

# W THE WORKER

Paper of the Socialist Workers Movement

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As the fat cats fiddle the books in Dail Eireann, the workers are left...

# COUNTING THE COST

THE COMMONEST SIGHT in Dail Eireann these days is gangs of TDs flinging fistfuls of figures in one another's faces.

The arguments over the '84 budget rage on.

\* Would it bankrupt the country to reduce the PAYE rate by, say, five percent?

\* How many millions could be collected if a real squeeze was put on the big farmers?

\* If the public sector pay goes up in '84, will there necessarily have to be pay-offs to compensate for it?

\* Should the Finance Minister aim for an immediate reduction in the budget deficit - close on a thousand million last year? Or would it be better for the economy to just let it rip and spend the extra borrowings to create jobs?

This is the sort of thing they are arguing over their figures about. Mostly its a load of baloney. You don't have to be an expert in economics to figure it out for yourself - that what ALL of them are doing is suggesting different ways of making the

present system work.

NONE of them is working towards a different sort of system altogether.

Which is why, in the end, none of their policies is going to make a blind bit of difference to the working class people who will have to bear the brunt of their budgetary schemes.

### SOCIALISM

That goes for the Workers Party and Labour as well as Fianna Fail and Fine Gael.

Nowadays, Labour only shows its 'socialism' by huffing and puffing like a beached walrus - before going along with whatever Fine Gael wants.

### MARXISTS

The Workers Party still describe themselves (privately) as 'Marxists'... but drift further and further to the right in their endless search for votes and a more respectable image.

### EXPANSION

They want faster reflation; less concentration on forcing the deficit down; 'stimulation' of the economy, especially the building industry, and gentle expansion of the state sector; plus more sensitivity about public sector cut-backs.

'Progressive' sort of stuff. But the Workers Party, like the Labour so-called Left, have been at pains to point out that they *accept* the books must be balanced - and that this means workers tightening their belts.

### BALANCED

It is because the 'books must be balanced' that there are 52,000 building workers on the dole at the moment. Its not because there's no houses needed. There are over 37,000 families on the housing list in the South alone. Yet only 6,000 local authority houses were built in 1983. In fact, Ireland has the lowest number of local authority houses in Europe.

### FAKE LEFT

But still, they tell us, 'the books must be balanced'. And all the parties in Dail Eireann, from Fake Left to Far Right, fall over themselves to agree that we must pull the country out of this economic crisis!

That the workers must suffer until the crisis is over!

The problem is that under capitalism, crisis will always follow crisis. There will always be mass unemployment. Wars will be inevitable.

That is why capitalism



(photo: Derek Spiers—Report)

must be overthrown and replaced by a system based on needs, not profits. Where building workers would build the houses so badly needed.

Which is why the SWM says the real battle is outside Dail Eireann, in factories and offices, in hospitals and colleges, where workers have

power to fight back for themselves.

For that we don't need more 'left' TDs in Leinster House. What we need is a movement at grass roots and rank and file level, which takes strength from its own socialist principles, puts no trust in 'official' leaderships

and has no truck with the con merchants and compromisers who think they can act as honest brokers between the bosses and the ordinary five-eights.

That's what the SWM is trying to build. Come in and give a hand.

NO WITCH-HUNT OF PROVOS—PAGE 8

# Almanac

**JANUARY:** Northern Secretary James Prior calls for 'New spirit of reconciliation'. Garrett Fitzgerald describes this as 'significant initiative vibrant with indefinable possibilities'. Paddy Cooney demands Cardinal excommunicate Sinn Fein election workers. Unemployment 220,000 in South, 110,000 in North. Frank Cluskey denounces budget and urges other Labour TDs to welcome it.

**FEBRUARY:** Tomas MacGiolla attacks halving of dole money in budget as 'vicious': 'I will be writing a stiff letter to the minister', he threatens. Cooney meets Cardinal to discuss morality of parties supporting violence. ICTU calls for 'massive campaign' against dole cuts and unemployment. Bus-load of Catholics killed by RUC machine gunners in Belfast: 'They thought it was an IRA tank', explains spokesperson. 'We all make mistakes'.

**MARCH:** Unemployment 240,000 in South, 120,000 in North. Mafia chieftain Lasagne O'Gorman reportedly in control of Dublin heroin trade. ICTU reveals details of mass campaign to be announced 'soon'. Report of New Ireland Forum delayed by 'technical aspects of the drafting procedures'. Dozens dead in UDR attack on GAA match. Paddy Cooney demands Catholics support North's security forces 'to end this dreadful cycle of violence'.

**APRIL:** Lasagne O'Gorman hit by hurley stick in anti-heroin protest. RTE reveals person suspected of voting Sinn Fein involved in protest: 'very serious matter' Michael Noonan tells hushed, empty Dail. ICTU announces date of press conference to unveil details of mass campaign. Cardinal reported giving 'deep thought' to Cooney representations. All out-patient facilities in Southern hospitals to be privatised. 'Country must face economic realities' claims Dukes. Vincent Brown (drunk) tells Late, Late Show: 'At last I'm being listened to'.

**MAY:** ICTU reveals all workers asked to send 'folding money' to Congress HQ to finance forthcoming mass campaign. 'Time for talking over' says Donal Nevin in course of three-hour address. Cardinal rumoured on brink of outlawing 'a certain political party closely involved in violence'. Ambulances to charge 'nominal fares' but 'only to those in position to pay', Barry Desmond assures Labour conference. Unemployment 260,000 in South, 150,000 in North. Ronald Reagan certified insane.

**JUNE:** Cardinal declares support for Fine Gael 'immoral', explains party was "conceived in sectional bitterness, born in blood". Forum report published, presents 17 alternative constitutional options for North including "interpenetrating dominion over-lap". Unemployment 280,000 in South, 170,000 for North. RUC man charged with parking offence. "This proves impartiality of state forces", claims Prior.

**JULY:** ICTU announces mass campaign fund now £37.18 "and still rolling in". Lasagne O'Gorman tells RTE one of his business associates has "viciously jeered at" in Dublin pub. Today, Tonight uncover evidence well-known Provo seen drinking in pub fortnight previously. Paisley denounces interpenetrating dominion over-lap as "a united Ireland under another name".

**AUGUST:** Thousands dead as Soviets nuke Polish miners. "Socialism must be defended at all costs", says Andropov. "Andropov must be defended at all costs", says Workers' Party. Cardinal reminds Catholics that "no-one in Fine Gael has ever expressed regret or opposition "to killing of 77 political opponents in 1922. And they kidnapped Nicky Kelly" he adds. Oliver Flanagan refused communion in Mountmellick.

**SEPTEMBER:** ICTU sets October 1st for mass campaign. Unemployment reaches half million in 32 counties. Ambulance Ltd. alleges taxis undercutting fares and complain unable to collect from passengers who become dead. Eleven killed in garda raids on persons accused of jeering associates of Lasagne O'Gorman.

