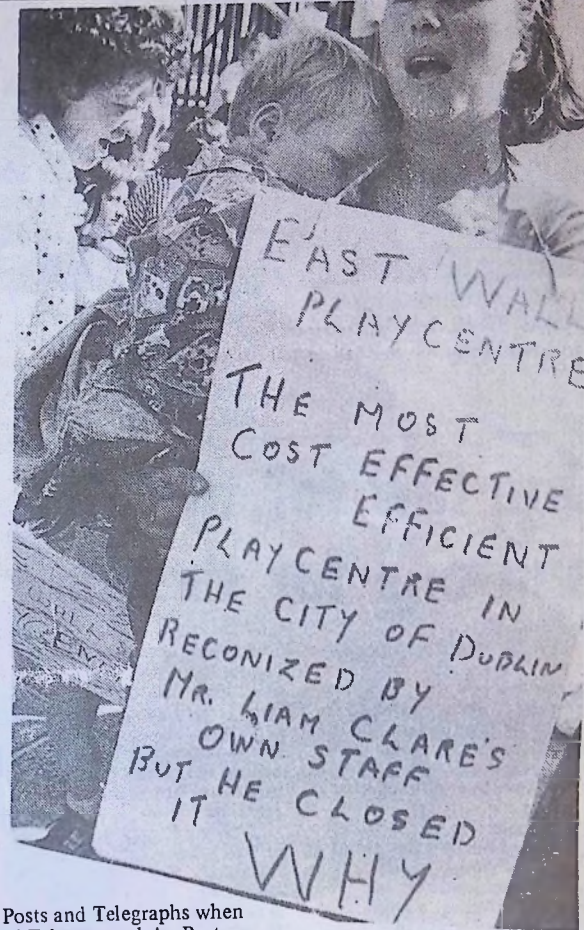


Socialist Worker

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism

FIGHT THE CUTS!



CUTS, MORE cuts and yet more cuts are what's in store.

While the government seems to have backed down on the issue of raising the school leaving age to five, they are still talking about chopping enough teachers' jobs to ensure that classes may in future contain up to FIFTY children.

Meanwhile the health service — already pared to the bone say the doctors, nurses and ancillary workers continues to be cut. It is expected that this year alone twenty hospitals and other institutions will close, 2,100 beds will be lost, 800 acute, 1000 geriatric and 300 psychiatric.

The figures hide the real tragedies that lie behind such statistics. The closure of Cappagh hospital, for example, means that one pensioner, Molly, who is widowed and living alone has to wait in pain for a hip-replacement operation. She has already waited two years; there is no end in sight to her pain.

The health services employ 58,000 people — doctors, nurses, lab technicians, clerical staff, cooks, cleaners and maintenance workers. This year 3,700 jobs will go. It is now obvious that more will follow next year. These workers face the Hobson's choice of dole and emigration.

COMPULSORY

Altogether, 10,000 jobs in the public sector are to be lost. At first we were told that all redundancies would be voluntary; now that they know they won't get that many volunteers compulsory redundancy is on the cards.

Perhaps the worst aspect of the public sector job losses is

the success which Haughey has had with his game of "divide and rule".

Workers whose jobs aren't threatened, especially those in private sector employment — even some unemployed workers — have accepted the propaganda spewed out by Fianna Fail, Fine Gael, the PDs and the bilk of the media. That is, they have believed the myths about public sector workers — that there's too many of them, that they are well-paid, under-worked and have grown lazy and complacent as a result of having job security.

PROPAGANDA

But myths and right wing propaganda are all such views amount to. It is true that there was an expansion of public sector workers during the seventies. From 1971-79 the number of public servants grew by 50 per cent. But that expansion occurred almost exclusively in health and education following the introduction of free education in 1966 and gradual implementation of the totally inadequate system of free hospitalisation which today is under attack. In other words, the expansion was absolutely necessary just to give the Twenty Six counties even the semblance of a welfare state.

Nor are public sector workers any more highly paid than those in the private sector. The official government figures show that 40 per cent of civil servants earn less than £8,000 and 73 per cent earn under £10,000 a year.

The idea that public sector workers have absolute job security should have been laid to rest years ago — thousands of jobs were lost in the Dept

of Posts and Telegraphs when Bord Telecom and An Post were set up. Hundreds of workers in B+I have already lost their jobs and more are to go. The hundreds of young nurses who have been thrown on the dole won't agree that they had job security... the list goes on and on.

Despite the truth of the situation, Haughey has been successful in presenting public sector workers as the scape-goats for all our ills. He has simultaneously tried to make himself very popular with that section of the working class that has mortgages — the drop in interest rate is presented by the government as the direct result of his assault on the public sector.

EASED BACK

Whichever government is in power has, in fact, little control over interest rates — the fact of the matter is that interest rates have eased back internationally from their record levels of the past few years. It is the international operations of financiers around the world that are the major determinant of interest rates. Haughey could, with as much justification, claim credit for the warm summer weather.

Haughey's success in scape-goating one section of the working class will, however, serve only to advance the interests of the ruling class. Public sector cuts and redundancies will, and do, affect us all. Anyone with children is likely to have already suffered the brutal imposition of the £10 casualty ward charge. We

have already seen longer hospital queues develop, we will soon see an increase in the pupil-teacher ratio and the imposition of a £200 fee for any student wanting to repeat the Leaving Cert. The one thing we haven't seen a cut in is the number of unemployed; they continue to grow and things will be even worse for young people coming out of school over the next year.

In the longer term, the failure of the trade union movement to organise defence of the public sector will make it totally unable to fight for decent pay and conditions in the private sector. That the intention of the ruling class is to attack private as well as public sector workers has been shown in a number of recent, well-publicised speeches made by industry chiefs at Irish Management Institute seminars.

While all this goes on, the trade union leadership continues to talk of a "national plan" to be agreed between the government, as representatives of the ruling class, and the ICTU, as representatives of the working class. In other words, as Irish workers are being attacked those who are supposed to lead the defence of our interests are collaborating with the very people who are mounting the attacks.

With every new round of cuts and of sell-outs by the ICTU it becomes more and more obvious that if and when the fight against the cuts begins it will have to be IN SPITE OF the trade union leadership.



* **CUT**

Dr. Steeven's Hospital



* **CUT**

Baggot Street Hospital



• JOHN TEELING, asset-stripper and destroyer of jobs. Having just ruined Glen Abbey, he now has his sights - and £12 million - set on acquiring Clery's department store and yet more job losses.

One law for the rich and one for the poor

"THERE IS certainly one law for the rich and one for the poor in this country" said Mrs Margaret Power speaking to Socialist Worker recently. "If our Raymond was from Blackrock not Ballybeg, he would have been looked after long ago."

Margaret was talking about the case of her son Raymond who was seriously disabled in a traffic accident near his home at Ballybeg, a large working class estate in Waterford, over five years ago.

Despite a promise by a spokesman for the Motor Insurance Bureau made on RTE television at the time, young Raymond has never been compensated.

Raymond Power, who is now nine, suffered the loss of a kidney, damage to the other one, a fractured skull and many other injuries when he was struck by a car on the main Cork Road near his home.

Raymond was walking with his sister Catherine, by the side of the road, when he spotted his father arrive and stepped on to the road, where he was knocked down by a passing car.

The man who hit Raymond spoke to the child's father Michael and gave him his name and address on an envelope and said he would follow him to Ardkeen Hospital.

ADDRESS

However the man did not turn up at the hospital and in the confusion Mr Power lost the address.

Despite extensive investigations by the gardai, the driver was never found and because the driver did not come forward, the Motor Insurance Bureau (MIB) - established by law in 1955 to protect the victims of hit-and-run cases - have refused to compensate young Raymond.

This despite the fact that the Irish Insurance Federation (IIF) - the representative body for Ireland's 25 motor insurance companies - still insist that the law provides compensation in all cases.

(The Motor Insurance Bureau is entirely funded by the IIF.)

According to Mrs Power, her son's accident has put a huge strain and burden on the family, with all the extra costs of looking after an accident victim, especially when the only income is the unemployment benefit her husband receives.

"Young Raymond has missed years of schooling and is unlikely ever to work" said Mrs Power. "It would help greatly if he had some money to help him when he's older".

FAT CATS

The fat-cats of the Irish insurance industry make millions every year from Irish workers and are among the first to label bus workers and binmen who go on strike for a decent living as greedy scroungers.

Yet they find a paltry excuse not to pay this working class child - whose parents have no resources to fight them - adequate compensation from their vast resources.

As Margaret Power said: "If Raymond was from Blackrock their attitude would be entirely different."



• VICTIM: Raymond Power with his parents Margaret and Michael

FIANNA FAIL JUNKETING

FIANNA Fail councillor Ned Brennan recently lectured his fellow councillors on the economic crisis.

Dublin would have its part to play in solving it," he said, "it had got to the stage where no job was sacrosanct. There was a time when the Corporation was building 2,000 houses a year and now they were hardly building any: so what was the staff doing?"

The implication being of course that they should be made redundant.

The week before Clr. Brennan strongly defended a trip to a housing conference in

WATERFORD HAUGHEY HEALTH CUTS

HAUGHEY health cuts are biting hard in Waterford.

307 jobs have already gone in the area with the closure of Lismore Geriatric Hospital, the Ardkeen Maternity Unit plus cutbacks at St Otterans Hospital of 103 jobs.

80 more jobs are to go with the withdrawal of funding for the City Infirmary.

Working class families, the very young and old are suffering most.

The old are losing out with the massive cutbacks in community care, chiropody services and the reductions in geriatric beds.

The young are affected by the slashing of child welfare services as well as the reduc-

tions in school health visits. But the local Alliance of Health Service Unions, which should be leading the fightback apparently have no answers.

The Committee, made up of full-time officials and low level bureaucrats, were unable even to organise token half day demonstrations recently.

Instead they put out fancy leaflets and empty statements which only call on health workers and the public generally to "lobby politicians" to reverse the cuts!

It will take more than empty rhetoric to do this. It will require health workers taking industrial action and militants in the health service must organise for that NOW.



Teachers Rep

MARY O'ROURKE is a former school teacher. That has not prevented her from embarking on terrible cuts in the education system. Newspaper reports indicate that classes in primary school could now number over fifty. It is a return to the dark old days of the past.

But who is Ms Rourke's advisors in all this?

Margaret Walshe has been appointed as a special advisor to O'Rourke. The same Margaret Walshe is a former president of the teachers' union ASTI. So here we have a former union leader advising the government on how to take on the teachers.

This is not actually unusual. The former president of INTO is one Seamus O Puirseal. O Puirseal is a Fianna Fail activist in Haughey's own constituency.

It is time that teachers checked out the political credentials of those they are electing.

NO MONEY

"THERE is no money in the country". How often have we heard this catch-cry when we look for pay increases or even jobs.

Well, think again. A new, exclusive housing development in Ballsbridge, Dublin shows that the wealthy are still living it up. Apartments in Merrion Village cost a cool £150,000 a piece. Residents of this Yuppie-land have a half a million pound leisure pavilion to play around in. There are landscaped gardens throughout. Most importantly, there is a 24-hour security service to protect their wealth.

The publicity bump tells us that "buyers at Merrion Village include many top figures in the worlds of industry, commerce, financial services, the medical and other professions".

Now we know where to find them.

LUCKY CROTTY

UNEMPLOYMENT doesn't hit everyone. In fact some can get real benefits from the desperate situation in the country.

People like Kieran Crotty, the Fine Gael TD for Kilkenny.

