

Socialist Worker

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism

DIVORCE THE CHURCH FROM THE STATE



photo: DEREK SPEIRS/Report

AS THE divorce debate heats up, one thing is clear. The proposals on divorce are very limited and the Fine Gael liberals are falling over themselves to emphasise just how limited the proposals are.

As socialists we have got to call a spade a spade. Those who are anti-divorce are the same bunch of sectarian bigots who pushed through the anti-abortion amendment. The Alice Glenn brigade know what the debate is all about, even if some of the pro-divorce lobby are not very clear.

They know that under capitalism the family is vital to

women's oppression. The Constitution in the 26 counties states:

"The State recognises the family as the natural, primary and fundamental unit group of society, and as a moral institution possessing inalienable and imprescriptible rights..."

To the right-wing sectarians in the South of Ireland even a limited amount of divorce upsets the "natural" family unit. They know that a massive Yes vote is a small step forward for women's rights and for the ending of oppressive ideas about "a woman's place" being in the home.

They also know why

socialists like us always push the need for women's liberation. They know why we will jump at the chance to campaign for even the most limited reforms.

We don't believe in their ideas or the society they uphold and we want to change it whereas they want to preserve and conserve this society.

Let's look at what they want to conserve.

Basically they want to maintain the oppression of women in this society. Marriage, for example, is not to be based on love and respect. No, despite all the religious tripe, if a woman is

imprisoned in a violent relationship she must stick it out. It's the "natural" order of things. The mother cooks and cleans and does the shopping. She serves the dinner. The man might have a rotten day at work, but can work off his frustrations at home, pretend he's a boss and can do what he wants to his "servant".

Housekeeping money is doled out to the wife while she gets pocket money. He is entitled to lose his temper when she can't manage with rising prices. And he lays down the law to the kids. The whole of the education system instills the idea into her head

that she should be satisfied looking after her children and her husband. She is respected for being the wife of... the mother of...

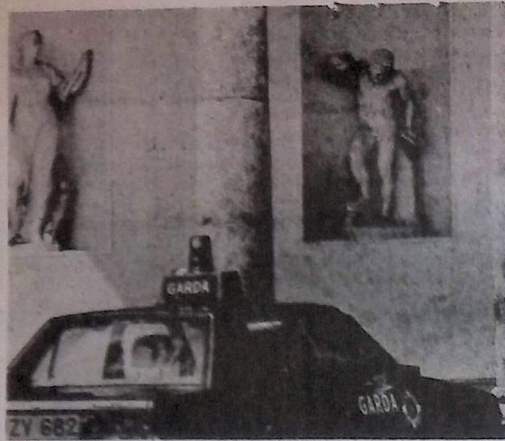
The sectarian bigots exploit the natural love between husband and wife and between mother and children to the full, never giving an inch when the woman seeks a little freedom. She is not free to plan her family. She must have a baby every time she becomes pregnant. She must put up with some wife beating thug who thinks he is Rambo. She must never question her role in society. She is the mother and wife; the Church says she

is sacred even if society treats her as a second-class citizen.

The point is that these ideas play on the real love of human beings for one another. The Right uses love for its own purpose in society, and twists it until a woman who wants a little freedom from constant drudgery and housework is called uncaring and "not a real mother".

A neat trick. But a massive Yes vote on divorce might just begin to expose it as just that. And hopefully open a few floodgates.

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Russborough House: pretty as a picture

Beit's been bitten!

PITY POOR Sir Alfred Lane Beit. His priceless art collection robbed for the second time. God knows, Sir Alfred finds it difficult enough to live among the natives without this class of thing.

An Oxford man is Sir Alfred. Educated at Eton and Christ Church. Dabbled a bit in politics. Tory and Unionist MP for St. Pancras in the 30s.

Goddam emigrants and ex-servicemen tossed him out in 1945. Decided on a quiet retirement in Russborough, Co Wicklow.

A quiet, shy unassuming man. Never opened the door

of Russborough to the public until after it was robbed for the first time. But a member of some fairly select clubs like Kildare St. Club and the Civil Service Club (South Africa). South Africa? Yes, Sir Alfred has a very soft spot for the white paradise.

Russborough is only his second home. Still lives at Gordon's Bay, South Africa. In fact, Sir Alfred bought all the paintings from a fortune made in South African diamonds. From the sweat of black labour, you might say. Sir Alfred Lane Beit has been beaten at his own game.

Fifty years a parasite

TONY O'REILLY was 50 last month. The occasion was marked by a wing-ding at the beefy multi-millionaire's palatial residence in Kildare attended by as disgusting a collection of bloated parasites as has been gathered together in one place since the last meeting of the executive committee of the Federated Union of Employers.

Having eaten and drunk themselves sick on 30-quid bottles of wine, stuffed vine-leaves and the like, a dozen or so of the fat-bellied yobbos stood up in turn to belch banalities about what a fine specimen of humanity the big bag of blubber really is. Naturally enough, all this was reported in the national press—especially in O'Reilly's own Independent newspapers—as a glamorous social occasion which a human being might attend without kissing goodbye forever to self-respect.

Not a mention was made of the fact that O'Reilly amassed his vast fortune by the ruthless exploitation of Irish workers and the most cynical manipulation of the stock markets. In the 70s, for example, he carried out a "reverse takeover" of the Gouldings Fertiliser group which he proceeded to strip its assets and throw 300 workers onto the dole queues. He and his chams did the same thing with the Dockrell's

Group.

Earlier in the 70s he used his position as head of the state-owned Erin Foods to flog the enterprise off to Heinz and in the process to ingratiate himself with the US based multinational. Which is how he comes to be boss of Heinz International today.

Every thing which O'Reilly owns has been stolen from working class people.

RUGGER

The Sunday before the day which marked the 50th anniversary of his misfortunate birth, the Independent published a "profile" of O'Reilly by his rugger pal Andy Mulligan. In it he described how O'Reilly first started in business.

During one of the rugby tours undertaken to bring aid and comfort to the blood-soaked gangsters of the Apartheid regime, O'Reilly would hire a suite in each of the whites-only hotels they stayed in and run a little private trade-fair, flogging (wait for it) "Irish tweeds, handwoven underwear, honey-poy sticky fly-catcher (whatever that is) and Irish whiskey cake".

The hand-woven underwear would be hard-wearing stuff, no doubt. So now, as the black working class rises in



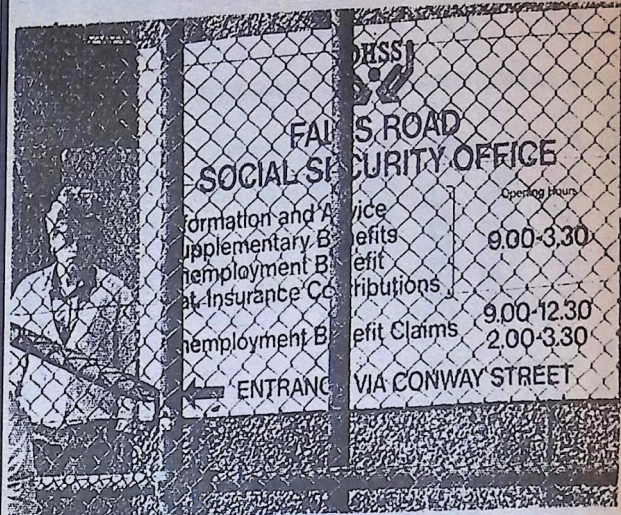
Birthday boy: Tony O'Reilly

revolution, it is somehow appropriate that the knickers some of the racists are shitting themselves into were supplied by Tony O'Reilly and are now

as full as crap as he is.

There should be a law against people like Tony O'Reilly, and one day there will be.

North's jobless face more cuts



A quarter of a million jobless in the North

THE DEPARTMENT of Economic Development has announced the highest March and April unemployment figures on record for the Six Counties.

Unemployment usually falls considerably in the spring as seasonal work becomes available. This year, registered unemployment fell by only 306 in March to 124,403. This is more than accounted for by a change in the way statistics are calculated. When the unemployment figures rise too much, the government gets worried and manipulates the way they are calculated to make them appear lower.

They have already lopped off unemployed married women, old age pensioners seeking work and school leavers who are in their first three months on the dole. It is getting quite difficult to find further fiddles while still maintaining that the registered unemployment level is a meaningful statistic.

Nevertheless, with the unemployment figures rising when they should be falling, the crooks in Westminster had to pull another fast one. They optimistically predict that a certain proportion of those signing on the dole will find work before their next signing-on day so they take this proportion off the register. Registered unemployment in the Six Counties is now 27.2% for males and 13.1% for females. This considerably underestimates the real level of unemployment and ignores the fact that Catholics suffer much higher levels than Protestants.

DEPRIVATION

Unemployment is concentrated in the Catholic working class estates. In West Belfast 15,000 are unemployed, that is one in three. A survey carried out in Divis revealed that only 14% of the working population over 15 have full time jobs. This sort of unemployment rate is comparable only with the third world. Reports of appalling poverty, hardship, dangerous and unhealthy housing conditions caused by such extreme unemployment levels have prompted an extensive survey of the residents to discover the effects of chronic deprivation on their physical and mental health.

As the unemployment

level soars the British Government is looking for cuts in the social security bill. They want to slash £33 million off the unemployment and supplementary benefit payments in the Six Counties. £13.6 million will be saved by cutting pensions by about £5 a week. The rest of the savings will come from unemployed families on supplementary benefit, especially those with small children. The maternity grant is to go, together with all payments for babies more than one month old. Cuts in child benefit and free school meals are also planned.

Single payments for household items such as furniture and kitchen equipment will be restricted by increasing the length of time a claimant must be on the dole before the eligibility to claim, reducing the number of items eligible for a claim and introducing their own price lists for such items. The most devious and potentially cost reducing exercise will be the abolition of payments to those the DHSS deem have "any immediate prospect of work".

SECTARIAN

The working class are made to pay for the economic crisis that the ruling class are unable to solve or even temporarily relieve. The only way to control the ever increasing social security bill as more workers are thrown onto the dole is to cut individual benefit payments.

If government plans go through the hardest hit victims of this crisis in the sectarian Northern state, unemployed Catholics, will be pushed further below an already unacceptably low poverty line.

There is only one way to get rid of this unemployment and extreme poverty. It is not to hope for a Labour government in Britain which might invest in local industry and services and increase social security payments to a smaller unemployed workforce.

It is not to wait for Dublin to negotiate a better deal for Catholics out of the Anglo-Irish deal or even from a united capitalist Ireland.

Only the working class have the power and interest to smash this system, capitalism, which divides workers and slings them on the dole when profits are down.

Self Aid fraud proved

SELF AID did stink. It stank even worse than we had thought it would.

In last month's Socialist Worker, we warned that Self Aid would result in the blame for capitalism's problems being, once again, put on the working class; that there would be a revival of the idea that there are jobs out there if only we would get up off our arses and go and look for them.

And that's exactly the message that Gay Byrne and his tap-dancing friend tried to convey on the day. In between some of the best music heard in Ireland for sometime, we were subjected to a sickening diatribe on how some people had managed to make their own jobs and how, according to Gaybo, we could all do the same.