**OCTOBER:** Upwards of 63 workers join in ICTU campaign consisting of humming tune of "James Connolly the Irish Rebel". Ultra-left group advocating workers leave work for the three-minute "um-in" denounced as "wreckers, anarchists and quite likely sexual perverts" by Donal Nevin. Pope declares Garret Fitzgerald "and all his seed, breed and generation" as "sinners in the eyes of God". "The Pope's a Provo", reveals CC O'Brien. Barry Desmond agrees ambulances can charge dead people. "After all, undertakers do it", he argues. Fire Brigade privatised.

**NOVEMBER:** Daily convoy of ambulances carrying heroin addicts from working class areas to Jervis Street cancelled. "Matter of economics", declares Desmond. "They were notoriously bad payers". Lasagne O'Gorman given state car and Bodyguard following "distressing incident" in St Teresa's Gardens. Unemployment 700,000. Northern plebiscite on Forum Report reveals 2.8 percent support. Paddy Cooney suggests removing vote from Northern Catholics. ICTU threatens workers will hum "a very different tune" if next budget not satisfactory.

**DECEMBER:** Government privatised. Lasagne O'Gorman Taoiseach, US Ambassador Al Capone (Jr) praises "new mood of realism". South joins NATO. Cruise missiles arrive at Ringsend base. Cluskey says this "final straw", warns other TDs against objecting. Irish Times says Cluskey "the conscience of the country". ICTU calls on workers to stand on their heads with no trousers on as protest against million unemployed. Fianna Fail burns country down for insurance money.

# EEC SHOWS CRACKS

THE EEC party is over, or at least trailing off into the night. Grouchy old Maggie Thatcher has been knocking on the ceiling for a good while now; the cops have arrived to insist that the music is turned off.

The EEC budget summit in Athens failed to produce an agreement. Garret Fitzgerald created much publicity with his firmness in resisting Britains demand for a super-levy. The super-levy was part of the EEC budget, and the failure to reach agreement while by no means threatening the existence of the EEC, shows the size of the problems facing the EEC.

The EEC was founded in 1957 with the intention of turning Western Europe into an economic bloc like that of the federal states in the USA. Internal barriers between member countries were to be broken down and barriers against non-EEC countries were to be maintained or erected. The Treaty of Rome, the founding document of the EEC, plumped firmly for the principles of capitalism (free enterprise) like the free movement of capital and labour.

There was one exception to the free market.



It was the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). Import controls were imposed on food from outside the EEC. Food prices were forced up.

The super-levy would have meant that farmers who produce more milk than they did in 1981 would have to pay a fine on every gallon over their 1981 level. With Ireland, supported by Greece and Italy, refusing to accept the super-levy, the budget discussions broke on Thatcher's hard face.

## MOUNTAINS

The result of this is the butter and beef mountains and the milk lakes. All this is paid for by a system of levies which meant that the biggest net losers were the more industrialised countries like Britain and West Germany and the net gainers were countries with a large agricultural sector, like Ireland, Holland and Denmark. The demand for the super-levy was one way of shifting some of the burden from a country like Britain onto a country like Ireland.

But the issue isn't Irish agriculture versus British industry. Socialists oppose levies on food production when half the world is starving. But the reason why there is a 'surplus' in the first place is because of CAP. We want to see this food available cheaply for Irish, German, French or indeed African workers. We don't accept that there is a national interest which demands that we all support CAP.

Thatcher's determined position is more than just throwing shapes. It stems from the economic crisis in which Brit-

ain finds itself. Britain's dire economic plight is the result partly of the world crisis in capitalism and partly of Thatcher's monetarist policies, which have driven the geriatric British economy to the edge of the grave. A stagnant economy means a drop in income for the government, which is then forced to cut costs. Therefore, Thatcher & Co. want to cut their contributions to the CAP which takes two thirds of the EEC budget.

The chances that the EEC will break up in the near future are small. The prospect is for increased bickering about who pays the bill for the farmers.

## LESSON

Because under capitalism the economy is based on profits rather than need, there will always be competition between businesses and nations. In the EEC each member country is out for what it can get for itself. After Athens, no amount of communiques and talk of unity of purpose can hide this plain fact after Athens.

JOHN STITT

# PROSPECTS FOR 84... MORE CUTS

EVERY penny of income tax in this country goes to pay the debt of Ireland Ltd. Each year £570million is payed out on interest charges alone. You might therefore think that the country is rolling free public services for the working people. But not a bit of it. And what's more, the Coalition are determined to cut back on the few public services that we do have.

Government spending plans for 1984 include:

- \* Massive reductions in money for building schools and hospitals.
- \* A continuation of the embargo on recruiting workers to the Public sector - only one in three jobs are to be filled.
- \* Cuts in Pay Related Benefit. This follows a cut last year. The Tories in Britain have abolished Pay Related Benefit. The Coalition are clearly planning to phase it out.

\* A provision for unemployment to rise to almost 1/4 of a million. That is the highest ever.

\* No provision for any wage increase for public sector workers. This follows the tearing up of the 1981 Public Sector Pay deal.

\* The withdrawal of medical cards from students. Fees in the colleges to rise to a minimum of £1,100.

\* Further increases in the water rates or other charges from the local authorities.

\* A cut of 7 1/2% in money for public housing. This despite the fact that the South has only 260 dwellings for every 1,000 inhabitants whereas the North has 320 and Britain has 387.

Dick Spring is starting to use words like Socialism again. He says 'we have to start fighting for socialism instead of fighting among ourselves'. But its only when we fight a bit harder against the likes of Comrade Spring that we can hope to start improving our living standards - not to mention fighting for socialism.

The army gets to buy a new fleet of helicopters. Spending on the defence forces is to increase by 13%. And the new women's prison in Clondalkin gets the go-ahead.

But its not all gloom and doom. There are some winners; The chief Scrounger of the Park, the Rt. Hon. P. Hillery sees his travel and 'incidental' expenses treble from £23,000

to £78,000. That is to alleviate all the boredom after his first seven year stint.

But the big growth area is repression. There will be more Gardai and more overtime for the Gardai.



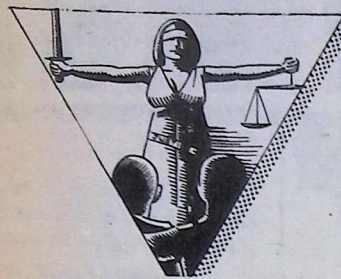
## The Worker Bookservice

The Socialist Workers Movement distributes a number of books and pamphlets outlining our politics.

Here are a few of them.  
 ABBIE BAKAN - The Great Lie £1.00  
 CHRIS HARMAN - The Lost Revolution, Germany 1918-23, £5.00  
 NIGEL HARRIS - Of Bread and Guns. The world economy in crisis. £3.50  
 COLIN BARKER & KARA WEBER - Solidarnosc. From Gdansk to Military Repression. £2.50

add 10% for p&pb (maximum charge 1.50)  
 Cheque to SWM 41, Harburton Park, Dublin 8.

# JUNK LAW KILLS GAYS



DO you remember the murder in Fairview Park in 1982? And the uproar caused when the judge in the trial of the killers let them off with suspended sentences because their murder was just a bit of gay-bashing that got out of hand?

Maybe you didn't believe then that the killers were let off because their victim was gay. Maybe you thought it was because they were just young lads who hadn't set out to actually kill anyone...or because their victim wasn't anyone particularly important (except to his family and friends)...any reason except that it was because they had killed a homosexual and maybe it's not quite the same thing as killing a 'normal' human being.