As part of the procedure for coping with unemployment AnCO have rented out new offices for running many different courses. Some enterprising businessmen have seen an opportunity for hiring out their premises to AnCO.

And why should TDs be excluded. Nothing wrong with a quick buck, is there?

Of course there isn't, thinks the former Fine Gael chairperson. Crotty has hired out premises to AnCO in Kilkenny. And we can be sure he's getting a pretty penny for it.

LOOK NO NOSE



A MAJOR breach has occurred in the earth's ozone layer that has caused significant worry to scientists. Just above the South Pole a large hole has developed that is the size of the USA. The ozone layer is a protective sheath that keeps out harmful rays from the sun. Scientists now believe that there will be a dramatic rise in skin cancer if nothing is done.

But some dyed-in-the-wool free marketers are having none of it. There is no need

for government interference or even international agreements to outlaw the aerosol cans that release chlorofluorocarbons. Instead they want "personal protection" programmes.

The US Interior Secretary, Donald Hodel is one of these mad free marketers. He is advising extensive use of "hats, sunglasses and sunscreen lotion".

Pity he had not told this to Ronnie before - could have saved his nose.



A DUNNIE 97

WE THINK

'Left face for Labour'

DICK SPRING narrowly escaped defeat at Labour's Conference on the method of electing a leader.

The Left had demanded that the party leader be elected at annual conference — instead of letting the parliamentary party have the full say.

Spring only managed to wriggle out of this by postponing the decision to next year.

The Left wants to make the party leader more accountable and less likely to sell-out once in office.

The Parliamentary Party, which elects the leader at present, is made up of careerists who are prepared to make deals with the right-wing parties.

The Left argue that if the leader is accountable to the unions and party activists then socialist policies have a far greater chance of being implemented.

However, if this were true we would have seen tremendous advances for socialism throughout Europe a long time ago. The majority of Labour's counterparts on the continent have long held the practice of electing their leaders at Party Conference.

And in country after country they have also long held the practice of ditching socialism when in office and turning on the very workers they claim to represent.

On balance it is more

desirable to have the Labour leader elected by activists rather than by the TDs.

But there is no guarantee that we will see the back of the Dick Springs and Brendan Corishes of this world.

The unions affiliated to the party would have a bigger say? But what good will that do when those same unions are allowing the ICTU to continue its sell-out talks with a government that is hammering the weakest sections of the Southern society?

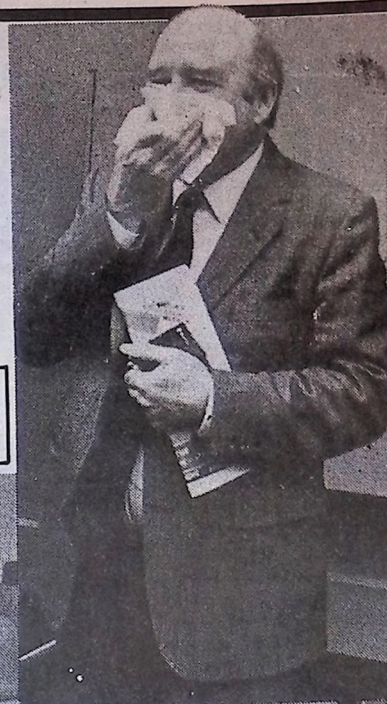
The unions are often a conservative force within the Labour Party. Their leaders seek to maintain good relations with the employers rather than fight for socialism. They will hardly elect a radical firebrand to replace Dick Spring.

And even if socialists did manage to have a left-winger elected, what difference would it make?

A left-winger, no more than a right-winger, would still succumb to the pressures of big business once in office. Mitterrand in France, Gonzalez in Spain and Garcia in Peru all sounded very radical before leading their parties into office. Yet under pressure Mitterrand ditched nationalisation plans, Gonzalez led Spain into NATO and Garcia made a deal with the world banks to pay off Peru's debts.



Dick and friends, Ruari Quinn and Barry Desmond — who doesn't seem to like the company



Covering up the past

FOLLOWING its conference in Cork the Labour Party seems set to move a little to the Left. But there is no sign at all of it being able to offer a socialist strategy for resisting the right-wing onslaught of the Fianna Fail-Fine Gael-Progressive Democrats "grand coalition".

Labour's new "Left" face will likely prove attractive to some workers desperate for a "credible" alternative to the new-Right consensus. Indeed if the Labour Party doesn't grow in the present circumstances it will be the result of sheer incompetence. But any who are attracted to Labour are doomed to disappointment and a futile waste of political energy.

NEW LINE

For a start, Labour's "new line" is based on a dishonest misrepresentation of its recent past. At Cork, Labour supporters were asked to believe that in government Barry Desmond had "fought tooth and nail" to defend the health service, to acknowledge "what a fine job Liam Kavanagh did in maintaining and protecting" local authority services, to recognise "how successfully Ruairi Quinn con-

solidated and defended" workers' rights.

These are bare-faced lies. A major reason Fianna Fail has experienced so little resistance in mounting a frontal attack on the working class and on the services it depends on is that Labour in government was complicit in the beginning of this process. Fianna Fail is merely going a little bit further a little bit faster. It is not travelling any different road.

In refusing to acknowledge that its past strategy was disastrous Labour has rendered itself incapable of having a political reckoning as to how the disaster came about and therefore incapable of honestly devising the fundamentally different strategy which is called for.

This doesn't just have to do with the leadership's desire to protect their own reputations. It is rooted in the unchanged and unchangeable nature of the party itself.

The party is not based on working class struggle. It is based on the search for electoral popularity. The political project on which it embarked is not the leadership of workers in the active defence of their class interests but in the garnering of votes when elections come round.

Spring spelled it out in his annual address when he told delegates that "We must fight against a backdrop of realism" and that in the crucial area of public spending they must avoid "irresponsibility". That is to say, the party is committed to working within the present capitalist political system and to advancing only those economic demands which the system can afford. In any conflict between the interests of the system (the "national interest" as it is commonly called at Labour conferences) and the specific interests of the working class, the workers must wait.

LEFT

That was the political basis of Labour's sell-out in government and it is the basis on which the party still stands. The Left in the party may argue for a more vigorous, radical approach, and it will likely have more influence now that the party is in opposition. But it does not challenge the fundamental politics involved.

It is this, and not the individual weaknesses and rotten records of Labour leaders, which makes Labour

incapable of offering a real lead against the cuts and the attempts to stitch the unions into a new "national plan". For all the radical rhetoric, Labour has not and quite certainly will not urge workers themselves to resist the cuts or to fight their corner against any plan to curtail wages.

RESISTANCE

Any individual Labour Party member who did want to help generate organised rank-and-file resistance would have to do so without the sanction of their own party and in association with socialists who are outside the Labour Party for precisely this reason.

The Labour parties of Europe are littered with the dried husks of reformed revolutionaries who wanted to argue revolutionary politics within a sizable reformist organisation but who found that, far from them changing the party, the party had, inexorably and inevitably, changed them.

Those who are serious about fighting for working class interests and ultimately for working class power should join with us in building the openly revolutionary socialist party which alone can carry the struggle through.

The North

NOWHERE is the rottenness of Labour politics more evident than in relation to the North.

The leadership naturally, pledged continued support to the Anglo-Irish Agreement being operated jointly by the ferociously anti-working class governments of Haughey and Thatcher. A number of left-wing delegates, expressing the politics of the Militant tendency, quite properly argued against this.

The Anglo-Irish Agreement is an attempt, by a mixture of mild reform and extreme repression, to produce political stability. The object is to eliminate the national question as a disruptive element in Irish politics, the SDLP securing the acquiescence of still-disadvantaged Catholics, "moderate" Unionists winning Protestant acceptance of a constitutional nationalist presence in whatever new institution emerges. There's nothing in this for the working class.

But the ARGUMENTS used against the Agreement at the Cork conference were, from a socialist point of view, disgraceful.

Militant supporters cited the Paisleyite rallies outside Belfast City Hall as evidence that the Agreement had boosted sectarianism. The Protestant workers, declared Cork delegate Emmet Farrell were demonstrating the opposition to "a capitalist united Ireland".

So they were in a sense: in the sense that they were demonstrating opposition to any united Ireland and to any

'concession of equal rights to Catholics within the North as well. To use the existence of sectarian bigotry of that sort as an argument for opposing anything, is to back off in the face of bigotry, which is exactly what Militant does.

The fact that Ian Paisley can draw 100,000 people into Belfast city centre to oppose a particular proposition does NOT mean that the proposition is "sectarian". Supporters of Militant should seriously question their own analysis of the North when it leads them into such a ludicrous line of argument.

Not one delegate at Cork argued straightforwardly for opposition to the Agreement because it CANNOT deliver equality of treatment to Northern Catholics and because it strengthens the hand of capitalist politicians in Ireland North and South, or posed as an alternative the idea of linking the capitalist plan for a constitutional settlement to the capitalist assault on workers' economic and social rights on both sides of the border.

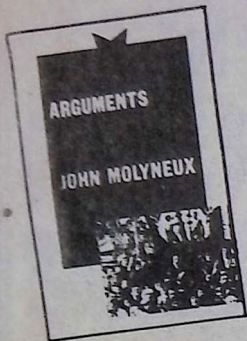
The issues ARE linked. The ruling class wants political stability not least because it wants an ordered consensus in support of the machinery of state as it prepares to put the boot in even harder on the working class. Socialist opposition to the Agreement should be on that basis.

But that's the sort of argument which doesn't emerge at all inside the Labour Party.

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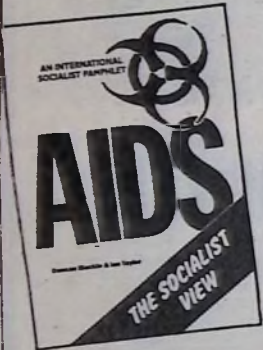
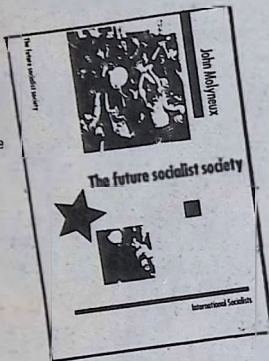
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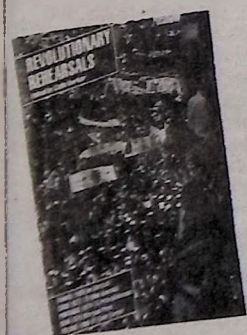
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The price to pay to get on yer bike

IN THE space of four months Stephen Roche has established himself as Ireland's greatest ever athlete. His winning of the Tours of Italy, France and the recent World Championship means that he has won the three premier races in professional cycling. In the process he has elevated himself into a select group of cycling all-time greats. Only four other riders have won the Tours of Italy and France. Only one other, the great Eddy Merckx has won all three major titles in one season.

Roche is also set to become a very wealthy man. His new contract, signed with Egori has granted him in the region of £500,000 a year. On top of this he can expect lucrative returns from sponsorship deals. At present he can be seen advertising everything from the wonders of Galtee Cheese (who made 300 workers redundant the day after he won the Tour de France) to the durability of Ever Ready batteries.

Roche is being talked about as professional cycling's first real international superstar. He is articulate, has a sense of humour, and most importantly, is nice to journalists. In media terms, Roche could be to cycling what Carl Lewis is to athletics. He is a nice guy. He doesn't display the same muted boredom with the whole process that the Ben Johnsons and Sean Kellys of this world have. Stephen Roche is top of the cycling world despite the fact that in winning the Tour de France his individual overall time for the race was 21 seconds slower than the man officially placed runner-up, Pedro Delgado!