Worse than that, companies who have the worst records of exploitation of their workers managed to improve their image and get a free plug on radio and TV by "pledging" jobs or money.

Cement Roadstone gave £10,000 greatly angering its

workers, 300 of whom they have just laid off. "Ronald MacDonald", the Macdonald's clown did his PR bit as they offered 25 jobs. The fact that these jobs tend to have the worst pay and working conditions in the country and cannot be unionised was ignored; the fact that Macdonalds are always looking for workers was ignored too—just as long as the impression could be given that Self Aid was making things work.

PLEGDED

As it happens, even in its own terms, it didn't "make it work". It was, in fact, a flop! Although on the day the organisers claimed over half a million pounds raised and 1,300 jobs pledged, they have since admitted that only a quarter of a million has actually come in. Worse, almost half the jobs have turned out to be hoaxes or mistakes.

100 jobs advertised for Donegal road improvement work turned out to be just a good idea that someone had

Irish Life were said to have offered 150 jobs. When they were contacted by "In Dublin" magazine a spokesperson said that they were "bewildered" when they saw the jobs advertised—because they simply weren't there to be filled. Hundreds of jobs turned out to be similarly empty promises.

Fortunately, the debate caused by the "Self Aid Makes it Worse" protest and alternative gigs led a lot of workers to question the whole idea of the extravaganza and to look behind the music, the glamour and the hype to what was actually being done on the day.

And what they saw, many did not like. Bord Telecom workers wrote to the papers to express their annoyance at the Bord's supposed concern about jobs. Telecom provided free phones for the event. Yet the same company wants to lay off four thousand workers!

The response of ESB workers was similar. The day after Self Aid, the ESB started an advertising campaign about the extra 20 jobs it had created for Self Aid. But the

ESB has, for a number of years now, been trying to impose 3-5,000 redundancies on its workers. The hypocrisy of the bosses knows no bounds.

In short, Self Aid was being used, at best to save the consciences of companies that are condemning thousands of workers to life on the dole. At worst, it was being used as a cynical exercise in public relations to counter the totally justified anger of both employed and unemployed workers.

PROPAGANDA

It's not often that the Left in this country can counter the bosses' propaganda, even to the tiniest degree. The resounding success of the "Self Aid Makes it Worse" gigs was more than just providing a cheap alternative to the RDS. The real success was the fact that thousands of workers came to question, and to many to actually reject, the idea that Self Aid could "make it work".

WE THINK

DIVORCE REFERENDUM

Cowardice of Irish Liberalism

IN THIS month's referendum on divorce, every socialist will be voting yes. Because divorce is simply a basic democratic right. But in this country it is also part and parcel of a fight for a secular state.

The hierarchy of the Catholic Church have always stood up for reaction and rule by the rich. They opposed free education, a free health service and even a comprehensive welfare system. Under the guise of morality they have attacked strikers and fought every attempt to give women more freedom. A defeat for the Church hierarchy on an issue they regard as central will be a gigantic step forward.

The Irish rich have always turned to the Bishops for the ideas that would protect their privilege. In the last century, Parnell brought the priests into the Land League to keep the militants in check. When the Free State was set up, it was the clergy who played a major role in denouncing the 'extremists.' Today they continue that service by bolstering up the SDLP in the North against republican militants.

In return, the Bishops won a

powerful position in the life of Southern Ireland. Up to recently, the Catholic Church's 'special position' was recognised in the Constitution. It was no more than a statement of fact. In reality, the bishops were given control over the schools and the hospitals.

Today a section of the boss class, grouped around Fine Gael and the Progressive Democrats, believe they can distance themselves from the Church. Since joining the EEC allowed them to join the European Residents Association, they want to keep their influence for reaction but cut back on the restrictions they place on the lives of their middle class supporters. But in everything they do, they tackle the power of the Church in the most cautious and cowardly fashion.

The wording of this referendum shows all the cowardice of Irish liberalism. It talks of granting divorce after five years separation. Any contest by either party will prolong the waiting period. When Dukes was challenged by the bishops on the issue of a "no-fault divorce", he insisted that the Dail would be bringing in measures to restrict it. The

effect of the referendum will be to enshrine yet another "Irish solution to an Irish problem" in De Valera's already Catholic biased constitution.

The people who pay for this cowardice will be the working class—particularly working class women. How can they seriously put up the legal costs and wait around for five years? If Dukes is talking of restricting the *no-fault* element, are they supposed to join the murky world of hired private detectives to find spurious reasons for divorce?

The only serious way of making the democratic right to divorce a reality for the working class is when it is available free on demand. Seventy years ago the revolutionary workers' government in Russia could achieve this. The likes of Dick Spring can go no further than granting the right to those who can afford it. That is why when we say vote YES, we also say organise to take the struggle beyond the limits set by Irish liberals.

It is only in the course of a fight for a Workers' Republic, that our full democratic rights will be achieved.

CORPO STOP PRESS

REDMOND'S RETHINK

SEAN REDMOND, General Secretary of the IMETU, has had second thoughts about his instructions to other workers to cross Corpo picket lines in the current strike (see p 12).

In a letter written on May 27, to his members he claimed that his original letter was only meant to inform other unions that IMETU was taking strike action and that other unions' members should not do their work.

What he cannot deny is that his original letter states: "This strike will involve general operatives only and other grades should work as normal".

Anger from his members and the solidarity of "other grades" have stung him into a rethink.

CODE OF PRACTICE SIGNED "IN ERROR"

AN ATTEMPT by Dublin Corpo to impose on the workforce new working practices as contained in a document issued by the management, failed despite the help they received from union officials.

Rank and file members of the AUEW district committee instructed their union official F Callaghan to withdraw his signature from the document which he claimed at the meeting to have signed in error!

He has since carried out this instruction and told management to cease distributing the document.

The two other signatories to the document are the ex-chairman of the ICTU group of craft unions and the secretary of the same group.

The ex-chairman, Michael Kinehan of NNETU has since decided to join the bosses altogether by being promoted to the position of inspector while the Secretary, John Montgomery of EETPU—a member of the CPI—has still not dissociated himself from the document, much to the appreciation of management.

Other union officials S Nolan (UCATT) and S Coughlan (INPDTU (painters) voiced their opposition to the distribution of the document which they claimed ignorance of.

Rank and file members of UCATT totally rejected it 12 months ago when it was first presented to them for discussion, despite being strongly recommended to them by Nolan at that time.

The document, "Industrial Relations Code of Practice for Tradesmen and Apprentices", if implemented would represent a worsening of conditions for Corpo workers. For example, the Corpo claim the right to remove an employee from the sick pay scheme for allegedly being sick too often.

Strong and active rank and file trade unionism is the only protection against union officials "errors" like this.

Starvation and the millions Sport Aid cannot provide

THIRTY MILLION people took to the streets in 278 cities in 78 countries to demand aid for famine victims in Africa on the last Sunday in May.

That's 30 million who were sickened by starvation in a world full of plenty and who wanted to do something about it.

If their energy and anger had been directed against the world's rulers, they'd have shaken the rotten system we live under to its foundations.

Unfortunately, the politics of the organisers of Sports-Aid directed all that energy into a cul-de-sac. The world's rulers, East and West didn't break out into a cold sweat at the sight of the mobilised millions.

Instead, their faces were wreathed in benign smiles, like Thatcher at Heathrow greeting the Sudanese runner or a Coalition minister presiding at the Sports-Aid run in Phoenix Park.

The most massive immediate problem facing areas of mass starvation is the demands of Western banks for interest repayments on debts. The World Bank estimates that even a 30 percent increase in aid over the next four years (the demand of many aid campaigners) would still fall £1,800 million sterling short each year of what is needed. It's in that context that we have to view the £100 million which has so far been raised by Live-Aid and Sports-Aid.

Unless you attack the banking system you are not getting to the root of the problem. And attacking the banking system brings you into head-on collision with the rulers of the western world. It means you don't simmer to the ruling class. You savage it.

Bob Geldorf made a significant move forwards (and possibly backwards) when he lashed out at the failure of the United Nations to take the problem seriously. And he

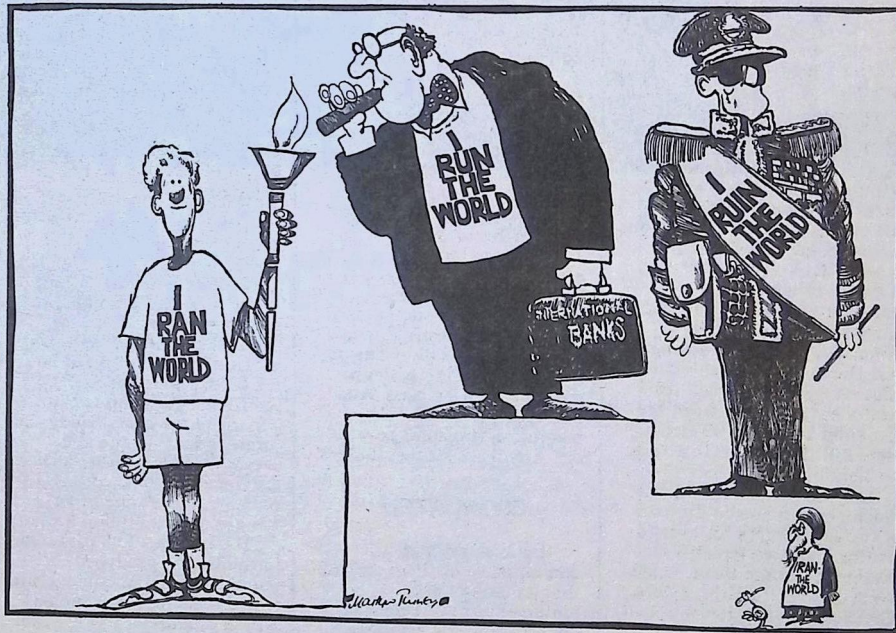
was right to hammer the Stalinists of Moscow as well. The Stalinists, too, represent a ruling elite with no interest in supporting a struggle against the existing world order.

But it is nonsensical to imagine that you can challenge the existing world order while being hugger-mugger with the very people and institutions who represent it. The Sports Aid event brought millions of pounds of the very best publicity for banks, building societies and thieving corporations who claimed to "support it". And Bob Geldorf continues to babble about what a great guy Prince Charles is!

So long as control stays in the hands of the big corporations, the bankers, the politicians, the state capitalists in the East and the generals of the military juntas, millions will continue to die no matter how many well-intentioned people run, jump or stand still listening to pop music.

Fighting starvation means fighting the system which creates it.

It means joining the struggle for socialism.



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IN BRIEF

BELFAST WAPPING SUPPORT GROUP PICKET EASONS

IN THE absence of any initiative from the leaders of the Printworkers' unions, a number of print workers in Belfast have set up a Wapping support Group there.

Andy Snoddy (NGA), Kevin Cooper (NUJ) and Simon Smith (Sogat) have organised meetings with NIPSA, NUPE and the TGWU as well as at various workplaces to appeal for support for the 5,500 sacked print workers. The group pickets Easons

every Saturday as that company sells and distributes Murdoch's scab papers—the Sun, Times, News of the World and Sunday Times.