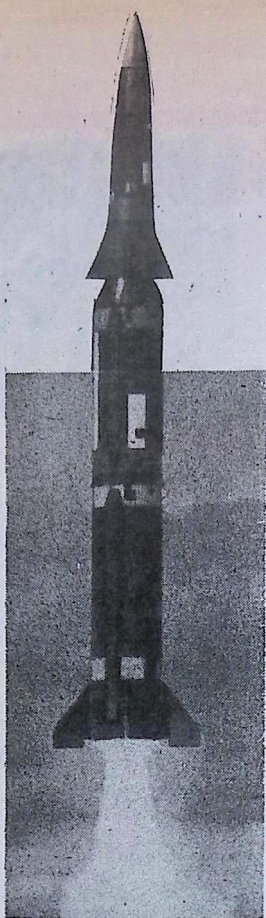
If you thought any of these

things, read on. There's a controversy raging in San Francisco at present about Dan White, a cold-blooded double murderer who carefully planned and carried out the killing of the Lord Mayor and a member of the city council. White is about to be released from jail after serving only a five-year sentence.

This is an amazingly short time considering the vicious sentences usually imposed for anything more than a parking offence in law-and-order, born-again christian America. So how come?

Well, the guy had a really good defence. He pleaded diminished mental capacity because he had overindulged on sugary junk food! I kid you not, this was accepted by the judge and jury.

He had, of course, something else in his favour. His victims were gay. They were San Francisco's first gay elected representatives. And gays were excluded from the jury. Well, you couldn't trust one of them to understand the effect that a cream doughnut can have on a man's sanity, can you?



**If the Bomb don't get you...**

WE MAY sometimes like to console ourselves here in Ireland that in the event of a nuclear war, we'll all escape the worst. Forget it.

First of all, Windscale, on the West coast of England, will be a definite target. And since the prevailing winds are from the east, Dublin should get a huge cloud of fall-out in less than an hour after the bomb has hit there. And it won't be just ordinary fall-out. Oh no, Windscale stores nuclear waste and that has a longer lifespan than your normal bomb-type radiation.

And just in case you're in Kerry or Galway when it all starts, don't rejoice yet.

Scientists have discovered that a nuclear war would trigger off a new ice age which would finish off any survivors. It seems that the vast cloud of debris that would be thrown up would block out the sun.

The evidence, produced by a computer simulation of nuclear war, showed that 225 million tons of smoke would be blown into the atmosphere blocking out more than 90% of the sun's rays. Temperatures over most of the earth would plunge to below freezing for about three months.

Any humans or animals still alive would starve. The lack of sun would prevent photosynthesis by plants and they would die causing the collapse of the entire food chain.

Anyone who still managed to survive (!) would be severely injured by the sun when it appeared from behind the smoke cloud. The nuclear blasts would set off chemical reactions that would destroy the ozone layer - the part of the atmosphere that protects the earth from harmful ultraviolet radiation.

Have a nice day!

# Garda mug squad

ON a recent Friday night a friend to whom I shall refer as 'Nuala' for reasons which will become obvious, was walking along Grafton St. with some friends. She had had two drinks in the Palace bar. One of her friends knocked over a bin. A policeman on a motorbike reprimanded him, he lifted the bin and they continued on their way.

A squad car went by and three burly policemen, apparently envious of the civilian population enjoying themselves on a Friday night while they had to work, decided to alleviate their boredom and have some fun at the citizens expense.

They began to hassle the group. Nuala was exasperated by the whole affair at this stage and questioned their authority. She pointed out that they were wasting tax payers money harassing innocent people

on the street. Whatever happened to combatting crime, she asked.

The Gardai were not impressed by her apparent lack of respect for the blue uniform and worse again a woman daring to question their authority and able to speak up for herself. One policeman warned 'we'll get you on something'. In the end they arrested her under the Misuse of Drugs Act, sped her Starsky and Hutch style to the station where she was handed over to a policewoman for strip searching.

## DRUMMED UP CHARGES

Of course, they found nothing. So they had to drum up a charge of 'obstructing the police in the lawful exercise of their duties under the Misuse of Drugs Act, 1977'. At the hearing, the police lied saying she had attempted to push them under

a car and she was found guilty. However, she is appealing her case and is at present on bail.

This is a small scale example of the abuse and misuse of power in the police force. There are many more examples, like the cases of Nicky Kelly, Peter Matthews who died in a Garda cell in Shercock, Co.Cavan... the list is not short.

Things are grim indeed as we are now faced with an attempt to give the Gardai even more power by the Criminal Justice Bill. And that's not including the more recent calls for further repressive powers in the wake of the Tidey kidnapping.

P GREY



Well boys, if all else fails, there's always the Misuse of Drugs Act!

# THE WORKER

IN 1984, the Worker will be changing name. There are two reasons for the change. Firstly, there is an obvious confusion with the Worker's Party in the present name. The politics of the Workers Party lead directly to sell-outs. They have turned their back on the struggle in the North. It is state capitalism they want not workers' power. The name of our paper should not lead anyone to think that we have any connection with this party.

Secondly, there are over 200,000 on the dole. It has been predicted that a quarter of the Irish labour force could be unemployed in ten years time. Our present name is obviously a barrier to getting our ideas across to unemployed workers.

The new name of the paper will be Socialist Worker. This name reflects a basic principle of the politics of the SWM - that the struggle for socialism is both a political and an economic battle.

The SWM are also buying new printing equipment to improve the new-look Socialist Worker. Rush all donations to SWM c/o 41 Herberton Park, Rialto, Dublin 8.

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

I want to join:  I want a subscription and enclose £3.50:  I would like more information about the SWM

Name.....

Address.....

by getting the Worker—the paper that fights for workers' power.

## Jobs go North and South

TWO thirds of jobs created in Northern Ireland since 1945 with government grants have disappeared. That is the startling conclusion from a recent British government report.

Between 1945 and 1982, 137,000 jobs were 'created' by the encouragement of state handouts. Only 45,000 of those jobs still existed in June 1982.

On both sides of the Irish border the same bosses who slam the 'dole spongers' have been living off the state benefits for years. Now it appears that even massive grants can't make the system work.

## Ronnie's relish

WHEN asked if he ever looked down from the upper floors of the White House to Lafayette Park where a soup kitchen is set up for the city's hungry and homeless, President Reagan answered 'I didn't know that was going on. But I'll make a point of looking now that you've told me'.



# Letters

LETTERS ON ANY TOPIC ARE WELCOME AND SHOULD BE SENT TO:

41 HERBERTON PARK, RIALTO, DUBLIN 8.

Dear Editor,

How many men can base themselves on equal terms with a woman? Why should we feel inferior because we are 'the weaker sex'. We are paid less than men even though we do the same amount of work.

If we decide to get married, then our role is in the kitchen or the bed. Because we are Catholic we have no say in how many children we have regardless of how many we can afford to have, if we go outside our religion and use some form of contraception we are excommunicated from the Church

we are just a machine to keep up the numbers of the next generation (the working class).

Men, from a very early age, are trained to be independent and strong in mind and body. A woman is an emotional object who will always depend on the man for his strong support.

