

Socialist Worker

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism

Anglo-Irish Agreement

THE SUMMIT OF HYPOCRISY

THE SPECTACLE of Northern Unionists leaders standing outside Hillsborough Castle while inside the British Prime Minister is sitting with Southern nationalists is a good indication of the changed economic and political realities in the North of this country.

Sixty years ago it was the other way round. Then, the British ruling class saw the Unionists as the best representatives of their interests in Ireland. The nationalist population of the North were left out in the cold and the Free State government was regarded with distrust.

In 1921 the North was the most prosperous, most industrialised part of Ireland. It was a major force in the world linen, shipbuilding and heavy engineering industries. It was quite understandable why Britain should want to hang on to this wealth. After the Second World War, these remained the staple industries. There had been very little diversification. But in the 50s and 60s the North depended on industries which were declining sharply all over the world.

DECLINE

The South was also faced with declining, though never prosperous, traditional industries. Both Dublin and Belfast went looking for new industry. Foreign investment was encouraged through grants, tax concessions, promises of low wages, plus in the South, unrestricted freedom to take profits out of the country.

Today the South's economy is dominated by American, British, German and Japanese investment. The 26 Counties has been integrated into the world economy although the Southern ruling class is politically



still very much tied to the British apron strings.

Outside investment attracted to the North in the 60s was 75% British. 80% of the new production was for Britain.

Throughout the 60s employment in the traditional industries continued to drop and was replaced by synthetic textile plants, construction and especially the service industries.

So by the middle of the 60s the expanding sections of Northern Industry were no longer in the hands of local businessmen. The tough-minded self made Northern Protestant businessman who had been the "backbone of Ulster" and also controlled the Unionist party and the Orange Order no longer wielded decisive economic influence.

continued on page 3

We need £1,000

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Minister's Waterford bug

A BUGGING device was found in the workers canteen of a Waterford meat factory. The device was concealed in the power socket in the canteen where the section hold their union meetings. The workers became suspicious when they realised the Company were one step ahead in negotiations. They called in a security firm who uncovered the device. The local gardai said they could do nothing about the situation as it

was not illegal!

The Company is the family business of Eddie Collins TD, Minister of State Department of Industry!

When he was asked about the device he said that he had resigned his position as Director some time ago and now only had a financial interest in the Company.

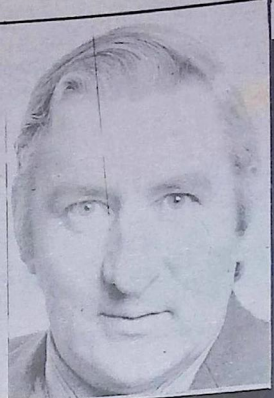
In fact, he is the major shareholder in the Company and resigned only to attend to his other

little career—his political career. His seat became in danger in recent years.

This is the same Mr Collins who kept going about the need for workers to respect the law.

Collins Bros. LTD are a major meat export company and have recently put workers on short-time as well as making some redundant.

—Waterford SWM



FIFTH COLUMN



Windy rhetoric

RHETORIC has been flowing free and easy since the signing of the Anglo-Irish Agreement. Consider this out-pour from Cork Tea Baron, Peter Barry.

"... To be treated by the police, by civil servants, by politicians as people who had no right to be what they were and would always be, to be treated as non-persons because they were Nationalists, was a gross affront to their personal and communal dignity. That can never happen again. They can now lift up their heads. Nothing is more precious to a people who have suffered oppression than their dignity. The dignity of the Nationalist people is now for the first time, fully and unambiguously established and it cannot be taken away from them..."

Northern nationalists will, no doubt, get great consolation from the fact that although they will continue to suffer massive rates of unemployment, terrible housing conditions, repression from the RUC and UDR, they will now suffer all of this... with dignity!

Still on the subject of windy rhetoric, Minister Noonan claimed on American television that the IRA had "little support". If this is so why the Anglo-Irish Agreement which is surely an attempt to win away the IRA's support. Another example of a minister hoping that by repeating something often enough it will actually happen?

On the fiddle

CHRISTMAS is coming and with it the annual rush for presents for loved ones. If he/she is of musical inclination why not a 1721 Stradivarius violin? It will, however, cost you near on a million pounds.

There is one available. It was recently put up for auction but was withdrawn from the sale as the owner felt that the highest bid of £826,000 was not enough. Sotheby's, the auctioneers, with remarkable understatement, commented that there were only a few potential buyers who could afford the sum being asked.

Rocking president

PRESIDENT Marcos, in an attempt to show his US backers that he has the guerrilla war in the Philippines under control, staged a ceremony for the foreign press at which 3,000 villagers took a loyalty oath to him. The ceremony included a march past to the Elvis Presley song "It's Now or Never".

Marcos is not only a vile and vicious dictator, he has no sense of timing.

Why she's not wet

MARGARET Thatcher speaking of her youth—
"Home was really very small and we had no mod cons. I remember having a dream that one thing I really wanted was to live in a nice house with more things than we had. We had not got hot water. Only a cold water tap. We had to heat all the hot water in a copper pot. There was an outside toilet. So when people tell me about these things, I know about them!"
Ah, Shucks!

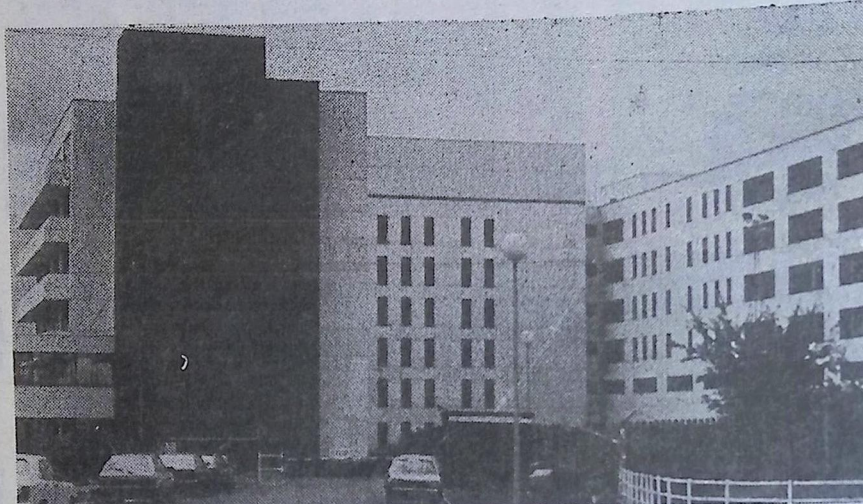
compiled by WILLIE CUMMING

Rich keep hospital closed

IF YOU'VE ever had any dealings with a hospital consultant, you'll realise they're not mere mortals. So what if you were treated with contempt for asking a question about your illness, or were shown indifference when you expressed concern over the cost of your prescription. These men (they mostly are) have loftier things on their mind—life, death, birth, a nation's health, a cure for aids. Dedicated healers, to a person, (sometimes they're women).

There is of course a different view that holds that they are a well paid, highly trained, select group of usually upper class men and women, who can, and very often do, constitute as arrogant and greedy a bunch of bastards as you're likely to come across.

The saga of Beaumont Hospital lends weight to this view.



Beaumont Hospital

that's what. That whole big spanking new hospital is standing there empty. Just some security men minding it and some administration staff.

RUNNING COST

Beaumont Hospital was built by 1983. The original estimate was £17.4 millions. By the time its fully equipped it'll have cost us £50 millions—that's public money, our money, from hard pressed PAYE workers.

The hospital was supposed to open in the summer of '85.

It might open next year. The "running cost" of Beaumont empty, is £1 million per year—again, our money. Its meant to replace Jervis St and St. Lawrences hospitals, which will close when it opens. 10% of the beds in Jervis St hospital were closed this summer because they couldn't afford to keep them open. The waiting lists are growing and the sick are getting sicker.

So why is this fine hospital standing empty. Inept planning by successive governments carries a share of the blame. But what lies at the heart of the matter is that the consultants from the two hospitals that are moving to Beaumont, are much more interested in profits than in patients.

WITHDRAWN

They were promised, when the hospital was being planned, a private clinic next door to it. This way, they use public facilities, at public expense, to complement their private facilities, for private patients, to make private fortunes. A change of government, and the promise to the consultants was withdrawn, and so the wrangle started, and is still going on. They won't move until they're guaranteed sufficient facilities for treating private patients and making lots of money. And it looks like they'll get their way—various "plans" and "proposals" have been mooted, and rowing between the Department of Health, the hospital board, and the consultants has been a regular feature of the whole sordid mess.

Beaumont Hospital is standing empty because a group of rich people want to get richer. Its worth remembering next time the press screams abuse at ambulance personnel, or nurses, or hospital cleaners for going on strike for a decent wage or against health cuts.

—MARY SMITH

BRISCOE'S SICK JOKE

IN A recent newspaper article, Mr Ben Briscoe, TD announced that he thinks that the state hands out too much money to parents with children born outside marriage and thinks that abolishing the status of illegitimacy would only "encourage them".

He wants the state to cut down on the unmarried mother's allowance so as not to have women getting pregnant as a passport to a life of lazy luxury.

Those with first hand experience will think this is a sick joke, but the man is serious!

Single mother's can rarely survive on the pittance they get from the government and are forced to work to provide for themselves and their children. There are no state creches in Ireland so that means a babysitter while she's at work which leaves her with very little at the end of the week.

There's always a lot of shouting about the numbers of Irish women who go to England for abortions but in a lot of cases the woman wants the child, but can't afford to provide for it and is afraid of the effect that the attitudes of people like Briscoe will have on her "illegitimate" child.

Has anyone heard of a single parent living off the state comfortably? The idea is just crazy, unless of course she has a father who is a TD and on a huge salary plus perks from the state.

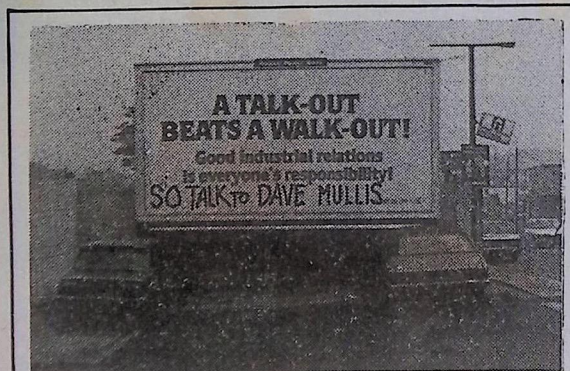
But the sad part is when the child grows up it will continue to be called a "bastard" by the like of Ben Briscoe until the status of illegitimacy is done away with.

—CAROL MERRIMAN

EQUIPMENT

Beaumont is arguably the best hospital in the country. Its got room for 730 beds, its got a suite of 12 operating theatres with special ventilating systems. Its got a fantastic casualty department, and its got one of those very technologically advanced CAT scanners.

It even has a "Disaster Store" for equipment to bring to the scene of a major accident. What hasn't it got. It hasn't got any patients,



The FUE won't like the way supporters of ITGWU official Dave Mullis have adapted their poster. Mullis, by all accounts a decent official as officials go, is having to fight both the bosses of Claremorris Bacon Factory and his own boss John Carroll. Carroll rapped the knuckles of the Union's staff representative Council for sending a message of support to Mullis against the Bacon Factory bosses who have threatened to close down the factory rather than negotiate with him. Carroll sent a letter to all members of staff saying that "interference or involvement" by the council in industrial or policy matters would not be tolerated under any circumstances. Perhaps Carroll has a point but the question must be asked—where was the message of support from Carroll and the union NEC? Or has internal politicking and Carroll's anti-Workers Party hysteria (Mullis is a WP supporter) put the union leadership on the side of the bosses?

WE THINK

The Anglo-Irish deal

continued from page 1

The military decline of Britain and the arrival of nuclear weapons made the strategic naval importance of the North irrelevant. So by the late 1960s the economic, military and political reasons for the existence of the border were disappearing.

Today the existence of the border and of the sectarian Northern state is a major destabilising force in Ireland and is increasingly expensive to maintain. The Southern government spends millions every year on border security and internal repression of republicans. For Britain, the North cost £72 million to maintain in 1968. By 1984 it cost £1,200 million plus more than £400 million to keep the troops there.

But the sectarian statelet which Britain itself created and the powerful Orange machine which it encouraged are not about to be peacefully dissolved. And there is no force which can coerce a million Protestants — hostile and armed through the RUC and in particular the UDR — into a united Ireland.

When Britain looks today for its loyal allies in Ireland, it looks to the Southern ruling class. That class wants stability; it is only too aware of the effect that a major upheaval in the North could have in the South. They remember the political strikes after Bloody Sunday and during the H-

Block campaign. Despite the speeches at Easter Commemoration ceremonies, Southern capitalism has no reason to want a united Ireland. What it does want is an end to the unstable situation North and South caused by the existence of the sectarian Northern Ireland state.

PROOF

Thatcher and the British ruling class have considerable proof of the loyalty of the Southern ruling class. Jack Lynch did not "stand idly by"; he insisted that British troops be sent to the North. Irish troops have been on the border ever since, not in the interests of the nationalist community of the Six Counties, but doing the Brits' dirty work. Even Haughey supposedly the great inheritor of the republican tradition, found himself able to do nothing as ten men died on hunger strike. And Fianna Fail has always been even more efficient than Fine Gael in the repression of republican activists.

The same loyalty has not been forthcoming from Northern unionists.

