

# **Socialist Worker**

**For a Workers Republic and International Socialism**

*FIANNA FAIL OR*

*COALITION:*



**DON'T  
TRUST  
ANY OF  
THEM**

**Build a Socialist**

**Alternative**

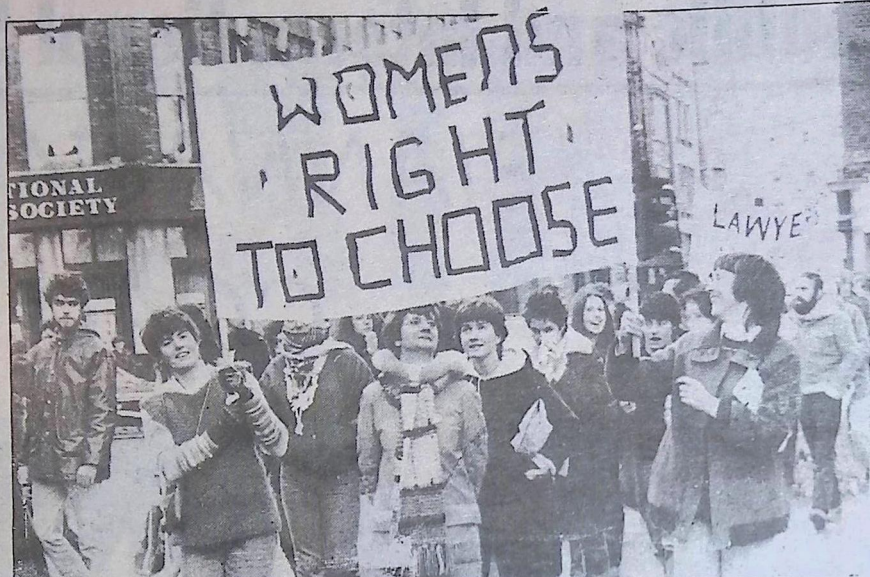
# SPUC Off!

THE RECENT DECISION by Justice Hamilton in the SPUC versus the Clinics case was a victory for the Catholic reactionaries and a vicious attack on women's rights.

The court's decision now makes it an offence to supply information on how to go about getting an abortion in England, or elsewhere. The only two clinics in the country that did provide that service and give unbiased counselling to women with unplanned pregnancies were Open Line and the Dublin Well Woman Centre. Open Line is now closed and the DWWC, although still providing contraception and a range of health services, can no longer legally help women with unwanted pregnancies.

The offensive of the Right may not end there, and their winning the court case could lead to banning the 'morning after' pill, IUDs (coils) becoming illegal, and magazines carrying ads for abortion clinics being removed from the newsagents' shelves. The Defend the Clinics Campaign was launched by a handful of activists some months ago. A lively picket of Leinster House on Jan. 11th, and a public meeting on January 12th - packed to capacity, with many turned away - shows the groundswell of feeling on the issue that is refreshing, to say the least, in these dark days of post referendum Ireland.

The Campaign's emphasis is at present on disseminating information about abortion, quite rightly since this is what is being denied. It has sent information packs to women's groups throughout the country, giving clinics' addresses and phone numbers, which the



groups may, in turn, pass on informally to women who approach them.

The campaign also seeks to get the names of 100 (or so) prominent persons who will agree to flaunt the law and give information if asked.

A stand by such people would be commendable, and with an estimated 10,000 Irish women driven to seek abortion in Britain each year, information available through women's groups, on an informal grapevine, or whatever, would certainly be an obvious necessity. But by their nature, these methods can't supply information to all those who may need it.

Nor indeed will they head off the right-wing offensive spearheaded by SPUC and backed by the Bishops. To do this, the Campaign should seek to build on the enthusiastic

support shown at the public meeting, and at all the organising meetings held to date. The groundswell of anger at the court's decision can be given a focus, and support galvanised into activity by striking back at the instigators of this attack on women.