VICTORY

What determined Roche's victory, both in Italy, and to a greater extent in France, was the strength of his team, Carrera. And what determined the strength of the Carrera team was the amount of capital invested in it by the Carrera bosses. Because professional cycling, in particular the big road races, survives on sponsorship deals, the sport has to reflect the wishes of those businesses involved, especially their promotional and advertising interests.

To ensure maximum return on investment through publicity, team trials play an important part in the overall classification result. Each team has its star rider for whom it does everything in its power to help him win. Individuals within the team, known as domestiques, are required to shelter their leader as much as they can, help him catch an escaping group of riders and ensure that he enjoys the benefit of slipstream so that he can save the best of his energy for when he really needs it.

In other words, the "domestiques" sacrifice their own ambitions in the interest of the team leader. Their willingness to do so depends on how generous their "patron" is. Eddy Shepers, Roche's main domestique, admits that the main reason he is continually faithful to Roche's ambitions lies in Roche's ability to pay well in return. For the team bosses, good team results mean more publicity.

Roche benefitted from this system in the Tour De France because his Carrera team was stronger than the PDM team of Pedro Delgado. What ultimately determined the Tour was the time lost by Delgado's PDM to Roche's Carrera NOT the individual times of each cyclist.

IMMUNE

This is not to take anything away from Roche. He doesn't make the rules and who knows what effort he would have made if he knew he was only 21 seconds short of victory?

What it does illustrate, however, is that nothing is immune from the corrupting and distorting effects of capitalism. The best individual cyclists can hope for is to combine the needs and requirements of the industry with their own personal ambitions. Roche is lucky. Egori realising his advertising worth, have signed two top riders Robert Miller and Steve Bayer to support Roche in his new team. Roche's season will be geared for him to perform well in the big races, but results will be expected.

By contrast, Sean Kelly's cycling ambitions, namely to win one of the Tours, will probably never be realised.



Haughey muscles in on Roche's glory

Kelly's worth lies in his ability to perform well week in and week out. His sponsors, the Spanish soft drink company Kas, benefit enormously from Kelly's constant exposure throughout Europe. The result has been, however, that by the end of the season Kelly had left the best of his cycling legs behind him. The notion that Kelly would dedicate his season to the quest for winning the really big prizes in cycling — taking the early season easier and conserving his energy for the summer, was something that Kas boss, Louis Knorr, was not prepared to entertain.

Cyclists like Roche and Kelly are only worth as much as their sponsors are prepared to back them. A change in a rider's fortune combined with

a more fickle boss, can knock the rider back into oblivion with a poorer team, a Greg Le Mond found out recently. Le Mond, the first non-European rider to win the Tour de France, was dropped from the French Toshiba team after losing a season through injury because, in the words of French businessman/owner Bernard Tapie (who also owns Marseilles Football Club) "We are going to put everything on Jean-Francois Bernard", the brilliant young French cyclist.

Luckily for Roche he has finally fulfilled the promise he showed at the start of his career. Having the time and opportunities to build on it however, will have as much to do with his bosses as it will to do with his abilities.

—GER FRANCIS



Roche leads the field in the Dublin Grand Prix

Haughey plans handover

FIANNA FAIL is preparing another U-turn. In opposition they criticised some of the terms of the Extradition Bill introduced by the Coalition.

The RUC should provide prima facie evidence, they said. Political prisoners should not be handed over to a legal jurisdiction which cannot be trusted — to the torture methods of the RUC interrogators and the juryless Diplock Courts. Those were their arguments in opposition.

The Extradition Bill, is indeed, a vicious piece of legislation. It removes any protection from political refugees from the North. It is aimed at republicans who have used the South as a shelter from the RUC. The Bill allows the RUC to apply to the Southern Courts for prisoners to be sent North to answer charges for which there is not the slightest preliminary evidence.

However the scandal of the Birmingham Six and the Guildford Four cases put an obstacle in the way of implementing the Bill immediately. The Coalition decided to defer it for a year. December 1 is the date set for ratifying the Act. And it is a Fianna Fail government that has been handed this hot potato.

There has been much speculation on how they will turn. Many in the republican movement and in the newly-formed Anti-Extradition campaign have argued that Fianna Fail will have considerable difficulty in convincing their rank and file supporters that the legislation is needed. Some have even predicted a split in Fianna Fail.

This is a gross misreading of the situation. Fianna Fail has a vital interest in repressing republicans. Fianna Fail occupies that ground in Southern politics which appeals to those traditional values that include a large dose of green nationalism. More than any other ruling class party they justify their rule, not by the brave new world that capitalism offers in the future, but by the memory of all classes pulling together "for Ireland". It is a condition for their being able to indulge in nationalist rhetoric that the revolutionary nationalists are isolated.

This why Fianna Fail's record on repression is second to none. It was they who formed the Special Branch (from ex-republicans), who introduced internment in the Forties and Fifties and even hanged republicans.

Haughey is no different to his predecessors. It was Haughey who as Minister for Justice in the late sixties introduced the first extradition Bill. His previous governments have won considerable praise from the RUC. Jack Herman, Chief Constable of the RUC, described cross-border security co-operation in 1979 as "the best ever". The same government increased the number of armed Gardai to an unprecedented ten per cent. It also introduced the Special Task Force to hound republicans.

However, the fact that Fianna Fail is committed to the repression of republicans does not necessarily mean that they fully favour extradition. Extradition, after all, is merely one way of locking up republicans. There is no reason, in principle, why those under threat of extradition could not be tried in the South under the Criminal Jurisdiction Act. Nor is there any reason why a combination of the Offences against the State Act, Special Branch thuggery and the Special Criminal Courts could not dispatch a few to Portlaoise. The arguments for the greater efficiency of extradition are marginal.

The purpose of the Extradition Bill is not just to lock up republicans. It is a measure of the degree to which the ruling classes of Britain and Ireland are capable of implementing

a joint strategy. The Anglo-Irish Agreement was the first formal expression of the unity of interest that exists between them. Extradition is the practical application.

Socialist Worker has argued for many years that both ruling classes are united in their aims regarding the North. But we have never underestimated the difficulties they face, in overcoming traditional divisions, to translate this into practical strategies. These difficulties emerge principally on the British side. They are all for co-operation with the Southern rulers — but some sections believe that this co-operation can be achieved by bullying rather than by gentlemanly discussion.

Such difficulties help explain some of the obscure debates that are now in progress. Fianna Fail is clearly demanding the introduction of Three-judge Diplock Courts. After all, it has worked very well in Dublin's Green Street. Elements of the British establishment, however, see this as "unwarranted interference" in the tried and trusted system of British justice. They are not too keen to secure co-operation at the expense of upsetting the Orange judiciary, that has served them so well. So they must decide how closely the Southern rulers are to be involved in running the North.

A similar bargaining process is at work in relation to the Birmingham Six and Guildford Four. These people are clearly innocent and are held hostage by the British legal system. But their fate may be decided in the merry-go-round now being enacted by the British and Irish governments. Fianna Fail would like to see their release as a way of



showing that they could deliver when it comes to dealing with the Brits. The British for their part know that releasing these prisoners could open a can of worms for their judicial system. The issue is which ruling class has to carry the greater political cost. Must the Irish introduce extradition and still have the blatant scandal of these cases hanging over them? Or must the British cause untold turmoil in their legal system to get extradition?

The traditional role of Fianna Fail's nationalism has been to push for a better price from the British for their co-operation. That is why all the huffing and puffing of Haughey in Opposition always gives way to "quiet, hard bargaining" in government. They operate like cute farmers who won't give something for nothing. They want a trade-off.

None of this play-acting should disguise the essential fact: the two

ruling classes in these islands are united in their desire for a common strategy.

Moreover, in recent years, the trend is getting even stronger in that direction. Appealing to Fianna Fail's traditional nationalism as a defence against extradition is therefore the height of stupidity. It is like taking Reagan at his word and appealing to his instinct as a "freedom fighter" as the reason why he should leave Nicaragua alone.

HOW NOT TO FIGHT EXTRADITION



AN ANTI-extradition campaign covering the thirty-two counties has been set up to fight the implementation of the Bill. Well-organised public meetings have been held in Donegal, Derry and Dublin. A number of Trades Councils including Dublin, Derry and Shannon have already passed resolutions from campaign supporters. All of this is a tremendously welcome development.

Nevertheless, the political strategy at the heart of the campaign is disastrous. This strategy, which has been inspired by the leadership of Sinn Fein, involves a dramatic turn to the rank and file of Fianna Fail. The same strategy that dominated the H Block campaign is being revived in a more right-wing manner.

Among the principle speakers at the first extradition meeting in Dublin was Captain James Kelly from the Fianna Fail executive. Although speaking in a personal capacity, he argued that there were many in the grass roots of Fianna Fail who could be influenced. The anti-extradition campaign has taken this to heart.

It has organised itself as a pressure group to lobby Fianna Fail. Local action groups are advised to approach their Fianna Fail TDs to seek a commitment to vote against the Bill. The national committee of the campaign advise that no picketing of FF TDs should take place until after there has been a clear statement that they will vote for extradition.

Even then, permission to picket must be sought from the national committee.

The central focus of the campaign is a petition to FF TDs. Here the aim is to get as many names of constituents as possible to influence the local TD. All recent experience shows this form of lobbying to be a complete waste of time. The ICTU, for example, mounted a major petition on tax — it did not make a blind bit of difference. More recently the teachers organised a sophisticated form of individuals' letters from constituents to TDs — it too made not a blind bit of difference.

The tone of the campaign is therefore one of respectable lobbying rather than militancy. There exist

for example, no plans as yet to organise a national demonstration. Instead, the conviction that the rank and file of Fianna Fail are sincere nationalists has led to the tactic of quiet persuasion.

However, if the rank and file of FF stay loyal to the party when it implements the health cuts in spite of massive local opposition, there seems little reason to argue that they will break on extradition.

Belonging, as they do, to an openly ruling class party, they share the same ideas as their leaders on what their nationalism is about. It is about getting a better price that Fine Gael from the Brit. The vast bulk understand perfectly well the cynical turns that Haughey — like all bourgeois rulers make.

Even if a small number of cumainn take their own rhetoric seriously and make some noise about extradition, it will not affect the leadership. Parties like Fianna Fail are dictatorships run by the cabal in the cabinet.

The tragedy, however, is not just that this tactic is futile (and has been proved to be in every single campaign since the seventies) — it is dangerous. The present record of FF gives every socialist a chance to point to the real role of FF and to convince many of their working class supporters why they are the enemy. Turning back to lobby FF now is simply helping to sustain illusions rather than break them. It is on a par with the ICTU appeal for a "national plan" — or with union leaders like Phil Flynn doing deals with FF instead of organising resistance against it.

Strategies like these end up as an obstacle to class politics — and therefore to a serious fight by Southern workers against the Northern state and all the repression that stems from it.

—KIERAN ALLEN

October 1917, 70 years on

This month marks the seventieth anniversary of the revolution of October 1917 — the revolution which created the first workers' state. Here KEVIN WINGFIELD looks at the lead-up to the October Revolution, at the vital role played by the Bolshevik Party in ensuring the success of the insurrection which finally smashed the capitalist state and at some of the immediate achievements of the revolution.

SINCE the revolution of February 1917, a situation of "dual power" had existed in Russia. On one hand the old ruling class still maintained its grip on the state machine, through the "Provisional" Government of Kerensky. On the other hand the workers' and soldiers' councils — soviets — were increasingly focussing workers' strength into a challenge to the government.