It is only when women realise that we are being oppressed, not only by men but by the whole system that we are trained in, that we can do something for our own rights as individuals.

CAROL MERRIMAN

# SOCIALISM FROM

BUILDING SOCIALISM is like building anything else. You can't start from the top down. You have to start from the bottom up.

That sounds simple enough, and so it is. But there's an awful lot of "socialists" around who don't see it.

The Labour Party, for example, the Stickies, plus the Provos.

That's a right rag-bag of political groups and there are plenty of differences between them. But there's one fundamental thing they all agree on: that the way for workers to reach socialism is to support their party.

"Support us", they all say. "Support us with votes in Dail elections or union elections, support our paper and our various campaigns. And when we have enough support we will be able to deliver socialism. We'll hand it down to you..."

The reason the Socialist Workers' Movement exists is that we reckon this is wrong.

The Labour Party and the Workers' Party think that the road to socialism runs through Leinster House: a socialist majority in Dail Eireann would legislate socialism into existence: nationalise this, that and the other, push through a

divorce law, abortion, put the cops under some sort of "democratic" control, build cheap rent houses and keep along these lines until one day eventually socialism has come into existence.

The first problem with this is that it will never happen. The second is that even if it did happen it wouldn't be socialism.

To get anywhere with their strategy the Labour Party and the Workers' Party first have to get their candidates into Dail Eireann. And to achieve that they have to play within the rules of the game. That means that first and foremost they have to be popular, to do things which will please as many people as possible, and do nothing which would make any sizable section of the electorate hostile.

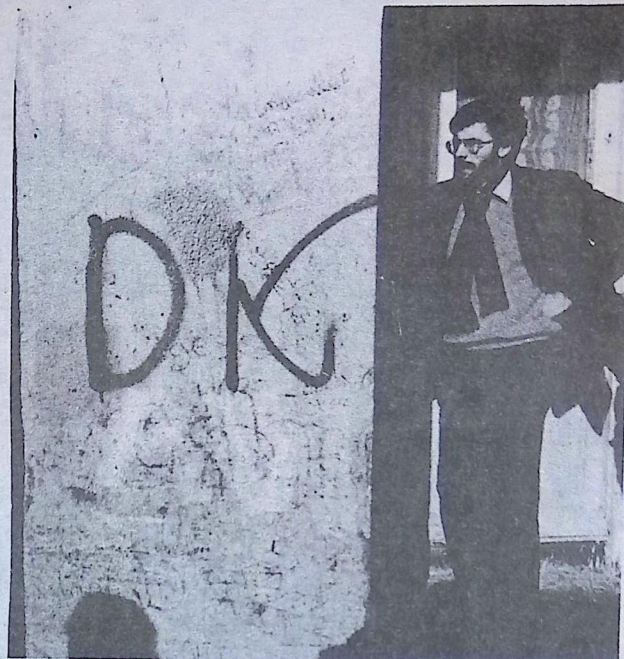
For example it was as clear as daylight that the only way the Clondalkin workers could have won their struggle outright was through massive industrial action by other trade unionists. The same was—and is—true of the Ranks dispute.

## RANK AND FILE

But to call for all-out action wouldn't have been popular. It would have earned either party fierce denunciation in the press. Initially, at least, it might not have been all that popular even among workers generally. It would have to be fought for, argued for, an effort made to bring out one section, then another, creating a momentum at rank-and-file level.

By no means easy. But nothing else had a hope in hell of winning.

Instead of doing this both reformist parties took the "popular" line of "backing the workers" in the most general terms but offering no advice or leadership on how the workers might win.



Gerry Adams canvassing in Sean McDermott Street

In the Ranks case in particular, the men were "breaking the law". And there was no way Tomas MacGiolla or even the most "left-wing" Labour TD was publicly going to condone that.

"Breaking the law" is outside the rules of the game.

The abortion referendum provides another good example. By polling day there were more splits in the Labour Party than there were split heads in the all-Ireland final. The party was all over the place and gave no lead to anybody.

In a sense the Workers' Party was even worse. Privately they were all in favour of a woman's right to choose. Publicly, they campaigned on the mushy, virtually meaningless slogan: "For Democracy and Tolerance".

It was slogan which would not alienate anybody. It challenged nothing. And it didn't carry the struggle for women's rights forward one half inch. It wasn't a slogan for struggle.

## POPULARITY

It was a slogan for popularity. The political activity of these parties is not a reflection of workers' struggles, but of their own electoral needs.

So if they ever did win an election, it wouldn't be on the basis of a mass mobilisation of the working class. It would just be on the basis of having become sufficiently popular with a big enough number of voters to win more than half the seats.

And given that they would have to compromise all along the line to do this, they wouldn't be in office with a red-blooded socialist programme anyway.

That's what the rules of the game are all about.

The history of the Labour Party in Britain over the past couple of decades shows well how it works out in practice.

British Labour has actually won elections. In 1974, for example, Harold Wilson hacked up, with a mild popular manifesto which in some respects wasn't even as radical as the Workers' Party programme today.

Even so, big business wasn't too pleased. They organised a "run on the pound"—moving massive amounts of sterling overseas—and held back on investment in order to put the brakes on the economy.

Labour was blown off course. Or rather it trimmed its own sails to avoid collision with the bankers and financiers.

And steered into confrontation instead with the trade union movement in 1979—the famous "winter of discontent".

That's what playing the parliamentary game leads to: a dead end.

SOCIALISM means all things to Socialism is state ownership of Party. Like a gigantic Bord na

Ireland will be the Cuba of Europe Provos - a radical nationalist island

But there is a different tradition workers' control. It is about the and shaping society to guarantee don't get that by simply voting or army. You have to fight for it. That socialism from below.

The Provos, of course abstain from parliaments—so far. But their strategy for power, particularly in the South, is based on elections. They, too, must concentrate on getting votes, with all the dodging and weaving this entails. And at the end of the day they, too, envisage being in a position somehow to create socialism for the working class.

The Marxist alternative to this type of futile manoeuvring is based on the actual struggles of working class people. We believe that advances are made on picket lines, not polling booths.

On a picket line you're doing something for yourself. In a polling booth you're doing something for somebody else. On a picket line workers are, in a very small way, already in the process of taking over. In a polling booth they are deciding who else should take over.

## CONTROL

Socialism, a workers' state, means control by workers. Not control over workers—not by anybody.

And by struggle we don't just mean economic struggle. We also mean the struggle for women's rights, against repressive laws, against nuclear weapons.

And the struggle against imperialism. Proceeding from these struggles and, again unlike the Labour or Workers' parties, we don't believe workers can take over the machinery of the existing State—the present parliament, civil service, army, police force and so forth.

That machinery has been designed for running capitalism. It cannot just be re-jigged and put to running socialism.

Socialism can only be brought into being by workers creating their own state, with their own institutions.

Its a long way off. Only a lunatic would imagine it can be posed as a possibility in the near future.

But unless that is the aim, unless the path we take is the one that leads there—and not into electoral illusions—socialists, however well-intentioned, are on the high road to nowhere.