Fundraising events have also been organised and, at present, Pat Kearns from Sogat '82 is speaking at workplaces around the Six Counties to publicise the dispute. Pat is campaigning against the acceptance of Murdoch's deal at the forthcoming ballot of members. He points out that they are fighting for their jobs and for union recognition and that the deal offers neither.

The support Group showed their solidarity with RVH strikers and Saturday 31st May when, after hearing of Friday night's scabbing activities, they adjourned their picket of Easons to join the RVH picket line.

The group meets every Monday night at 7.30 in the Unemployed Centre.

SCAB VANS AT R.V.H.

ON 30th May, Eastern Health Board officials tried to bring scab vans through the picket line at the Royal Victoria Hospital, Belfast.

The scabs, volunteer drivers were trying to remove 18 days worth of dirty linen from the hospital to be laundered outside. In fact, only a few vans got through.

The administrators in the hospital are under pressure. They described the dirty washing, which is piled up all over the hospital as "socially unacceptable" and complained that the food which is getting through the pickets (and which they have to eat too) is

"monotonous".

The strike by 24 drivers, members of NUPE, is about the drastic cuts in the health service demanded by the Eastern Health Board and specifically against proposed cuts in hours for drivers.

Management's strike breaking tactics has provoked solidarity action from other workers. The laundry that got through in the scab vans is being blocked by the outside workers.

And canteen staff in the hospital called a two-hour strike where, having fed the patients, they refused to feed the administrators.

It is this kind of solidarity action which must be built on if the strike is to be won and the health service defended.

INTERNATIONAL

Rambo's

THE AMERICAN Defence Department has recently put in for its new budget. Its secretary, Caspar Weinberger, wants a staggering \$311.6 billion starting in October. That is a real increase of 9% over last year's record high.

It is not hard to see how the money is spent. Already this year, America has carried out its fourth test on the atomic bomb. It is about to begin production of chemical weapons after a 16 year long ban. It has troops in 69 countries of the world. It is engaged in the biggest arms race in human history.

Some elements of its armaments programme border on sheer lunacy. One of the big spenders is the MX missile. These "interballistic" missiles are to be stored in silos across America. They are capable of hitting targets in Russia itself. Each single missile costs \$70 million. The Pentagon wants to produce 100 of them—and a further 143 for "test purposes". Yet even before the programme gets underway, it has become obsolete for the hawks that dominate the Pentagon. They argue that the silos are stationary and are therefore vulnerable to a Russian "first strike". Result: alongside the MX missile programme, comes the new mobile Midgetman programme costing similar amounts.

This colossal military power has already been put into action. In April, 2,000 explosives were dropped on civilian targets in Libya. In 1983, Grenada was invaded and now the Council of Hemispheric Affairs claim that it has "the worst human rights record in the Caribbean".

Yet both episodes represent "soft targets" for the Reagan administration. They give them the chance of showing off US military power without taking many losses of US troops. They are part of a strategy to wipe out the memory of Vietnam gradually from the minds of the American public. So strong was the memory of this defeat, that Reagan was forced to beat a hasty retreat from the Lebanon after 250 servicemen were killed in a suicide attack on their barracks.

But the American military machine may not be directed at the soft targets for ever. During a visit to Israel, Vice President George Bush, named Syria as a "terrorist" (!) state. The clear implication was that they could expect another American raid. How far the Reagan administration will go in taking direct action against Moscow's closest ally in the Middle East, cannot be predicted. But it is this increasingly dangerous situation it is vital that socialists understand the roots of the American military build-up.

There are two principal factors in the new war drive. Firstly, in the wake of the Vietnam defeat, the Nixon and Carter administration pursued a policy of relying on local pro-American despots to look after their interests. Amongst these key "local policemen" were countries like Iran, South Africa, Brazil and Israel. Their function was to intervene where America could not. Thus Brazil specialised in exporting torture and "anti-subversive" techniques to a wide variety of South American generals.

war-drive hides U.S. slide

Iran sought to preserve a balance in the Middle East alongside Israel to ensure full American access to the oil supplies.

The slump in the world economic system from 1973 onwards undermined some of the very regimes that America was relying on. In 1979, the Shah's attempt to build a massive military machine on the backs of the poor led to his overthrow. In Brazil, the economic miracle gave way to a mountain of debt. Today Brazil owes \$75 billion to the world banks. Its energies are now more modestly directed to matching the demands of the IMF to an increasingly militant working class. And in South Africa the tide of revolution threatens to wipe out America's strongest allies.

ESCALATED

It was as a direct consequence of these defeats that America's new "interventionist" role was undertaken. The arms drive began under the Democrat, Carter. Reagan has only escalated the build-up.

However, the second factor in explaining the build-up has to do with America's own decline as an economic power. At the end of the Second World War, America emerged as the largest single economy by far. Half of the world's industrial production was concentrated within her boundaries. Today, that has declined to less than one fifth. The decline has been particularly rapid in the 70s. In 1970 US manufacturing was twice as productive as Japan and third more productive than either Germany or France. By 1980, US manufacturing, measured by output per hour was trailing Germany and France and only slightly ahead of Japan.

These are average figures. In particular areas it is more

dramatic. In 1981 it took 210 hours to make a car in America—it took 140 hours to make a car in Japan. In 1980 it took 2.6 hours to make a television in America—it took 0.8 hours in Japan. In areas like machine tools, steel production, computers, and videos, American capital has begun to give way to its competitors.

As a result alongside demands for increased protection, there has been a major flow of capital out of America. In order to fend off the competition American capital has scoured the world looking for cheap labour and tax breaks and subsidies. South-east Asia and Latin America have been among the prime targets. In the mid-seventies, Southern Ireland also received some of this outflow to the tune of an average of £70 million a year.

Today 50% of all cars sold in the US are produced abroad—often in conjunction with Japanese makes such as Nissan or Honda. In 1984, for example, General Electric imported \$1.4 billion worth of consumer goods and sold them in America under the General Electric label. American capital has had to spread beyond its own borders just to compete with its rivals for its "own" markets.

On top of all this, there has been a massive flight of capital in the form of lending to underdeveloped countries. By the end of 1984, private American banks held over \$600 billion in Third World debts. The scale of the problem can be seen in one example. The nine largest banks in America have over half of their capital locked into Mexico. Yet in 1982, threatened to default. A last minute rescue package saved Mexico and the banks.

The flow of capital out of America means that the frontiers for protection have

widened. American imperialism has now a more vital interest in "maintaining its credibility" in order to continue the repayments to its banks and the super profits that keep its companies afloat. That is why every blow struck against American imperialism so worries them. The Nicaraguan revolution remains an inspiration to the masses of Brazil and Mexico to throw off the yoke of the American banks. Every movement against the dictators of Korea or Pakistan instil a tremendous fear into the American boardrooms in case their cheap labour paradise is ended.

So the build-up of the American war machine is not just directed at the Russians. Its aim is to intimidate an ever-widening segment of the world's population on whose backs American capital depends for its survival. By shifting the ground onto the level of military competition, the US also gains the advantage of pulling its economic competitors into line.

SANCTIONS

In calling on its allies to stand up to Moscow and terrorism, the Americans can get away with measures that renew their advantage over the Europeans and Japanese. The American campaign to ban sales of high technology to Russia, to stop the East-West pipeline, to impose sanctions against Libya—all hurt its allies and economic competitors more. That is why the expansionary plans of European and Japanese imperialism often leads them into conflict with the Americans over who is "soft" on terrorism.

The new Rambo style of America's rulers hides their own weakness. The bully boy war machine has been forced on them by their own economic decline. This also

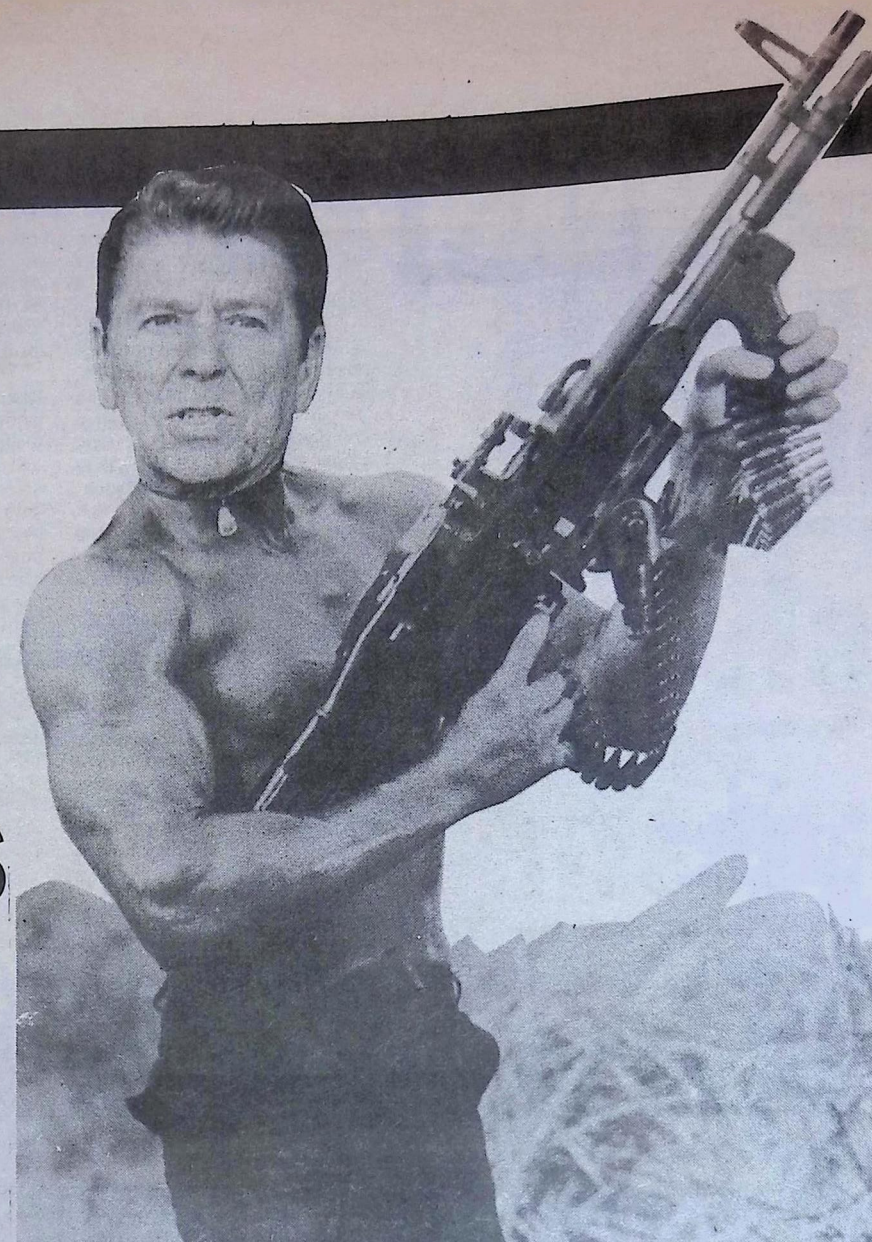
means that they are more vulnerable than before to the threat of revolt. The very system that has brought their relative decline has also pressed masses of people across the world into rebellion against poverty and unemployment. And because of the very international nature of the system, every revolt has the power to inspire far more than the past.

