politics of the left in Ireland today: if you live to the age of seventy you would get the chance to vote only 10 or 12 times.

It cites the socialist government of Mitterrand in France, which stooped to attacking migrant workers to find scapegoats for its own

failures. All the reformist rhetoric came home to roost when an investment strike began, money poured out of the country and French capitalism, in effect, went on strike.

Allende's government in Chile is another chilling example of the outcome of reformism. Most reformists delude themselves into thinking that the state itself is neutral. But in Chile it was the state forces who turned on the majority of its people, and still does to this day. Our left wing parties in the Dail should take heed.

CONTROL

The case for a marxist rather than any other class of revolution (no pun intended) is vividly put. It names the names of five men who control £1,000,000,000 worth of sales in Ireland.

The national issue is dissected from a revolutionary socialist standpoint as distinct from a Republican one.

Revolutionary socialists give full support to the Republicans in their opposition to the Orange State. But seek to openly build a marxist alternative to that of Republicanism. The authors show that this is the only way to defeat British imperialism and the sectarianism inherent in the Northern State.

This short polemic teaches the lessons of the last five years, the lessons of Poland '81, Belgium '83, Britain and Germany '84, Denmark and Sudan '85.

It provides a national and international view of revolutionary socialism in an unjargonised way. At 60p it's a steal!

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(an introduction to the politics of the SWM)

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NAME.....
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Dunnes strikers set out on their recent abortive trip to South Africa

Semperit takeover threatens further attacks

SEMPERIT workers are once again under attack. The tyre making factory in Ballyfermot has been taken over by the British-based multi-national Conti-Uniroyal. They have already looked for 31 redundancies and a tightening up of working conditions to replace them. Rumours abound on the shop floor about the company's future plans.

Dublin South SWM issued a leaflet to the factory putting the case against voluntary redundancies and arguing for opposition to the company's plans. However the union meeting in the factory voted 2-1 to accept redundancies. But the fact that one third of the factory showed their determination to resist the voluntary redundancies shows that a fight can still be built against the company's overall plans.

ENCOURAGED

The arguments inside the factory were extremely interesting. A number of shop stewards in the factory are members of Sinn Fein—including the convenor. They argued for acceptance of the company's package on voluntary redundancy. One Sinn Fein steward put it like this: "we are against redundancies, but in the real world we have to accept them".

Yet the fact is anyone claiming to be a socialist should be against redundancy in principle. That was the lesson of the miners' strike—for which Semperit workers collected so generously.

With unemployment in the South running at 18% every job needs to be fought for. Anyone who argues for accepting redundancies is preparing the ground for further demoralisation.

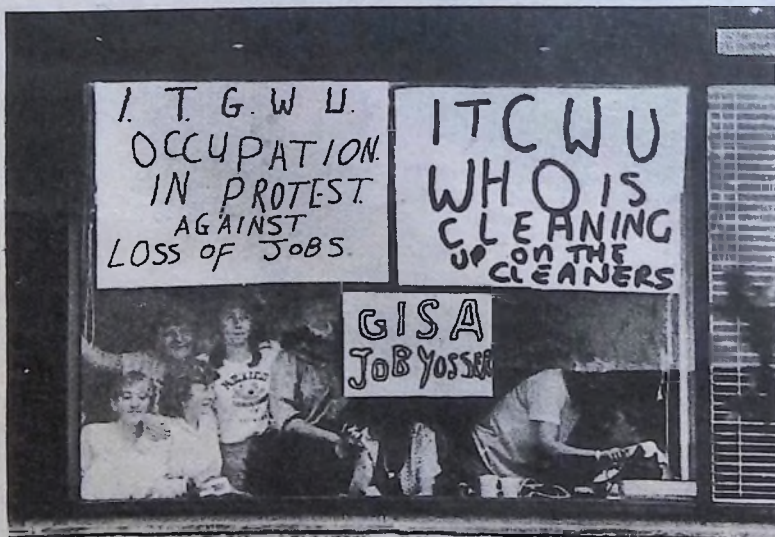
Because the truth is that companies like Uniroyal will be back for more.