EAMONN McCANN



# FROM BELOW

means all things to all people. State ownership of industry says the Workers' Gigantic Board as Mona or the ESB. The Cuba of Europe claim the new 'left' nationalist island on the edge of Europe. different tradition. That socialism is about... It is about the working class taking power... to guarantee their own freedom. You... simply voting or supporting a guerilla... to fight for it. That's what we mean by below.

course absent—so far. for power, South, is. They, too, on getting dodging and is. And at the y, too, en- sition some- lism for the ernative to manouvering tual struggles eople. We ces are made ot polling e you're for yourself. you're doing ebody else. e workers ll way, already taking over. n they are de- ould take

workers' state, y workers. workers—not gle we don't mic struggle. e struggle for against repres- nuclear

gle against ceeding from nd, again ur- or Workers' r believe work- r the machinery tate—the pre- civil service. ce and so forth.

ery has been ining capitalism e re-jigged and socialism. n only be ing by workers own state, with tions. y off. Only a imagine it can be ibility in the hat is the aim. we take is the there—and not llusions—social- well-intentioned, road to nowhere.

MONN McCANN

He was group of intellect-uals who organised them-elves in exile (in Mexico) in the early 50s and resolved to free Cuba from US dominat-ion and from the vicious rule of the US puppet regime.

## STRATEGY

Their strategy was to ignite resistance to the regime among the masses by guerrilla strikes against the army, the cops and other representatives of the Batista repression. The aim was not to create a Cuba with the working class in control. Castro never said it was.

When Castro took over the organs of government in Havana he had great support. But he didn't have the organ-ised support of any powerful section of the population

He created an organised social base — with the help of the Cuban Communist Party. (PCC). The PCC had a long history of abject collaboration with Batista's regime. It's leader, Rodriguez, had even served as a minister in one of Batista's so-called governments.

But it also had a network of contacts and activists inside the working class. By 1960 the PCC and the 26th July Move-ment had fused together.

## POWER

The PCC had something else Castro badly needed. . . a direct link to Russia. And since the US regime of J F Kennedy had reacted to the moderate economic reforms envisaged by Castro by threat-ening economic strangulation,



a membership card from the PCC.

Provincial and municipal assemblies are 96% PCC Members—and, anyway, meet infrequently.

Workers have no control over the economy. Production targets are set at the top and the "workers' organisations"

And as long as Cuba re-mains on its present path, tied tightly to Russia and with a distorted, rigidly-controlled economy, these features of Cuban society can only be deepened and strengthened.

For all that, the regime remains popular. There's no doubt things are far better for far more people than they were under Batista.

## LIFESTYLE

The simple, principled life-style of Castro himself and his entourage bolsters their sup-port. And there's the charisma which still surrounds Fidel from the guerrilla struggle.

Plus of course, the fact that Reagan lurks just over the horizon waiting to take advantage of any weakness or sudden internal crisis.

## ANTI-IMPERIALIST

Insofar as it confronts US imperialism and provides a degree of support for anti-imperialists in other Latin American countries, Cuba should be defended by social-ists everywhere.

But we should defend it not in any pretence that it is some sort of socialist paradise or that it provides a model of how we could proceed here.

It is not a socialist paradise. It is not a socialist state. The workers are not in power.

The most important thing about Cuba is learn from it, from its success in expelling



a US-backed capitalist regime, certainly—but even more so from its failures and the reasons for them.

by MARNIE HOLBOROW

# CUBA

## - a beacon for socialism?

IT'S SOMETIMES hard for socialists not to like Cuba.

All that sweaty camaraderie in the sugar fields and rhumba concerts at night . . . bravely standing alone in Latin America against Reagan's imperialism . . . the memory of Chile battling heroically on to the last . . . altogether a more sunny brand of socialism and with a more honourable sort of leader than you'd find, in, say, East Germany or Russia or China.

So when people from James Prior to Gerry Adams mutter about the possibility of Ireland becoming "another Cuba", socialists might reasonably react: "Why act?"

The reason why not is that, despite everything, Cuba is not socialist—not in the sense that Marxists use the word.

## REVOLUTION

And in turn the reason for that has to do with the nature of the Cuban revolution and with the shape of Cuban society today.

Castro did not come to power as a result of a workers' revolution.

The dictator Batista was overthrown in 1959, not by workers rising up but by a military campaign waged in the countryside which in the end surrounded the cities.

The working class enthusiastically welcomed the military victory over the US-trained Batista army. But they were not involved in it.

This wasn't because the working class was insignificant in Cuba. Up to a million of the country's six million people were urban workers.

It happened because of Castro's politics.

The Five Revolutionary Laws, which formed the basis of the Castroite programme, called for moderate land re-form, support for cooperat-ives and provision by the State of services such as health and education.

The programme was based on the demands of Jose Martin, who led the Cuban War of Independence against Spain in the 19th century and on the platform of the mod-erate Ortodoxo Party—the main reformist opposition to Batista.

"Our revolution is neither communist nor capitalist," declared Castro himself.

"Not red but olive green. . ."

Castro did make one bid for mass, active workers' support. In April 1958, he called for a general strike to paral-yse the economy while the rebel army struck against key points.

But it was a fiasco. Castro's 26th of July Movement had no organisation in the facto-ries and no track record of in-volvement with workers. So the call for a strike had come from outside. There was no-body within the working class to agitate for it or organise it. And you can't call strikes like that.

## CASTRO

That was the end of the working class's direct role in the Cuban revolution. So when Castro came to power he and his comrades were im-mensely popular with workers and greeted, quite rightly, as liberators. But they were not the representatives of a work-ing class which had itself taken power.

For socialists, that's a vital distinction.

Cuba needed a powerful out-side ally. Not a primarily a military ally, but somebody to guarantee a market for the sugar crop.

Cuba was essentially a one-crop economy. When Washing-ton welshed on agreements to buy the sugar, an alternative market was a desperate nec-essity. The 1963 Russian-Cuban Agreement solved the problem, but at the expense of ending any possibility of diversifying the economy, building up in-dustry and breaking the inde-pendence on sugar.

## RUSSIA

Given all that the shape of the Cuban economy, and therefore of Cuban society generally, was pre-set. It can-not be decided or democrati-cally controlled on a day-to-day basis by organised workers.

And since as a result, Cuba is enmeshed in one of the world's two super power-blocs, neither can the workers determine their own foreign policy. Thus the uses of Cuban forces in Africa, essen-tially as agents of Soviet foreign policy.

The bottom line is that, despite Castro's talk of "popular power" and "direct democracy", Cuba is still controlled from the top.

People trying to set up in-dependent trade union groups are imprisoned, for example, as enemies of the state. Be-cause the family must be strengthened, women are op-pressed and vicious anti-gay laws are in force.

Cuba is not controlled by the workers. Cuba is control-led by the PCC. If you want to do anything, from sit in an assembly to enter a dance competition, you'd better get

have the task of seeing to it that the targets are met. As in Eastern Europe, bonus systems have been operation since the mid-70s, enabling very productive workers—"Advanced Workers"—to earn double the average wage.

## HACIA EL XXIV ANIVERSARIO DEL TRIUNFO

### POR NUEVOS EXITOS EN LA CONSTRUCCION SOCIALISTA



# LENIN-60 YEARS ON



V.I. Lenin.