They were unable to come through in the late 60s with the kind of reforms needed to bring the North into line with the needs of modern capitalism and to placate raised Catholic expectations. They have continued to veto every move the British have come up with to restore stability to the North. They wrecked Sunningdale and continue to make it clear that they will not share power with the minority community.

This, then, is why the Unionists were left outside at Hillsborough. Today, the interests of British and Southern capital are the same, just as sixty years ago it was British and Northern capital whose interests coincided. And the Anglo-Irish talks are all about recognising the new situation and advancing those common interests.

The Agreement acknowledges what marxists have been saying for some time — that a united capitalist Ireland just isn't possible, however much anyone wants it. What the Agreement does is to start a process by which the Southern and British ruling classes hope to bring at least some measure

of stability. This will be done by the 'carrot and stick' approach.

The main hope is to marginalise the Provos and revive constitutional nationalism in the form of the SDLP. The involvement of the Southern government in appointments to the Police Authority and Complaints Board and to the Fair Employment Agency is supposed to reassure Catholics that their interests are being looked after. Unionists, in order to end Southern involvement are then supposed to start talking about power sharing and devolution.

SECURITY

In fact, the Southern government's main contribution will be to strengthen cross-border security and increase repression. Fitzgerald has promised that Ireland will sign the International Convention on "Terrorism" and step up extradition. Haughey, in spite of his 'condemnation' of the deal has left the way open for Fianna Fail to continue the operation of the deal when they get back into government.

The Hillsborough Agreement is unlikely to succeed. Far from bringing stability, it has brought a predictable backlash from Unionists who can make the deal unworkable or, at least, meaningless. They would like to go back to the unlimited power of bigotry and sectarianism which they enjoyed before the civil rights movement of the late 60s. While realising that they can't go back, they are unable to go forward to a 'normal' democratic situation.

Nor will the Provos be marginalised. Support for the SDLP may revive somewhat among the Catholic middle-class and Sinn Fein may lose some electoral support. But the fury of the Unionists will put the fear of loyalist rampages back into the nationalist communities and they will be forced to turn to their defenders — the IRA. Anyway, the Provos will never face any significant loss of support as Catholics face massive unemployment, poor housing and the continuing harassment and repression of the British army and the RUC.

The Anglo-Irish Agreement has nothing to offer the nationalist community of the North. It confirms yet again that there is only one solution for the mass of people, Catholic and Protestant, in Ireland and that is socialist revolution.

Laois bosses bash unions

BECAUSE LAOIS County Council roadworkers have been on short time for more than a year their union, the FWUI has refused to allow the Social Employment Scheme to proceed in to Laois.

This has led to the usual outburst of union bashing with the pack being led by Tom Enright TD. Enright has accused the union of

depriving people of work. The local paper carried huge anti-union headlines "FWUI block Employment Scheme. 100 deprived of work".

FWUI spokesman Tony Dunne replied by saying that the work planned under the scheme was similar to that normally carried out by County Council workers and

added "No way could we give the go ahead in view of the fact that we have people who can't get back into full time employment".

Unfortunately the other unions in Laois Co Council the ITGWU and LGPSU whose members are not in short-time have not supported the FWUI stand and have given permission for the scheme.

An emergency meeting of Laois Co Council on October 21st decided to ask for funding from the Department of the Environment to return all staff to full time working. It was also decided to send a delegation to have talks with FWUI officials with a view to getting permission to proceed with Employment Scheme.

CON JOB

FWUI members should beware that these talks do not result in a sell out, with the scheme being allowed to proceed in return for vague promises of full time work being restored at some future date.

Union members must demand that their officials accept nothing less than an immediate return to full time working.

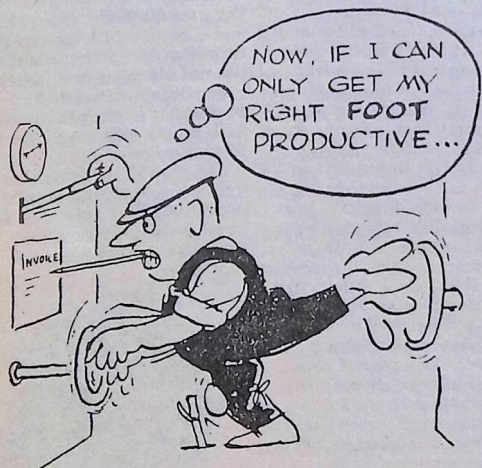
ITGWU and LGPSU members should also demand that their unions withdraw their consent and oppose this effort at institutionalising part time work.

While the FWUI action must be welcomed and supported, it must be pointed out that their objection to the scheme is simply related to the circumstances in Laois and not to the principle of the scheme.

The Social Employment Scheme is nothing more than a massive con job by the ruling class, designed to create the illusion that they are giving employment. In fact all they are doing is paying the dole under another name and making people work for it. In addition work done under this



BELLFERRY PREPARE ATTACK IN WATERFORD



THE SHIPPING company Bellferry is preparing for a major attack on its workforce. A year long study from the Irish Productivity centre has led to a company document which demands:

- a two year pay freeze
- tearing up of all work agreements
- 7 day shifts
- ending of bonus payments.

The Bellferry workforce are a well organised group operating in a highly profitable company. In the last two years the company embarked on a capital expenditure programme. They lengthened their whole fleet of ships at a cost of millions.

They have built a large new jetty and bought a massive new Gantry crane which will also cost millions.

The company have the lions share of the Irish market and look set for a rosy future. However they are giving the poor mouth now and their results look bad because

of the huge capital investment. They are also using the general economic situation to claw back gains by the workers.

Phasing out gantry relief drivers and recruiting from within all points to overall job losses-cutting wages and getting productivity. Yet the wage bill is only 10% of overall costs in the Company. But it is the only cost the Company can hope to get some control of.

Workers at Bellferry should

- Seek general meeting to discuss document which would break down sectionalism.
- Demand payment of 25th Round before they even discuss proposals. (Document be a tactic to get in deal in return for 25th round.)
- Only mutual agreements to be put into effect and should not effect wages/jobs etc.
- No voting on package deals and all stages of negotiating to be reported back.
- Build links with other dockers outside Waterford.

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INTERNATIONAL

SOUTH AFRICA



The brutality continues—despite Botha's claims of decreased deaths since his news blackout

Black workers to power One solution—revolution

IN THE past year the eyes of the world have turned to South Africa. The question of how to destroy apartheid has become a burning issue for many in Ireland as well as in South Africa.

South Africa fills the television screens, radio and newspapers. People are discussing it in their workplaces in bars and at home. Even the most conservative elements in Ireland seem to be against apartheid.

You can ask most people if they are against racism and they will immediately reply "yes". If Ireland is anything to go by then, the majority of people are against racism and apartheid.

So why does the system of apartheid terror continue in South Africa at the cost of so many lives?

The regime in South Africa remains, not because Botha happens to dislike the colour of black people's skin, but for economic reasons.

Apartheid is a massive system of state coercion, designed to reduce black south africans to the status of strangers in their own country. Blacks who make up 73% of the population, are entitled to less than 13% of the land. This area is known as the "Homelands" or Bantustans. The rest of South Africa, where most of the wealth is produced is legally "white". It is black workers' sweat and toil which produces this wealth, but it is the white minority who benefit by it. The black workers are allowed into the white areas only to work but must suffer the humiliation of carrying a pass book showing that they have the permission to be in this part of their own country. 18 million blacks

have been arrested under the pass laws since 1916!

If Botha were to get rid of apartheid he would effectively destroy the system which ensures that the white minority hold on to their massive wealth.

Multinational companies who invest in South African industry because of the super-profits they can extract from black labour might not stay in the region if they had to pay a living wage to black workers instead of the slave wages they pay at present. None of this profit, power or privilege will be given up easily.

Over the past year we have seen tremendous resistance by the black working class. They have come out onto the street and rioted, defying the authorities. But more importantly they have been developing their power as workers by organising in independent black trade unions. The students who rioted in Sharpeville and Soweto in the 70s are now the militant trade unionists in the mines, in the factories, on the docks.

PROFITS

Unfortunately black workers still don't realise what an important weapon they have in the strike tactic. By withdrawing their labour, and so ceasing production and hence profits for the whites, they have the power to bring the white ruling class to their knees and start down the road to smashing the South African state. We saw how the threatened miners strike

frightened, not only the white capitalists in South Africa but world wide.

There was a massive vote in support of strike action by the miners themselves. But when it came to the strike being called off the decision was made by the union bureaucrats—the workers had no say in it. The strike was on an economic issue, to improve wages. The officials either failed to see the possibility of broadening the strike out to a political one against apartheid or else saw all too clearly and wanted to avoid the possibility of such a politicization of the strike.

WEAKNESSES

Most blacks workers look to the African National Congress (ANC) for leadership in the struggle to smash apartheid. It has mass support. There are, however, major weaknesses in the politics of the ANC. For them, the struggle against apartheid is one for democratic rights and national liberation. According to their theory of "stages", the question of socialism must wait until all classes of blacks have joined together with the progressive whites to smash apartheid and gain majority rule. Until then, class politics must be put to one side. Once apartheid is smashed, they can think about the kind of system they want to replace it. As with the politics of Gerry Adams, the struggle will have to begin all over again, this time for workers' power.

As revolutionary socialists we say that this stages theory

cannot work. The system must be smashed completely, the regime overthrown and a new one built by the masses. And the only people who can do this is the working class, with a revolutionary party to lead them in the struggle.

The ANC cannot be transformed into a revolutionary socialist organisation. It is a nationalist all-class alliance. The task of revolutionaries is to organise separate from the ANC in order to create a visible pole of attraction that can win workers whose ideas are dominated by ANC ideas to revolutionary socialism.

SANCTIONS

So what does this mean for us in Ireland? How can we help the fight against apartheid? We can begin by supporting the Dunnes strikers, who are directly fighting apartheid.

We can also explain the limited usefulness of the international calls for sanctions. These calls have been made by important sections of the western establishment who feel they are necessary in order to force the apartheid regime to make reforms that will stave off revolution. And that is exactly what sanctions will do. They are intended to save South Africa for western capitalism, not to abolish apartheid. So while sanctions are to be welcomed as an indication of opposition to the brutality of apartheid we must argue that they are not enough. The most important work we can do here though is to work towards a socialist revolution in Ireland. And that is exactly what we are doing in the SWM.

WORLD VIEW Neither the Bear nor the Eagle

ON THE 16th July 1945 the world's first atomic bomb was exploded in the New Mexican desert. A fortnight later, the city of Hiroshima was totally destroyed, to be followed a few days later by Nagasaki. The total explosive power of those three bombs was equivalent to less than thirty thousand tonnes of TNT.

In 1985 the world possesses the equivalent of 16 thousand million tonnes. That's enough to wipe out the planet 12 times over.

In a world where millions are starving, half the population don't have access to safe, clean drinking water and one in three adults is illiterate, 800 thousand million dollars per year are spent on arms. The bulk of this is spent by the United States and the Soviet Union. Since Reagan became President, the US has engaged in the most rapid and expensive arms race the planet has ever seen. True to form, the Russians have followed suit. All in the interests of "security", they tell us.

For a few days last month, there was almost no news besides that of the Reagan-Gorbachov summit. Even while there was a news black-out on the talks, we were subjected to descriptions of how and when the two war mongers smiled or frowned at each other.

Journalists spun news reports from speculation about whether Gorbachov would have an unfair advantage over Reagan since he can speak English. Reagan, who has difficulty getting his thoughts together in English, doesn't of course speak Russian.

But in spite of all the media hype, anyone who expected anything real to come from these talks was fooling themselves. All the talk of "peace", "harmony" etc. was of course a load of cobblers. Reagan recently said that a nuclear war "can never be won and must never be fought".

Meanwhile he's pushing ahead with the "Star Wars" programme, which if successful will give the US their first opportunity since World War 2 for a "First Strike" with minimum repercussions.

The talks were not about Peace but both governments were anxious to wind down the arms spiral somewhat. The arms race has taken its toll on the economies of both countries. In the early eighties, the US was in the throes of a deep crisis. Unemployment stood officially at 12 million. The regeneration of the arms industry was seen as the solution to the problem.

Billions were borrowed and funneled into the research and development of new weaponry. The country went into a mini-boom and unemployment was halved in two years. However, the rest of the world was left behind, with the result that the dollar became over inflated. American exports were too expensive, couldn't compete and piled up in the factories. The Japanese muscled in and took much of the American market. The military fuelled boom was as short lived as it

was spectacular. The Russians too were feeling the pinch of the arms race. Workers were demanding higher wages, better living conditions and access to consumer goods like fridges, televisions and cars. The Russian ruling class simply couldn't afford to ignore the growing restlessness among workers. Concessions had to be made in order to dampen down militancy. There was less money available for arms.

That's why they decided to talk. In other words, the entire reason for the Geneva meeting is to ensure that the ruling classes in both countries can maintain and strengthen their positions.

Since the end of World War 2 the permanent arms economy has served the sole function of preserving capitalist exploitation worldwide.

In the forty years since, over three million million dollars have been spent on arms. The destructive power of even conventional weapons has increased massively. A submarine torpedo in 1945 could travel almost 6 miles. The equivalent nowadays has a range of over 1,500 miles. An artillery shell in '85 can destroy an area 250 times greater than its ancestor. Meanwhile literacy has only doubled while life expectancy has only marginally increased. Worldwide there is now one soldier for every 43 people, but only one doctor for every 1030.