Since April the Bolsheviks had been arguing that the only way to resolve this unstable, contradictory situation was for these councils to take all the power, crush the bourgeois state and establish a revolutionary government. Their slogan was "all power to the Soviets!"

The revolution of February had emerged out of an explosion of spontaneous anger among the mass of Russian workers, peasants and soldiers. They wanted an end to the senseless slaughter of the war; the privations that left millions without bread on the table; and the great estates which left the impoverished rural population at the mercy of the great landowners.

That revolution had not been prepared or planned by revolutionaries. Most people imagined that getting rid of the Tsar would in itself herald fundamental change. These illusions expressed themselves in widespread support for parties which believed in compromise with the liberal bourgeoisie.

But getting rid of the Tsar was not enough.

SUSTAINED

The Provisional Government which had come to power as a result of the February Revolution, was sustained by the support of the compromising parties — the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries. This government served the interests of the capitalist class.

The war was being fought to establish which coalition of European capitalist powers would have unfettered access to profits from the colonies. It was not a policy chosen by the capitalists but one forced on them by the intensifying rivalries inherent in capitalism. Any government which served the interests of the capitalist class must, in those circumstances, serve that class's over-riding interest — prosecution of the war.

So while the Provisional Government existed the war would go on. And with it the slaughter. And there would remain no bread on the table. And the big landowners were themselves the brothers and cousins of the factory owners, mortgaged to the same banks, clipping the same dividend coupons. Substantial land reform was unthinkable while the Provisional Government persisted.

Even among the capitalists, there was no love lost on the Tsarist autocracy. But their relief at seeing its demise was at once replaced by fear and loathing of the workers and peasants.

Once the mass of people burst on to the stage of history there is no telling where it will stop. The capitalists understood that until the workers and peasants were kicked back into the auditorium, their place on the stage was threatened.

Intrigues and threatened coups multiplied. It was certain that at the

first opportunity the capitalists would attempt to restore order with bloody counter-revolution.

However masses of people newly awakened to political life needed to be convinced of this through their own experience and through the arguments of the Bolsheviks. Many of the most politically advanced workers had already drawn the conclusion by July that it was necessary to overthrow the Kerensky government. The Bolsheviks exercised political influence directly over this layer of workers.

But the problem was to ensure that the revolutionary minority did not become isolated from the mass of workers who had not yet been convinced and without whose active support a revolutionary insurrection would certainly not survive for any length of time.

In every factory, in the army barracks and at the front, discussion of these questions was unending. Groups would read out loud and argue over revolutionary publications. The programmes of various parties was disputed. The Bolsheviks alone stood for an open, irreconcilable break with the bourgeois liberals. Doggedly they — in Lenin's words — "patiently explained" the necessity of workers' power, of workers collectively taking over and with the support of the peasantry creating a revolutionary government that would end the war, break up the great estates and crush the counter-revolutionaries.

As July gave way to August and September it became clear that the Bolsheviks were winning the argument. The most determined minority of workers flocked into the party. And the influence of this minority on the more passive, more wavering, majority grew.

This was reflected in the growing representation of Bolsheviks in the Soviets. In the early days of the revolution soldiers had very often been content to elect democratically-inclined officers to the Soviets. But as the revolution deepened, forcing the political development of the politically inexperienced, old habits of inferiority, of deference to their "betters" fell away. As time went on soldiers and workers replaced their moderate representatives on the Soviets with known Bolsheviks.

DECISIVE

Dual power is an inevitable feature of any truly revolutionary situation. It arises because for a period of time the balance of forces is swinging back and forth. The old regime still exists alongside the growing power of the revolutionary class. Dual power continues until there is a decisive test of strength where the question of who is to be master has to be answered by the defeat of one side or the other.

It can only be settled by a military confrontation, an armed insurrection. And here a paradox appears to exist. On the one hand revolutionary socialism — bolshevism — bases itself on the collective strength and action of the working class. It has nothing in common with the elitist notion that social change can be accomplished by the military actions of a heroic minority independent of the activity of the mass of working class people.

On the other hand an armed

insurrection needs to be organised by a disciplined body of people in secret if it is to have any prospect of success. If the military arrangements, dates, times, etc are openly discussed the old regime will be alerted and forewarned.

The paradox is soon resolved. The Bolsheviks had argued that the soviets must assume all power, that the Provisional Government had to be overthrown. In July, they had argued with the advanced workers of Petrograd that they should hold back from insurrection until support was consolidated in the rest of the country. That support now existed. By the autumn, the Bolsheviks held

majorities in the workers' and soldiers' soviets throughout Russia. The mass of workers and soldiers were now for "All Power to the Soviets". To have held back would have been an act of cowardice, a betrayal of the trust they had won as the revolutionary party of the workers. It would have inevitably meant the victory of counter-revolution.

From hiding, Lenin impatiently hectored the Bolshevik leadership to overcome their hesitations. After a struggle, including Lenin threatening to resign and go "to the sailors of Kronstadt", the Bolshevik leaders

on the ground were won. Nevertheless, Zinoviev and Kamenev, Lenin's closest allies in the preceding years, bitterly opposed the plan and even went so far as to write to the press giving details of the plan.

Trotsky was entrusted with the technical preparations of the insurrection. Lenin had proposed that the insurrection should be carried through in the name of the Bolshevik Party. Trotsky, whose tactical "feel" was on this occasion — not for the first time — superior to Lenin's, instead devised a plan for organising the action through the Petrograd Soviet.

Insurrection



SINCE the revolution of February, the soldiers of the Petrograd garrison had played a crucial role in the development of the revolution. The situation of dual power had meant that the Provisional Government had been forced to give an undertaking that these revolutionary soldiers would not be dispersed or sent to the front.

The capitalist politicians were, of course, playing for time. Rest oration of capitalist order was unthinkable while thousands of troops were prepared to obey the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.

Plans to send the garrison to the front took on a new urgency for the bourgeoisie as Bolshevik ideas came increasingly to supplant those of the moderate parties among the soldiers.

The workers, especially of Petrograd, viewed these soldiers with special warmth. During the previous revolutionary months, it was to this garrison that they had turned for allies in countless struggles against counter-revolution.

When in autumn 1917 the Bolsheviks gained a majority in the Petrograd Soviet, Trotsky was elected chairman. On October 9th, the Military Revolutionary Committee of the Petrograd Soviet was formed. With its leadership in the hands of the Bolsheviks, it set about planning the insurrection.

Openly this was discussed in terms of defending the revolution from the intensifying threat of

counter-revolution. What remained unspoken in public — although every advanced worker understood the implication — was that defending the revolution meant precisely organising the military defeat of the bourgeois Provisional Government and the establishment of the rule of the Soviets.

Four days later the representatives of the garrison on the Petrograd Soviet voted to transfer all military authority to the Military Revolutionary Committee.

On 25th October a congress of all the soviets in Russia was due to open in Petrograd. The insurrection was planned for the night before so that the most democratic gathering ever constituted could immediately start work holding full power.

On 24th October, the day after the soldiers of the Peter and Paul fortress — the last important obstacle to the success of the insurrection — declared for the Petrograd Soviet, the Provisional Government made their move.

The Provisional Government issued orders for the arrest of the Military Revolutionary Committee, suppression of Bolshevik papers and replacement of pro-Bolshevik troops in Petrograd with loyal troops.

That night at 2.00 am the October Revolution began with the occupation by detachments of revolutionary soldiers of stations, bridges, lighting installations and telegraphs. The officer cadets guarding these buildings offered no

resistance. The only concerted defence in Petrograd by forces loyal to the old Provisional Government was of the Winter Palace. And even this had fallen within the day.

A few hours later the All-Russian Congress of Soviets assembled in Petrograd. Lenin mounted the speaker's podium and put into words the thoughts of the hundreds of delegates in the hall: "We shall now proceed to construct the socialist order".

Trotsky later wrote: From the moment when we, as the Petrograd Soviet, invalidated Kerensky's order transferring two-thirds of the garrison to the front, we had actually entered a state of armed insurrection... the outcome of the insurrection of 25th October was at least three-quarters settled, if not more, the moment that we opposed transfer of the Petrograd garrison; created the Military Revolutionary Committee; appointed our own commissars in all army divisions and institutions, and thereby completely isolated not only the general staff of the Petrograd zone, but also the government. As a matter of fact, we had here an armed insurrection — an armed though bloodless insurrection of the Petrograd regiments against the Provisional Government — under the leadership of the Military Revolutionary Committee and under the slogan of preparing the defence of the Second Soviet Congress which would decide the ultimate fate of the state power.

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The Bolsheviks

THE VICTORY of workers' power in October 1917 would not have been possible without the existence of the Bolshevik Party.

From February, the capitalists hoped to come out on top. For that it was necessary to demobilise the revolution. They banked on the disorganization and inexperience of the mass of workers, soldiers and peasants.

They had a powerful ally in the moderate parties of compromise. The Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries had covered up for the Provisional Government using radical rhetoric and the prestige they had accumulated by their previous oppositional activity.

They had opposed workers, soldiers and peasants taking "unauthorised" action. They had procrastinated, telling the masses in effect: "Have faith in us, we'll sort everything out".

But the Provisional Government could not deliver on Bread, Peace and Land. For that a political doctrine was needed that broke decisively with capitalism, reformism, constitutionalism and elitism... a politics based on the self-empowerment of the working class.

In the breathing space provided by the few months between February and October, while the bosses had been knocked off balance, it was necessary to convince the mass of working people, by actions as well as words, that it was both possible and necessary for them to run society.

People who could hardly read and were dressed in tatters had to be persuaded that they were as important and as able as the well-read well-dressed, smooth-talking bourgeois liberals. Ideas change quickly when masses of people take militant action and begin to feel their power. But ideas lag behind action. To make the revolt conscious, directed towards a thought-out re-organisation of society, took a struggle against those with a vested interest in returning the masses to passivity.

The Bolsheviks had been steeled in the discouraging years of retreat and reaction following the defeat of the 1905 revolution. That process had served to form a core of dedicated, clear-headed and single-minded revolutionaries. As they rebuilt their organisation in those hard times, they gained experience and maturity of judgement... qualities without which their

influence over large numbers of people in 1917 would not have been possible.

COMPROMISE

The modern equivalents of the parties of compromise exist today... in the trade union bureaucracy, the reformist parties, etc. The system cannot provide bread to the

people of Ethiopia or Bangladesh, equipment to make land worth having to the peasants of the Third World or peace to the unlucky inhabitants of Iran or Iraq.

Here in Ireland joblessness, health cuts, discrimination, low pay, emigration and poverty intensify as a price to be paid for capitalism's continued existence.

As the storms of the future approach, we need to create the beginnings of a modern-day Bolshevik Party.

What was won



THE VICTORY of October was not the end of the story. The fighting to win Moscow exacted a higher price in blood. The consolidation of the Revolution throughout Russia was accomplished against the background of civil war as the old rulers raised armies from the most backward sections of the peasantry to fight the new revolutionary regime.

The capitalist-imperialist powers invaded too. Fourteen foreign armies were landed to smash the "bolshies". And as a result of this, and the dislocation and destruction caused in Russia by the first world war, industries ground to a halt, railways and transport practically ceased to move and famine consumed millions of lives.

The European counterparts of the compromising parties were able to serve their masters better than they had managed in Russia. The revolutionary wave in Europe was defused and defeated by the reformist parties, leaving revolutionary Russia isolated. By the mid-20s the life-blood was haemorrhaging fast from the workers' state and the victory of stalinist reaction was accomplished by 1928.

Yet in those few short years, despite such grave difficulties, the young workers' state showed a foretaste of what socialism could offer.