VLADIMIR Ilyich Lenin died 60 years ago this month - on 24th January 1924. After his death Stalin and his supporters elevated 'Leninism' to the status of a religion, while suppressing many of his ideas. As a result the real tradition of Lenin has been hidden. Here, Dermot Byrne looks at one of the most important of Lenin's legacies - the building of a revolutionary socialist party.

LENIN'S work is extremely relevant to revolutionaries today. This is mainly because of the way in which he developed Marx's ideas of workers power and particularly the need for a revolutionary socialist party for successful revolution.

Marx had taken capitalism apart and pointed out its inherent contradictions. There would be continual crises. There would always be war. There would always be mass unemployment and poverty. Marx showed that capitalism had to be overthrown and world socialism built.

Up to the Russian revolution there was complete confusion as to how workers would

actually overthrow the capitalist state. Some people that it would have to be done 'gradually' through getting seats in parliament. Others thought you could bomb your way to socialism. The question of how workers take power themselves for themselves and smash capitalism had not been addressed. This is where Lenin fits in.

Lenin was the founder of a new type of worker's party in Russia. The Bolshevik Party was a revolutionary socialist party that was for social revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. In 1895 Lenin founded the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the

Working Class and it was the first step in building the Bolshevik Party. The League propagated marxist ideas but it went much further. It organised small numbers of advanced workers and linked the workers struggles for economic demands with the political struggle against the Czarist state.

The first Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party was held in March 1898. The party had a newspaper, *Iskra* (The Spark) edited by Lenin. Lenin always emphasised that those in the West who called themselves socialists were not interested in workers power. These social democrats that Lenin opposed were to end up as reformist respectable politicians who later degenerated into the Labour Party types we know today.

The Russian Social Democratic party was to split in 1903 because of opposition to the continuing evolution of a revolutionary marxist party. The majority of the Congress, headed by Lenin, opposed all attempts to change the Party programme making it just a copy of the programmes of the West European reformist parties. The revolutionary party headed by Lenin thus became known as the Bolshevik Party (from the Russian word *Bolshinstvo*, majority) while the reformist wing became known as Mensheviks (from *Menshinstvo*, minority).

## WORKING CLASS

Lenin and the Bolshevik Party held on to the core of Marxism. That the emancipation of the working class can only be brought about by the conscious struggle of the class

itself. That capitalism cannot be reformed but has to be overthrown in a revolutionary struggle by workers. That imperialism is a higher stage of capitalist development and all fighters against imperialism must be supported. Only by extending workers power to every country in the world can socialism survive.

## REFORMISTS

Today we only have to think about Chile and the disaster of Allende's 'parliamentary road to socialism' to know that the state is not neutral. We only have to look at the Irish Labour party to see just how low reformists can sink. We only have to look at Grenada or El Salvador or the Six Counties to see the reality of imperialism.

Socialists owe a lot to Lenin. We in the SWM are trying to build the basis for his type of party - a worker's revolutionary party. We are proud to be in that tradition.

# Arming the R.U.C.

THE BEST thing about Michael Farrell's new book is that he clearly shows the way the British Government was centrally involved in the formation of the sectarian Northern State.

To defend the state a 'loyal' police force was needed. For this the British turned to the Protestant paramilitary groups such as the UVF, despite warnings that this would further alienate the Catholic minority.

The members and structures of these groups were incorporated into the Ulster Special Constabulary, the last section of which—the B Specials—was only disbanded in 1969.

Many of the recruits to the RUC, formed shortly afterwards, came from the Specials. The record of sectarian murder and intimidation by these two bodies helped ensure that even moderate Catholics remained opposed to the Northern State.

Farrell concludes the book with the view that it is the very existence of that State which is at the root of the present problems.

This is true, but it is not enough. Michael Farrell would describe himself as a Socialist and I would have expected to get some analysis of the working class forces of the period, some indication of how what he describes fits in with the struggle for socialism.

We don't get this. The 'plebian Protestants', as he calls them, who made up the RUC and the Specials, are depicted as a pretty mindless lot, sectarian bigots tied to their Unionist bosses—and generally even more right-wing than their bosses. Farrell does mention in passing that during several periods of heightened working class struggle chinks appeared in the armour of loyalism.

In 1926, during the British General Strike, the dockers in Belfast were also on strike. The government wanted to call out the B Specials to maintain order in the city. This was opposed by leading Unionists politicians as they felt that the Specials could not be relied on as many of them were also trade unionists and in sympathy with the strike.

Their 'loyalty' was not put to the test as the strike was soon called off.

1932

Again in 1932, during the unemployment riots in Belfast the Specials were not mobilised as there were doubts about their loyalty. These events are not enough on which to build a theory but they do indicate that the loyalist monolith was not always as strong as it seemed. It is those weaknesses which are of interest to Socialists.

However, anyone looking for a blow-by-blow account of the formation of one part of the Northern State should read Farrell's book.

Arming the Protestants. The Formation of the Ulster Special Constabulary and the Royal Constabulary 1920-27, Michael Farrell, Brandon Books, IRE7.95.

60th ANNIVERSARY OF LENIN'S DEATH  
PUBLIC MEETINGS  
'LENIN AND THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY'

SPEAKER: DUNCAN HALLAS (SWP, BRITAIN)

WEDS 1st Feb. DUBLIN ATGWU, Marlboro St. 8 p.m.

THURS 2nd Feb. CORK Connolly Hall, 8 p.m.

SAT 4th Feb. WATERFORD, ATGWU Hall, Dayschool.



# Hope lies with the Proles



to Orwell's fantasy? Mostly the answer is quite depressing and often rightly so. The 1984 we're facing into is the year in which almost certainly Cruise and Pershing missiles will be installed throughout Western Europe. Its the year in which hundreds of millions of people will go hungry while farmers in North America and the EEC are paid not to produce crops.

In 1984 the world's most powerful state, led by the aging cowboy Raygun, will continue its efforts to prop up a string of dictatorships from Guatemala to South Korea—even if this means condoning the murder of tens of thousands of people.

And the second most powerful state will continue in 1984 to urge repression against workers' movements in Eastern Europe, while using gunships and napalm in its own colonial war in Afghanistan.

In many parts of the world it will seem as if Orwell's vision has come true. Political prisoners are tortured as a matter of routine, thousands of people "disappear" without trace—many of them because they've tried to organise workers in trade unions. Summary executions by security forces are frequent.

In Guatemala over 2,000

civilians have been killed by General Rios Montt's death squads since he came to power in 1980. When questioned about his regime's record on human rights he answered "we do not operate a scorched earth policy, we have a policy of scorched communists".

Yes, to many people it does seem the year to come is horribly like Orwell's 1984. There are the same power blocs, the same shifting alliances, the same pointless wars in Third World countries, the same computer-scripted Newspeak justifications for oppression, the same rival totalitarianisms ruling in the name of liberty or socialism.

But there is one crucial thing in which Orwell was wrong. His novel is totally depressing; there is no glimmer of hope in it, no glimpse of freedom.

"If there's any hope it lies with the Proles" says Orwell's hero. "They needed only to rise up and shake themselves like a horse shaking off flies."