Despite their MX missiles, their chemical bombs and nuclear stock-piles, the Americans are severely constrained in handling these revolts. They worry about the reaction at home if they were to send in the troops. They worry about the solidarity they would bring if they were to launch an attack. That is why Nicaragua survives. That is why the greatest power on earth looked more like a clumsy old grandfather when the Filipino masses took to the streets. Another of their loyal despots fell while they only managed to fumble around at the last moment to get a replacement.

At home the build-up has been paid for with tremendous costs to American workers. By 1981 American workers' hourly earnings after tax had fallen to what they had in 1960. For black workers it is far worse. Over one third of blacks now live below the poverty line. Across industry the bosses have carried out a campaign of "give-backs"—where workers give back wage increases.

Today the American war machine stands like a bloated parasite feeding of a system in decline. Despite its temporary success in intimidating opposition and whipping up patriotism at home, the experience of history shows that it cannot last. The flames of revolt will grow. That in turn can awaken the fantastic militant tradition that American workers have also shown.

—KIERAN ALLEN



South Africa

NAZIS STIR

THE BLOODY face of entrenched white rule in South Africa flashed across the world's TV screens at the end of last month.

The Nazi organisation AWB stormed and wrecked a meeting of the ruling Nationalist Party. One of the nationalist's leading politicians, Pik Botha, was denied a platform by what, until recently, had been regarded as an insignificant lunatic fringe.

The people the Nazis attacked were not liberals. One outraged "Nat" exclaimed of the Nazis, "they're worse than kaffirs".

Neither is the Nazis' beloved apartheid seriously under threat from the government. Last month South Africa bombed offices and refugee camps in three foreign countries. And police continue to attack the black townships.

But this is not repression enough for the extreme right in South Africa.

To understand the contortions of "reformers" and reactionaries in South Africa it is necessary to understand the nature of apartheid.

Apartheid is a system of cheap labour based on the highest level of state racism and oppression. It is capitalism fully integrated with racism.

But racism in South Africa is not simply a useful tool with which the ruling class divides and rules, as it is, say, in Ireland. It is absolutely entrenched in the system.

DISENTANGLE

Any attempts to disentangle this racism from capitalism meets with resistance from the whites who feel they have nothing to gain from a South African capitalism without apartheid and everything to lose.

The Nazi AWB has its power base, not among rich enlightened white businessmen, but among the farmers of the Transvaal.

And for decades the white "working class", along with its racist unions, has devoted the bulk of its efforts to defending its privileges against black workers.

The white miners' union is violently opposed to black miners taking positions of responsibility and in some mines the white workers walk around with guns.

The mass of the white population will not "split along class lines". The "working class" whites will often be the most reactionary elements, and they will increasingly pull the establishment behind them.

All the evidence suggests that South African whites will play no progressive role.

Apartheid won't disappear peacefully. It will only be forced out by the most massive effort.

There is only one force that has the power and the will to smash racism, white resistance and capitalism in South Africa—the black working class.

We want a black working class revolution because the choice is simple: Socialism or barbarism.

When Stalin's tanks crushed worker's' power

It is thirty years since workers in Hungary rose in revolt against Stalinism and Russian troops crushed them. JIM BLAKE tells the story.

THE NATURE of the so-called "Socialist" states of Eastern Europe is a question that puzzles even the loyal pro-Moscow Communist Parties of the world. The question that must be asked is: how was socialism brought to Poland, Hungary, Rumania, etc. by the Russian army? Is it possible to bring socialism by tanks and armies only?

Of course for Marxists the answer is obvious. Socialism can only come from below, from the working class creating it for ourselves. The only workers' state ever to have existed came from workers' struggles in Russia in 1917.

There is no better illustration of what we in the Socialist Workers Movement mean by our description of East European countries as "state capitalist" than a look at what happened in Hungary in 1956.

Hungary came close to socialist revolution in 1918. In the wake of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, workers' councils sprang up in most of the industrial areas. Foreign armies intervened, however, to smash the revolution and a right-wing dictatorship was established under Admiral Horthy.

Programs against the Jews followed and all known Communists were jailed. With the defeat of the revolution in Russia, the rise of Stalin and the emergence of a new bureaucratic ruling class there, the confidence of the working class in Hungary in the possibility of workers' power declined.

When the Second World War ended, the workers of Hungary were passive, revolution was certainly not a possibility. For Stalin however Hungary like the other Eastern European states was strategically very important. The Russian tanks and troops rolled into Budapest as into Czechoslovakia, Poland and Rumania. These armies, the population were told, were bringing "socialism".

In fact what happened was that a dictator called Rakosi was installed. Rakosi's dictatorship was hated. We have no better witness to this than Peter Fryer, a long standing member of the British Communist Party, who had been a regular visitor to Hungary since 1945 and was present in 1956 as a reporter for the British Communist paper, the *Daily Worker*. He writes "This (Rakosi's) way of building socialism could not but lead to corruption of the Communist Party in which honest Marxists and honest workers were swamped by an influx of careerists swarming on to the bandwagon as soon as it became clear that that was the only way to obtain a lucrative job.

"Dissidents within the Communist Party were victimised and if they persisted in their dissent they soon found themselves the object

of attentions from the secret police, the AVH."

By the time Stalin died in 1953, the interests of the East European states were increasingly in conflict with those of the Russian rulers. Not only did Russia exploit them economically by, for example, buying their products cheap and undercutting them on the world market; but their very existence was something which the Russian leadership regarded as open to negotiation according to Russian interests.

The new regimes were built on the continuing and increasing exploitation of the working class. This meant attacks on workers' conditions and living standards were very similar to those in the West. Piecework was encouraged and extended; "productivity" was a central theme of propaganda aimed at the working class. The attempt to make workers pay for the economic development of their country was successful; in 1953, the real earnings of industrial workers in Eastern Europe were 10-15% less than the pre-war level.

In the more developed economies of the mid-50s, the repression and terror of the previous decade was no longer compatible with modernisation. But de-stalinisation, although encouraged by the ruling bureaucracies also brought the possibility of a return of the working class to the stage of history.

EYEWITNESS

In Hungary, this return came in October 1956.

Polish workers had begun rioting in Poznan in the summer of 1956. On October 23rd, a demonstration was called by students and intellectuals for the centre of Budapest to show solidarity with the workers in Poland. By late afternoon the demonstration had swelled to 100,000 people mainly workers who by then had left factories and offices. Another British Communist, Dora Scarlett, who worked for the English language section of the State radio gave an eyewitness account of this demonstration and the events which followed. She says "The astounding thing to us who lived through the next two weeks in Budapest was the suddenness with which the established order fell apart."

The demonstration refused to disperse in the evening. The call went up for the government to resign and when there was no sign of this happening the call went up "a General Strike tomorrow". Then the crowd began by attacking the vans of the Secret Police, the AVH. The AVH opened fire killing several demonstrators. The crowd attacked with even more fury and dragged out AVH men from the radio



station and hanged them from lamp posts. At one o'clock in the morning Dora Scarlett records that she got news that the whole of Hungary's main industrial district Csepel, traditionally known as "red Csepel" had come out on strike in support of the revolution. There was a demand for the quickly printed newsheets for a total withdrawal of all Russian troops.

It was becoming clear that the real issue was not the demands raised by the demonstrators, but the question of power itself. At five o'clock next morning there were Russian tanks on the streets. There was tremendous heroism as people attacked the tanks with small arms, and boys and girls threw bottles of petrol. Battles began for the railway station, the telephone exchange, the radio station.

APPEALED

Imre Nagy, a more popular member of the Communist Party was installed as leader. He appealed for an end to the fighting and promised that there would be no reprisals.

But the Hungarian working class had moved onto the streets. From 28th-30th October, workers' councils spread like a rash across the map of Hungary. The councils had different names—workers and soldiers' council, revolutionary council, revolutionary workers' council, revolutionary socialist committee—but everywhere

their aims and work were the same: to organise food supplies, negotiate with Russian troops, maintain order and hold back wild elements in their own ranks. They also raised the whole question of the control of production in society.

As the general strike spread, Peter Fryer recorded 20 daily papers in circulation in the capital, the railways were in the hands of the workers and they refused to transport Russian troops. The state radio transmitting from secret headquarters continued for a while on the side of Russian intervention, calling the revolutionaries "fascists", "white terror", "counter-revolutionaries" etc., but were soon silenced and then came back on the air on the side of the workers and students. The new government under Imre Nagy stopped all exports of food and Dora Scarlett records that for the first time decent food was available. In the towns and villages as revolutionary councils were set up lorry loads of food were sent to the fighters in the capital.

There was tremendous jubilation and dancing in the streets when the Russian troops actually withdrew from the streets and out of the cities.

The Csepel workers' council was not fooled and called for workers to hold on to their arms. The demands made at this point (30th Oct) were:

- Withdrawal of Hungary from the Warsaw Pact.
- Elected members from the revolutionary councils to sit in

government.

- Freedom of religion, press and assembly.
- Release of Cardinal Mindszenty (who had become a popular figure when jailed by Rakosi.)
- Disbandment of the Secret Police, AVH.
- Political asylum for those Russian soldiers who had gone over to the revolution.

It soon became clear that although the Russian tanks had withdrawn they were now reassembling for a fresh assault.

INTERVENE

A section of the Communist Party under Kadar had retreated from the capital and publicly called on the Russians to intervene.

On Sunday morning November 3rd, Dora Scarlett describes how she was woken by the sound of heavy guns bombarding the city. She turned on the radio and heard Imre Nagy making a speech, "At dawn today the Soviet forces made an unprovoked attack on the capital with the obvious intention of overthrowing the lawful democratic Hungarian government. Our troops are resisting". Shortly afterwards the radio went dead.

There followed three days and three nights of heavy shelling and street fighting. Tram lines and paving stones were ripped up to form street barricades.

The important thing was that the general strike continued but according to one of the fighters, Miklos

Krasso, there was no leadership. True a new Communist Party, called the Socialist Workers Party had been founded but it remained confined to intellectuals and middle class elements and had no real base in the workers' councils.

The workers councils had no central body and there was an almost total reliance on the Nagy government. The councils did not have a strategy for taking state power even though with the general strike in progress they held a power which was only matched by the Russian army.