*** WORKERS' CONTROL:** *The de facto situation by which the workers controlled production in the factories and organised distribution of their produce was given the additional power of law; banks were taken over and the foreign debt repudiated;*

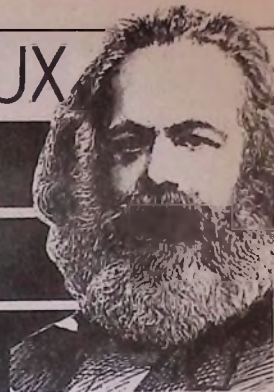
*** THE RIGHT TO SELF DETERMINATION:** *Under the Tsarist empire various nations had been subordinated to Great Russia. The Bolsheviks offered these full self-determination, including the right to separation;*

*** LAND:** *The workers' state immediately legalised and sanctioned the breaking up of the landed estates and their distribution by the peasants. At a stroke was settled the land question which bourgeois politicians said would take a generation to sort out;*

*** WOMEN'S RIGHTS:** *Within weeks of the revolution, divorce was made freely available without any legal formality; abortion was made legal and free on the health service, communal canteens and childcare facilities and laundries were established to free women from the burden of housework; equal pay was enacted and enforced; homosexuality was legalised — all this in a country which had been dominated by the arch-conservative Russian Orthodox Church.*

JOHN MOLYNEUX

Teach yourself Marxism



THE INSPIRATION of the Russian Revolution, combined with the conditions of political and economic crisis that accompanied the end of the First World War, produced a wave of revolutionary struggle that swept across Europe.

In November 1918 a revolution in Germany overthrew the Kaiser and brought the social democrats to power. This was followed in January 1919 by the unsuccessful Spartacus rising in Berlin—resulting in the murders of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht.

In the spring of 1919 the short-lived Hungarian and Bavarian Republics were formed, and in the summer Italy embarked on its two "Red Years" of factory councils and occupations.

It was the first international revolutionary situation since 1848, and far and away the most powerful challenge to world capitalism ever presented by the world working class.

In Britain, mutinies and strikes led Lloyd George to express doubts about the ability of the old order to survive.

Even in Ireland there was a wave of occupations. In Limerick a form of workers control briefly appeared in 1919 and due to the influence of the Russian Revolution it became known as the Limerick Soviet.

The formation of the Third or Communist International, known as the Comintern, was both a product of this dramatic situation and a response to it.

Lenin had advocated a new international since 1914, but now it was possible to make the aspirations a reality.

Moreover, it was vitally necessary, for the obvious missing ingredient in the struggles of 1918 to 1919 was the existence of revolutionary parties of the Bolshevik type.

The Comintern set itself the task of encouraging and sponsoring the building of such parties in every country.

While continuing the tradition of international working class organisation established by the First and Second Internationals, the Comintern differed substantially from its predecessors.

The earlier Internationals were loose federal bodies, allowing more or less complete independence for their national sections and embracing a wide range of different political tendencies.

The Comintern, however, aimed to be a single centralised world party, and exclusively communist—that is, revolutionary Marxist.

This form of organisation reflected a conception of the whole world as a single battlefield on which the class war was to be waged with one army and one high

The highest point of the Marxist movement

command.

The aim was to ensure that the 1914 collapse of the Second International into reformism and nationalism should never be repeated.

The first congress of the Comintern, despite the revolutionary situation, was quite a small affair, attended by only 35 delegates, most of whose presence in Moscow was accidental.

Only in the course of the next year or so did the International emerge as a real mass force. Achieving this transformation was not a simple operation.

Many millions of workers looked to the example of the Russian Revolution and were moving in a revolutionary direction. But

must consistently and systematically dismiss reformists and centrists from positions of any responsibility in the working class movement.

The most spectacular and important success of this strategy came in Germany in 1920. Then the majority of the independent social democrats (USPD) were won, against the opposition of their leaders, to affiliate to the International and unite with the German Communist Party (KPD).

This transformed the KPD into a mass organisation of 350,000 members. A similar process in France produced a party of 150,000.

In addition to establishing itself as a serious revolutionary force the Comintern had to act as a "School of Revolutionary Strategy and Tactics". The new and inexperienced parties inevitably contained many revolutionaries but also ultra left elements.

They wanted to march straight to revolution by boycotting parliament and the trade unions. It was to educate these people that Lenin wrote *Left Wing Communism an Infantile Disorder*.

The need to combat ultra-leftism became even more urgent in 1921, when the German party in its March Action made a disastrously artificial and premature attempt to seize power. By then it was also becoming clear that international capitalism had survived the immediate revolutionary onslaught and temporarily stabilised itself.

Now Lenin and Trotsky had to insist on the need for patient work to win the majority of the working class and, to this end, to develop the tactic of the United Front.

With hindsight the Comintern was ultimately a failure. It was granted only a few short years in which to forge the international leadership capable of overthrowing capitalism. It did not succeed, and after 1923 it was rapidly corrupted by the rise of Stalinism in Russia.

Nevertheless, it was a magnificent attempt. To this day it represents the highest point achieved by the international Marxist movement. Its manifestos, theses and debates remain a vital source for contemporary revolutionary socialism.

they were not yet clear as to the organisational implications of this.

What the Comintern leadership had to do was draw together all existing communist and revolutionary tendencies (including erstwhile syndicalists), uniting them into stable parties.

At the same time they had to win over as many as possible of the leftward moving rank and file of the old social democratic parties and detach them from their reformist leaders.

The main obstacle to this process was "centrists". These were workers' leaders who, in the spirit of the time, preached a very radical rhetoric and even favoured affiliation to the International.

But in practice these people were unwilling to change their old social democratic ways or make a clean break with the reformist elements in their parties.

To combat centrism Lenin drew up 21 conditions of membership to the Comintern which defined with great clarity what was expected of a communist party.

In particular he insisted that: "Any organisation that wishes to join the Communist International



INTERNATIONAL

SITTING ON
A TIME BOMB

SOUTH Korean workers do an average of 54 hours a week. There were 120,000 industrial accidents, including 1,700 deaths, in South Korea last year.

Many workers earn wages below subsistence level and are forced to work between 70 and 90 hours a week to make ends meet.

Holidays are often as little as ten days a year—five in the summer and five in winter. Weekend work is usually compulsory.

Workers are often forced to live in company hostels. These are disgusting, squalid and unfit for human habitation.

Employers prefer single women—the ultimate in cheap labour. Girls are often fired if they get married.

There are more South Korean people in work now than ever before, and at higher real incomes. Since 1971 real wages have gone up by some 7.5 per cent a year on average.

Life expectancy has increased by eight months per year since 1960, and there is almost universal literacy.

A nation of peasants has become one of urban workers in something short of a generation.

With that change has come the accompanying rise in expectations.

The South Korean ruling class is sitting on a time bomb, and doesn't know when it will go off.



Mayekiso

THE TREASON trial of the South African trade union leader Moses Mayekiso, together with four of his comrades, has been postponed again. It will now begin on 19 October.

The apartheid regime couldn't find one of their judges who would be available for "at least" five or six months, the estimated length of the trial.

Meanwhile Botha's thugs have amended Moses' charge sheet to include more co-conspirators who have allegedly influenced him to commit treasonable activities. His charges sheet is already 152 pages long.

Many trade unionists have already sponsored the Free Moses Mayekiso Campaign.

Raise the matter in your trade union organisation.

Contact Free Moses Mayekiso Campaign, c/o 47 Synge Street, Dublin 8; Telephone 783503

Marines gun down peasant marchers in Manila

SOUTH KOREA:

Economic miracle to nightmare

THE MERE mention of South Korea is enough to send our bosses' tiny hearts fluttering with excitement. A "miracle" economy that has had almost continuous growth since 1945 — in the recession, the stuff that dreams are made of. But for the South Korean ruling class that dream is rapidly becoming a nightmare.

The South Korean economic miracle was based on two factors: a dominant role for the state in industrialisation, subsidising exports through taxation and foreign borrowing, and massive state repression.

GROWTH

But state intervention and repression are no longer seen by some sections of South Korean capitalists as sufficient to ensure continuing economic growth. As their political representatives, the opposition Reunification Democratic Party put it: "We seek a free market system, free of government controls".

Also required is a labour force that believes that it has some stake in the system, a labour force whose co-operation is not solely gained by means of a police baton.

In short, a system like our own little set-up over here. The problem for them is how this can be achieved.

The student movement, earlier this year, for increased democracy and free elections, represented the political aspirations of this section of South



Hyundai workers take to the streets in the provincial city of Ulsan

Korean capitalists. That is not to say that the movement was not supported by the mass of the population. It certainly was. But the movement, although it was very militant, did not represent a threat to South Korean capitalism.

VICTORY

The presidential election in December, the first in 16 years, is an important victory as it represents a major step down by the regime of President Chun. But free elections are not enough for democracy.

The suspended sentences and release of three senior police officers, charged with covering up the investigations in the torture and murder of a student activist earlier this year, is a clear indication of the regime's commitment to democracy.

But the victory is even more important in another respect. It has given a new confidence to the South Korean working class.

The last few months have seen a wave of strikes in almost every industry. Strikes which have started with economic demands have taken on polit-

ical demands and vice versa.

As opposed to the student movement earlier in the year, this quite clearly represents a major threat to capitalism in South Korea and as such has been condemned by all sections of the ruling class.

CONFIDENCE

The problem for those capitalist that want to liberalise the country is that every measure of liberalisation further boosts the confidence of the working class with the con-

sequent dangers to its own rule.

If the opposition RDP win the election in December they, like the present regime, will have to clamp down on strikes and any other opposition if they are to survive. Their scope for the implementation of democratic reforms is limited.

It is impossible to predict how things will work out. However, it is clear that there are many sleepless nights ahead for the ruling class in South Korea.

—WILLIE CUMMING

Philippines: left fall in behind Aquino

TRAGEDY continues in the Philippines. The latest attempt last month at a rightwing coup caused over 50 deaths.

The leader of the coup attempt, Lt. Col Gregorio Honasan is at present "underground" — that is in Manila, and giving regular interviews to the right-wing opposition press.

There has been no punishment for leaders of previous coups as the sympathy of much of the Philippines' divided ruling class is with them and ready to shift allegiances immediately, should a new dictatorship be established.

Corazon Aquino is unlikely to force the issue as she contrives to maintain the support of the right for her style of capitalism.

Should she go for some public reprisal it is likely to be in similar vein to last year's sacking of Enrile (the defence minister under both Marcos and Aquino).

Having made her gesture, Enrile was left completely free to organise rallies of up to 20,000 right-wing forces, and to plan such actions as this last coup.

Meanwhile Aquino daily increases the pressure and misery for workers in the Philippines and the left — 51 strikers and trade unionists have been shot dead, many more are in prison.

DEATH SQUADS

Just this year, Aquino legalised the brutal death-and-torture squads, grotesquely giving them the name of Citizens' Armies.

Survival daily becomes more difficult for the vast majority of Filipinos. The most meagre subsistence now costs about five dollars a day, while large numbers earn less than that — three-quarters of the 55 million population have

not enough to eat.

Recently Aquino pushed through huge fuel price rises, the burden of which will be felt by ordinary Filipinos — although a massive wave of strikes organised by KMU federation of unions forced her to reduce the price rise from 20 to 15 per cent.

This leads to the question asked again and again — if Filipino masses in the cities could exploit divisions between the bosses and force the dictator to flee the country (with a little help from his US friends!) and if powerful strikes and workers' militancy have continued through the 18 months of Aquino's rule — how come all this activity does not lead to concrete gains for the mass of Filipinos?