But he has no hope because the proles are beaten down by the system as much as the

ultra-conformist middle class.

The proles of the real 1984 are another matter. They refuse to be beaten down. In every decade since Orwell wrote his novel in 1948, they have shown that hope does lie with them and that they do have the power to overthrow Big Brother. In 1956 in Hungary, 1968 in France and Czechoslovakia, 1974 in Portugal and Britain, 1980 in Poland, the working class have given clear warning to international capitalism that Big Brother's days are numbered.



'The proles...needed only to rise up and shake themselves like a horse shaking off flies.'

JUST after the second World War, George Orwell wrote his novel '1984'. It mirrored the world it was written in - a world dominated by dictators like Hitler and Stalin. Orwell's vision of 1984 was one of powerful tyrants who could totally brainwash the masses. It was a depressing vision. Many have used the novel to claim that the prospect of socialist change is impossible. Here Goretta Horgan looks at the book.

Every time you pick up a paper or turn on the telly these days, they're talking about '1984', Orwell's novel, that is.

All kinds of people are asking how close is the real 1984



# STRIKERS VICTIMISED

TEN CIE workers have been sacked after the recent engineering operatives strike. The workers come mainly from the Broadstone and Inchicore depots in Dublin. Their case has been totally ignored by the union officials.

The strike lasted for 16 weeks and ended in defeat. During the strike mass pickets confronted scab oil lorries driven by CIE managers. Those dismissed have been accused of assault and verbal abuse during the conduct of the strike. But the charges of CIE simply don't hold up.

*\* One of those sacked has been told that it was because he was in the 'vicinity' of an assault. He also happens to be one of the workers who appeared on a Today Tonight programme exposing the failure of the Bombardier buses.*

*\* Another of those sacked was accused of assaulting a foreman. Yet the same charge was dismissed in a court of law with the stipulation that he had to donate £20 to charity.*

The men were 'tried' before a CIE Tribunal. Those who

made the charges were not present. Charges were often suddenly changed about. When one worker offered to take sole responsibility for an assault that three others were accused of - all four ended up dismissed. Rolled into the one person of Judge /Prosecutor /Hangman was one Mr. Buckley. The same Mr. Buckley played a leading part in the CIE management operation to break the strike. The Tribunal gave him the chance to get his revenge.

## SUSPENSIONS

Three other workers have also been suspended. One received this treatment for calling a Blackleg a 'millionaire scab'. The suspensions are to go to arbitration.

The sacked workers have received no payment from the Labour Exchange. They have been threatened that if they appeal to the Unfair Dismissals Tribunal they will be considered 'unavailable for work'. That could mean waiting for months without financial support.

## TRADES COUNCIL

How have the CIE management turned a defeat into a rout? The major reason lies in the activities of the union officials and especially Ben Kearney of the Dublin Trades Council. During the strike the officials of the ICTU group of unions told the strikers that if they weren't happy with conditions in CIE they could always 'jack in the job'. Since the strike ended they have refused to lift a finger to defend any of those victimised.

Towards the end of the strike Ben Kearney, a self-styled 'left' official stepped in as a mediator. Kearney is a union official in the ATGWU but in this case he was acting in his capacity as an executive member of Dublin Trades Council.

## VICTIMISATION

When he appeared at a mass meeting of the workers, he insisted - against the wishes of the strike committee - on a secret ballot rather than a show or hands. He claimed that his packet allowed for no victimisation. He claimed that there would be no summary dismissals. Only then was he able to ram through his deal with a narrow majority.

## STRENGTH

The CIE workers are now running a campaign to defend those victimised. They are raising collections and organising a social on Jan. 27th to raise funds. But the only guarantee that the men will be taken back will be the strength of the union inside on the shop floor.

Confidence and unity has to be re-built. That means taking on the productivity deal that CIE are now trying to impose. It means linking up with and supporting craftsmen who are faced with management plans to impose Measured Day work on them. That is not going to be easy after the craftsmen passed the engineering operatives pickets. But it is only the CIE management who will gain from any permanent divisions.

# WOMEN SAVE JOBS

JUST before Christmas, the 81 workers of Tivoli Spinners in Cork City received an unwanted present from the owners: a weeks notice of redundancy. The holding company, Youghal Carpets, had sold out to the British-based multinational textile firm, Robert Glew & Co.

Glew intended to re-open in January with a new and smaller workforce. In all, 64 workers would be taken on. This was particularly galling to the workers (who are mainly women). Only three years ago, after they had won equal pay with men, the women agreed to donate half their back-pay to the company in order to secure their jobs.

But the workers, mostly members of the ITGWU, had a surprise of their own for the

bosses. They immediately went on strike and occupied the factory. They demanded that the 64 jobs go to the existing workforce.

Despite a lack of support from the ITGWU who refused to make the strike official, Robert Glew conceded the demand. The factory closed three days before Christmas, with the workers receiving the statutory redundancy payment from Tivoli Spinners and the assurance that 64 of them still had jobs. It is a good example of what can be won even in what is seen as a 'declining industry'.

And any ideas that Robert Glew may have had about paying lower wages when he re-opens the factory, have been knocked off the agenda by the militancy of the workers.

# What we stand for

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

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

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

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

## REVOLUTION NOT REFORM

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

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

## NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR MOSCOW

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

## A SOCIALIST ANSWER TO THE NATIONAL QUESTION

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

The slow 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 difference of programme.

We stand for:

- Immediate withdrawal of the British Army.
- Political Status now.
- The disbandment of the RUC and the UDR.

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

## WOMEN'S LIBERATION

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

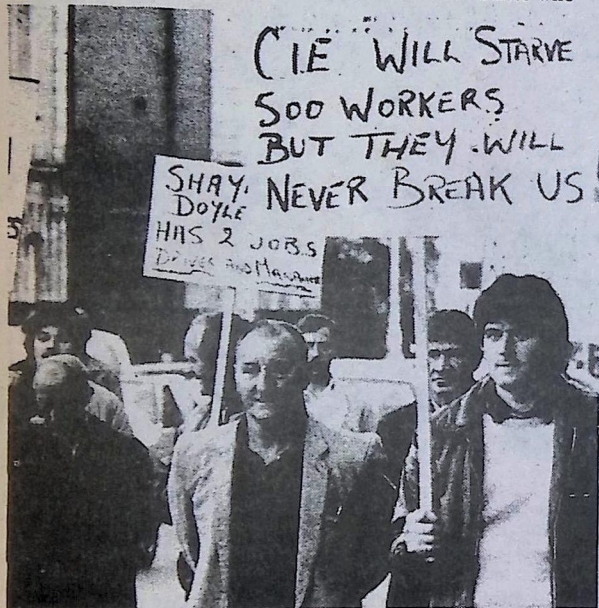
## FOR A RANK AND FILE MOVEMENT

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

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

## FOR A REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY

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



# DATSUN OCCUPY

THE workers who are occupying the Datsun factory know why they had to. One of them told *The Worker* 'We are nearly all middle-aged men. There's no chance of other jobs for us'.

The Irish car industry will probably breath its last in 1984 when all the restrictions on car imports are lifted. The Datsun bosses knew this. That is why at the end of last year they gave the remaining 230 workers redundancy notices.