PRINCE O'BURREN STRIKE

AT THE time of writing this strike is entering its 20th week, with no settlement in sight. In recent weeks the strikers have begun to take the initiative, organising workplace collections and fundraising events. A social organisation by the Socialist Workers Movement recently raised £100 and the strikers themselves are in the process of organising another.

On Thursday July 18 a mass picket was placed on the factory in Inchicore. This had the effect of shutting down the plant for the day as the scabs were deterred by the large group involved. However, in the wake of this the strikers were hauled through the courts for a second time as the bosses sought an injunction to ban such pickets. The injunction was duly granted, so that now no more than 12 people may legally participate in a picket. Since there are eleven strikers, this means that all supporters of the strike—and there are many—are effectively barred from directly showing their support.

Despite the continuing intimidation and harassment, the strikers remain in high spirits and are determined to see it through to the bitter end. Efforts are being made to black deliveries of components to the plant which originate in England. The two unions involved, FWUI and ITGWU, must ensure that this happens. Only by making the operation unworkable will management intransigence be shattered.



UCD cleaners sit-in

TWENTY women cleaners—members of the ITGWU—occupied the Administrative Block of UCD on July 31 in a struggle to defend their jobs.

Employees of Contract Cleaners Ltd, they were handed redundancies notices when the firm lost the contract for cleaning the Arts and Library blocks. Some have been offered other jobs—but under very different conditions.

They have been working four hours a day until now—which means they pay full

PRSI and are entitled to the same benefits as full-time workers. The jobs on offer are for three hours a day. So they would lose unemployment benefit, maternity benefit, the full contributory pension, employment protection, etc—as well as having to do four hours' work in three!

CONTRIBUTIONS

Reducing the hours to three a day would also mean the employer having to pay less in contributions—and

DUNNES: BUILD SUPPORT

Henry St. Mass Picket
Every Thursday, 6.30 am
called by Dublin Support Group
and IDATU

THE Dunnes strike can be won. That is the conclusion of its many supporters who are organising themselves into support groups for the strike. For the last year the strike has been looked on almost as a moral crusade. Church leaders, politicians, dignitaries of all sorts have praised the courage of the strikers. Ben Dunne is now the most unpopular boss in Ireland. But still the strikers are on the picket line and Dunnes Stores Henry Street is open for business. The result of lobbying all the politicians was a miserable recommendation from the Labour Court that told the strikers to give up.

It is now time to escalate the action.

MASS PICKET

The Dunnes support group in Dublin have called a mass picket for 6.30 am every Thursday morning. Last month over 50 people have turned up each morning so far and no deliveries could be made to the store. Obviously, Dunnes will change the times for his suppliers, once he hears the threat of a picket. But the numbers are still not enough to cover every morning with a mass picket. The key is to build the 50 on the mass picket to 500.

That is why the pickets must be openly organised and campaigned for in the unions and among the unemployed. The aim is to shut Dunnes down by pickets of hundreds every morning on his shop. If the support groups can work for this, the Dunnes strike

will be transformed into the Grunwicks of Ireland.

The other area for stepping up the action is blacking. Upwards of fifty trucks visit the Henry Street store every week with deliveries. Some of them are from unionised jobs such as Kerry Coop and Premier Dairies. Many of those jobs are ITGWU organised. The ITGWU started the tactic of blacking in this country. You don't achieve blacking by simply sending out letters to union officials. You can only do it by arranging visits of the strikers to the workers concerned, or at least to their shop stewards.

BLACKING

A support group in the ITGWU that took the strikers around to those jobs and that also pressurised through the official channels of the union could cut the life-line to Dunnes in Henry Street.

At the moment the workers in other Dunnes stores are looking on at the strike. There are many difficulties in extending the action. Many of Dunnes stores are only partially organised. Dunne operates a system of near-permanent casual and part-time labour. But among a minority of Dunnes workers, there is tremendous sympathy for the strike.