The key to this is in the policies of the left and notably the Communist Party — policies which are both disastrous and dishonest.

The CP, illegal in the Philippines continues to

dominate the trade unions, the New Democratic Federation (political wing of the guerrilla New Peoples Army) etc.

Their original plans envisaged gaining electoral support in an alliance of all classes.

They hoped that Aquino's democracy (which they describe as a progressive "stage" in the struggle) would provide a shelter through which they would gain votes for parliament. Because of this the left has always supported Aquino — even while picketers or peasants were shot for protesting (something that actually happens more frequently under Aquino than under Marcos.)

We have actually seen this on our television screens: in January when 18 peasant farmers protesting for land reforms were shot dead on the streets of Manila, thousands of Filipinos struck and marched to Malacañang Palace expressing outrage and demanding change.

But the left leaders (sticking strictly to their political agenda) managed to turn this huge, angry gathering into another rally for Aquino.

In the May elections this year, CP plans led to a result which was hardly surprising given their political workings to date.

The left lost badly, gaining few votes. The election in fact showed mass popular confidence in Aquino.

Now the CP has announced a change of tack — turning away from "political", electoral strategies to a stepped-up guerrilla campaign.

Key bridges and roads have



AQUINO

been blown up, soldiers and police shot. These new plans will unfortunately lead workers' struggles just as efficiently up a cul de sac.

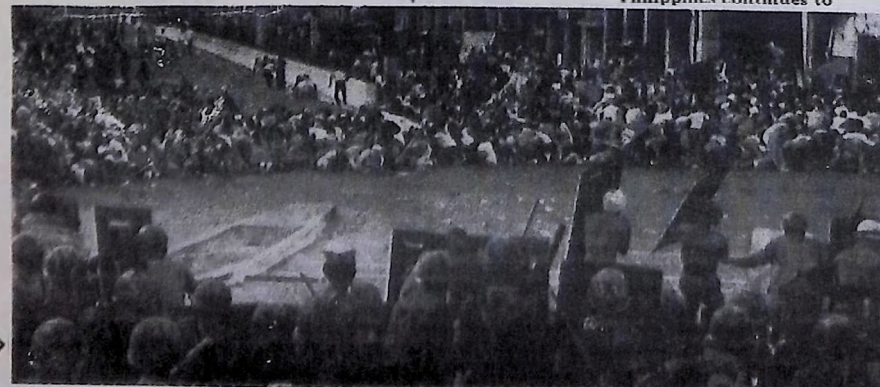
While militarily successful the growing NPA of 24,000 guerrillas cannot by its nature take on the state or the dominant economic powers.

While good militants are drawn out of trade union and rural struggle, to the more secretive forms of planning guerrilla actions, the continuing CP-dominated politics ensures that no links are made to the vast power of the working class.

It must be remembered that it was workers' struggles in the cities that gave the final blows to Marcos's long reign, and not the NPA in its rural bases. Nor could the NPA itself have forced the recent price-rise reductions which Aquino granted to stem the mass strike waves.

The tragedy is that the lack of development of a revolutionary alternative, of a politics based on the working class challenge to power, leaves the heroic and ongoing militancy of Filipino workers and peasants unchannelled and divided.

Meanwhile the continuing public support for Aquino leaves economic misery and death squads intact — as well as a possible open road for a new, military-backed dictatorship. —MARY KILLIAN



EAMONN McCANN

Eating the workers for breakfast

MR HAUGHEY summoned the lords of finance and the captains of industry to a sumptuous breakfast in Dublin last month to tell them that they, too, would have to do their bit to aid "economic recovery". They must "invest in Ireland" he told them, and play as full a part as other sectors in "the process of economic regeneration which is at hand".

By all accounts the assemble representatives of the rotten rich murmured in patriotic unison that they would definitely see what they could do. No promises mind . . .

Immediately after the breakfast Haughey addressed a meeting of the Fianna Fail national executive and announced that, apart from a few details which would be cleared up within days, a new three-year agreement with the unions was ready for signing. The agreement would cover pay, taxation, social services and jobs. It would, Haughey told the FFers bluntly, mean "more hardship to come". In other words, more cuts, more closures, more job losses.

Note that for practical purposes, *all* of this promised hardship will be experienced by the section of the population for which the union leaders claim to speak — workers in the public sector and in vulnerable industries, dependants on social welfare, those who can't afford private hospitals.

None of it will be experienced by the business bosses who met Haughey for breakfast.

Which lends a certain perverted logic to the fact that while the leaders of the workers' side have had to guarantee to deliver on the bargain, the bosses side hasn't had to give any firm undertaking at all.

The trade union leaders will have to "police" their own side, to use their prestige and influence against any group of workers which refuses to take a hammering and tries to fight back. Any resistance to the agreement will be refused official sanction and denounced as "irresponsible", "divisive", "greedy" and so forth.

DISCIPLINE

The bosses' side is under no such discipline. As the Irish Times candidly put it on the day after the Haughey breakfast, "Business decisions are not grounded on a 'tonic for the troops' approach. Money goes where it can achieve the best rate of return. Business does not operate . . . in order to create jobs, but profit . . . It is doubtful if more exhortation of this kind will, in itself, keep a single pound in the economy."

But "mere exhortation" is the *only* pressure which has been applied to the bosses. And indeed it could hardly have been otherwise. Because even if Haughey wanted to compel capitalists to invest in Ireland rather than go for a quicker profit elsewhere, there is no political mechanism whereby this could be done.

The only thing Haughey — or anybody else presiding over a capitalist economy — can do to encourage investment is to increase the profits which will likely be made. And indeed this is the motive for smashing the working class into the ground.

It is not over-simplifying to say that the poor are being made poorer so that the rich can become richer still.

In this situation it might be thought remarkable that the union leaders take it all lying down — particularly since some of them, members of the Workers Party or the Labour Party, consider themselves "left-wing". But in fact, it's not remarkable at all.

At the meeting of the FF executive mentioned earlier, Haughey said: "In many other European countries socialist governments and labour governments are taking exactly the same kind of action as we are, not on the basis of any political philosophy but *because it must be done.*"

He was right. There *is* no other way of saving capitalism in crisis other than by making the workers pay the cost of the crisis. Only those who are openly in favour of the overthrow of capitalism have any logical ground to stand on and urge workers *not* to pay the price being asked of them.

Which is to say that in a period like the present only *revolutionary* politics can provide leadership even in relatively small-scale defensive struggles against closures, job-losses, wage-cuts and spending-cuts.

MOSES MAYEKISO CAMPAIGN:

Derry bands benefit

THE DERRY Branch of the SWM took the initiative recently in setting up a Friends of Moses Mayekiso group in that city.

The group held a very successful "Free Moses Mayekiso" benefit gig on 26th September in the Union Hall to raise funds for the national campaign.

The hall was packed as local bands Flatfoot Squat, Fear of Gods, Dick Tracey and the Green Disasters and the Carrelins took to the stage.

Flatfoot Squat were playing their last gig together before their lead singer goes to college in England and gave everyone a night to remember.

Fear of Gods were as impressive as ever and Dick Tracey and friends as awful as they always aim to be! The Carrelins style presented a contrast to the rest of the night and got things off to a good start.

A brief speech explaining why it is important not to let



"Fear of Gods at Moses Mayekiso gig in Derry

them hang Moses Mayekiso went down well and a miner's lamp was raffled to raise

money for the South African miners' solidarity fund. The gig was supported by Derry

Trades Council who gave a small financial donation and contributed the lamp.

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 organization 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 forms 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:

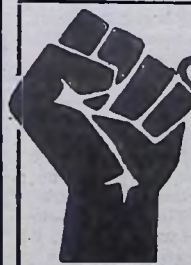
100 percent trade unionism
A 35 hour week to reduce unemployment
The election of all union officials, subject to recall
Against redundancies. We say: occupy to demand nationalisation under workers' control
Full independence of the unions from the state. No reliance on the Labour Courts or the arbitration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



JOIN US!

I would like more details about the Socialist Workers Movement

NAME

ADDRESS

Send to SWM, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8.

REVIEWS

The rare
ou'l
times?

An error or a frame-up?

Lar Redmonds' "Emerald Square"

LAR REDMONDS' "Emerald Square", it would seem, is the latest in long line of working class juvenile autobiographies set in the wilderness that was Dublin in the first quarter of this century.

Sentiment prevails as the author plunges into the life, the thoughts and dreams of a child he has long ceased to be.

One cannot avoid coming to the conclusion that many of the events he has chronicled are nothing more than fantasies, or at least inaccurate elaborations; his description of his father's meteoric rise from absolute poverty to absolute wealth is, at least, unbelievable. However, these obvious faults are outweighed by the quality of the writer's style and the moving nature of the book.

It is inevitable in a work of this type that the Catholic Church will come in for some sort of abuse, it is also inevitable that the outcome of this assault will only be a flesh wound. Redmond criticises the two levels of treatment meted out to the downtrodden and those who "trod": citing as an example a destitute woman unceremoniously given her "death-blessing" by an irate priest upset by the lack of payment. What the author fails to appreciate is that this priest is not "one in particular".

HORRIFIC

Perhaps the most heart-rending part of the book is the description of the committing of children to the "Industrial Schools" of the day, ie Artane and Glencree, and the brutal and near-fatal treatment bestowed on the youngsters in these horrific establishments.

After three boys turn up on their Confirmation day without shoes or Confirmation medal they disappear without trace in the aftermath, the author writes: "It was generally supposed they had gone to Artane Industrial School where the gentle Christian Brothers would make them regret they had been born poor".

The workers in the book — and in this lies the major flaw — are in general hesitating and acquiescent. They are content it would appear, in their depressing discontentment; their worries solely confined to family feuds or the killing blush of consumption. This is, without a doubt, a misrepresentation of the mood of the workers, even in those most depressing times.

A dependable history it is not, but this does not detract from the enjoyment and sheer readability of the book.
—PAUL ANTHONY SWEENEY

Errat of Judgement, by Chris Mullin.

THIS BOOK is the story of the conviction of six men, Hugh Callaghan, Patrick Hill, Gerry Hunter, Richard McAlkenny, Billy Power and Johnny Walker, for the pub bombings in Birmingham on 21st November 1973.

The book proves conclusively that these men are innocent.

They were convicted on two main fronts: firstly on a forensic test that has now been proved to be faulty; and secondly on the basis of confessions beaten out of them by the police after the forensic test carried out by the scientist showed "positive" for three of them.

Obtaining confessions by torture is nothing new in the history of British justice in dealing with Northern Ireland.

A lot of people sitting in jails in the North are their as a result of false confessions. The tragedy of the so-called six "Birmingham Bombers" is that most people believe them to be innocent. And Chris Mullin, in his book is able to provide much information to prove this.

That these six men are still locked up will come as not surprise to those of us who don't believe in or trust the type of system we live under.

SLOWNESS

The type of state we live in is not based on justice. This is the reason for the slowness in releasing these men.

If they did admit that six innocent men have spent 13 years in prison, it would show exactly the type of system that operates. That justice can be bent and twisted to suit the needs of the moment.

And the six men can be beaten and bent to suit the needs of justice.

And when Haughey makes it look as if he is getting a review of the case, he is just jumping on the bandwagon and trying to blindfold people to the reality of the extradition bill.