30 of those workers decided they wanted their jobs however good the company's offer of redundancy payments. Harry Barron told us 'We saw the Clondalkin workers fight and understood they had no alternative. We went to Leinster House to support them when they were on hunger strike.'

Morale is high, despite the Christmas holiday. Shop steward Albert McCreavy explained 'They tried to bring cars into the port of

Belfast but we got the dockers to block them. They tried again through Wexford port. Again we got them blocked. We have had to organise quickly but we have already closed the AGIP Oil Company and the Datsun Forklift Co. We are now preparing for a long occupation and have drawn up a rota to involve everyone.

The Datsun workers have a proud history of extending solidarity to all workers in struggle - to strikes and occupations. They came out on strike over the H-Blocks and the Waterford Glass Tax Campaign. In 1982 and again in 1983, they met the People's March for Decent Jobs and took up collections for the Unemployed Action Groups.

Now they need support. Messages of solidarity and donations to: Datsun Strike Committee, ATGWU, Marlborough St, Dublin 1.



# THE WORKER

Paper of the Socialist Workers Movement

## NO WITCH-HUNTS

### ... No proscriptions!

THE law-'n-order brigade in both Britain has been gearing itself up for an effort to put Sinn Fein out of business.

The only reason they have not simply gone ahead and started locking up Sinn Fein members is that they're not sure they would get away with it. Noonan in the South and Prior in the North make no bones about that.

Instead they have decided to try and 'freeze' Sinn Fein out of existence - by isolating its political activists, including elected representatives.

#### SUPPORT

At the same time threats of imprisonment are issued against anyone who makes a speech or writes an article which could be interpreted as supporting the IRA.

Generally, an atmosphere of intimidation and repression is created. It is hinted that people friendly to the Provos shouldn't be employed in responsible positions. And it is stated openly by arch-blueshirt Paddy Cooney that Sinn Fein member Phil Flynn is 'unsuitable' for his job as General Secretary designate of the local government workers union.

#### DICTATE

When a right-wing cabinet minister starts to dictate to a trade union who its leaders should be, we are in a very serious situation indeed.

And when he gets away with it, the time has come for definite for a fight-back to begin.

It has to be said that Sinn Fein doesn't exactly make it easy for other people to join in a fight-back. For example, the only political effect of the Tidey kidnapping and the Harrods bomb has been to strengthen right wing ideas in both Britain and Ireland.

So we don't defend the Provos because of these IRA activities. We do it despite them.

We defend them for two

basic reasons which are linked together. First, despite some of the methods, the Provos are a genuine anti-imperialist force and on the side of progress. That's why every right-wing commentator these in these islands attacks and rages at the Provos day after day.

The Provos are limited by regarding 'Brits Out' as the be-all and end-all of politics. But limited as it is, 'Brits Out' is still a correct and proper slogan for socialists. There can never be a socialist Ireland with Britain controlling a part of it. That's obvious.

We also defend Sinn Fein because we don't recognise the 'right' of any bosses gov-

ernment to harrass or put restrictions on any dissident political group...and particularly on a group which is politically on the left, which has the backing of a substantial number of workers and which is involved in a struggle against imperialism.

We take that stance both as a matter of socialist principle and also for the very practical reason that if they are allowed to get away with it over the Provos, it will make it that much easier for them to repress the next left-wing, troublesome group which comes to be seen as a threat to the State.

The SWM, as a marxist organisation, gives no backing

to any capitalist state, including the Southern Irish one. We are against it. And we are not in favour of the capitalist state giving itself even more power over the working class population than it has already.

That is the main reason it is necessary for socialists to stand up against any measures taken to repress Sinn Fein... no matter how big the disagreements we might have with Sinn Fein itself.

## POLITICS THE PROBLEM

THE Tidey kidnapping and the Harrods bomb have given the Coalition a golden opportunity. They have used the incidents to draw the army into house searching and chasing of 'subversives'. They brought out new repressive measures that attack free speech. They have managed to attack a major trade union official, Phil Flynn, because of his involvement with Sinn Fein.

The reasons they have taken their opportunity are simple. Throughout the 70s the politics of the Provos contributed to their own isolation from Southern workers. It is only now that this isolation has begun to break down. The depth of the economic crisis in the South, the experience of the H-Blocks and the growth of the Provos in the North has begun to attract a minority of Southern workers to Sinn Fein. The vote in Dublin Central was one indication of that.

Now however, the Coalition is back on the offensive. How did the Provos score an own goal?

It has nothing to do with conspiracies and the media gossip about splits. It has everything to do with the politics of republicanism. Republican organisations - whether Sinn Fein or the IRSP see the armed struggle as a substitute for working class action.

They sincerely believe that a 20 year long guerilla war

## INCITEMENT TO VIOLENCE

THE interview that Cathal Goulding, former (?) Chief of Staff of the Official IRA, gave to the Irish Times over Christmas really shocked many people. In it he said that he supports a strengthening of the laws against the Provos and that he accepts the use of the 'supergrasses' in the North.

It isn't all that surprising. Goulding is a member of the Ard Comhairle of the Workers Party. What he said is no more than the logical extension of the politics you can read any week in the *Irish People*.

The Workers Party see the capitalist state as 'neutral'. They think it can be reformed into a workers republic. Anyone who saw the army driving the oil tankers in 1980 or the cops baton charging the post office workers in 1979 knows that the repressive arms of the state like the police or army don't see themselves as neutral. They're very sure whose side they're on.

Because of this view, the likes of Cathal Goulding are willing to trust the state not to use any extra powers against workers on strike, unemployed occupations, or for that matter any demonstration that even the Workers Party might be involved in.

The Workers Party aren't, however always logical when it comes to Provos. They hate the Provos.

Its not Provo politics they



Cathal Goulding 'inciting to violence' in 1971, defending the Official IRA armed action on the Falls Road.

hate so much as a kind of historical hatred going back to the Split. Their hatred has caused them to dream up the idea that the Provos are fascists. And being the good stalinists that they are, they know that they can ally with anyone, even the ruling class, against the Provos.

And that's what Goulding is up to. He's putting himself and the Workers Party on the side of the ruling class. He may call himself a socialist. It means nothing. There is no such thing as a socialist who supports the capitalist state strengthening itself.



Soldiers taking part in the Ballinamore search operation.

He has not built any rank and file base in the union that shares his general politics. Instead he commands respect and support on the basis of his negotiating skills.

#### POSITIONS

But those who capture positions at the top in this manner often find their base has crumbled. Phil Flynn was forced to claim that his trade union activity and his politics were totally separate. He was then forced to give up his position in Sinn Fein. It was the strategy of capturing union positions from the top (just like the Workers Party) which put him in the situation where he was forced to retreat. And his retreat has made the witch-hunt easier and put other republicans and socialists on the line.

The republican movement has contributed enormously to the struggle against oppression in the North. For that reason it has to be defended from every ruling class hypocrite that prattles on about violence - whether it is the Coalition or the supernaturalist Haughey. But its own politics reveal a glaring weakness. The sooner the lessons of those disasters are learnt, the quicker the job of building a real revolutionary Marxist alternative will begin.

KIERAN ALLEN