So, while the quality of life of the world's population has advanced at a snail's pace for the past 40 years, the quality and quantity of weapons has spiralled. The Geneva summit has not changed this. After all, even if they reduced the number of warheads by over 90% they'd still have enough to obliterate us all.

The problem is not that nuclear weapons exist in large numbers. Their existence is another of the obscenities necessary to international capitalism.



GORBACHOV

Whether it be of the American or Russian variety, we can't get rid of the Bomb without getting rid of the system that feeds on them. That is why the SWM has as one of its slogans: Neither Washington nor Moscow but International Socialism.

—TOM O DONOGHUE

1914, John Maclean & Red Clyde

TODAY, millions of people all over the world support CND and similar peace movements yet they could not stop the installation of Cruise missiles all over Europe.

Can the working class do anything to stop the destruction of the world?—JOE O'BRUADAIR looks at the history of the Red Clyde in 1914-19 and the real effect that workers' action against war can have.

WHEN war broke out in Western Europe in August 1914, much more than peace itself was shattered. For years the socialist parties had preached, as an article of faith, that if their respective governments came into conflict, peace would be preserved by the refusal of working people everywhere to fight against their fellow workers.

Instead, with the collapse of the leaders of the Second International, and the tremendous pro-war propaganda waged in every European country, working people rallied to the call of their national flags, duped as pawns in the game of capitalist slaughter. Ten million workers, almost a million from Britain alone, were to be mown down as cannon fodder on the battle-fields of the Somme, Verdun, Gallipoli and Tannenberg.

In Britain, the official labour movement concocted the most incredible of sell-outs. The TUC immediately pledged its support to the war and three weeks after the war had begun, an industrial 'truce' was proclaimed by the leading unions. Some even openly tried to recruit members for the armed forces. Willie Gallacher explained the war fever in his book *Revolt on the Clyde*:

'The wild excitement, the illusion of wonderful adventure and the actual break in the deadly monotony of working class life. Thousands went flocking to the colours in the first days, not because of any "love of country" but because of the new, strange and thrilling life that lay before them.'

One area alone in Britain stood out in sharp contrast to the war madness and that was Glasgow and the Clydeside area.

In 1914, the city of Glasgow had a million, predominantly working class, citizens. A huge percentage of families were of Irish origin or displaced Highlanders who had been driven South as a result of the infamous Highland clearances, which made way for the more profitable sheep of landlordism.

TRADITIONS

Both of these groups had long traditions of militant opposition to greedy landlords and 'authority' in general.

The Clyde had long been one of the world's greatest ship-building areas and a home of heavy industry — shipyards, ports and heavy engineering plants traditionally attracted the toughest, most combative, sections of the workers. So, crowded into a ten mile stretch along the Clyde from Shettleston and Cathart in the West to Dalmeir and Renfrew in the East were thousands of the most militant engineers, dockers, shipyard workers and miners in these islands.

A major factor making Glasgow different from the rest of Britain was its great tradition of independent Rank and File organisation and agitation. By 1914 the gulf between the official trade union apparatus in London and Britain's most turbulent and disobedient area could hardly have been wider. But probably the most important factor in explaining the phenomenon of 'The Red Clyde' is Marxism and its associated industrial movements which took root more

deeply and spread more rapidly in and around Glasgow than anywhere else in the British Empire.

The credit for the spread of Marxism in Scotland must be attributed to one man more than any other, and that man was John Maclean, who Lenin called 'The Ablest Man in Britain'. His greatest contribution to the movement was as a marxist teacher and agitator. Willie Gallacher, with whom he was often in disagreement, called MacLean: 'The greatest revolutionary figure that Scotland ever produced'.

From the turn of the century to the outbreak of W.W.I., MacLean was everywhere speaking outside factory gates, agitating throughout all the mining areas of South-West Scotland.

His life was dedicated to the struggle against capitalism and the organisation of the working masses. For years and years he had, alongside his closest comrades Jimmie MacDougall and Harry McShane, waged battle against the militarist pretensions of British capital and its labour collaborators like Hyndman, Quelch, Henderson and Tillet.

Gallacher writes: 'The Clyde was not altogether taken by surprise when war broke out..... there had been carried on for a number of years an intense anti-war and anti-militarist propaganda which continually exposed the war intrigues of the British Government. In the forefront of the campaign was that indomitable and irrepressible revolutionary fighter, John MacLean'.

MacLean spoke regularly to huge crowds at Glasgow Green. He held a meeting at Nelson's Monument every Sunday afternoon and at Bath Street on Sunday evenings, winter and summer. He held, with MacDougall, weekly classes, attended by an average of 450 to 500 workers who devoured the marxist economics and industrial history. These were the biggest classes of their kind anywhere in the world.

With the outbreak of war, his agitation became more intense. The first public anti-war meeting in Britain was held on Glasgow Green on August 9th, 1914. MacLean put the classic Marxist viewpoint: 'The adversity of the capitalist class is the opportunity of the working class. Let us take advantage of it and go forward for victory, not for the imperialist allies, but for the working class'. In the same early war period he stated: 'Nothing but world socialism will do. This monstrous war shows that the day of social pottering or reform is past'.

On the socialist view of war he said: 'We do not think national wars are of benefit to the workers so we shall oppose all national wars as we oppose this one. The only war that is worth waging is the class war, the workers against the world exploiters'.

In June 1914 the Amalgated Society of Engineers (A.S.E.) had submitted a claim for an unprecedented wage increase of 2 pence an hour (a normal increase was 1 farthing). Out of fear the employers offered an increase of 3 farthings. An overtime ban was introduced in 1915, in one engineering works after another. This was the first industrial action of the war. In February 1915, the fact that Weir's Engineering Works were supposedly paying 30 American titters, 6 shillings more

than their Scottish Colleagues precipitated a strike of 2,000 men. In a matter of hours 10,000 men in some of Glasgow's key engineering works were on strike. The unofficial strike lasted 3 weeks, and with pressure from the official union leadership (and not a penny strike pay, of course) the men returned to work with 1 penny increase and various other smaller concessions.

It was only a minor victory. But out of the February 1915 strike came an official organisation of the militant Clydeside Shop Stewards. In wartime the mention of the work 'strike' was highly seditious, so they cleverly called it the 'Labour With-Holding Committee'.

From this events started to snowball. The bosses were on the defensive and becoming more fearful. William Weir, one of the biggest employers on Clydeside, said in an article in the Glasgow Herald, May 1915, 'Every opportunity is seized to put forward claims for higher wages, advantage is taken of every innovation on an employer's part to make it a basis for further demands, until the position has become so difficult that an employer has really to consider whether he should take on government work of a new nature... in case he involves himself in labour difficulties, which will affect his entire business...'

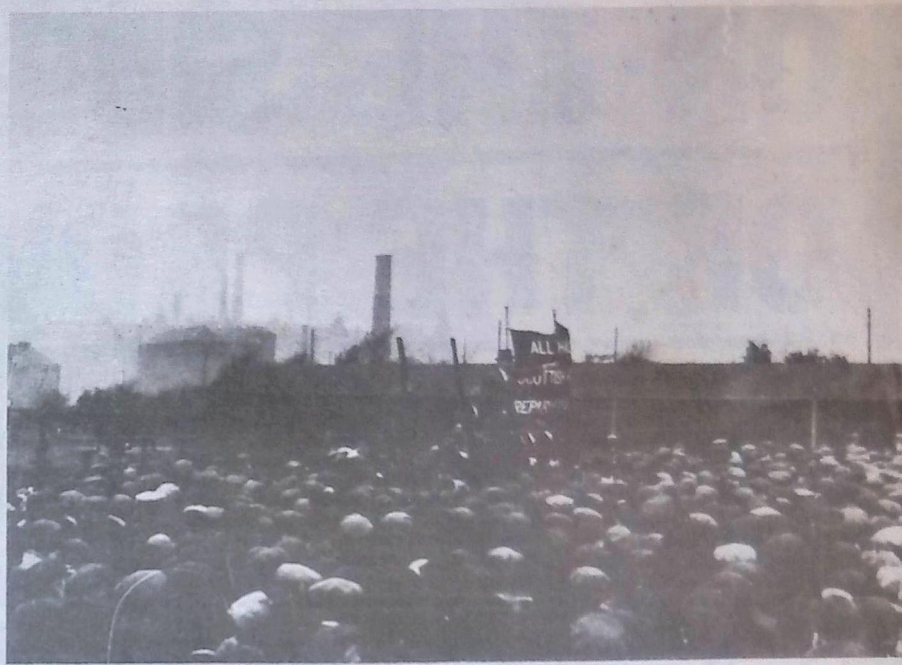
The Munitions Act of July 1915, which made any stoppage of work illegal, and the 'leaving certificate' which basically stopped a worker selling his/her labour to the highest bidder, made the already tense situation electric. When two shipwrights were dismissed from Fairfield's Shipyard in August, for 'slacking', the whole Clyde stood angrily on the verge of a stoppage. The men concerned were swiftly re-instated.

DISCONTENT

From the war's onset, capitalist greed had caused prices to soar and profiteering landlords sent rents in an ever-upward spiral. This hit the families of soldiers the hardest. In Clydeside there was more discontent about rents than elsewhere because housing conditions were so much worse. Working class women organised themselves and the name of Mrs. Barbour became a legend.

One eye-witness described the agitation: 'In Govan, Mrs Barbour, a typical working class housewife, became the leader of a movement such as had never been seen before, or since for that matter. Street meetings, back-court meetings, drums, bells, trumpets — every method was used to bring the women out and organise them for the struggle. Notices were printed by the thousand and put up in windows — wherever you went you could see them. In street after street, there was scarcely a window without: "We are not paying increased rents". When evictions were attempted, Mrs Barbour's team, who could "smell a baliff a mile away" called the women from their washing and cooking and before the officer and his men could get near their destination, they "would be met by an army of furious women who drove them back in a hurried scramble for safety".'

By October 1915, there were 25,000 tenants on strike. Crisis point was reached in November when 18 munitions workers were summoned to appear at the Small Debt Court for non-payment of increased rents. 10,000 engineers and shipyard workers downed tools



John Maclean speaking at Glasgow Green

and marched to the court, being joined en route by about 5,000 women. The angry throng swarmed around the courthouse. The authorities, in a state of panic, had the cases dismissed and the Rent Restriction Act was rushed through Parliament.

By this stage the "Labour With-holding Committees" had become the Clyde Workers' committee (CWC) with Gallacher as its president and James Messer as secretary. In its manifesto, all emphasis was put on rank-and-file independence. It stated: 'We will support the officials just as long as they rightly represent the workers, but we will act independently immediately they misrepresent them. Being composed of delegates from every shop and untrammelled by obsolete rule or law, we claim to represent the true feelings of the workers. We can act immediately according to the merits of the case and the desire of the rank-and-file.'

The National Government looked with growing alarm on the worsening situation on the Clyde. Minister for Munitions, Lloyd George and Arthur Henderson, the principle Labour Party representative in the Cabinet were sent to the area in 1915 to win back the disaffected and hostile workforce. But the workers were well-organised and the 'Welsh Wizard' got little chance to fool them with his renowned eloquence. He got the greatest rollicking of his life and was hissed and booed wherever he went, amid rousing choruses of the 'Red Flag' and the 'Internationale'. Gallacher remarked: 'There were patriots in Glasgow all right, but somehow they never could get going'.

CONSCRIPTION

In January 1916, the Chief Constable for Glasgow asked for military assistance for his police force in coping with the ever more dangerous situation. Many members of the Cabinet were ready, indeed eager, to introduce martial law on to the Clyde. The Government decided to act. John Maclean, now engaged in a whirlwind campaign against the new menace of military conscription which was rousing nationwide protest even among sections of the movement which had hitherto been compliant, was arrested on sedition charges. This, the most dangerous man in Britain, in the Government's eyes, was eventually sentenced to three years hard labour.

Six others, including Gallacher, Johnnie Muir and Jimmy Maxton, were given prison sentences of varying lengths and nine more were compulsorily removed or deported from the Clydeside area.

With the ever increasing fervour of huge mass protests against his imprisonment, Maclean was only to serve 1½ years of his sentence. For the Government, he was almost as dangerous in prison as out of it. But the brutally harsh conditions of prison life took their toll on his health.

REVITALISED

Scottish socialists had been kept well-informed on the situation in Tsarist Russia through the close association between John Maclean and Piotr Petrov, a Russian revolutionary exile who had been staying in Scotland and had actually lived in Maclean's home for over six months. Petrov was in close contact throughout the war with Trotsky in Paris. When the working class took power in Russia in October 1917 it revitalised and inspired revolutionary socialists the world over.

Harry McShane in his autobiography writes: "For the Glasgow socialist movement, the new soviet system was a revelation. From Phillips Price's reports we had got to know the slogan "All power to the Soviets". It meant that they had discovered a system of working class self-government through which the old crowd could be completely destroyed. We began now to realise what was meant by revolution. We had only known working-class revolt: now we could talk about working-class power.'

After the Bolsheviks came to power in Russia, they named John Maclean Russian Consul in Glasgow, the first consul to be appointed. On his release from prison, Maclean threw himself into the fray with renewed vigour. According to Willie Gallacher: "The work done by Maclean during this winter 1917 - 18 has never been equaled by anyone... Every minute of his time was devoted to the revolutionary struggle, every ounce of his extraordinary energy was thrown into the fight."