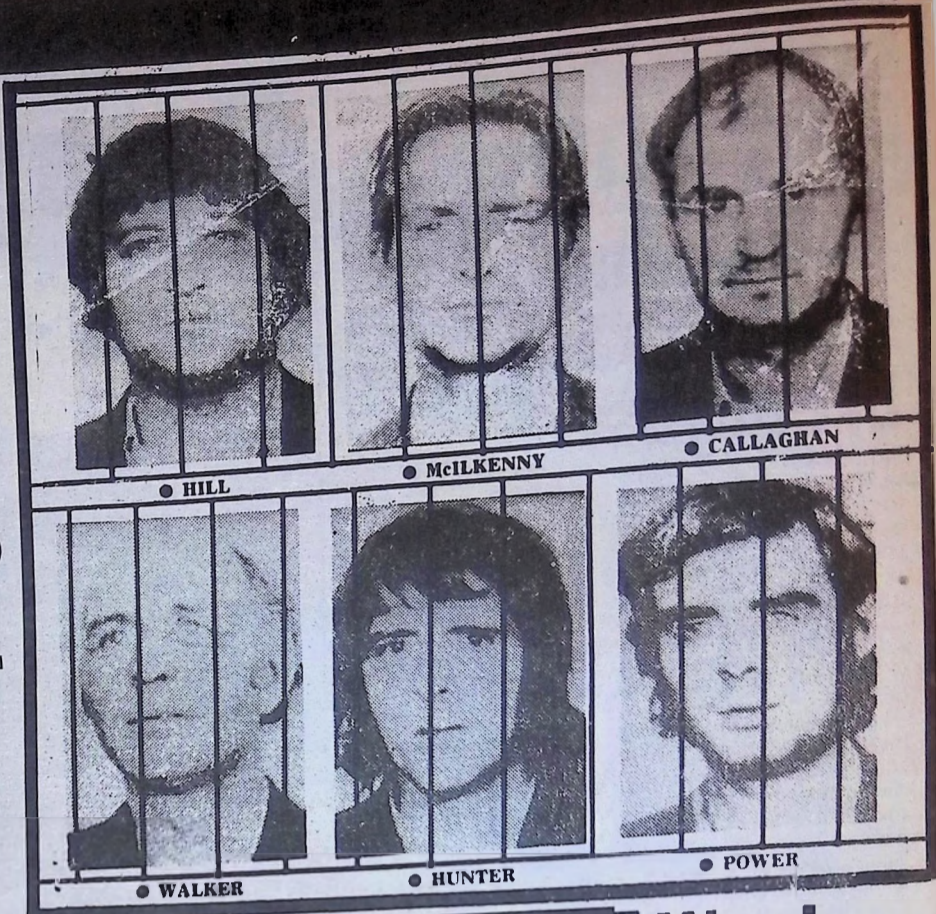
First the six men are innocent. Nothing should have to be traded for a review of the case. And secondly, the extradition Bill will lead to further perversions of justice.

How can extradite people to a system of justice, graphically illustrated in Mullin's book where people are physically tortured to extract confessions?

Mullin's book is a valuable document. It confirms our worst fears about British justice and we can only hope that it will speed up the release of six men who have now spent

13 years in prison. He says that pressure will have to come from the international arena to speed up their release.

As a member of the British Labour Party he seems to forget about the British working class — the Haugheys will only use the case for their own purposes.



POISON IN THE SYSTEM

Racism, Resistance and Revolution, by Peter Alexander, £4.55 + 60p post from SWM PO Box 1648, Dublin 8
RACISM, most people would agree, is inherent in everyone. We're taught that it's natural to distrust and even despise people who are somewhat "different".

In this book Peter Alexander destroys this myth by looking at history and showing how racism has changed as the material base of society changes.

For example, in the brutal slave trade of ancient Greece and Rome, racism was unheard of. Slaves and slave owners were just as likely to be white as black.

But in the modern slave trade, as Africa was plundered of her riches, it became necessary to invent pseudo-scientific theories of black inferiority to justify treating people like animals.

But with the growth of industrial capital, slavery's days were numbered. Slavery and protectionism had to be swept aside if modern capitalism was to expand.

But the twilight of slavery also heralded the dawn of imperialism.

Justification for empire was now needed. The myth was developed by our rulers that

the "child-like" races had to be looked after by their colonial mothers and fathers.

This was the cruelest confidence trick in history.

With the racism of empire came modern nationalism binding the working class to their rulers. The most extreme form of this racism being the theory of Aryan supremacy which led to Hitler's death camps. The post-war world was forced to abandon much of this "scientific" nonsense.

Instead, racism has taken on the form of institutionalised discrimination in jobs and housing and most of all through immigration controls.

When in Britain or France for example, there was a labour shortage during the 50s and 60s, immigrants were allowed in.

But since then boom time has given way to recession, immigration controls have become the order of the day.

At the back of it all lies the message that blacks are the cause of unemployment and they don't belong.

For the first time since the forties we now see the existence of a mass fascist party in France that thrives on these arguments. Le Pen's National Front gets 15% of the vote by

arguing that black and Arab workers are "taking away French jobs".

Such ideas gain strength in periods of crisis when white workers' living standards are falling and struggle is at a low ebb. But in the final chapters of his book Peter Alexander shows how racist ideas have little impact when struggles reach a high point.

For example, in the USA the Congress of Industrial Organisation was born in 1935 on the back of a great wave of struggle by unskilled workers.

It opposed all forms of discrimination. Black and white fought side by side and won.

As long as we can understand the material base of racism we can see how it can be smashed. Racism is tied to capitalism. Its ultimate destruction lies with the destruction of capitalism.

That destruction will take place at the hands of black and white workers.

These are the very simple points the book makes. In doing so it stresses the only way in which racism will become a historical oddity as absurd as capitalist society itself. —V. KAVANAGH

War is hell... part 97

FULL METAL Jacket is another film about Vietnam. It was in production before Platoon and has only just come out. To make the sets for the film areas of London's dockland were used and obviously destroyed — but they were going anyway.

This film, like Platoon, shows the treatment the marine conscripts got during training and in action. Kubrick's films, such as Clockwork Orange, have as a theme how people can be conditioned and changed.

In the case of the marine conscripts, they are to be turned into killer machines. The film shows quite graphically some of the casualties of this kind of conditioning. The opening sequence with the training sergeant is both very brutal and very funny. And the tragic consequences are also shown.

It is less of an action film than Platoon. The fighting sequence is more or less confined to the staking out of a lone sniper. This individualises the horror of fighting more. The scene of the lying Vietnamese girl, as she first prays and then begs them to shoot her is gripping and moving.

The film has faults. One is its treatment of prostitution. This is treated in an off-hand and almost chauvinistic way.

And the other major fault is in its lack of characterisation. The characters are very one-dimensional and you lose sympathy for them as the film goes on.

Otherwise it's a reasonably good film and a good picture of the vicious training conscripts had to go through to train them into killing machines.

It is unfortunate that there have been so many Vietnam films this year, as they tend to repeat the same simple message.



Black South African miners fighting racism

CRUNCH TIME IN WATERFORD'S BIGGEST EMPLOYER AND IRELAND'S BEST ORGANISED FACTORY

Through the Glass darkly

THE FIGHT against redundancies and the destruction of union organisation at Waterford Glass is of tremendous significance not just for the Glass workers themselves but for trade unionists throughout the country.

Three years ago Socialist Worker described the 11/64 branch of the ATGWU — to which the Glass workers belong — as a "legend in solidarity" on account of their admirable readiness to take action on behalf of weaker groups of workers elsewhere. But at the same time we warned that shop-floor organisation in the factory was being dangerously eroded and that eventually this would make the Glass workers themselves vulnerable to an inevitable attack from a new and ruthless management.

That attack is now under way and the workers' organisation is in great danger of being unable to withstand it.

Four months ago the management demanded 750 redundancies and devastating changes in work practices which would have the effect of smashing union strength. A "deadline" was set by manage-

ment to run out at the beginning of this month.

The terms offered were hyped by management and the press as if the workers had won the pools. In fact, as an "education bulletin" from the ATGWU demonstrated clearly, the fabulous riches were entirely illusory, given the reality of mans-tested life on the dole.

What's more, whatever the terms, a job lost is a job lost forever, not just by this generation but by generations to come.

The fact that some workers have nevertheless opted for redundancy cannot be separated from the hesitant response of the shop-floor leadership to the management attack.

The shop stewards' main response was to insist that management hold off until Warwick-based consultants hired by the union produced an alternative plan. This would have been a sensible tactic had it been used to buy time in order to galvanise and organise the workers to back up the rejection of the package by threat of all-out action. Instead, real faith was

placed in the "alternative plan". The "plan" was seen by many as an alternative to action.

Thus, when the consultants reported last month, not with a plan to safeguard the threatened jobs and to preserve conditions won over the years but, effectively, with a virtual endorsement of the management's case, the result was devastating.

As one worker told Socialist Worker, "It was like a kick in the solar plexus. It really took the wind out of us".

LESSON

The most immediate and obvious lesson from this is that workers who put their faith in anything other than the strength of their own organisation and capacity to fight are weakening themselves for any fight which is eventually forced on them.

But this problem did not arise in the Glass out of the blue.

As far back as November 1984 Socialist Worker warned of a "key weakness" at Waterford Glass. Huge profits over three decades had

allowed workers to make steady gains without having to direct militancy at the company itself. Rank-and-file organisation had withered. Because of this a number of small defeats had been suffered with very little resistance — a five per cent wage rise in 1983, for example, at a time when inflation was running at 12 per cent. We said that "now the company is shaping up to a much more serious modification/productivity deal."

We pointed out too that this situation was especially dangerous in view of the fact that, for the reasons stated above, "shop-floor organisation has become partially bureaucratised and distanced from the rank-and-file."

These warnings have now come home to roost.

One of the reasons some workers were tempted by the terms is that they didn't see any real possibility of the sort of militant, head-on fight which was going to be needed to defeat the management proposals. The management mounted a massive, glossy campaign and it worked on weaker and more vulnerable

individuals.

But all is not lost. A real fight-back against management is still possible. But that depends on the lessons of the past being learned.

The stewards should hold absolutely firm to the principle of NO REDUNDANCIES! Individual workers must still be argued with vigorously. It may be true as senior stewards say, that little can be done to prevent some short-sighted individuals going for the gate. But, even with that, the old union slogan of "You can have the man or woman but you can't have the job" should be resolutely defended as a matter of principle. This is important for a fight to reclaim these jobs for future Waterford workers. It is also important gearing up the workforce NOW for real resistance to the management assault.

The stewards should seek the active involvement of the total workforce in resistance to the management assault. This would involve leafletting, mass meetings and section-by-section meetings.

The management is not just out to reduce the workforce. It is out to destroy wages, conditions and work-practices won over the years and in the process to smash union organisation. The only thing which will defeat them is the certainty that any attempt to impose re-organisation on any section will be met by immediate all-out action.

It is not just a question of the shop-floor leadership having a militant line but of winning an active commitment from the workforce to follow militant leadership when — as is inevitable — this becomes necessary.

What's at stake?

THE UNRIVALLED reputation of the Waterford Glass workers for militant solidarity makes their struggle of great significance far beyond the Glass itself. Dunnes Stores, Dawn Meats, H Block and the tax campaign are issues that spring to mind.

It means that solidarity with them from others will not be lacking when and if it comes to a crunch.

It also means that what happens in Waterford will send ripples throughout the working class all over the country.

If the Glass workers were to take a hammering it would risk demoralising workers who might know them only by reputation. The feeling that "If the Waterford Glass workers couldn't fight back, what chance have we? 3/4", would be widespread.

By the same token, if the Glass workers were to beat the management back, many others would be buoyed up and encouraged to stand firm against attacks on themselves.