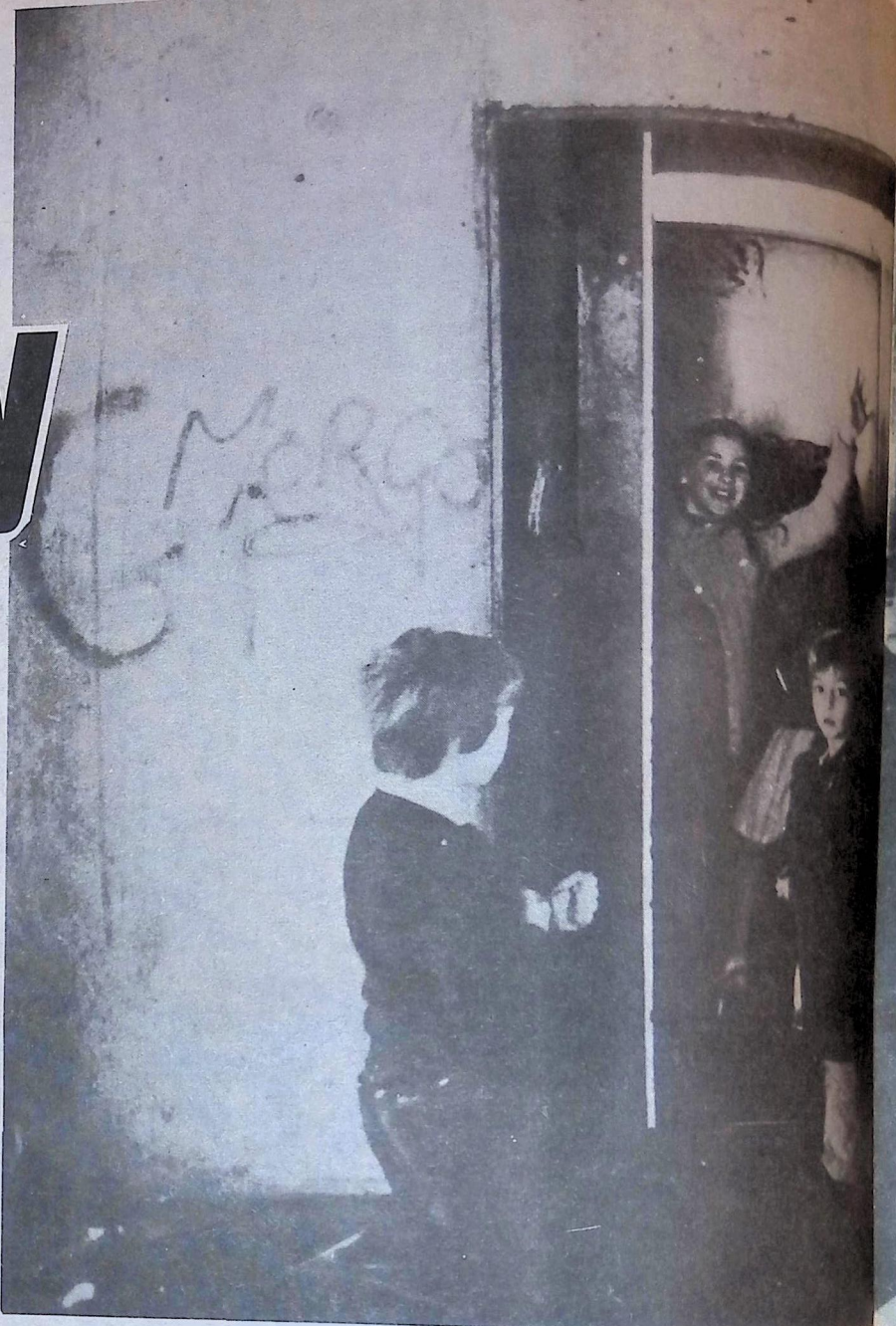
A major weakness was that although the revolt had begun with a demonstration in support of Polish workers there was no real attempt to link up with them and spread the revolutionary movement.

Instead great emphasis was placed on getting support from the West. But no governments in the West were interested in supporting something which could be held up as an example to their own working classes so the Hungarian workers were abandoned to their Russian masters.

The Hungarian revolt of 1956 stands alongside Czechoslovakia in 1968 and Poland in 1980 as an inspiration to workers everywhere. Perhaps most importantly, though, it gave the lie to any notion that the Eastern European states are any kind of "workers states" and that socialism can come about in any way except by the activity of workers themselves.

Divorce, the family and women's rights

Feature by
Goiretti
Horgan



Women's liberation is not possible until the state provides proper childcare.

NO MATTER how you look at it, women are being insulted left and right and centre in the present divorce debate.

It's not just the extreme Alice Glenn position of "a woman voting for divorce is like a turkey voting for Christmas". Even on the pro-divorce side, the assumption seems to be that a woman's place is in the home and that she needs a man to support her there.

In fact, the reality is very different. More and more women, married and unmarried are going out to work and winning some level of financial independence. This trend has been obvious to anyone who has eyes to see but recently released government figures show that the numbers of married women working more than doubled during the Seventies.

In 1971 women made up only 27% of the workforce; in 1981 women were 34% of the workforce. But it is when we look at the figures for married women that we see how much things have changed.

Of the 351,000 women in the workforce in 1981, 108,400 or 31% were married women. In 1971 only 14% of women workers were married.

And all the indications are that the trend is continuing so that more and more married women stay working or go back to work. Often this is due to sheer economic necessity. Few

working class couples can afford the luxury that the Alice Glenn's of the world consider as normal—to have the woman working only in the home.

It is, of course, difficult for many mothers to work outside the home. Childcare facilities in the 26 Counties are virtually non-existent and paying a child-minder often takes up the bulk of a woman's wages. The lack of childcare facilities explains why in some jobs, like cleaning, 64% of the women workers are married. Since the hours for this work tend to be at night or very early in the morning, their husbands can look after the children while they're out.

Childcare also explains why 90% of all part-time workers are women, most of them married.

ACTION MAN

The image then, of the little woman at home with the children while Action Man goes out to earn the daily bread is about as real as the ads for fancy kitchens—fine in theory but real life is different.

The right-wing and the boss class tried to stop that trend when they pushed through the anti-abortion amendment. But the size of the "No" vote in that referendum, although not enough to stop the Amendment made them realise that women were not going to be pushed back into the home so easily.

They have continued to push however. Their cuts in the

health and education services in particular have fallen especially heavily on women who are left to look after kids and nurse the sick at home.

With longer and longer waiting lists for hospital beds, some women are forced to give up work to look after sick children and ageing parents.

The Catholic Church has always been the most ardent supporter of this unreal family image. It ensured that divorce, which had been legal under British law was banned when the Free State was established.

In 1923 they insisted that films be censored; information about contraception was banned in 1924 although the sale of contraceptives was not banned until 1935.

But it was its input to De Valera's Constitution of 1937 that the Catholic Church ensured that the 26 County state would be a clearly Catholic one. That Constitution is dedicated to the Holy Trinity, it asserts the right to private property as a "natural right", it states that the family is sacrosanct and that a woman's place is in the home, it bans divorce and, until recently, recognised the "special position" of the Catholic Church.

Through its flirtation with Fascism, and support for Franco in the 30s and its vicious anti-communism in the 40s, the Church always stayed firmly on the side of the rich and powerful.

But it was the Mother and

Child Scheme of 1951 that Catholic Hierarchy really disgraced itself and openly showed its true colours.

Noel Browne, the then Minister for Health, was no radical in the 50s. He said that was always willing to obey the Hierarchy. However, Browne wanted to do something to make the lives of mothers and their children a bit easier and to reduce the infant and maternal mortality rate. With this in mind he wanted to introduce a free, non means-tested system of health care for mothers and children up to 16 years of age.

Hardly a communist measure, but the Bishops attacked it. Health care for mothers could include contraception, they shouted. No, no, said Browne, definitely not. But, thundered the Bishops, the Church is against the very idea of a public health service. It takes away from the family the responsibility for looking after their children's health. Whether or not working class parents could afford to look after their children's health was not considered by their Lordships.

RELIGION

Adoption wasn't legalised until 1953 because the Bishops were afraid that Protestant parents might adopt a Catholic baby. When the law was introduced, it specified that the adopting parents had to have the same religion as the child's

mother. And the unmarried mothers of these children suffered a worse fate. Until Irish women started to go to England for abortions, there was no CURA and no "caring" institutions. There were, however, Magdalen laundries where unmarried mothers were sent to work as unpaid skivvies for the religious orders. And if they ran away from these sweat-shops of slavery, they were frequently arrested and returned by the police.

Today when the Church and its lay shock-troops in Family Solidarity and the Anti-Divorce Campaign preach about the sanctity of marriage and the family they are once again working in support of the wealthy and against women's rights.

They have thrown up a smokescreen of supposed concern for women and children. However, this is no deathbed conversion. Their interests remain the same as ever—and those interests are opposed now to the interests of working class people as they were during the Mother and Child scheme.

With both sides of the divorce debate so anxious to defend the family, why do socialists not join in? Quite simply, it is because we believe that the oppression of women under capitalism is rooted, as Lenin put it, in women's "domestic slavery" within the family. Down through the centuries, the family has been

subject to many changes and has always meant different things to the ruling class and the oppressed class.

Today is no different. For the ruling class, the family is a means of passing inheritance from one generation to the next, the way that Tony O'Reilly can be sure that his millions go to his children. The working class family fulfills a different function. It provides a generation of workers largely through the unpaid labour of women within the nuclear family.

INDEPENDENCE

But today the family still continues to change. And the large number of women going out to work are contributing a lot to that change. On the one hand, working class women face a double burden of work and family responsibilities. On the other hand, despite their increased oppression, going out to work has given some women a degree of economic independence from their husbands.

This means that women are today less likely to remain in unhappy marriages. Over 70% of people in this country are already separated and, despite all the propaganda, in many of these cases it was the woman who left the man and not vice-versa.

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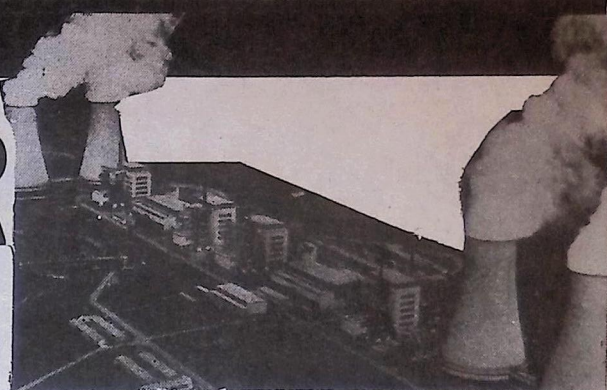
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NUCLEAR POWER

Why they don't come clean

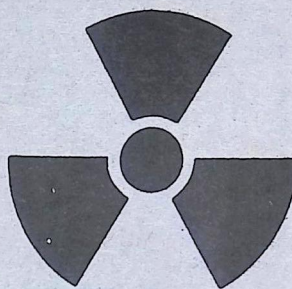


THE SHOCKING accident the nuclear industry claimed could never happen occurred last month. As many as 10,000 people may die as a result of the fire at the Chernobyl plant in the Ukraine. The radioactive cloud, which stretched from here to Tokyo, is likely to cause cancer for years to come.

There is nothing to stop a similar disaster from occurring in the West. Indeed, serious accidents have already happened.

In 1957, the graphite core of a reactor at Windscale (now known as Sellafield) caught fire and showered radiation on the surrounding area. That accident had its effect in Ireland. In 1982 a couple of doctors found a very high incidence of Downs syndrome babies born to former pupils at a girl's school in Dundalk, just across the sea from Sellafield.

All the girls were at the school in 1957.



At Chernobyl disaster almost became an apocalypse.

Russian scientists admit there was nearly a "China Syndrome" at Chernobyl. The reactor was inches away from a complete meltdown. Had that happened, one scientist said, it would have made the radiation already released "look like air freshener".

It was luck, not the desperate efforts of brave

spy satellites which constantly monitor Russian military and nuclear sites.

Washington didn't reveal the disaster because they know that any nuclear accident, anywhere in the world, is bad news for the nuclear industry in the West.