In April 1918, John Maclean was arrested again. He conducted his own defence and spoke for 75 minutes in his final summing-up. The speech had a tremendous impact and his opening words, 'I am not here as the accused. I am here

as the accuser of capitalism dripping with blood from head to foot' have become legendary. This political act brought him a sentence of 5 years but he had won the fight for the authorities to treat him as a political prisoner. McShane writes: 'The sentence was regarded by everybody as savage and a great deal of agitation grew up in all sections of the movement to get him released.'

The war-weary and disillusioned armies of Europe were breaking up, the disaffection and mutiny in the ranks was intense. Harry McShane writes: 'All we knew was that the British Army was breaking down, that the Russian soldiers had already helped create a successful revolution, and it was just fortunate for the British that the German army collapsed first.' In November 1918 the war ended. As a result of mounting agitation, Maclean was released from prison after having served only eight months of his five years sentence.

Demoralisation of the troops and the slump caused by the end of wartime contracts caused more unrest. Serious industrial trouble began on January 27, 1919 and by February 1, 100,000 people were on strike in the Glasgow area alone. The Government was panic-stricken, the memory of the Bolshevik Revolution was fresh and they feared a General Strike. Serious riots and violence erupted all over the city and on the morning of February 1, people awoke to find the City Chambers surrounded by barbed wire and protected by machine guns. Garrisons of troops were stationed in other public buildings, patrols of armed soldiers marched around the streets — and even more menacing — six tanks, a weapon never before used in civil disturbances in Britain, waited in the Meat Market to subdue the rebellious workers. On February 12, the Strike Committee called the strike off. Most of the activists were jailed for short terms.

By 1919 the Red Clyde was part of a European-wide upsurge of workers who were determined never again to be engulfed by their riders' wars. Unfortunately there was not within this movement an organised group of revolutionaries arguing the need to go beyond industrial action to overthrow the system which breeds war.

WHY WE ARE ON THE SIDE OF THE PROVOS

The Anglo-Irish Agreement is trying to crush Sinn Fein and the IRA. Here KIERAN ALLEN explains why socialists must support Republicans in their

THE ANGLO-IRISH agreement is all about crushing Sinn Fein and the IRA. Fitzgerald has said so. Thatcher agreed when she told Unionists that "it would mobilise everyone against the men of violence".

In line with the deal, the Republic has agreed to sign the International Convention on "Terrorism". It has promised to remove all obstacles on extradition. It will increase border security still further. It will even take some direct responsibility for the RUC and UDR.

What position do socialists take on this attack on republicanism?

CIVIL WAR

SWM takes the same view as its forerunners in the Communist International of the early 1920s. In the course of the Civil War undertaken by William Cosgrave (with Fitzgerald's fathers support) they wrote: "The crushing of Republicans can only result in firmly establishing an imperialist terrorist government which will not hesitate to attack the Irish working class with the same brutal weapons."

The tiny Irish Communist Party took this stance in the face of opposition from the much larger Irish Labour Party. Labour's leader, Thomas Johnson, supported the execution of republicans. Even the left of the party preferred to avoid a forthright defence of the

republicans by calling instead for "peace" demonstrations. The litmus test for revolutionaries—then as now—was their willingness to defend republicans openly.

CRUISE MISSILES

Today socialists stand alongside republicans for two reasons. Firstly, a defeat of republicans would lead to a major strengthening of the most conservative forces. You can see this in terms of the battle of ideas. If Fitzgerald and Thatcher win the argument that the Provos are "the men of violence" then they have disguised their own support for organised violence from the state. The woman who spent billions on the Falklands war, who installed Cruise Missiles all over Britain, is now trying to project herself as a "peace-maker"! Anyone who sees the Provos as the source of violence is being taken in by a very old con-trick.

On a more practical level, the effort to defeat the Provos can only lead to a massive growth of repression. This has already happened in the South as well as the North. Non-jury courts, the censorship of RTE, the Offences Against the State Act, the incredibly visible attacks of the secret police—all this we already have on both sides of the border. Once this apparatus of repression has been built its

fight against British imperialism and EAMONN McCANN examines the republican tradition of abstentionism.

effects go far wider than attacking republicans. The simple-minded liberal or left winger who opposes repression but refuses to openly defend republicans misses a basic point: it has been the attempt to smash republicans that introduced the poison of repression into the whole of Irish society.

Take the Kerry Babies case. The confession experts—Detective Courtney, Carroll etc, were the same people involved in the development of the Heavy Gang in the 70s.

The recent Criminal Justice Act is nothing more than a formal extension of the powers of detention under the Offences Against the State Act to ordinary criminal law. And of course, the Offences Against the State Act was directed against republicans.

REPRESSION

The truth is that you will have no right to talk about the build-up of repression against workers in the future unless you actively defend republicans today today.

There is, however, a second more important reason why we should stand with the Provos. That is that we fully agree with what they are fighting against. The conditions that first gave rise to the Provos still exist today. The Catholic working class of the North is still heavily discriminated against. The

evidence is overwhelming.

■ Catholic areas like Derry and West Belfast show unemployment levels that are above 50%.

■ The location of industry is biased towards predominantly Protestant areas. In 1978, a swing showed that 75% of factories funded by NIDA were located in Protestant areas.

■ Housing in Catholic areas still tends to be over crowded and badly serviced. A survey of Derry showed that 35% of Bogside houses suffered from overcrowding as against 12% of Waterside.

HARASSMENT

■ The main engineering industries still show a monopoly of skilled Protestant jobs. Shorts and Harland and Wolf are still 90% Protestant.

■ Even in the now British run civil service, a Fair Employment Agency report showed that Catholics were poorly represented and tended to have lower grade jobs.

■ Catholics continue to suffer the brunt of repression. Marches from West Belfast are still not allowed into the city centre. Dawn raids, petty harassment and shoot-to-kill policies are mainly directed against the nationalist community.

The point here is not that Protestant workers have raised themselves into a caste than can be compared to South African

whites. Quite the reverse. The very fact that Protestant workers have gone along with reactionary loyalist ideas has led to a weakening and worsening of their own condition. Despite their easier access to skilled jobs—the rate of pay for those jobs is a good 10% lower than the rate in Britain or the 26 counties.

In this sense Protestant workers can be compared to the poor whites of the Southern states of the USA. Their cheap labour goes hand in hand with their racism.

The Anglo-Irish "process" will not make a blind bit of difference to this level of discrimination. The Provos will continue to grow because there is something to fight against. It is not they who divide workers—but rather the very system they are fighting against.

Capitalism rules by dividing the working class. In Northern Ireland, it is taken one step further. The state machine itself is structured to maintain sectarian division. It guarantees to Protestants the prospect of getting a better house or a chance of getting off the dole queue first.

What do we say in this situation? Very simply that working class unity is not possible on the basis of ignoring the problem of discrimination and of the Orange state. The reality is that Catholic workers think of themselves more as oppressed Catholics than part of the working class. The path to working class unity lies in their rebellion. The fact that they refuse to lie down or give up means that Protestant workers cannot hope for small privileges indefinitely. Revolutionary socialists therefore, always support the most oppressed sections of our class because we know that is the only sure way to unity.

LOYALISM

The approach of other "socialists" is different. Both Militant and the Workers Party stress the need for working class unity on "common economic issues". We have nothing against Protestant and Catholic workers standing shoulder to shoulder on the picket line—in fact we are all for it. But unless you confront loyalism as the problem, unless you aim to build a minority among Protestant workers prepared to identify with the struggles of the oppressed Catholics, then working class unity is never possible.

That does not mean we withhold support from Protestant workers in their day to day economic battles until they first become anti-imperialists. That would be crazy. But it does mean that sooner or later, every Protestant militant must be confronted with the logic of why it is in their interests to support a fight against the Orange State.

The best way to do that is for militants inside the Catholic community to see the source of their oppression in the arrangements of Irish capitalism. Only a strong socialist case—proved in practice by the actions of "nationalist" workers throughout the island—stands a chance of breaking Protestant workers from loyalism.

In the meantime, however, socialists must take sides. While never flinching from our profound differences with the Provos, we recognise that they are presently leading the fight against sectarianism and bigotry.

That means that we clearly stand on their side in the battle against the British army and the Orange state. Indeed standing on the same side as the Provos is the only practical way of supporting the mass of Catholic workers who fight bigotry and repression.



Repu

THE SINN FEIN AND THE last month narrowly rejected a motion which would have opened the way to the party taking seats in the Dail. This was commonly regarded, both inside and outside Sinn Fein as a victory for the "Old Right" (the O'Bradaigh faction) against the "New Left" (the Adams faction).

But in fact there is nothing particularly "left-wing" about taking seats in Leinster House and nothing particularly "right-wing" about refusing to.

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But when former Republican including Sean MacBride set up Clann na Poblachta in the 40s and entered Leinster House they clearly were moving to the left even if some of them were later to do a U-turn.

The truth is that the argument over abstentionism within Republican ranks has never been polarised along Left-Right lines. This is obvious if we look back to the beginning of the 1920s.

Abstentionism was part of the strategy promoted by Arthur Griffith as early as 1905 and adopted by Sinn Fein going into the 1918 Westminster election. Sinn Fein declared that any of its candidates elected to Westminster would refuse to take up their seats. Instead they constituted themselves as "Dail Eireann".

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Ruairi O'Bradaigh



● INSIDE NEWRY BARRACKS: one mortar scored a direct hit on this portakabin, killing nine RUC officers



Republicanism the problem

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wasn't the Republican parliament that they had sworn allegiance to. At that time there was considerable doubt whether Leinster House would manage to establish itself as a viable parliament at all.

The anti-treaty forces controlled considerable areas of the 26 Counties and tens of thousands of people gave no recognition to the new Treaty institutions.

In that situation, from their own point of view it made perfect sense for Republicans to refuse to recognise Leinster House and to fight for recognition instead for the Republican Dail—which still continued to meet, attended only by the anti-treaty representatives.

But within a short time—certainly by the end of 1923—the pro-treaty forces had, with the help of British guns and money and murderous repression, crushed resistance and firmly established Leinster House as the effective parliament for the 26 County area.

UNREALISTIC

Republican calls on the population at large to see Leinster House as an empty charade began very rapidly to seem unrealistic. The arch-opportunist De Valera was one of the first to see the writing on the wall.

With the desertion of Fianna Fail and the death an imprisonment of others there were very few members of the Republican Dail left by the 30s. In 1937 they took stock of the situation and voted to pass their "authority" over to the Army Council of the IRA.

Although it is rarely spelled out in public, this is the basis of the traditional Republican argument that it is a form of "treason" to recognise the legitimacy of Leinster House. The argument is based on an appeal to history and on a kind of mystical reverence for the First Dail back in 1919. It is not based on any analysis of the reality which faces the Irish working class in the 1980s.

It is not history which confers legitimacy on parliaments. A parliament becomes "legitimate" when the bulk of the people come to accept it as legitimate. And the bulk of the

people in the 26 Counties have come to accept Leinster House. This might be a pity, but it's the clear fact of the matter, nonetheless.

Looked at like this, the question whether a party takes seats is a tactical question, not a matter of deep principle. To this extent, Adams, Morrison, Hartley, etc, were absolutely right at the Ard Fheis, and the O Bradaigh faction absolutely wrong.

But this doesn't explain why quite a number of younger members of Sinn Fein are suspicious of the moves towards Leinster House, and alarmed when they hear Danny Morrison talking about the need to "enter the mainstream".

Republicans' continued allegiance to the First Dail may seem pretty daft, but historically it has succeeded in doing one important thing: It has prevented the Republican Movement being incorporated into the corrupt politics of the bourgeois state, prevented its leaders selling out its principles for the spoils of office.

Down through the years those who deserted the republican cause for the more "realistic" course of working within Leinster House have, almost without exception, ditched their principles as soon as they darken the door. So it is understandable that the suspicions of many republicans are aroused when they hear talk from their own leadership of "taking seats".

But why is it that republicans down through the decades, have found it so easy to cross over to the anti-republican side once they entered Leinster House?

The reason is that, politically, there has frequently been very little dividing the Republican

EMERGENCE

Movement from the Leinster House parties, except the question of Leinster House's legitimacy. The Republican Movement's objection to Leinster House has not been that it represents an entirely different form of society to that sought by republicans. Their objections have had to do with its historical emergence and not with the fundamental nature of the institutions.

Thus De Valera, Mac Bride and MacGiolla in turn, found it easy to become part of the Leinster House set-up once they had entered the place at all.

And there is nothing in the politics of Gerry Adams or Danny Morrison to prevent them going the same way.

For all the left wing rhetoric—the present republican leadership is still seeking a 32 County State before it contemplates moving on towards socialism. Obviously, Fianna Fail goes along with the first "stage" in this process (the 32 County State). That's what provided the basis for Adams' suggestion last month of talks with Haughey about how to proceed towards a united Ireland.

MECHANISMS

And that's what also provides the basis for the suspicion that if he ever took a seat in Leinster House, Gerry Adams might find himself going automatically down the road already taken by De Valera and others in the past. This has nothing to do with Gerry Adams personally. It has to do with his politics.

What neither of the factions in the Republican Movement have is a socialist attitude to Leinster House.

Socialists aren't much concerned about the exact historical circumstances in which the institution came into existence. What matters is what it represents.

Leinster House is simply one of the mechanisms by which the capitalist ruling class runs the Free State. It is possible for socialists to go into such a parliament in order to undermine it; the Russian Bolsheviks sat in a capitalist parliament for a period.

But it is not possible to undermine Leinster House with non-socialist politics. And it is not possible to undermine it even if you do have socialist politics but believe—as the left republican leaders do—that the time is not yet ripe for socialist struggle.