There's a lot riding on what happens in the Glass. The importance of shop-floor leadership going all-out for mass action couldn't be over-emphasised.

Globe-trotting profits

THE EXCUSES used by management have included an unfavourable exchange rate with the dollar, a sluggish American market and the "necessity" to bring in new technology to meet the challenges of the future.

In fact the exchange rate has always fluctuated and the company has always made allowances for this. And when the fluctuation was in the other direction management didn't rush to share the benefits with the workforce.

A surge in the dollar in 1984, for example, helped boost profits to a whopping £14.6 million — a huge rise of

44 per cent on the previous year. On the strength of this the shareholders voted themselves a twenty per cent rise in the dividend.

The offer to the workers was five per cent!

If new technology is to be introduced the workers should insist that they, who created the profits on which it is based, reap the benefits in the form of shorter hours and longer holidays.

It's not as if the company was actually losing money. Profits will be made this year, just as last year despite the £22 million purchase of Wedgewood.

What the Globe executives and Ford axe-man Paddy Hayes are trying to do is to ensure a reduced and docile workforce for the years to come so as to guarantee endless profits for the rich shareholders, financial institutions on the backs of Waterford workers.

The basic argument against them rests ultimately on a political foundation — on the socialist principle that ALL the wealth of Waterford Glass has been created by workers down through the years and that it is not the workers, but those who have lived off them who should bear the brunt of any

sacrifices which have to be made.

This fundamental argument can only be carried on the basis of open espousal of organised socialist politics. That, too, has tended to die away within the Glass in recent times.

It is only on the basis of socialist argument that the stewards can go on to argue that if the company insists on massive job cuts and a destruction of conditions as a condition for maintaining production, then the firm should be nationalised under workers' control as the means of securing the future of the 3,000 plus workers and the preservation of an industry which is part of the heritage of the Waterford working class.

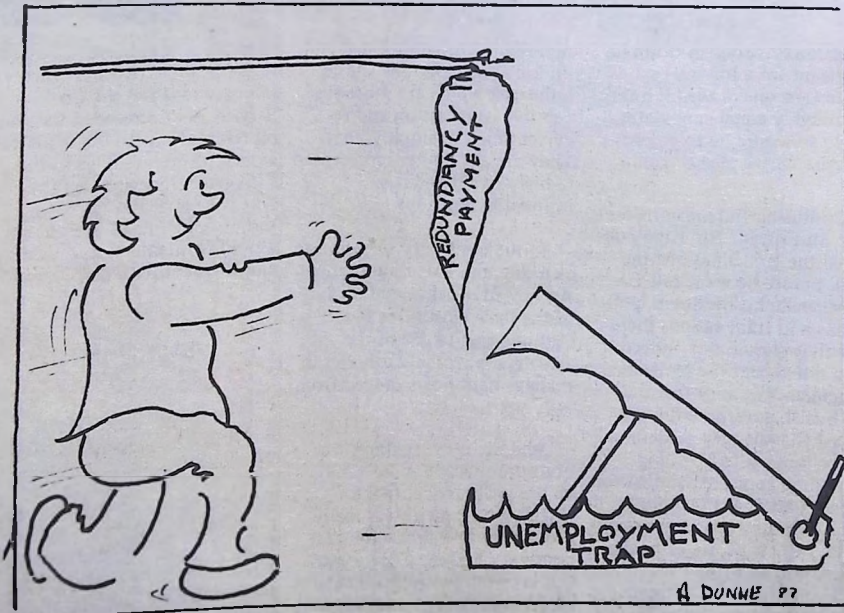
Loud silence from left

THE SILENCE of the larger "left-wing" parties on the Glass issue has been deafening.

The Labour Party, the Workers Party and Sinn Fein are all active in the Waterford area. There are members of these parties working in the Glass itself.

Yet they have produced not one single idea as to how the workers might fight back against the management offensive. Instead, they have merely muttered on the sidelines.

The reason is that none of these parties has itself on working class ACTIVITY. They



see workers as individuals to be called on at election times, not as members of a class which can only advance its interests by its own organised activity.

The ridiculous fact is that Bertie Ahern of Fianna Fail made more radical sounding noises than any of these parties

declaring that the redundancy option was being too easily accepted. Of course we know that Ahern is an outright hypocrite. But it tells us something about the fake-left outfits when he can publicly SOUND more pro-worker than them.

This underlines the importance of building a revolutionary socialist party of the working class not just in Waterford but in all Ireland as the only means of providing a leadership which will constantly represent the distinctive interests of workers in struggle.

NYPRO GAIN SUPPORT

WORKERS at the NYPRO plastic moulding factory in Bray are continuing their strike in a spirit of determination.

The strike began when management refused to make concessions on the pay claim. They intended to weaken shop floor organisation at the plant.

The strikers face two difficulties. 70 scabs are passing the pickets. In some cases they are working long hours to help break the strike.

The situation has been made worse by the activities of the courts and the police.

At the start of the strike, the police were actually accompanying scabs through the picket line.

Then the bosses got the courts to hand out an injunction. This limits the picket line to a mere two strikers.

This, in turn, has let many scabs off the hook.

The Nypro workers have gathered good support around the town.

The Trades Council has been vocal in backing them.

There has also been a good response to their collections.

And the picket line has turned away deliveries.

It is now time to track down all deliveries and fully isolate the plant.

The trades Council should also be pushed into giving a lead to take on the vicious injunction.

Above all solidarity collections should be organised well to sustain the strike to victory.

ISPCF FIGHT ON

"WE'VE learnt a lot from the strike. In order to keep going we've had to support each other and a new sense of unity exists among us."

This is what Socialist Worker was told by one of the workers involved in the three-month-old ISPCF strike.

The 47 ISPCF strikers may not have thought about taking on their bosses before now but today they are fighting because their backs are against the wall.

The national strike began when the Irish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children made a book-keeper redundant. The workers had had enough of the ISPCF's "rationalisation" programme, so they struck to demand that their colleague be re-instated.

Even the Labour Court recommended that the worker be re-instated but the ISPCF rejected this.

The strikers have also won some solidarity. They picketed people who were collecting for the ISPCF and collections have been reduced to a minimum with only a hard-core of collectors remaining.

Postal workers have blocked all deliveries to ISPCF offices and local authority workers have stopped bin collections.

Solidarity, as always, is the key to victory. It would be a small victory but an important one — a step forward in the fight against a capitalist class intent on cutting services and against a system which puts profits before people.

—DAVE McDONAGH.

Socialist Worker

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism

Fight Extradition

DECEMBER 1st is the deadline for extradition. On that day, the Fianna Fail government in the South must implement the Act and start handing over republicans to the RUC.

But a spanner has been thrown in the works. At a secret conference of the British and Irish Association — and elite club for rulers in both islands — Garrett FitzGerald revealed that Thatcher had promised changes in the Northern justice system.

This was to be her side of the bargain to get extradition through.

Now the Tories are no longer playing ball. They will not upset the Orange judges in order to appease the Southern rulers.



F.F. better deal?

And this has the likeness of FitzGerald, Spring and other opposition politicians in the South jumping up and down demanding that extradition does not go through until Thatcher plays ball!

This now gives socialists and republicans a chance to build a campaign against the principle of extradition.

That means not cosying up to the antics of Southern politicians who only want a better deal from the British.

Instead it will demand a militant campaign that turns to the working class on both sides of the border.

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Justice British-style

Religious Equality Guidelines won't end discrimination

THERE WAS much praise forthcoming for the new guidelines on "Religious Equality in Employment" which were unveiled by Tom King in Belfast on 15th September.

The praise came from the expected sources — the SDLP, Alliance, Workers Party, Confederation of British Industry and, unfortunately, the Irish Congress of Trade Unions.

The ICTU's praise is unfortunate because the Guidelines are another example of waffle and good intentions which lack any method of enforcement and which allow discriminating employers off the hook yet again.

The Guidelines are, to say the least, confusing. On the one hand employers are told to ask their employees their religion and to record and monitor the religious composition of their staff. On the other hand, they are told not to allow this information to influence any personnel decisions about who gets a job or promotion. They must know, and strive to improve, their

Catholic/Protestant ratio — but they cannot do anything (like reverse discrimination) to redress the balance.

All appointments and all promotions, says the British government, must be strictly on the basis of "merit" principle — the best man or woman for the job. That can be very handy for employers. It will be possible to publicly adopt the declaration of fair employment but to privately continue to discriminate. Any sectarian imbalance can then be excused on the basis of the "merit" principle.

TIMETABLES

The guidelines include the recommendation that employers use a system of goals and timetables to help improve their company's fair employment record. Fair enough, a company with a bad record can set, say, a five year limit in which to up its number of Catholic workers. The problem is that within those five years the employer cannot, according to the guidelines,

consciously choose a Catholic applicant for a job over a Protestant one — even if both are roughly equal candidates. To do so would be to go outside the "merit alone" guideline.

Confusing and meaningless? Yes. Surprising? No. King published the guidelines just the week before he went to USA to persuade businessmen, politicians and trade unions there that they should not, indeed need not, adopt the McBride Principles. The very fact that the British government were forced to issue new guidelines and to be seen to be doing something about discrimination against Catholics in employment, is in itself an indication of the success of the campaign around the McBride Principles.

Discrimination continues to be a real problem in the Six Counties. Catholic workers suffer more from growing unemployment than do Protestant workers. Government figures show that Catholic male unemployment is three times the British average while Protestant male unemployment is slightly above the British average. Catholics are over-

represented in semi-skilled and unskilled occupations and in industries which are more susceptible to recession and recurrent high unemployment. They are also under-represented in higher paid and more influential positions.

In the electricity service, for example, the Fair Employment Agency found that while 15.2% of the male workforce is Catholic and 14.3% of the female workforce, Catholics in management posts ranged from only 3.5 to 5%.

And the most striking area of discrimination must surely be the civil service. If the British government was really serious about fighting job discrimination against Catholics, this is one area where change could reasonably be expected. But the Fair Employment Agency found that Catholic representation in workforce ranged from a "best" of 39.7% in the Dept of Health and Social Security to only ten per cent in the Police Authority, with education only slightly better at 12 per cent.

The FEA report went further

to indicate that there is a direct relationship between increase in salary range in the Civil Service and decrease in Catholic representation. To make matters worse, former workers in the FEA have since accused the NI Civil Service of doctoring the FEA figures to present a more favourable picture of its employment patterns!

BUY OFF

The British government face a real problem, however, in improving the figures for discrimination. The fact is that any real change demands the creation of jobs on a massive scale. Their problem then is not so much that they are unwilling to tackle discrimination as that, in the middle of a recession, the jobs are simply not available to balance up the figures. The depth of the economic crisis removes their ability to buy off the worst effects of discrimination.

This is a problem which must be recognised also by socialists, trade unionists and anyone pushing the McBride Principles

with its reverse discrimination provisions. As long as jobs are being cut back discriminating in favour of Catholic workers effectively means discriminating against Protestant workers, taking a Catholic worker off the dole queue means throwing a Protestant one onto the dole. This is clearly not acceptable to socialists or trade unionists.

Equal pay legislation for women has shown that legislation against discrimination is not enough. Women have won equal pay only in the context of a fighting working class. Since the late seventies and early eighties when workers lost confidence in their ability to take on the bosses, there has been little or no advance in the field of equal pay and women today continue to earn on average two-thirds of men's earnings.

The same situation applies to religious discrimination. As long as workers aren't fighting to defend their jobs, the fight against discrimination will remain a paper fight played at by governments and businessmen who want to improve their image abroad.

—GORETTI HORGAN