SPUC should be picketed and picked on everytime they crawl out from under their stone. The campaign should be broadened to include as many people as possible in mass defiance of the law - posters and placards displayed at every opportunity carrying the phone numbers of abortion clinics; prominent information stalls on the streets, at festivals etc. and mass leafletting campaigns; the issue must be raised through the unions and union publications should print addresses and phone numbers for their members who might need them - all of these are

tactics that by involving the maximum number of people in public flaunting of the law, effectively make an ass of it. That way, individuals need not be victimised, and it would also have the net effect of spreading information on access to abortion, farther and wider. As for SPUC, it would help take the wind out of their sails and halt the clerics for a bit.

As we go to press, a picket/demo on Feb. 7th is being organised against SPUC, and a major demo on International Women's Day, March 8th is in the pipeline. Meantime, if you're pregnant and don't want to be, the following are phone numbers of safe, reliable and fairly cheap abortion clinics in Britain: RALEIGH NURSING HOME, London: (031) 671 1541 BPAS, Liverpool: (035) 727 1851

# Turkey jails trade unionists

A TURKISH military court recently sentenced more than 260 trade union leaders to up to ten years in jail.

The prosecution had originally demanded they be sentenced to death!

Originally 1,477 defendants—members of the left wing trade union federation DISK—faced the death penalty. Many were tortured in custody.

They were charged with "organising to change the constitutional order". The

1980 military coup in Turkey, backed by the USA, did not, of course, come into that category.

The trial ran for five years. It ended amidst news of the first major strikes in Turkey since the military takeover.

Members of the Automobil-IS union at Pirelli and CNETAS—the Canadian-owned Northern Electrical Telecommunications firm—are taking action, and a further 115,000 Automobil-IS members have given notice that they will strike in the future.



TURKEY, NATO ally, where hundreds of trade unionists have been jailed and tortured

## GREGORY'S SHAME

Tony Gregory has quite rightly attacked the police over their victimisation of the street traders. In fact he has had the courage to stand on the street with them when they were attacked by the Brutes in Blue. For his pains he was committed to prison

for a short period. What a pity it is then to see Deputy Gregory calling for police harassment of teenagers who frequent the banks of the Royal Canal. Some of them have been known to throw the odd cider party. This has put the Iona and District Resident Association up in arms.



Tony Gregory

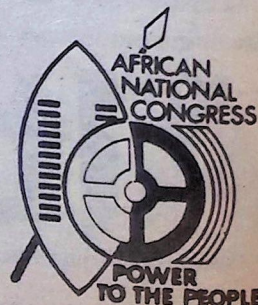
Now Deputy Gregory has jumped on the Law and Order bandwagon. He has written to the local superintendent demanding that something be done to clear up the situation. In the run up to the General Election, he has circulated a letter sent to him from the Chief Brute in Blue which thanked him for "bringing the matter to his attention". It looks like a case of competing for votes with Alice.

## HUME'S HYPOCRISY

On the 75th anniversary of the founding of the African National Congress, John Hume chaired a commemoration meeting in Dublin. He praised the struggle of the ANC against apartheid. However, back in Derry it was a different story. A proposal to make ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, an honorary citizen was opposed by SDLP councillors. Every one of them voted down the suggestion.

The reason: Mandela was a 'man of violence' who was engaged in an armed struggle.

Supporting struggles in far off places takes on a new meaning with the SDLP.



# Guinness

THE GUINNESSY That's what the snob magazine *The Tatler* called the Guinness family. And the crooked dealing to which the brewing company was recently forced to admit certainly reads like one of J.R.'s or Alexis' deals.

With a British Dept. of Trade and Industry investigation under way, Guinness decided to come clean and admit that it had spent about £120 million buying shares from itself through a Swiss Bank during its takeover bid for Distillers. Under the deal they also arranged to buy back, at

cost price plus expenses, shares bought on its behalf by the bank.

This is all highly illegal. All highly profitable. And, naturally, highly common. Last year there were 78 takeover bids on the London London Stock Exchange. In more than a quarter a there was evidence of some illegal trading.