In a phrase, it is not Adams' or O Bradaigh's interpretation of the Republican tradition which is the problem.

Republicanism itself is the problem.

MARXISM MADE E.

Who runs the system?

RONALD REAGAN is an evident fool. He puts his foot in it every time he opens his mouth without the aid of a scriptwriter.

He doesn't understand his own *Star Wars* programme and he didn't know who he wanted to deal with the Palestinian hijackers till his military bailed him out.

You could fill a book with his gaffes and howlers—indeed, I believe in America this has already been done.

No doubt many people find it disturbing that the world's most powerful nation appears to be in the hands of a blundering idiot. But actually, the truth is, it doesn't really matter very much. America ticks on, in its capitalist, imperialist way, much as it always has.

Take the American economy. Despite the myth of Reaganomics, the President's knowledge of economics is probably on a par with that of Sir Alec Douglas Home. Home was the ex-British prime minister who confessed that, when confronted by economic problems, he had to work them out with the aid of a box of matches!

Quite likely Reagan thinks that John Maynard Keynes was a Communist and Milton Friedman a movie director.

Nevertheless, by the standards of a world racked with profound economic crisis, America has done relatively well during Reagan's period of office.

The point is, and for Marxism it is a fundamental point, that Reagan only appears to be in charge.

It is not politicians or governments or even state machines that run economies, but economies that run state machines and states that run governments and politicians.

EXAGGERATION

No doubt it is an exaggeration to say that the characteristics of individual politicians make no difference at all. But when it comes to fundamentals, to the main lines of policy, they are a factor of only third of fourth rate importance.

As far as Reagan is concerned, the American ruling class was clearly quite happy to have a second rate actor as its front man. Otherwise it would not have allowed one of its two political parties to select him, nor coughed up the huge sums required to win the presidential selection.

All this has important implications for Socialists in Ireland. There are many people who think that the failure to solve the problems of the Irish working class—unemployment, health cuts, the tax burden on PAYE workers and so on—is due to inefficiency and heartlessness on the part of the Coalition government.

For some, the answer is to elect a Fianna Fail government which, they claim, would be more talented than the Coalition; others look forward to the Workers Party or perhaps, Labour being in charge and having the interests of working people at heart.

However, such a importance of government. Inefficient the C heartless they certainly inefficiency or heart produce the assault it is in fact the need. Tomas McGiolla, may be genuinely co workers but it will personalities or inter politics of a future V Labour government. needs of capital.

The reason is sim system that depends its principle, its life—not coming in capita to grind to a halt. In Firms go bankrupt c economy collapses.

A left-wing govern administer capitalist reforms), rather than therefore has no alte the logic of capitalis of profit. Whether th are left, right or cen difference.

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LEGISLATION

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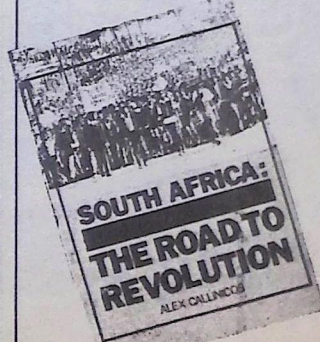
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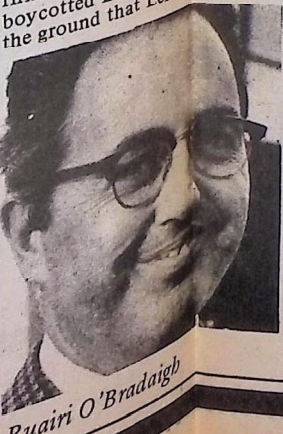
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Now available

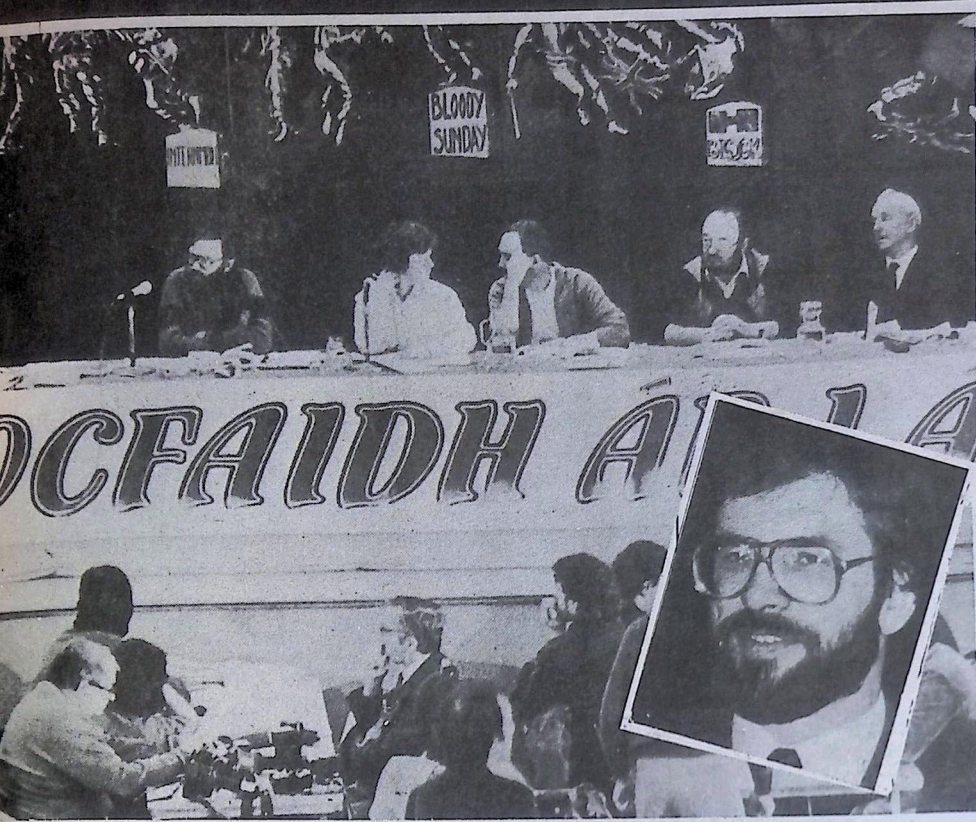
...a new pamphlet on South Africa, Alex Callinicos, which looks at the apartheid system and its place in the world economy. It asks: Can apartheid be ended peacefully? If revolution is the answer, what force will make it?



Available at 85p post free from SWM, PO Box 16 Dublin 8



Ruairi O'Bradaigh



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UNREALISTIC

Republican calls on the population at large to see Leinster House as an empty charade began very rapidly to seem unrealistic. The arch-opportunist De Valera was one of the first to see the writing on the wall.

With the desertion of Fianna Fail and the death an imprisonment of others there were very few members of the Republican Dail left by the 30s. In 1937 they took stock of the situation and voted to pass their "authority" over to the Army Council of the IRA.

Although it is rarely spelled out in public, this is the basis of the traditional Republican argument that it is a form of "treason" to recognise the legitimacy of Leinster House. The argument is based on an appeal to history and on a kind of mystical reverence for the First Dail back in 1919. It is not based on any analysis of the reality which faces the Irish working class in the 1980s.

It is not history which confers legitimacy on parliaments. A parliament becomes "legitimate" when the bulk of the people come to accept it as legitimate. And the bulk of the

people in the 26 Counties have come to accept Leinster House. This might be a pity, but it's the clear fact of the matter, nonetheless.

Looked at like this, the question whether a party takes seats is a tactical question, not a matter of deep principle. To this extent, Adams, Morrison, Hartley, etc, were absolutely right at the Ard Fheis, and the O Bradaigh faction absolutely wrong.

But this doesn't explain why quite a number of younger members of Sinn Fein are suspicious of the moves towards Leinster House, and alarmed when they hear Danny Morrison talking about the need to "enter the mainstream".

Republicans continued allegiance to the First Dail may seem pretty daft, but historically it has succeeded in doing one important thing: It has prevented the Republican Movement being incorporated into the corrupt politics of the bourgeois state, prevented its leaders selling out its principles for the spoils of office.

Down through the years those who deserted the republican cause for the more "realistic" course of working within Leinster House have, almost without exception, ditched their principles as soon as they darken the door. So it is understandable that the suspicions of many republicans are aroused when they hear talk from their own leadership of "taking seats".

But why is it that republicans down through the decades, have found it so easy to cross over to the anti-republican side once they entered Leinster House?

The reason is that, politically, there has frequently been very little dividing the Republican

EMERGENCE

Movement from the Leinster House parties, except the question of Leinster House's legitimacy. The Republican Movement's objection to Leinster House has not been that it represents an entirely different form of society to that sought by republicans. Their objections have had to do with its historical emergence and not with the fundamental nature of the institutions.

Thus De Valera, Mac Bride and MacGiolla in turn, found it easy to become part of the Leinster House set-up once they had entered the place at all.

And there is nothing in the politics of Gerry Adams or Danny Morrison to prevent them going the same way.

For all the left wing rhetoric—the present republican leadership is still seeking a 32 County State before it contemplates moving on towards socialism. Obviously, Fianna Fail goes along with the first "stage" in this process (the 32 County State). That's what provided the basis for Adams' suggestion last month of talks with Haughey about how to proceed towards a united Ireland.

MECHANISMS

And that's what also provides the basis for the suspicion that if he ever took a seat in Leinster House, Gerry Adams might find himself going automatically down the road already taken by De Valera and others in the past. This has nothing to do with Gerry Adams personally. It has to do with his politics.

What neither of the factions in the Republican Movement have is a socialist attitude to Leinster House.

Socialists aren't much concerned about the exact historical circumstances in which the institution came into existence. What matters is what it represents.

Leinster House is simply one of the mechanisms by which the capitalist ruling class runs the Free State. It is possible for socialists to go into such a parliament in order to undermine it; the Russian Bolsheviks sat in a capitalist parliament for a period.

But it is not possible to undermine Leinster House with non-socialist politics. And it is not possible to undermine it even if you do have socialist politics but believe—as the left republican leaders do—that the time is not yet ripe for socialist struggle.

In a phrase, it is not Adams' or O Bradaigh's interpretation of the republican tradition which is the problem.

Republicanism itself is the problem.

MARXISM MADE EASY

Who runs the system?

RONALD REAGAN is an evident fool. He puts his foot in it every time he opens his mouth without the aid of a scriptwriter.

He doesn't understand his own *Star Wars* programme and he didn't know who he wanted to deal with the Palestinian hijackers till his military bailed him out.

You could fill a book with his gaffes and howlers—indeed, I believe in America this has already been done.

No doubt many people find it disturbing that the world's most powerful nation appears to be in the hands of a blundering idiot. But actually, the truth is, it doesn't really matter very much. America ticks on, in its capitalist, imperialist way, much as it always has.

Take the American economy. Despite the myth of Reaganomics, the President's knowledge of economics is probably on a par with that of Sir Alec Douglas Home. Home was the ex-British prime minister who confessed that, when confronted by economic problems, he had to work them out with the aid of a box of matches!

Quite likely Reagan thinks that John Maynard Keynes was a Communist and Milton Friedman a movie director.

Nevertheless, by the standards of a world racked with profound economic crisis, America has done relatively well during Reagan's period of office.

The point is, and for Marxism it is a fundamental point, that Reagan only appears to be in charge.

It is not politicians or governments or even state machines that run economies, but economies that run state machines and states that run governments and politicians.

EXAGGERATION

No doubt it is an exaggeration to say that the characteristics of individual politicians make no difference at all. But when it comes to fundamentals, to the main lines of policy, they are a factor of only third of fourth rate importance.

As far as Reagan is concerned, the American ruling class was clearly quite happy to have a second rate actor as its front man. Otherwise it would not have allowed one of its two political parties to select him, nor coughed up the huge sums required to win the presidential selection.

All this has important implications for Socialists in Ireland. There are many people who think that the failure to solve the problems of the Irish working class—unemployment, health cuts, the tax burden on PAYE workers and so on—is due to inefficiency and heartlessness on the part of the Coalition government.

For some, the answer is to elect a Fianna Fail government which, they claim, would be more talented than the Coalition; others look forward to the Workers Party or perhaps, Labour being in charge and having the interests of working people at heart.

However, such a view inflates the importance of government ministers.

Inefficient the Coalition may be, and heartless they certainly are, but it is not inefficiency or heartlessness which produce the assault on the working class, it is in fact the needs of Irish capitalism.

Tomas McGiolla, or even Dick Spring, may be genuinely concerned about workers but it will not be their personalities or intentions that decide the politics of a future Workers Party or Labour government. Again it will be the needs of capital.

The reason is simple. Capitalism is a system that depends on profit. Profit is its principle, its life-blood. If profits are not coming in capitalist production begins to grind to a halt. Investment stops. Firms go bankrupt or close down. The economy collapses.

A left-wing government which aims to administer capitalism (albeit with some reforms), rather than overthrow it, therefore has no alternative but to accept the logic of capitalism. That is, the logic of profit. Whether the individual leaders are left, right or centre makes no essential difference.

Who then runs the system? In the first place it is the capitalist class, the tiny fraction of people who own and control the big banks and key industries and businesses. It is their decisions on investment, production and the movement of capital that lays down the economic framework within which any government has to operate.

LEGISLATION

Even openly right-wing governments have to bow to the demands of the ruling class. In 1983 Alan Dukes—by no means a radical—introduced a mild piece of legislation which would have meant that the big speculators would pay the full taxes on the interest on government bonds. But the speculators resisted, removing £800 from government bonds as soon as the Stock Exchange opened. Dukes withdrew the legislation.