The international nuclear club conspired together to hush up a previous Russian disaster. In 1958 a massive explosion occurred in a Russian nuclear waste site in the Urals. Many died. Hundreds of square miles surrounding the plant were evacuated.

CIA

The CIA knew about the disaster immediately after it happened. Their U-2 spy planes regularly overflew the area. But the accident was not exposed until 1976 and even then it was denied.

Since the Chernobyl accident there has been a fire at the Heysham nuclear power station in Britain. At Dungeness in Kent there was a fire at a nuclear station on 31st March. Attempts were made to cover up both accidents.

Everywhere there is nuclear power there is secrecy and deception to disguise its fatal danger. Russia is far from alone in this.

The Russian ruling class has lied of course. That it does not give a damn for the sufferings of its working class shows there are as many similarities in attitude between Gorbachov, Reagan and Thatcher as there are between the nuclear plants they champion.

PROFIT

East and West, the demand of our rulers is for ever greater productivity.

The wealth created by the many is creamed off for "investment" and for maintaining the privilege of the few.

Capitalism is a system based on profit and the State-capitalist bureaucrats in Russia are no different from the bosses in the West.

In fierce competition with the US, Russia has been driven to build nuclear reactors every bit as dangerous as Three Mile Island and Sellafield.

And its leaders have been no less complacent about the risks. Capitalist competition

operates on a world scale and has divided the planet into two armed camps. The result of this has been the huge build-up in nuclear weapons.

Without nuclear weapons there would be no nuclear power programme.

None of the governments who pioneered nuclear power were interested in it as a source of electricity. The US, Russia Britain and France all saw nuclear power as merely a useful spin-off from the weapons' industry.

Today nothing has changed. The Chernobyl reactor produced plutonium for the Russian bomb. In France and Britain nuclear reactors provide plutonium for the nuclear warheads in the Polaris submarines.

East and West, then, the capitalist system endangers the existence of the planet itself. But we are far from being powerless to change the situation.

POWER

The organised working class has the power to change things. It is possible to bring about a system where production is geared towards human need rather than profit. Such a society would make nuclear power obsolete.

In fact the nuclear threat can be fought in the here and now. In Ireland, all we have heard since Chernobyl are the pathetic statements of "concern" from Fitzgerald and Co. They cannot be relied upon—they are part of the international ruling class which caused the problem in the first place.

But remember it was here, just a few years ago, that large demonstrations stopped the opening of a nuclear plant at Carnore Point.

If such mass discontent was brought into the workplaces we would soon have the nuclear threat on the run.

Because it is there that workers have the power to defeat the bosses. At the end of the day we have the ability to create a new social order.

If you want to save the world you have to change it. As Trotsky pointed out, the choice is socialism or barbarism.

—DAVE McDONAGH



NUCLEAR WASTE is slung in the Irish Sea

The disaster then was of the same type as the one at Chernobyl, but by luck alone it was not as bad.

In October 1966 a nuclear Reactor in Detroit began to malfunction. By chance—nothing more—it stabilised itself. A relieved nuclear expert told press men "Let's face it—we almost lost Detroit".

A meltdown is the nightmare of all nuclear engineers. A partial meltdown occurred in the Three Mile Island reactor at Harrisburg, US in 1978.

Complete disaster was averted because the reactor had a containment vessel.

The Chernobyl reactor did not. Nevertheless, grave doubts have been raised about whether containment vessels could contain a total meltdown like that in Russia.

scientists, that saved the Ukraine and Western Europe from devastation.

The response of western rulers to the disaster was to issue bland assurances that their nuclear power is safe and to try and wring as much anti-Russian sentiment out of the accident as possible.

Yet it has been revealed that Britain and the US have four nuclear power stations each which lacks exactly the same safety features which made Chernobyl a disaster.

As for secrecy and deception, the Russian bureaucracy is no worse than the western ruling class.

The US government had as much to do with the Chernobyl cover-up as the Russians did. They could certainly have detected the disaster from their

is largely the unpaid labour of women would become paid productive work involving all of society instead of individuals. Community restaurants, nurseries and laundries would ensure that no woman would ever be obliged to cook or clean again unless she wanted to.

INEQUALITY

And once women had the freedom to participate as equals in society, then the true potential of human relationships can be realised. The cancer of inequality which now eats into relationships between men and women, married or not, will be removed.

And then in the words of Alexandra Kollontai, the great Russian revolutionary, "On the ruins of the former family, we shall soon behold rising a new form which will involve altogether different relations between men and women, and which will be a union of affection and comradeship, a union of two equal persons of the communist society, both of them free, both of them independent, both of them workers..."

A Yes vote in the divorce referendum on 26th June will make very little difference to the position of women in Ireland today. But it will give notice to the Church and the boss class that one day we will have our freedom.

their babies have greatly increased so the single parent family is now not at all unusual.

All in all, the family that the Church and the right-wingers are trying to defend hardly exists anymore. What they promote as the "traditional" family of Mother at home with children and father out at work has changed so much that, certainly in the working class, it is the exception rather than the rule.

And socialists believe that for socialism ever to be real it will have to change again. Because it is only when women are freed from this double burden of unpaid housework that women will be able to participate as equals in society. It is only then that women's liberation will be possible. And, as we continually say, there can be no socialism without women's liberation.

And neither, it must be said, can there be women's liberation without socialism. Because women will never be free from the oppression of the family until the facilities are provided to allow that freedom. Once capitalism is overthrown the economic function of the family, the source of women's oppression, will disappear. Instead of individual families being burdened, society itself would begin to take responsibility for household chores and cooking, for the care and education of children, and making sure that every child has a decent standard of living.

Domestic work, which today

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ANALYSIS

Why the Anglo-Irish Deal cannot work

EAMONN McCANN examines what the Anglo-Irish Agreement promised and what it delivered.



Smiles all round. FitzGerald and Thatcher at the signing of the Deal in Hillsborough last November.

MORE THAN six months after it was signed in Hillsborough, there is no sign of the Anglo-Irish Agreement working.

According to the official communique issued last November the Agreement had four aims. One, to "promote peace and stability in Northern Ireland"; two, to "help to reconcile the two major traditions in Ireland"; three, to "create a new climate of friendship and cooperation between the people of the two countries; and four, to "improve cooperation in combatting

terrorism".

As far as "peace and stability" is concerned the Agreement, even on its own terms, has been a disaster. Loyalist sectarianism has been surging even stronger than ever, marked by more than 300 attacks on Catholic homes, the murders of four Catholics in Belfast and attack attacks on the RUC because Loyalist extremists believe (probably wrongly) that the force is being weakened in its commitment to their cause. Meanwhile the IRA campaign—as evidenced by the killing of two RUC men and the commander of the

Crossmaglen British Army barracks last month—has not been materially affected.

The Agreement has done nothing to "reconcile the two major traditions". If anything, the "traditions" are further apart than ever. The British government can't even devise a formula to get the "moderate" leaders of the two sides, Hume and Molyneux, to talk to one another across a table and the Assembly is on the point of being disbanded.

OPINION

As for "a new climate of friendship and cooperation" between people in Britain and Ireland, the latest public opinion poll shows that only a quarter of the British people want to have anything at all with the "Irish problem".

The one area where Peter Barry and Tom King could claim success is in "cooperation in combatting terrorism". The security forces on both sides of the border are in closer cahoots than previously and the Dublin Government is obviously champing at the bit to extradite anybody at all the Brits send over a warrant for. But this "success" has not resulted in any lessening of violence.

It is almost forgotten now that the general aim of the agreement last November, what all this activity was supposed to lead up to, was an end to the "alienation" of the Catholic minority from the Northern state. Towards this end, it was promised that a number of very minor reforms would emerge from

the Inter-Government Conference which meets in secret. These reforms were to include the abolition of the Flags and Emblems Act, (which makes the flying of the tricolour illegal), some official recognition of Irish culture and the Irish language, a clean-up of the UDR, a more trustworthy procedure for complaints against the RUC and so forth. None of these reforms would make any material difference to Catholic workers, but in the event they haven't been delivered anyway. Instead, taken aback by the strength of Loyalist opposition, the two Governments appear to have agreed to postpone consideration of them until after the summer.

Hints that super-grass trials and strip-searching would be ended have come to nothing.

Meantime, the money from America which was supposed to be a sweetener to encourage acceptance of the Agreement is being held back in Washington by the row over linking the money to a new extradition act.

The money—\$50 million a year for five years, mostly in loans, not grants—is pathetic anyway, less than half what Reagan is offering the Contras.

The one, single concrete achievement of the Agreement has been the appointment of a Catholic, Michael Nicholson, as a High Court judge in Belfast on May 26. Never has such a massive mountain laboured so long to produce such a pathetically tiny mouse.

Socialist Worker argued from the outset that the Agreement couldn't solve the

"Northern problem" because it didn't confront the real root of the problem, the irreformable sectarianism of the Northern state. And it didn't do that because it was an agreement between two parties neither of which had any interest in confronting the problem. Indeed, they themselves are a central part of the problem.

The Agreement accepted the sectarian division in the North. It didn't try to end it. It tried to devise a scheme whereby the two sectarian blocks could continue to exist—to co-exist. Within the Conference the London Government would "represent" the Protestants, the Dublin Government the Catholics. And, gradually, a moderate, middle-class leadership would emerge from each of the communities to involve itself in this process and begin to take over some functions devolved from the Conference. This was the general idea.

FREEZING

Even in ruling-class terms it has proved pure pie-in-the-sky. From a socialist point of view it was disastrous. It involved freezing attitudes in the present sectarian shape. It was quite inevitable that Loyalist anger at the implication that Catholics would now have equal status within the North would take the form of an intensification of Orange sectarianism expressed, as always, in violent attacks on the Catholic working class communities. The prospect now is of a

hot summer of sectarian violence with the Inter-Governmental Conference even more paralysed as a result.

The Agreement didn't aim to root out sectarianism but to tranquilise it. This can't be done. Sectarian consciousness in the North can only be ended when workers identify with their class rather than with the sectarian block they were born into. And that can only be done by socialist politics which challenge the existence of the sectarian State itself.

The Provos do challenge the existence of the Northern State, but not on the basis of working class politics. Instead, they offer a united Ireland which would still be ruled by capitalism, a prospect of little real benefit to Catholic workers and of no interest whatever to Protestant workers, while many of those who do insist on a "class line"—like Militant and the Workers Party—back off from any challenge to the State.

In this situation the small but growing numbers who recognise that the class and national question cannot be divorced, that neither can be solved in isolation from the other, must organise together on a clear Marxist basis.

As far as the North is concerned, the SWM sees this as its central task. It is the only perspective which offers real hope to workers appalled by the sectarianism which has been dredged to the surface by the doomed and disastrous Anglo-Irish Agreement.

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Protest and gigs success for Alternative Self-Aid

DID SELF AID make you sick?

Companies like Macdonalds claiming to create jobs when they have vacancies every week?

Or Bord Telecom sponsoring Self Aid and threatening its own workers with 600 redundancies?

Dublin SWM swung into action against the event. It joined an ad-hoc group to oppose the hypocrisy. Thousands of leaflets were issued. Alternative gigs were organised over three nights. A small protest was mounted on the RDS itself and 25 Socialist Workers were sold to those going into the concert.