Four of Guinness' Board of Directors have had to resign as well as a number of their financial whizz-kids. It has also come to light that the Swiss Bank which Guinness' used - Bank Leu - was the most

active of Swiss Banks which handled Nazi Gold during World War Two.

Five years ago Guinness was worth just £90 million. Then Ernest Saunders was brought in at great cost as chief executive. Now the company is valued at £200 million.

That increase results from successful takeovers, of which Distillers was crucial.

To oversee all this, Guinness pays £8 million a year to an American firm which hires out whizz kids.

One of them is the financial director at the centre of the scandal, Oliver Roux.

These spivs earn a not very small fortune. Geoff Collier, who was sacked by Morgan Grenfell, Guinness' ex-Bankers, for his part in the affair, pocketed over £200,000 a year. Lord Iveagh earned £343,000 in 1984 as a director of Guinness.

And these are the people who had the cheek to put 4p on the pint!



Lord Iveagh:

The Channons - Guinness shareholders.

## US RULES NOT OK

"American investors are particularly obsessed with the problem of how to dismiss redundant or incompetent workers in European countries.

The IDA's solution to this is to usher them into the offices of a good solicitor who specialises in labour matters and who, like an American football coach, will run the prospective investor through all the ground rules, strategies and manoeuvres that should be employed to tackle the 'problem' of our Unfair Dismissals Act. Mr U.S. investor doesn't really have much to worry about though. A study produced by UCD last year found that the trade unions are losing seven out of every 10 cases which they bring before the Tribunal.

- from IRISH BUSINESS, January 1987 under a headline: UNIONS LOSING.

# WE THINK

## Don't trust them

Irish capitalism is in a mess. It has the world's fourth highest level of debt per head of population. One in every five workers is out of a job in a country that sets the European record in dole queues. Politicians now talk as if emigration was the most natural path in the world for young women and men to take.

Whichever government is elected there will be no change. There is no difference between the policies of Fianna Fail and the Fine Gael/Labour Coalition. It is a case of Tweedledum and Tweedledee. They do not even pretend that there is much of a difference. Instead they canvass votes with a variety of gimmicks and personality contests.

This general election like many others is dominated by nakedly pro-boss parties. A former US ambassador to this country put his finger on it when he claimed that: "Ireland offered the most stable climate for private investment in the world". And that is precisely where the problem begins.

There is no major party that talks of cancelling the interests payments to the world banks so that a crash programme of job

creation could begin; none that will crack down on the vast sums of money which are moved illegally out of the country every year - over £1500 million in 1986. Every one of them will continue to pamper the rich with grants and tax breaks.

And when it comes to the Northern situation, the same right wing politics hold. Fianna Fail, Fine Gael, the Progressive Democrats and Labour (and the Workers Party) are all for extradition in principle, though they disagree on the details. They all want to keep the Special Criminal Courts.

What is desperately needed is a good dose of full blooded socialist politics. Some will say that this is impractical. They claim that the Irish are 'priest ridden' and 'conservative by nature'. It is pure rubbish. Any one with the vaguest knowledge of Irish history will see that it is a record of rebellion and a rejection of the more moderate advice of 'our betters'.

A strong socialist movement can be built in this country - but only if it is based on working class struggle. In the course of struggle, the majority of workers can quickly change

their ideas. A party that can give a lead in these struggles can make major gains. It needs to provide real answers on how workers in a company like Packard - owned by the giant American multinational General Motors - can fight and win. It needs to show how the Northern struggle can connect with Southern workers without forever appealing to middle class nationalists who have a stake in the system.

The problem is that the parties of the Left - Sinn Fein and the Workers Party - do not take this approach. They see elections (coupled with the armed struggle in the case of the Provos) as the focus of their activity.

They prepare for it by means of setting up advice centres and focussing on community issues. They try to play the same game of servicing constituents as the right wing parties. And inevitably they lose.