Once the action escalates on Dunnes in Henry Street, it will be possible to appeal to that minority to extend the solidarity action. That cannot be done in the present circumstances without official union backing. The shop floor

organisation is far too weak to spread the action without a call from the IDATU. The union officials must issue a call on their members for action on a particular day—for less than a full day if necessary—in solidarity with Dunnes in Henry Street. After all, the strikers are only implementing national union policy.

A defeat of the anti-apartheid strikers would be a blow against union organisation generally in Dunnes. For that reason solidarity action must be *campaigned for* by special leaflets to explain the case, visits by the strikers to every store, meetings, etc. No one is underestimating the difficulties of winning solidarity—but without it the strike will be very difficult to win.

SOLIDARITY

There is one other thing that is required. Dunnes is the most popular strike in Ireland for a decade. But despite this it has not yet won the active support of thousands of trade unionists. This reflects the withering away of the sort of rank-and-file organisation that brought about the Dublin Shop Stewards Committee in the early seventies. In order to rebuild that support, a rank-and-file trade union conference should be called to win support for Dunnes. Only in that way will the existing support groups be taken out of the margins and into the centre of the labour movement.

College cleaners' job-fight

have no intention of leaving. The only reason the union has taken any notice of us is that we've embarrassed them by being here"

ARGUED

The women need the support of other workers to win. Other cleaners working in UCD need to be talked to, argued with, picketed out—and encouraged to demand a standard four-hour day to give everyone the full rights available.

A strong, regular picket could also stop the extensive building work at UCD at a time when UCD management wants all-out production before the new term starts.

Bus workers are not driving the No 10 past the picket as we go to press cleaners at the Mater and other sites are considering solidarity action.

Solidarity is what's needed—and it will have to be fought for despite the scab behaviour of officials like Rabbitte.

Workers face jail threat—page 8

Socialist Worker

Jail threat to UCD cleaners

AS we go to press, the High Court was holding a special sitting in the house of a judge.

The Court was deciding whether or not to jail the twenty cleaning workers who have been occupying the Administration Building at UCD in defiance of a Court Order obtained by UCD.

The women, members of the ITGWU, had no legal representation at the meeting. Their union told them they would provide legal help as

soon as the women stopped acting illegally. As one of the workers pointed out: "if we were acting legally, we would not need a lawyer!"

Many of the women have children and will have to purge their contempt rather than go to jail. But some of them are willing to go to prison to defend their jobs and working conditions (see page 7). If they are jailed a massive campaign of industrial action will be needed

Portadown twelfth punch-up...

RUC in Anglo Irish con-job

by EAMONN McCANN

PICTURES of the RUC baton-charging and using plastic bullets against Orange marchers in Portadown on July 12 confused many people who had become used to the idea that the Northern cops are simply the armed wing of the Orange Order.

It is important that we understand the political reason for the RUC's action.

Garret FitzGerald and some sections of the SDLP had one explanation ready. FitzGerald had a statement out within hours claiming that this was proof the RUC had changed its spots and was now capable of "serving all sections of the community".

Socialists and Republicans generally took a more cynical view that it was a transparent con-job, a once-off "spectacular" staged for the TV cameras and designed to conceal the fact that the RUC hasn't changed its spots at all.

TALKS

The RUC action has to be seen in the context of the Anglo-Irish talks and the plan which is clearly emerging for a North-South deal which would copper-fasten partition while isolating the IRA, thus leaving British interests in Ireland intact.

For Garret FitzGerald to sell that deal in the South, and to out-face Charlie Haughey, he has to be able to argue that the Catholics in the North are no longer oppressed in the way that they have been down through the years. It is

vitaly important for FitzGerald to have some evidence to back that argument up.