SWM played a prominent role in the protests for one simple reason: it doesn't believe that Irish capitalism can create jobs. Workers have already subsidised our boss class more than generously.

Asking us to give them more charity is adding insult to injury.



SWM members join the Self Aid protest.

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LETTERS

Write to PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

Great music...

LAST weekend I went into my local record shop and purchased a copy of the Redskins new album, "Neither Washington nor Moscow but International Socialism", and I must say it loud and clear, it's the best value one will receive for £7.50 both in music content and inspiration for all working class comrades out there.

The message that the Redskins are spelling out in their lyrics is that we, the workers, the majority class, have the ability and the power to free ourselves from the oppression that the capitalist system keeps us chained under.

The emancipation of the workers is the act of the workers—for we are many and they, the ruling class, are few.

In reference to Martin Smith's article in April's edition of SW, I agree wholeheartedly that every worker should get their hands on this album and not only to listen to it for enjoyment but to put the message we receive from it into action, by "Go get Organised", "The power is yours", "Let's make it work", "It can be done".

These are a few of the song titles on the album which all workers should become inspired by.

The members of the Redskins are active in the working class struggle in Britain with our sister organisation the SWP. It is only by workers of the world uniting in working class movements and becoming involved in workers' struggles that we will eventually seize control over our own lives, which are rightfully ours.

Parliamentary socialism has, in the past, in the present and will continue in the future to betray us as we have witnessed by their presence in Government. Their interests lie side by side with those of the capitalists.

It is up to us workers to unite and become organised and finally smash this rotten system and build a system under workers' control, for united we stand, divided we fall. So let's keep uniting and we will win our fight for freedom.

—COMRADE, Waterford.



The Redskins

..lousy movie

I WOULD like to take issue with your film critic on his review of Eat the Peach in the May SW. Before I read his review I had the impression that all the hype about this movie was to bolster up what I thought would be a dull film.

But when I read how excited he was about the film ("miss it at your peril", etc), I thought hello I must be wrong, so I went along with a comrade to see it.

Boy was I wrong (about going to see it I mean). Dull?! I found it light, trite and slight. Not a really good performance in the film. More like a blown out half hour TV play.

Now I only write this letter to warn other readers about wasting their few bob. Have a few pints instead or, better still, donate a few bob to building the SWM and it might help to create a society where people can make films that are both entertaining and relevant to their own lives.

—DAVID BYRNE, 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 these 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 Eiro Nua.

AGAINST ALL OPPRESSION

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

We are for real social, economic and political equality for women.

We are for an end to discrimination against homosexuals.
We stand for full separation of the church and state.
We stand for secular control of the hospitals and the schools.

THE UNIONS

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

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

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

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

THE PARTY

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



I would like more details about the Socialist Workers Movement

NAME

ADDRESS

Send to SWM, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8.

REVIEWS

Ireland's Permanent Revolution

David Byrne reviews an important new pamphlet.



IT IS now eighteen years since the present "troubles" in the north of Ireland exploded on to the streets. We have seen in that time various attempts by the ruling class in both Britain and Ireland to get things "back to normal". "Normal" being, of course, for capitalism to go on merrily exploiting the mass of Irish working people without a war in the backyard.

On the other hand, we have seen a long drawn out, courageous struggle by the Provisional IRA to achieve a United Ireland. Yet as we can see, both sides are no nearer

to achieving their objectives. So the question must be asked—what is to be done to break this impasse?

EXPLOITATION

In Ireland's Permanent Revolution, Chris Bambery of the SWM's sister organisation in Britain, the Socialist Workers Party, looks at the problem from a class point of view. He starts from as far back as the conquest of Ireland, right up to the present stage in the exploitation of the Irish working class.

Bambery points out the class interests of Nationalism in Irish history, how republicanism, though progressive, was and still is unable to see the working class with the power and interest to end the partition of Ireland.

The book stresses the importance of James Connolly in Irish history and how far ahead he was of any socialist thinker in his time. Bambery doesn't romanticise Connolly, he points out the great revolutionary that he was, but also, his failure to build and leave behind an organisation which would have been the

seed containing his ideas, and which might have grown and blossomed into a revolutionary workers' party which could have given a lead to the many workers' struggles during and after his lifetime.

I recommend this book to anyone who is remotely or deeply interested in the situation in the North. It's not a heavy book that goes into great depth on any of the problems of Irish history. But its central theme — that the working class in Ireland can, by its power and class interest, achieve a united socialist Ireland without going through the stage of a united capitalist Ireland and only then starting the fight for a socialist Ireland — is well argued.

If I can find one fault with the book, it's with the conclusion. Here Bambery seems to forget that there is an organisation alive and well (albeit small) that is building, North and South, to get the ideas contained in this book across. I think that a mention of the Socialist Workers Movement wouldn't have gone amiss. But that's a minor point.

I'll finish by quoting from the book what the Protestant leader of the United Irishmen Henry Joy McCracken said (it could have been Marx): "The rich always betray the poor."

This is a point which should be borne in mind by Sinn Fein people who, during the hunger strikes and again recently after the Anglo-Irish Agreement, appealed to the filthy rich barons of Fianna Fail, the SDLP and the Catholic Church for support, while treating the organised working class as just another group to support them.

That the rich always do betray workers is what this book shows about Irish history. The working class must depend on their own resources. They have the power and the interest to create not only workers' power in Ireland but a united international classless world.

Geldof launches Swiss-Bank-Aid

THERE'S AN OLD proverb that says "never trust a man who names his unfortunate daughter Fifi Trixibelle". One man guilty of this hideous crime is the newly adopted heir to the throne of Ireland — Bob Geldof.

Once upon a time this man was a hero and idol to many Irish teenagers. A man who was lead singer with The Boomtown Rats spoke out on TV about the things we complained about privately, namely the Church, politics, education and Religion.

Today Mr Geldof is one of the most obnoxious reactionary hypocrites ever to walk the streets of our fair city. Geldof's autobiography (ghostwritten of course) has just been published, the profits going to feed a hungry pop star.

One of the papers that serialised Geldof's story was Murdoch's Scumday Times, a paper produced by Scabs and protected by Thatchers police. The Dublin Freelance Branch of the NUJ recently called on Geldof to stop publication of his story in the scab Times. They explained that in view of his concern about unemployment, as evidenced by Self Aid, he might take into account the jobs of 5,500 sacked print workers. So far, Geldof has not replied. Surprise, surprise.

Geldof first returned from the depths of obscurity to international sainthood at Christmas 1984 with the first Band Aid record. The project supposedly inspired by emotional response to feed dying children also served to save a dying career—his own. Geldof and The Boomtown Rats after many records were able to get people to their concerts again.

The day before Self Aid and the week before Sports Aid, Mr Geldof appeared as ritual demands, on Terry Wogan's chat show and the Late-Late show. After the preliminary publicity of these events, he got around to the more important (!) publicising of his autobiography—"Is that It?". This book recounts the story of a rise from Middle class Dublin suburbia — to national stardom — to the depths of failure and floppiness — to international superstardom.

Prince Charles is supposedly a close personal friend, and Geldof goes at great lengths to point out what a nice guy he really is.

Geldof also thinks that Margaret Thatcher is a similarly nice person who if given free reign to her feelings would have done more for the Ethiopian situation. Only her politics and her cabinet hold her back.

Geldof's opposition to the miners' strike was quite well publicised, as his Band Aid record appeared on the market around the same time as Paul Weller's Miners solidarity record. He refuses to be drawn on "political" issues and stresses that the various aid projects are not political. The logic of this is quite beyond us mere mortals.

Mr Geldof's autobiography (all profits to a Swiss bank account) is at the top of Bestseller lists. He has now officially left the Boomtown Rats and looks set to become the world's first full-time non-political campaigner. He also plans to release a solo album, which will probably sell as, or better than, his book.

A renowned critic of Mr Geldof once said that Geldof had as much political awareness of a slug.

Between you and me I'd go for the slug everytime.

—GARRET KEOGH

Theologian of Liberation or capitalism's Moral Policeman?

Des Wilson, "An End to Silence", Mercier Press, £5.95

RELIGION FOR Marxists has always been part of the baggage of capitalism. On an individual level, religion was the anaesthetic dealt out to those who suffered under capitalism.

"Spiritual Booze" Lenin called it. Marx said that it was the "sigh of the oppressed creature, the soul of a soulless world, the heart of a heartless world, it is the opium of the people".

Organised religion acts as a sort of moral policeman for capitalism. "Do not steal, honour your father and your mother"—i.e. all authority. It issues edicts every so often which sum up the conservative position. The Church of England for example has been described as the Conservative Party at prayer. In addition nuns, priests and religious brothers have always acted as potential and real strike-breakers in schools and hospitals. They therefore stand as a constant threat to workers organised in unions. There have always been exceptional individuals who have stood out on the side of

workers.

Now a new development has taken place within the Roman Catholic Church, "Liberation Theology", which has tried to merge a step-by-step theory of socialist revolution with Christian Theology.

It springs from the experiences of priests in third world countries working with the various national liberation movements particularly in South America and the Philippines. The ideas in it have been taken from Marx, but it uses terms such as "conscientization" for the rasing of class consciousness.

In Ireland the Rev. Des Wilson of Belfast puts himself on the side of the oppressed catholic working class fighting back against British imperialism and its manifestation in Ireland, Orange sectarianism.

IMPERIALISM

Considering that the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland was the best defender of imperialism that Britain ever had, a much more subtle defender, for instance than the Orange Order, it takes some

insight and courage for a priest to say that it is British imperialism which is the cause of the problems here.

From this book, An End to Silence, though, it is obvious that Des Wilson's opposition to imperialism does not extend to its root—capitalism. He does not want, or expect, to see capitalism overthrown.

"Any adherence of Irish political activists to Marxism is so tenuous that Irish people will in all probability for many years to come do as they have always done—use what freedom they have to elect extremely conservative political assemblies. The Dail and the Northern Irish assembly are examples of what Irish people do with a free vote. A radical in either of them must feel as lonely as St Paul in a roomful of feminists."

And when he outlines his ideal for a liberated Ireland, it is clear that it is not a workers' republic that he is thinking about, which is not surprising. He writes, "We are attempting to create a modern democracy in Ireland. It has to be a democracy which, being modern and suited to the needs and genius of the Irish people, will be different, in

some respects from that of the British state".

This illustrates the fact that what "Liberation Theology" is about is not putting the working class into power but trying to ensure that capitalism treats the mass of oppressed people more decently. In Latin America and the Philippines it strives to replace the semi-feudal dictatorships with "modern capitalist democracy."

CAPITALIST

In the North it is manifested as a drive towards a united liberal capitalist Ireland. Nowhere is it part of a struggle for workers power and socialism.

What distinguishes us from the religious is that we look to the material world for solutions. Religious people look to another carefully-constructed ideal world called heaven. What theology can update Heaven so that God is a woman and the workers from the furnaces get a chance to rule?

Trying to get liberation from religion is like trying to get socialism from Margaret Thatcher.

—JIM BLAKE

FWUI Conference report

THIS YEAR'S Federated Workers Union of Ireland Conference was held in Galway 23/25th May. The Conference was marked by genuinely fighting talk from the delegates and total success on the Executive's behalf in killing any chance of real fighting action.