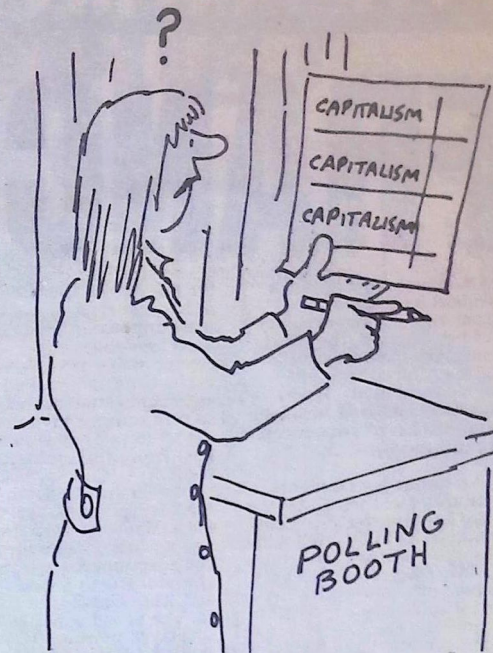
There is a further reason why the Left is weak. It has to do with politics. Neither the Workers Party nor Sinn Fein see a fight for socialism on the agenda at the moment. Sinn Fein argue that 'class politics cannot begin until after the border has been removed. The Workers Party

argue that we must undergo a major programme of industrialisation and win a majority in parliament before we can advance.

In the general election, we urge workers to vote left - number one for Sinn Fein, number 2 for the Workers Party. A high protest vote for these parties will be taken as a sign of resistance to the attacks we face. But we also need to build a much clearer revolutionary socialist alternative.

A real socialist alternative will

never be built by concentrating on elections which give working class people the idea that socialism can be 'given' to us by well-meaning politicians. A revolutionary socialist organisation which bases itself on the day to day struggles of workers in factories, offices, schools and hospitals can begin to make working class people see that we ourselves have the power to get rid of the capitalist system and its parasites and to run society ourselves for ourselves.



## Pat Grace's famous sacked pickets . . .

PICKETS HAVE been placed on two fast-food restaurants in the Phibsboro' Shopping Centre. Both shops - Famous Fried Chicken and the Pizza Hut - are owned by Pat Grace.

The dispute began after full-time staff were sacked in both Phibsboro and Rathmines branches of

Famous Fried Chicken. It appears that Grace's policy is to rid himself of "permanent" and insured workers in favour of very young part-timers. Attempts by management to introduce new shift rosters and payment of wages in cash were opposed and the workers concerned were sacked.

The ITGWU No. 4 branch promised and gave official backing for six hours. After this period, they withdrew support, claiming that the strike was a hopeless cause since only nine workers were prepared to fight. Jimmy Somers and Martin King are the branch officials directly responsible.

The strike has continued through the Christmas period and into the New Year. Business has been halted except for a few scabs. None of the five thousand hungry soccer fans at a recent Derry City match in Dalymount Park crossed the picket-line: they chose instead to stand alongside cheering and shouting support for the strikers.

The strike is small, defensive and will prove difficult to win. If Somers, and King continue spouting on about hopeless causes they must be challenged. The workers themselves must attempt to win more solidarity for the strike. The argument can be made with workers in other companies and shop to raise the issue in their union branches, black any goods destined for the restaurants and make collections among their fellow-workers.

Meanwhile picketing at Phibsboro' continues between 11 am and 2 am seven days a week. Messages of support and donations can be sent to the picket-line and help in picketing is also welcome.

- MICK BERRY



## London Calling

EMIGRATION has become official government policy. Master Richard Bruton, John's younger brother, has instructed us 'not to forget the positive aspects of emigration'. Minister of Education, Paddy Cooney, demands that our youth be taught in such a way that they can adapt to the necessity to emigrate.

When the American Government decided to make available 10,000 visas for possible emigrants, An Post fell over backwards to guarantee that they could get the applications to the right office on the first post of the right day. Fianna Fail's only complaint is that the government are not trying harder to dump its surplus population onto America. There should be more pressure put on ventured Noel Travey, to get more visas

for the Irish. Now a survey carried out by the Irish in Britain Representation Group shows up the real picture facing emigrants in London.