After all, what he is about to do is to abandon even the mildest of the options contained in the Forum Report. This was "joint authority" — London and Dublin sharing equally in power over the North. The other options were a straightforward united Ireland and a federal arrangement linking separate Northern and Southern states. All of these options were based on the proposition that the Northern state as at present constituted — as an integral part of the UK — was a "failed political entity", "an unviable political unit", "inherently unstable" and so forth. These are all code-words for saying that it's impossible for Catholics to get a fair deal while the North remains B'itish.

POINT

To abandon that position FitzGerald needs evidence that Catholics can get a square deal within a British Six Counties. The British Government was only too happy to order the RUC to crack a few Loyalist skulls to help FitzGerald make his point.

Of course this didn't please the Loyalist leaders. But the Loyalist leaders are not in the driving seat in the North. In a sense they never have been. It is the interest represented by the British Government which holds decisive power. And it is that interest which the entire arrangement is designed to serve and protect.

British capitalism, represented by the Tory Govern-

ment, has important political, strategic and economic interests in Ireland. To preserve these, they want to retain direct control over the North and to ensure as friendly as possible a regime in the South.

And this suits the Free State ruling class very well too. The interests of Southern Irish capitalism are inextricably bound up with British capitalism. The jolt which Allied Irish Banks got when its subsidiary ICI came a £200 million cropper while playing the London money market is only one example of the interlocking nature of the two capitalist systems. And indeed, together they are part of the world capitalist system.

HOSTILITY

The very last thing the big-money interests represented by FitzGerald want to see is a state of open hostility between London and Dublin. Which is why they are cheering on the RUC as they laid into Loyalists.

Left out of account entirely in all this are the interests of the Irish working class, and, most immediately, the interests of the Catholic working class in the North.

The truth of the matter is that the Portadown events were a con job. The RUC is a sectarian force. It is recruited on the basis of a willingness to "defend Ulster" and maintain its Britishness — exactly the same political basis as that on which the UDA and the UVF recruit members. The Brits can push the RUC towards an occasional confrontation with Loyalists — Portadown was not the first instance by any

too far. They can't afford a really major confrontation.

Most crucially, if the RUC was pushed too far and either couldn't — or, more likely, wouldn't — cope, the immediate back-up force which would be called in would be the UDR. And the Brits know there's no way whatever the UDR could be used to confront Loyalism. The UDR is an entirely Loyalist organisation.

Could the UDR have been called in if the RUC had proved inadequate in Portadown? The question is answered by the fact that three of the Loyalists arrested on July 12 while trying to get at the Catholics in Obin Street were members of the UDR.

REPRESSION

In other words, the sectarian structures of the Northern state are as irremovable now as they ever were and Catholic workers in the North (the Catholic middle-classes were never particularly oppressed in the first place) have nothing to look forward to but more of the same.

In fact it could well turn out worse. If Thatcher and FitzGerald strike a deal FitzGerald will be required, as part of the deal, to back an intensified campaign to smash the Provos in the North — and to do his own bit of smashing in the South. This will mean an increase in repression in Catholic areas.

On other fronts there will likely be a few cosmetic gestures intended to show that the "cultural identity" of the Northern Catholics is being "acknowledged". Watch out for a ministerial visit to an Irish-language class in a nice middle-class area of Belfast or Derry and, probably, the repeal of the Flags and Emblems Act and its replacement by some general edict that "provocative" symbols should not be displayed... that sort of thing.

Economically, discrimination in jobs will continue as before, with Catholic workers two-and-a-half times as likely as Protestants to be unemployed and denied access entirely to certain factories and positions.

The deal, in other words, will deliver next to nothing to those who have suffered most from the existence of the sectarian state. What it will do is to preserve the sectarian state.

Notwithstanding the Portadown baton charge, and despite our profound political differences with the Republican Movement, revolutionary socialists will continue to support those who are fighting to end the sectarian state completely. Not because we merely want to have a "united Ireland" but because the struggle for socialism means a struggle against the capitalist interests who are stitching up a deal to preserve their rule over the working class, North and South.