But, in the last analysis, not even the biggest capitalists really run capitalism. They too are subject to laws of profit and loss, to the need to accumulate capital in competition with every other capitalist.

Moreover the arena of this competition is world wide, so even where the state has taken over all capital within a particular nation, as in Russia, it is still subject to the laws of the world economy, which is far more powerful than any individual economy or company.

The capitalist world is therefore a world out of control, a world dominated by production for production's sake, accumulation for accumulation's sake, which left to its own devices, threatens to destroy the human race.

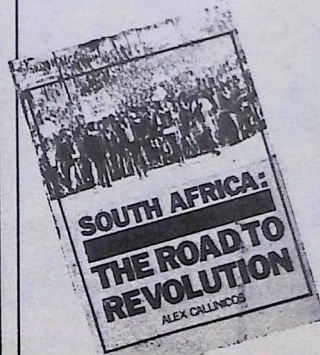
That is why it is the task of the working class, in Ireland and internationally, to end capitalism. This is the only means of placing the world under the control of those who inhabit it.

—DAVID McDONAGH

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ANALYSIS

What lies behind Adams' call for unity with SDLP and FF?

SINN FEIN'S response to the Anglo-Irish Talks was confused. At a news conference in Belfast Ard Comhairle member Danny Morrison called for a pact with the SDLP to fight seats that the Unionists resigned. He pin-pointed four marginal seats that could increase nationalist representation in Westminster. Sinn Fein President, Gerry Adams supported the call saying it was time "to put the interests of the nationalist people above the party-political interests of the SDLP or Sinn Fein."

The proposed pact was soon dismissed by John Hume who had always found firmer allies in Fitzgerald and his Coalition. But the proposal did throw light on the limits put on the left turn of Sinn Fein.

The SDLP fully supports the Anglo-Irish agreement with its build up of repression and co-operation with the Southern security forces.

Sinn Fein is totally opposed. Yet instead of campaigning to point out the new dangers facing the nationalist working class from this agreement, it throws out the olive branch to its most deadliest enemy.

QUESTIONS

There are some very simple questions? What if the SDLP increased their representation in Westminster? Would that strengthen the fight against the Orange State? Why is a party that campaigned for so long for abstentionism putting such store by Westminster seats?

The answer is to be found in the very nature of republicanism. Despite its origins among the poor and oppressed

it has always argued for unity of all classes of nationalists. Its approach to the SDLP is in tune with this. So too is its approach to Fianna Fail.

After the Anglo-Irish Agreement, Gerry Adams called for a meeting with Fianna Fail to discuss opposition to the deal. He openly welcomed Haughey onto "the bandwagon of opposition to the agreement, and hoped he would carry through his commitments when in government". This appeal to Fianna Fail and Haughey is particularly dangerous given the record and experience in recent years.

RHETORIC

The simple fact is that it encourages illusion in Haughey's solidarity with the Northern struggle. It plays straight into the hands of Haughey's rhetoric. Haughey has always indulged in rhetoric when out of power—when the mass of workers are relatively quiet. Once in government, and once there is a serious movement in the South—Haughey has proved himself as reliable a friend of Thatcher and Fitzgerald. The record speaks for itself.

In order to circumvent the legal restriction on extradition, Fianna Fail introduced the Criminal Jurisprudence Act. This allowed republicans to be tried in the South for "offences" committed in the North!

During Haughey's period of office in 1979/80, the Special Task Force was established. These were specially trained thugs who harassed republicans 10% of the police force in

the South were armed after Haughey's period in office.

Jack Herman, Chief Constable of the RUC claimed that "border security was never better" than under the Haughey regime.

In May 1980, the first Haughey-Thatcher Summit took place. In a communique afterwards Haughey pledged not to make any alterations in the status of Northern Ireland without the consent of the Unionist majority.

On the 20th December '80 during the height of the hunger strike when Sean McKenna was dangerously ill, Haughey held another summit with Thatcher. The Anglo-Irish process was set up with a Commission structure. In return, Thatcher acknowledged then that developments would take place in the context of "the totality of the relationships of these islands".

It was no more than an admission of how important the Southern government's role was in holding the line.

Adam's new appeal to Haughey throws light on a rarely mentioned aspect of the left turn. The new left leadership of Sinn Fein emerged during the hunger strike of 1980/1. It drew two lessons from mass mobilisation around the prisoners.

SUPPORTERS

The first was the weakness of its Southern organisation. In order to build its organisation in the South, Adams argued for taking up "social issues". The second was the need to look to supporters of Fianna Fail and the SDLP.

During the course of the hunger strike itself, the Sinn



Gerry Adams in Dublin's Dolphin House complex during last June's local election campaign. Haughey is the class enemy of the tenants of Dolphin House, yet Adams is willing to do a deal with him.

Fein leadership had already begun to openly call for unity with other nationalist parties. After the death of Bobby Sands, Adams proposed that the National H Block Campaign broaden itself into a United Nationalist Front. He hoped that this would involve Fianna Fail and the SDLP.

This was a break within republican politics. Up to then the old guard, simply asserted its leadership of all Irish people and virtually ignored the conventional parties.

Supporters of Adams justified the unity calls as a tactic to "expose" the hollowness of Fianna Fail and the SDLP. In reality, it was nothing of the sort. The energies of the H Block campaign were devoted to lobbying politicians. The Key slogan was "Haughey stand up to Thatcher"—as if Haughey was on the side of those fighting imperialism and simply needed a bit of encouragement.

The appeals to Fianna Fail and the SDLP was a disaster because it turned the H Block campaign away from building for industrial action in support of the prisoners.

COMMISSION

Adams call on Haughey for a united campaign against the Anglo-Irish deal will achieve the same result as during the H Block campaign. Already Haughey has made it clear that he will not repudiate the deal when in government. Indeed he will use the joint commission to deal with the problems of nationalist alienation. How could Sinn Fein get it so wrong twice?

The fact is that all republicans—even the left—see the central issue in Ireland today as a fight between the British and Irish nations.

The question of class interest takes a second place. Yet this conflicts with reality. Whatever about their emotional leanings or traditional rhetoric there is no section of the Irish capitalist class today that is determined to oppose imperialism. Put another way, none of them dare risk the stability of the system to pursue a fight for a united Ireland.

WRENCHING

What Haughey is about is wrenching a better deal from Britain. Irish capitalism has grown stronger over the last two and a half decades through its opening out to the world economy. Its politicians are as much responsible to American imperialism as they are to the British. This gives them ample room to

manoeuvre to throw shapes at the old enemy. But this has nothing to do with a determination to assist the nationalist working class to overthrow the chains of bigotry and sectarianism.

It is because they refuse to see things in class terms that republicans are bound to repeat the cycle of appealing to nationalist politicians and then later accusing them of "betrayal". The fact is that Haughey and Fitzgerald are not traitors—they have always been loyal to their class. The tragedy is that those fighting the Orange state have always confused their nationalist rhetoric with a willingness to fight imperialism.

Adams' appeal to the SDLP and Fianna Fail is the clearest example of why a revolutionary socialist alternative must be built to republicanism.

—KIERAN ALLEN



Hume and Haughey support the repression of republicans. So why do Sinn Fein want an alliance with them?

Nicaragua: REVOLUTION UNDER SIEGE

by Mike Gonzalez

Judge by the reaction of the US, and the Nicaraguan revolution is a Marxist threat on a par with Joe Stalin. According to its supporters, it is a socialist revolution 'of a new type'. Beneath these highly-coloured reactions, what is really happening in Nicaragua? Has mass involvement in the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship been translated into mass democracy? What are the political effects of the US blockade and military threat?



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NEWS FROM SWM/LETTERS

LETTERS

Write to PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

Reagan backs deal

HAS anyone noticed how generously Ray Gun has offered the dollars to Northern Ireland after the summit. Is it not a little like Marshall Plan



in Europe after World War two. Rambo's motives may be noble, "What the Irish people want, we are confident, are the jobs that will get them more interested in creating wealth than killing each other over political differences". (The Wall Street Journal).

Are we to be in the pocket of the Eagle, will a few dollars make us loyal capitalists like Samoza (made redundant by the Sandinistas) and Duarte?

Maybe dollar imperialism is just a means of keeping the backdoor of Europe closed.

J.M., Belfast.

Nobody's perfect

I AM a regular reader of SW and agree with much of your politics. However I feel your criticisms of the Republican Movement are unjustified.

It would be great if we could have a 32 County Socialist Republic tomorrow, but to concentrate — as you do — exclusively on the working class, ignores the fact that many Catholics in the North have no jobs. The majority of Protestant workers are full of Paisley's sectarianism. Things are little better in the South where the trade union move-

ment seems incapable of stemming the tide of factory closures, wage freeze, etc.

Surely we have to accept that for the foreseeable future a workers' revolution is just not going to happen? In the meantime the Republicans are actually fighting imperialism. Maybe their politics aren't perfect, but it would be better for socialists to weigh in on their side rather than sniping from the sidelines.

Con Murphy, Limerick.

ESB thank-you

WE would like to thank you most sincerely for the wonderful help and financial support you and your colleagues have given us in our struggle with the ESB.

We hope this short letter expresses in some small way

our appreciation.

Hopeful of your continued support, Yours in brotherhood, Finbarr O Donovan Richard Corcoran Strike Committee, Cork.

Just a racket

SOME TIME ago I found myself pregnant. I lived with my parents in a small town. My first reaction was panic. How was I going to manage? How would I face the disgrace? I could not face telling my parents, so I left home and went to Dublin. Eventually I contacted a clinic in Dublin which referred me to a clinic in Birmingham where I could have an abortion.

I had the abortion and returned home. I could tell no one for fear that the story would come out. This is happening, I am sure, every day of the week to other women and girls like me. Now the religious maniacs want to close the referral clinics. What will we, the women with no names, do then?

When I see the power of Monsignor Horan to get an airport built or the rubbish about moving statues and all the well-fed holy-Joes spoofing on television I feel sick.

Nobody cares in this country for the under-dogs. They're only concerned with

being respectable. I no longer believe in the kindly God I was brought up to love. Religion is just a racket.

Name and address withheld.

KEEP IT UP

CONGRATULATIONS on the new, 12-page Socialist Worker. This month's issue was a refreshing read in a depressing world. In particular I liked the 'Marxism Made Easy' column. So often, marxist ideas are made to sound old-fashioned or so high-blown that it is hard to see their relevance. Last month's column explaining why the SWM both supports all those fighting imperialism and criticises their politics put the marxist case in a clear way.

I enclose £10 for the appeal as my pay-related dole came through last week. Sorry it's not more. Keep up the good work.

Michael Turner, Dublin.

WHAT WE STAND FOR

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

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

REVOLUTION NOT REFORM

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

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

NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR MOSCOW

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

AGAINST PARTITION

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

The slow task of building working class unity against imperialism must be begun. However imperialism must be fought in the here and now and we support all forces engaged in that struggle regardless of our differences of programme.

We stand for:

- The immediate withdrawal of the British Army
- The disbandment of the RUC and UDR
- No to extradition and collaboration on border security

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

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

AGAINST ALL OPPRESSION

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

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

THE UNIONS

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

We stand for:

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

We fight for the building of a national rank and file movement that links together the best militants to provide an alternative leadership to the trade union bureaucrats.

We fight for the formation of Right to Work committees that link the unemployed to the power of the trade union movement.

THE PARTY

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

UCD shop steward speaks to SWM Conference

THE ANNUAL SWM Conference was held in Dublin over the weekend of the 16th and 17th Nov. last.

Delegates from all over Ireland attended and every branch in the country was represented. The topics discussed ranged from the North and Republicanism to Women's Liberation.

On Saturday night Alex Callimicos, the fraternal delegate from the SWP in Britain, spoke to the conference on "The International Socialist Tradition". He outlined the politics of the I.S. tendency around the world and our analysis of the Left today. He also concentrated on the Stalinist legacy. There was good discussion and it was agreed that this talk was useful to everyone who heard it.

Other guests at the conference included Marie Lenihan shop steward in the UCD cleaners dispute. Marie gave a very moving description of what the strike has meant to the women and she went on to condemn the sell-out by the union leadership in the dispute.

Many of those attending the conference had joined the SWM in the past year and had never been at an SWM annual conference before. This was reflected in the enthusiasm shown and the recognition that the SWM will continue to grow in the coming year.

The political vacuum caused on the one hand by the shift of left-republicans into Sinn Fein and on the other hand the association of the Militant with the bankrupt Labour Party and their unwillingness to challenge the sectarianism of loyalist workers, leaves a gap which the SWM can fill.

Over the next year the politics of the SWM will be brought into the Universities and colleges through meetings of the Socialist Workers Student Societies.


The Anti-Apartheid Movement is likely to provide an audience for revolutionary ideas and SWM members will be arguing about the limited usefulness of sanctions and against the all-class alliance politics of the ANC.

Our politics will be centred on the workplace stronger than ever. Here we will be applying socialist ideas to everyday issues of jobs, housing, sexism etc. Our intervention in strikes like UCD and the ESB linesmen's strike in Cork will continue through strike collections and support.

In short, over the next year the SWM will be attempting to bring our politics to more and more people. In this way we can recruit people to revolutionary socialism and build a movement which can respond to the upturn in workers' struggles which we know will come.