Delegate after delegate condemned the attacks on, and cuts in, the public sector. But the proposed public sector defence committee which might have given public sector workers in the union a forum through which to organise to fight these attacks was considered "inappropriate" by the Executive.

Although a resolution calling for the establishment of such a defence committee was passed, Billy Attlee, the Gen. Secretary made it clear that he had no intention of setting it up.

Similarly, proposals for "work stoppages" against the unacceptable levels of PAYE taxation were described as "tying the Executive's hands". The Conference voted overwhelmingly for strikes against PAYE levels but, once again, the Executive made clear their unwillingness to treat their

mandate seriously.

When it came to discussing Resolution No 46 which urged trade unionists not to handle goods which are the subject of strikes in Britain, the Executive's attitude of "solidarity is fine as long as we're only talking about it" was really exposed. The resolution was about to be passed unanimously. Then a delegate pointed out that FWUI workers in Dublin Airport ought to be the first to implement this resolution by blacking Murdoch's scab papers — The Sun, News of the World, and Sunday Times. Immediately, Attlee was on his feet to request referral to the Executive. "This resolution" he said, "could cause problems for our members in the airports", meaning that they might be asked to carry out the democratic decision of the union conference.

For me, the Conference really showed up just what Socialist Worker is always saying: the need for rank and file to organise and take action itself, officially when possible but unofficially if necessary.

GORETTI HORGAN
No 15 Branch FWUI

Teachers: passivity opened door to sell-out

Report by James McElhinney

LAST MONTH saw the final wind-down of the teachers pay dispute. The whole affair has been characterised by a total lack of fight on the part of the union leaders.

The government indicated last summer its intention of bringing about a confrontation by refusing to pay the 10% awarded by the arbitrator and some provocative statements by the Minister of Education. The union should have campaigned at that stage for an all-out strike from the beginning of September.

Feeling among teachers at that time was such that the support could have been there.

Instead, the union leaders backpeddled from the start. Between September and Christmas, the total of action in secondary schools amounted to 3 days of token strikes. The leaders insisted that this was the way for "professionals" to conduct a dispute.

The settlement which has been voted in favour of is a huge sell-out. Of the £110 m. being sought only £35 m. has been granted. This is being paid in installments, the last of which will not be seen until 1989.

Of course the agreement has been just what the government and union leaders wanted, to avoid a ban on the exams. The wording of the agreement leads you to believe that the teachers can still pursue their claim. It also allows the government to give them the two fingers.

It is a massive climbdown on the part of the teachers' unions and it will be seen as such. After all, what further action



Teachers were sold out

can they threaten, that would be more disruptive than a ban on exams. In the wake of such a climbdown, it is very unlikely that support could be generated again for almost any sort of action.

The truth of the matter is that the union leaders never intended going through with any more than token action. They did not expect the

government to be so stubborn. Hence the seeming closeness we came to disruption in the written exams. With these exams so close and practicals already having been disrupted they grabbed at anything the government threw.

Within the INTO, where there was much opposition to the deal, union president Seamus Puirceal, who is a member of Fianna Fail, was

strongly in favour of it. His grand plan is that between now and the next election, lobbying TDs will see Fianna Fail promise the teachers all they want. This will mean a big swing in the teacher's vote to them. Lobbying TDs has been a major front in the teacher's campaign so far. But it achieved nothing.

The other political group to support the settlement was the Workers Party. At many branch meetings their members were under a whip to support the deal and back up WP member Kieran Mulvaney.

When the union leaders backed the deal it came as no surprise that the members would accept, especially as in the TUI and ASTI. The trouble with the whole dispute is that the executives have said from the start they would make all the running, and the rank and file teacher's job was to cheer from the sidelines. They actively discouraged any militant thinking by constantly referring to the "responsibility" which teachers have, unlike other workers.

LESSONS

The lessons of the campaign are that the union leaders are predictably prone to sell-outs and that this becomes so much easier for them when the level of passivity present throughout the teacher's dispute shows itself. The members were not presented with the stark fact that only all-out action could win. The longer the whole thing went on, the more frightened they became of the project.

More arguments in schools, in favour of all-out action would have convinced many of the strength of the teachers.

Instead their position at the moment could hardly be weaker with a precedent set on the challenging of arbitration awards. Even at this stage, however, all is not lost if numbers of teachers draw the lessons outlined, and remember them for future battles.



VEHA workers face the dole

High Flier closes VEHA

A WITCH-HUNT was launched against Workers' Party councillor Pat Rabbitte following the closure of the Veba factory in Wicklow last month. Veba boss Joe van der Flier and Labour Party minister Liam Kavanagh both accused Rabbitte—ITGWU group secretary representing the VEHA workers—of engineering the closure for political reasons.

The 240-strong Veba workforce had been on strike since last year in defence of shop steward Donal Dunne whom management had tried to declare redundant in a clear-cut case of victimisation. The allegation was that Rabbitte had brow-beaten the workers into staying out and forcing closure.

The allegation is entirely groundless. In fact Rabbitte recommended Labour Court settlement terms to the workers which would have amounted to a sell-out. His advice was rejected. Anyway, the idea of a WP union official acting like a revolutionary is self-evidently ridiculous.

More important, Veba Ltd. was not brought to its knees by the stoppage at all. On its own figures, at the time of closure it had liabilities of £2,410,000 (including £910,000 repayable to the IDA) and assets of £3,010,000. It was the biggest radiator manufacturer in the State and had a very healthy export order-book.

But van der Flier was determined to smash effective union organisation at the plant

and had targetted Donal Dunne for the sack as a means of doing this.

Van der Flier is the type of industrial con-man who has prospered in the 26 Counties under successive governments and at the expense of the working class. All but two of the 109,000 shares in Veba were held by a shadowy outfit called Baxendale Ltd with an address in Jersey in the Channel Isles. In breach of the Companies Act, Baxendale made no company returns in recent years and there is no record at the Companies Office of who its shareholders are.

TAX-HAVEN

In other words nobody knows, and the State hasn't bothered to find out, how much money has been siphoned out of the company salted away in the Channel Isles tax-haven. Whether the IDA will ever see the money it is owed is anybody's guess.

Van der Flier is now involved in new scams in the south east, including farming and catering and in a "leisure" firm called Donroe Investments. Donroe is partly owned by yet another company, Vivveridae Investments, based, surprise surprise, in the Channel Isles.

Meanwhile the 240 jobless workers wait to see if the liquidator can sell the plant as a going concern and if that happens how many of them will be offered their jobs back.

Telecom Bonus Scheme —resistance still possible

IN THEIR attempts to increase profitability, Telecom Eireann are attempting to force a Bonus Scheme on their workers. Cooperation and flexibility are being requested in return for £750 (which would be halved after tax).

Under the scheme a whole range of new conditions would be imposed with a clear threat to jobs.

Already 4,000 jobs are being done away with through voluntary redundancies and early retirement by a company which boasted about its

involvement in Self Aid.

The company intends to adopt a policy of non-recruitment of permanent staff with casual staff being brought in instead.

BLACKED

Computerisation would be brought in without proper guarantees against job losses and new methods of bill payment. These methods include the Pass Card payment scheme which was successfully blacked by CPSSU Accounts members two years ago.

Another measure involves workers of one grade doing the work of other grades in both the clerical and technical areas.

It was clear from the beginning that the Bonus Scheme had to be fought. The union officials have, however, sold out. All but the CPSSU voted to accept the scheme following recommendations by the bureaucrats.

David Beggs of PTWU, hailed as left-wing official, turned around after the ballot and demanded that the company implement the

streamlining measures!

In the CPSSU, all but the Accounts Branch have accepted the scheme. This branch held out against the imposition of a ballot, but the Executive of the union accepted the Bonus Scheme on the members behalf.

FIGHT

It is still possible for the Accounts Branch to fight the implementation of the scheme. Rank-and-file action, such as that which defeated the Pay-a-bill Pass scheme, is the solution.

Socialist Worker

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism

Victory to the Corpo workers

CLOSE THE DEPOTS

PROVIDED THE correct tactics are adopted, there is every possibility that this strike can win a very important victory. But in order to do this, the members of the three unions must be prepared to argue against their official's strategy.

At the beginning of the strike, the General Secretary of IMETU, Sean Redmond issued a statement saying that the strike does not involve tradesmen. They were to pass the picket and go to work. The rank and file should reject this nonsense. They must seek the support of all craft workers in order to close the depots.

Many tradesmen refused to pass the picket despite Redmond's letter. They now have a role to play in winning the strike. They should get themselves organised to put pressure on their union officials for instructions to support the pickets. Instead of staying at home, they should join the picket line to persuade others to come out.

The scabbing operation of the army should also be tackled. There should be mass pickets on the pumping stations to prevent the army carrying out work.

Solidarity will also be crucial for winning. Every depot should set up a solidarity group to send speakers to other union meetings and workplaces. As the strike continues, collections will be crucial to keep up the morale.

Like all strikes, this corporation strike is no exception. It is only by adopting the correct tactics that the strike can be won.

Socialist Workers Movement PUBLIC MEETING

Victory to the Corpo workers
Wednesday 19th June 8pm
CIE Hall, Marlborough St.
Speakers: Corpo strikers

Reports compiled by
John Byrne EETPU

"I AM working on the bin cars, a very hard and dirty job. For this I'm paid just over £130. With a wife and three kids I just cannot live on this. We have no social life and are just existing day to day. No matter how long we are out we must win this one," said a striking Corporation worker at the Ballyfermot depot.

Corporation general operatives — or GOs for short — rejected the Labour Court recommendation for the 25th round by a massive majority. The court had offered the members of the FWUI, ITGWU and IMETU 7%. But it was to be paid over a period of 18 months, in separate phases with a four month pay pause.

FLAT-RATE

The strike began on 26th June. It is the first serious challenge to the 25th pay round. The workers are demanding a flat-rate increase of £15. Being lower-paid workers they have suffered in the past from percentage settlements.

The odds are high in this dispute. If the Corporation workers win, it would be a signal to other workers to

break the pay norm. Already LGPSU members have rejected the offer. Many lower grade civil servants have still to settle. The prospects for an all-out confrontation are on the cards.

One sign of this is the role

of the army. They were ordered into the strike on Day 1. They have taken over the pumping stations, but according to many of the strikers, they are pumping untreated sewage into the sea. They are being used as a

straight forward strike breaking force.

A massive solidarity campaign must now be built with the Corpo strikers. There should be full respect for their pickets—whether or not the All-Out picket is granted.

Unions such as the LGPSU should be bringing forward their own claims. Corporation support groups—similar to the miners' support groups in Britain should be organised. A victory for the corporation workers is a victory for us all.



Strikers from cleansing department picketing Moore St. market.

Army scabs again

ONCE AGAIN the army is being used to strike break. Units of the Irish Army are on standby throughout the city and manning the water-pumping station.

The scab role of the army is becoming commonplace in industrial disputes. In the past few years they have been mobilised during the CIE bus strike, the petrol tanker drivers' dispute and now the Agricultural Inspectors strike in addition to the Corpo strike.

Strong pickets should be organised on all sites where the army is scabbing.