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REVIEWS

Barry McGuigan boxes his way to the bank

GENERALISATIONS ARE often hazardous. But one could venture without great fear of contradiction, that in the heavier divisions of professional boxing, the last 20 years have been hugely dominated by black boxers, mainly from the USA. The lighter divisions have belonged to hispanics from Central and South America, and the urban ghettos of Mexico and the USA.

There have been and are exceptions, but the term "hungry fighter" refers to the fact that most boxers tend to come from the most socially under-privileged backgrounds, making boxing the toughest of sports and the working class sport, par excellence.

As a world boxing champion Barry McGuigan does not come from such a background. His origins, small town-rural, are very much petit bourgeois, his family being shop-keepers and small hotel owners, with all the trappings that go with it. Among the pugilistic fraternity there is an old adage that says that "boxers are judged in the ring". Barry was a fine amateur among great amateurs, in a short-lived but golden era in Irish boxing which was dominated by Mel, Terry and Joe Christle from Dublin.

Ficketies of fate have deemed that McGuigan is now in the centre-stage limelight while the day of Terry and Joe Christle has yet to come. In 1978 in Edmonton, Canada McGuigan at 17, won the Commonwealth Games' Gold medal, getting a lucky decision over his 4-year older, coloured opponent. The age discrepancy at that level compensates for the

luck. As a pro, McGuigan is a complete boxer/fighter. Totally dedicated, extremely fit, fantastic ring technique, extreme aggression and courage, with a devastating punch in either fist, making McGuigan a rare fighter indeed, for a European. The greatness of his achievement in his systematic destruction of the great Eusebio Pedroza for the world title has yet to be properly assessed or acclaimed.

McGuigan is also very much a "dirty fighter". In almost every contest, he constantly and consistently hits low. There must indeed be some dents in the cup-guards of his opponents! This is not unique to McGuigan. It is a tough harsh sport, with little quarter looked for or given. I would venture to say that former world champ John Conteh from Kirby, used his head almost as much as Dixie Dean!

The "boxers are judged in the ring" is correct insofar as it goes.

But when they venture outside their own particular spheres they are fair game to be judged in other ways. Rocky Marciano's heavy-weight record of 49 wins and no losses will probably never be broken, given that Larry Holmes slipped recently at the last hurdle, but outside the ring, the meanness of the Massachusetts' Italian was legendary, probably resulting in his death.

McGuigan's smartest move was to put himself under the tutelage of Barry "Gurrier" Eastwood, entrepreneur extraordinaire. Multi-millionaire Eastwood made his

fortune in the scrap-metal business in the post-war boom era, buying "scrap" from the US forces. Eastwood's bookie shops are dotted all over the Six counties, on the Shankill as well as the Falls. Business is business. He recently bought the Russell Court Hotel in Belfast for £1 million, and owns shopping centres and many other buildings and properties around the city. It would be difficult to encounter a shrewder capitalist than "Gurrier" Eastwood. Under Eastwood, McGuigan has been carefully groomed and packaged.

Some Irish nationalists made a great hullabaloo because McGuigan took British citizenship to enable him to fight for the British title. As McGuigan's father points out "amateurs fight for countries, pros fight for money".

Since the founding of the Free State prior to McGuigan, only 3 boxers from the 26 Counties have won the British title, Mick Leahy from Cork and the McCormack brothers, John and Pat, sons of the famous Spike from Dublin. In their cases no aspersions were cast as to their lack of "patriotism". Where McGuigan falls down, and falls down pathetically, is that he allows himself to be the willing-and-able pawn of the British and Irish establishments, and the mouthpiece of their scurrilous and unscrupulous press, with his insulating talk of uniting the Falls and the Shankill on the nights of his fistie battles. Capitalism need its folk-heroes to divert the workers from the realities of their plight.

The "Irish leprechaun" in gaudy green bouncing around the ring is no doubt pandering to the Irish-American market as is the slushy sentimentality of the pre-fight singing of "Danny Boy".

McGuigan is a Godsend to the establishment and the media. As Dr. Ferdie Pacheco, long-term medical adviser to Mahammed Ali points out: "The guy has everything. All he has to do is stay 5 years. He is colourful, aggressive, he boxes like a dream, he is young, handsome. He comes from a settled and close family. He has a lovely wife and child. He does his best to solve the problems of his country, I can't think of anything one could add to make him more acceptable to the public".

Although the fact that McGuigan is white is certainly to his marketable advantage, and may pander to the lunacy of some racists, Corry errs in calling McGuigan a "white hope". This term goes back to Sydney in 1908 when the great Jack Johnson knocked out Tommy Burns to become the first black heavyweight champion of the world. From that time the "term" came into vogue but was specifically used about the heavyweight division, where apart from the brief interlude until a couple of months ago of ex South African policeman and racist Gerrie Coetzee, there has been no "white" heavyweight champion of the world since the Swede Ingemar Johansson lost the title he had held for 1 year in June 1960. In the other weight divisions of boxing there have been at least as many white champions as black



Peace-loving Barry with wife and child. In the ring though, the promise of a good purse makes him forget his pacifism.

champions.

A flaw in Corry's book is that it is punctuated with the simulated dialogue and speech patterns of Italians and Hispanics of the "no spika English" and "he no come" variety, rendering their speakers stereotyped and comical caricatures and inferior to speakers of "proper" or "standard" English.

As for Barry, instead of his father singing "Danny Boy" or God Save the Queen, perhaps it

would be more appropriate for him to make the old ABBA hit "Money, Money, Money" his theme song. Come to think of it, I would not even be surprised to hear of the "man of peace" endorsing the new Anglo-Irish Agreement!

—JOE O BRUADAIR
McGUIGAN—the
unauthorised biography,
by Eoghan Corry.
Price IR £4.95

BOOKS FOR CHRISTMAS

CHRISTMAS IS a time to relax and enjoy yourself—and what better way to do it than with a good book! Christmas is also a time when we feel we have to dash about getting presents for our loved ones.

Books make good and fairly cheap presents.

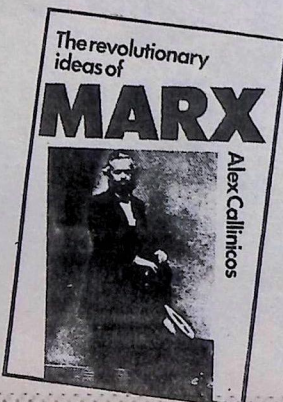
Socialist Worker decided to look at some books that you, or your friends, might like this Christmas.

Lets start with a good, funny novel. Rita Mae Brown's "Ruby Fruit Jungle" is the story of a working class girl growing up in the Southern States of America. Like most novels about girls growing up, it concentrates quite a bit on her adolescent sex life. It's different though because the heroine is a lesbian. As if it wasn't bad enough being a girl and poor—falling in love with other girls didn't help any!

This book will have you laughing and crying at the same time and it will inspire you with its combination of tenderness and gutsiness. (Fontana paperback £2.95)

For real inspiration, nothing can beat George Orwell's "Homage to Catalonia". It is

a brilliant journalistic account of the time he spent in Spain during the civil war. But more than that, it captures the spirit of the revolution in Barcelona with a vision of how things might be. Workers deciding collectively to run their factories. Everyone open and friendly, the waiters in the restaurants no longer servile but looking the customers straight in the eye and calling them "friend" or "comrade". A must for anyone who thinks that we will never have socialism because workers are too selfish and greedy. (Penguin £2.50)



For the friend who has just become interested in socialist ideas and needs encouraging, "The Revolutionary Ideas of Karl Marx" by Alex Callinicos is just the job. It is an introduction to the life and ideas of Karl Marx, written from a revolutionary socialist viewpoint. The central theme of the book is that Marx's analysis of capitalism and his theory of workers' revolution is more vital and valid today than ever before. The idea that "the emancipation of the working class is the act of the working class" runs through the book, as does the important point in a book about ideas "philosophers have only interpreted the world, the point is to change it". This is a book for people who want to change the world and need to know how. (Bookmarks £3.95)

James Plunkett's "Strumpet City" is a novel about Dublin around the time of the 1913 Lock-out. It's a great read—the kind of book you just can't put down. "Strumpet City" describes working class life in 1913—the grind of poverty, the determination to win something better through

the union and the fun and laughs that working class people have in spite of our oppression. It's a good way to get a little bit of our history though some of it needs a pinch of salt. (Fontana £3.95)

"Clara Zetkin: Selected Writings" is just the book for your socialist friend who you think has read every book in the shop. This is the newly published writings and speeches of the great German revolutionary socialist and fighter for women's rights. Most of the articles relate directly to the



struggle for women's liberation—always in the context of the fight for workers' power. Zetkin rages against bour-

geois feminists who want "an equal share in inequality" with the men of their class and insists that working class women must fight side by side with working class men for the liberation of the whole class, women and men. (New World Paperback £5.50)

Another piece of history worth knowing is in "The Good Old IRA". This is basically a catalogue of atrocities carried out by the "Old IRA"—that paramilitary organisation many of whose members were later to become part of the ruling class, indeed many of whose children are today ruling this country. Because they have won the independence to be able to develop native Irish capitalism, they now want to disassociate themselves from the armed struggle in the Six Counties which threatens to destabilise their statelet. So they talk about how different they were to the "terrorists" of today. "The Good Old IRA" answers that argument.

Fathers shot dead in front of their families, 70 year old men shot dead in their bed, women beaten up, there's a full book here of the "Old

IRA"'s activities which makes today's IRA look like a bunch of Greenham Common protestors. (Sinn Fein £1.95)

Us Irish are always singing. One of the problems is that no-one ever knows more than the first two lines of any song! "Christy Moore's Songbook" can change all that. It's packed with the kind of songs we always want to sing—from "Nancy Spain" and "Spencil Hill" to "Sacco and Vanzetti", "On the Blanket" and "No time for love". It doesn't have "The ABC of Socialism" or "The Internationale" but it is, nonetheless, the best songbook to have come out for some time. (Brandon Books £3.95)



All of these books are stocked in most bookshops. Many of them are available from the bookstall of your local SWM branch. Let's hope you present problems are all solved now. Good reading!

**STORAGE
TECHNOLOGY,
WORKERS
GONE,
TREHY SITS
PRETTY**

No official backing for Cork ESB linesmen



PADDY TREHY of the FWUI told workers of Storage Technology that it was no use occupying the plant after it went into liquidation. He said that their jobs were gone and there was no point in fighting for them.

These were very strange remarks coming from a so-called left wing union official.

The workers have since learnt that there was more to this than meets the eye.

Two months after the plant finally closed down, three plush chairs from the conference room in Storage Technology were gift-wrapped and sent to Paddy Trehy with the compliments of the liquidator John Donnelly (of Ranks fame). During the original occupation Trehy took a liking to the said chairs. A couple of the workers decided to find out for themselves if this was true and went to FWUI headquarters. And there they were—the three chairs in Trehy's office.

John Donnelly must have been very pleased with Trehy. But then why shouldn't he have been when Trehy was the one who undermined the workers and did Donnelly's job for him!

A word of caution now to other workers who come into contact with Trehy, especially now that the 25th pay round is under negotiation. Be sure to keep one eye on the management and the other on Trehy!

And lets give Paddy three Cheers (Chairs) for a job well done. And don't forget to watch out for him carrying the Banner in the next May Day march for justice and socialism for the workers and unemployed of the country.

—A FORMER STORAGE TECHNOLOGY WORKER

MATT MERRIGAN, the most left of left wing union officials, has dealt a severe blow to the struggle of the Cork ESB strikers.

Having promised to use his "plenary powers" to make the strike official, he has failed to come through with the goods.

Merrigan's first proposal was for a return to work followed by an official strike if after 21 days the issue of the drivers had not been resolved.

Fortunately the strikers knew that such a return to work without a resolution of the dispute would spell defeat for their hard-fought battle. In view of Merrigan's sell-out it was just as well.

MANAGEMENT

The strike comes at a time when the ESB management are being squeezed by the government into making redundancies nationwide.

The Jakobsen Report on the ESB commissioned by the Government recommends 3,000 job losses in the organisation. They want closure of all the smaller power stations.

Against this background ESB workers, despite all the anti-worker hype have refused to allow drivers work to be done by linesmen. Managers have already stated that they would be 29 less jobs for general workers to train up to.

MEETING

At the same time the opportunity for general workers to train up as linesmen has lessened greatly by the raising of the technical qualifications necessary for the job. The increasing sophistication of

lineswork means that there are more areas of work being done by an increasing number of electrical engineers who are members of AUEW/TASS. It is these people who, fearful of their positions, have been scabbing on the strike.

Many people are still totally confused by the strike. This confusion probably arises from reading the newspapers. The Cork Examiner has called the strikers "despicable pickets" and the Irish Times has referred to them as "selfish". Dick Spring sent in a convoy of Gardai to protect scabs doing linesmen's work and said it "was in the interests of the trade union movement".

The drivers, linesmen, and

general workers who make up the 180 on strike are not confused. Linesmen have refused to obey a management instruction that they should drive trucks on site. This would have meant less drivers and less chance of general workers training up as drivers and linesmen.

STRIKE

Finbarr O Donovan of the strike committee said "We have made a stand on this issue because we saw it as an erosion of jobs and conditions. Management responded 18 months ago by taking those men off the payroll who

insisted on sticking by our own agreements".

"We replied by collecting among ourselves to make up the losses. We continued to do this for eighteen months until they finally took 41 workers off the payroll. When we came out on strike we naturally expected the support of our National Secretary for the ESB, Jimmy Tinkler. In fact he did everything to stop the strike being made official. It makes one wonder what union officials are there for. I believe that all union officials should be subject to election. There must be more democracy in the unions".

Despite the fact that the strike

has not been made official it is necessary to spread it to other ESB depots and generating stations. The strikers will have to address general meetings of the workers in other ESB sites to achieve this.

The ESB strike is a fight for all workers against redundancies, cutbacks and a worsening of job conditions. It is also a fight against union bureaucrats who do not stand with their workers. The strikers should be fully supported by all trade unionists. Send workplace collections to: Finbarr O Donovan Strike Committee, ATGWU offices, McCurtain St, Cork.

Officials sell out Corpo fight

OPPOSITION TO private contractors by Corporation Maintenance workers was stabbed in the back when the NEEU engineering union gave the contractor a union card!

The sell out was led by union negotiator John Montgomery, secretary of the Dublin Corporation Group of Unions (DCGU).

Without consulting the membership, he changed the issue from total opposition to the use of contractors, to whether or not they had union cards. This paved the way for NEEU's sell-out.

The DCGU, an unelected body claiming to represent workers in Dublin Corporation, is now saying through its spokesperson Montgomery that the best way to oppose contractors is to increase productivity! The Corpo's use of false figures to justify the use of contractors means that if maintenance workers decide to compete with contractors they will end up chasing their tail. For example, 80% of the Corpo workers costs are due to administration which the contractor avails of but is not charged for.

EMBARGO

The real cost of contractors therefore is exactly the same as that of corpo workers. Why then are they being kind? If the reasons aren't economic then they can only be political. For the unions to allow contractors in means allowing the government to maintain its embargo on real jobs in the Public Sector. It would give the Corpo the power to force production from the workers without having to negotiate an agreement. Further it would enable the Corpo to push down real wages and would result in massive job losses. This is the real reason why contractors are being

taken on. This is the reason why they must be opposed.

Anyone who thinks all this is a long way off is living in cloud cuckoo land. We have to fight now while we have jobs to save them. There is enormous potential in the public service unions in general and local authority ones in particular to lead the fight against privatisation and for jobs.

The increasing use of private contractors comes at a time when only 1 worker replaces every 3 who leave or retire in Dublin Corporation. The privatisation of jobs is mirrored in the selling of Corporation houses. This scheme not only results in job losses but also the gradual reduction of the amount of accommodation at reasonable rents which is still under the control of the Public Sector.

The political lobby trying to smash the unions in the Public Sector and bring in

cutbacks is strong. Despite media lies about public sector workers, defence of jobs is part of the defence of the services provided to the public by the state. So it is in every worker's interests to defend the public sector and to back their fight to keep jobs and services.

FIGHTBACK

The fight against privatisation begins in the workplace and the unions. The only hope for a strong public service, as opposed to a private "service" for profits is a well-organised workforce. Unfortunately, the fightback is not being led by the ICTU or the unions. They are playing into the Government's hands by refusing to build for all-out action against the pay freeze. This collapse gives the Government the confidence for further attacks on jobs and services.

Even those small groups of workers who are willing to make a stand have not got the backing of the union leadership. The UCD cleaners' strike was one which struck at the heart of privatisation—at the contract system. Yet their union, the ITGWU, never gave them more than the most token support and, in the end, tricked them back to work.

The ESB linesmen in Cork have not even had their strike made official although they are defending union agreements.

Solidarity with these workers, for example by taking collections (they have received no strike pay in the 4 months they've been out), is one way of raising the question of a fightback. These collections can also begin to forge links between workers in the public service which will be critical when a fightback does start.

—CHARLIE NOLAN
Shop steward UCATT Dublin Corporation

BELFAST BAR VICTORY

BAR WORKERS in Belfast had a resounding win in their strike for better pay and conditions

Pickets were out at pubs in Belfast early on the morning of Monday 18th November as the strike by bar workers in the ATGWU began in support of their claim for higher pay and better working conditions.

Bar staff work long, unsocial hours six days a week for an average wage of £70. There are no provisions for pensions or early retirement through ill health. The bar staff demanded a £10 per week rise and a pension scheme. The decision to take industrial action was taken after a unanimous vote in favour of an all-out indefinite strike.

The bosses, members of the Belfast and Ulster Licenced Vintners Association, offered only £6 a week rise and no pension scheme or change in working conditions.

The strike was solid among union members and picket lines were mounted at every pub in Belfast where an agreement exists between the ATGWU and the publicans' association.

The members of the Belfast and Ulster Licenced Vintners Association declared publicly that they were prepared to stand firm but with the success of the pickets and the potential loss of Christmas trade, they caved in on Wednesday 20th.

Just three days on the picket line and the strikers went back to work with a £10 a week rise, a guarantee to introduce a pension scheme plus a death in service scheme.

The strike was an example to workers in the Six Counties of the need to resist the extension to the North of the British legislation on union ballots. The decision to strike was taken by the bar workers by a show of hands at a mass meeting and was unanimous. A secret ballot would have introduced disunity and dampened militancy and the barworkers would have lost out as a result.

Victories like this, even among small groups of workers, will cause Thatcher to look for the extension of anti-trade union laws to the Six Counties.



CORPORATION WORKFORCE

PRIVATISED WORKFORCE

Socialist Worker

CLEANERS STILL MILITANT

Teachers need all-out strike

THE LETTERS pages of the papers recently have been full of the rantings of "patriotic" individuals pointing out the "irresponsibility" of teachers in looking for more money. All the right-wing arguments are being peddled ranging from the alleged colossal wages, to the security of employment teachers are supposed to enjoy. The media generally is on a bandwagon of "teacher-bashing". So what are the real facts behind the dispute which has already brought thousands of teachers out on strike.

The government has informally rejected the 10% increase awarded by the "independent" arbitrator appointed by themselves. This was with the background of teachers pay increases, like other workers, falling way behind inflation in the last five years. The starting rate of pay is around £8,500 rising to £17,000 after no less than 25 years service. A teacher with 10 years of service would earn around £12,000 including allowances for qualifications and posts of responsibility. When you take off tax and PRSI, it is not surprising that teachers have been finding it increasingly hard to make ends meet, especially those with families and mortgages to pay.

The relatively short hours teachers have in comparison to other workers has been trotted out as an argument against their having a decent wage.

On the face of it, teachers work a 5 hour 40 minute day but this does not include time spent in preparation and correction. A study in England showed the real number of hours worked to be between 38 and 41. There is no reason to believe the picture to be any different here. As regards the amount of holidays, it is the government, not the teachers, who sets this, reflecting what they consider to be the best for the children. It is simply not true to suggest that most teachers take other jobs during their holidays. Some do. But then some do voluntary teaching work too. The relatively short hours spent in the classroom are amply justified by the high level of preparation, stress and corrections associated with the job.

While permanent teachers get a raw deal, the many part-timers do even worse. A lower rate of pay, no holiday pay, no sick leave and no security of employment is the order of the day for part-timers, whose numbers are increasing due to



For many teachers, the one day stoppages were their first experience of strike action and they liked the feeling of strength they gave them. This militancy must be built on and all-out strike action argued for.

government refusal to sanction more than a trickle of permanent posts.

There has been a definite increase in teachers' militancy in recent months, due in part to the government's uncompromising attitude and in particular to Hussey's notorious "immorality" speech. Unity between the three teachers' unions has made a huge impact. This was shown in the massive turnout on the day of the public service strike. This welcome change has, to an extent, dispelled the myth of

teacher's hopeless passivity.

On the other hand, many teachers still see themselves as being in some way different to other workers and the union leaders have played on this in their attempt to keep control of any action. They have constantly argued in favour of the negotiating machinery (re-appointment of the arbitrator) which they see as being appropriate for "responsible" people like teachers.

At the recent demonstration on the day of the one-day strike in Dublin, one union

official from the platform spoke of the shame that teachers should have to be out on the streets.

It is obvious that these union leaders are not to be trusted. One-day strikes will not win the pay increase. United all-out action is needed. Many more teachers must become convinced of this through argument in the workplaces and at union meetings.

Without their pressure from below, the way will be clear for the union leaders and the government to cook up a shoddy deal.

-JAMES Mc ILLINEY

THE STRIKE of the women cleaners at UCD ended on 19th November. The outcome of the strike cannot be described as a victory for the women, but it is far from a defeat.

The strikers won jobs for eight of them—all within the PRSI system. That any of the jobs offered should have enough hours to keep them within the PRSI had always been a cornerstone of the women's fight. Back at the end of July, when their former employers, Contract Cleaners Ltd, lost the Arts and Library contract in UCD, most of them could have been taken on by the new firm Professional Contract Cleaners.

But PCC had tendered for the contract on the basis of three hours a night whereas CCL had worked four hours a night. But the women knew that the reduction in weekly hours from 20 to 15 took the job out of the PRSI system for which the statutory cut-off point is 18 hours a week. The result would have been a loss of entitlement to holiday pay, sick pay, maternity leave, redundancy rights and the protection of the employment protection legislation.

So from the beginning the women were fighting not just for jobs, but for jobs within the PRSI system. They have won that principle. They won only eight jobs where there used to be twenty-three and that's no victory. But winning the right to jobs within the PRSI system is a victory and a major breakthrough for part-time workers.

Cleaning, catering, and shop part-timers all over the country can now point to the UCD strike to back their own demands to become/remain part of this system.

At the end of a strike which fought such an important fight for the rights of part-time workers and for the rights of women workers, (90% of part-timers are women), we must ask how did the seemingly powerless women cleaners win such concessions? We must, of course also ask why it was that they did not win the 23 jobs back.

Right from the beginning of the strike the women knew that they could not win on their own. So they organised to look for the support of other workers. They elected a strike committee and drew up a picket rota. From 5.00 a.m. until 10.00 p.m. each night, they picketed UCD.

The strikers felt quite strongly that one of the reasons that more workers didn't respect their picket was because they were "just a bunch of women".

When they decided to show that "a bunch of women" could get tough and physically block the entrance to the college, UCD management called in the Gardai. It soon became clear that the police believe in equality for women workers. They attacked the picket line and threw the women about with the same relish and strength that they used for the ESB linesmen in Cork!

You're probably asking at this stage "what was their union official doing to help them?" The answer was sweet damn all. Pat Rabbitte is their Group Secretary. Outside of working hours he calls himself a socialist. He's a leading member of the so-called Workers Party. To the strikers he seemed to be on management's side rather than theirs.

After weeks of listening to Rabbitte's promises of support which never arrived, the women decided that they had to rely on themselves to get the support of other groups of workers.

Marie Lenihan, their shop steward, went to the building site canteen and appealed to the workers building the new library for support. She asked for a half day's stoppage in solidarity. They agreed to a full day's strike.

Spurred on by this success, the strikers contacted other shop stewards in UCD and asked them to arrange meetings that they could address. The result of these direct appeals was an all-out one day stoppage in support of the strike.

This kind of action frightened UCD management who then

sought injunctions to stop the women picketing. They failed to do this but did stop the women going onto UCD property. This was a very clever move since it made it much more difficult for the women to organise solidarity from other UCD workers.

This problem was overcome to some extent by the setting up of the strikers' Support Group which brought some UCD shop stewards together with students and other supporters.

The Group had just begun to organise meetings with other UCD shop stewards when the women were tricked to end the strike.

It was an old trick that union officials use. The women were told that the union would put forward certain demands at the next negotiating meeting. They were unlikely to get them but the strikers would be ballotted there and then—in advance—on whether or not to accept these demands. Cepta Carroll, the deputy shop steward said "Everyone was confused; no-one was sure what they were voting for". Then, hey presto! Rabbitte pulled the deal out of the hat, opened the sealed ballot papers which voted two to one to accept the union demands and declared the strike over.

The women, still in confusion, objected but were told that the ballot was valid and the strike was over.

So why did such a determined and militant group of workers not win the 23 jobs back?

Marie Lenihan, the shop steward is clear on that. "We weren't just fighting UCD and Contract Cleaners Ltd. We were also fighting our Union. The only people to help us were the students, the SWM and people like them. Any help we got from the ITGWU was because we forced it from them."

"ITGWU members continued to work in UCD right through the strike. The union never asked, or ordered, any of them to support us. Any solidarity we did get from other UCD workers, we got by going to them ourselves and appealing to them as fellow trade unionists. By explaining to them that it was us today and it might be them tomorrow. If we had had real support from the union, we would have won in a few weeks. We would have closed UCD".

The strike has changed the ideas, indeed the lives of many of those who were involved. Women who had never had any life outside of work, home and family found that they had strength and confidence which surprised them. Many of them had to stand up to their husbands in order to stay on the picket line. They won't go back to being just "the missus".

The ITGWU women had a history of militancy. The FWUI cleaners who came out in support of them twelve weeks into the strike, also found their ideas changed. They had resisted the idea of coming out. They didn't think it could win. Now they are aware of their own strength as workers. They've seen how the dirt and rubbish piling up put pressure on UCD. Some of them even wanted to stay on strike to win job security for themselves after the ITGWU women went back!

First on the agenda is a joint shop steward's committee between the ITGWU and the FWUI. Marie Lenihan explains, "If we had all come out together the first day, we would have been a lot stronger. With a joint shop stewards committee we will have the kind of co-operation there should be between unions. Next time we need to fight we'll be a lot stronger".

They will be organising quickly to ensure that there will be no victimisations. By next July they plan to have all the cleaners in UCD fully-paid up members of one or other Union. Then if any contract is lost or changed they will be ready to fight together.

The women cleaners of UCD have ended their strike in the spirit of militancy and determination with which they began.

-GORETTI HORGAN