The survey was taken in 1985. It showed:-

- 27% of emigrants sleep rough in the period after their arrival.
- 70% of emigrants arrive with less than £100.
- 79% of them have experienced unemployment since arriving and many of these had experienced difficulties in making a claim for benefit.

- 57% had made no definite arrangements for accommodation.

The picture is one that is depressingly close to the 50s. Accommodation is expensive with the current boom in house prices in London. As a result many young Irishmen and

women find themselves in hostels and bedsits. The main source of work is still the building - but it is riddled with the lump

Socialists have always supported the rights of those intending to emigrate. Across the world, revolutionaries fight against all forms of controls and restrictions on emigrants arriving. But that does not mean that we join in the same chorus as the Coalition. The recent wave of Irish emigration - at the rate of 50,000 a year - is a testimony to the failure of Irish capitalism. Now as before, they try to hide those failings by driving out the unemployment. We are all for emigration but only when it starts from Leinster House and the boardrooms of big business.

## Bye, bye, suckers!



IT'S NO WONDER HE HAS a smile on his face as he waves good-bye to the Dail. At the age of just fifty, Michael O'Leary leaves politics with an annual pension of £14,872 or £286 a week! What's more this pension will increase in line with Dail salaries - so he needn't worry about inflation. Since he also practices as a barrister, O'Leary should have quite a luxurious "retirement".

## INTERNATIONAL

## FRANCE ERUPTS!

MARNIE HOLBOROW

FRANCE has recently been convulsed by a wave of student and worker struggles. For a brief period, the ghost of the great 1968 upheaval hung over the right wing Chirac government. In the end, Chirac survived through a combination of concessions and repression.

The Chirac government is viciously right wing. Its Education Minister, Duvaquet brought in a bill to implement cuts and to increase selection into the colleges. It was only one part of a package of bills that included an anti-immigrant nationality act.

The students dug their heels in and refused to accept

the bill. From the last week in November, they organised mass opposition. Based on mass assemblies and elected strike committees in the colleges, the students and school students managed to turn out one million onto the streets. They won support from workers after one student - Malik Ousseki - was clubbed to death by the French riot police, the CRS. Mass demonstrations and a general strike forced the government to drop the education bill and sack the Minister.

The proud confidence displayed by the students ignited a flame among the railway workers.

The students had touched a nerve in the French working class that connected to the feeling of resentment against Chirac's government.

In Paris' Eastern railway station train drivers went on strike. Pay - some drivers had seen wage packets decrease by £80 a month over the last 3 years - was only half of it. It was mainly about differentials based on merit, proposed by management, which would effectively set driver against driver. 'Profitability' and 'cost effective' arguments, privatisation and job cuts further angered the drivers. They organised their

action, like the students from rank and file strike committees. One third of the workers participating were not even in the union. In the beginning, officials were completely bypassed. They were left reeling at the effectiveness of the action.

For two weeks french railways were at a near standstill. CRS Riot Police patrolled the tracks to let the odd scab train out of the stations. They harassed the picketers. There were fights on the picket line. "Stand firm, hard and calm" urged Paris' Northern station.

President Mitterand met striking workers, hoping to make political mileage out of the strike. But when Mitterand was in office with a socialist government from 1981 to 1986, he sent in the CRS riot police to break the Talbot workers strike in 1984.

This was the same Mitterand who in office sacked thousands of steel workers, who increased workers social insurance contributions, who implemented an austerity plan that saw unemployment increase by 16%. Crocodile tears indeed when he met the railway strikers!

Was 1986 another mini 1968? A metal worker summed it up. "It's not 1968 but it's not bad". The mass strike of 1968 was more widespread; it happened after a boom of capitalism world-wide, and students and workers expressed that optimism.

Today capitalism is beset by crisis. Workers may be less confident. But so is the ruling class. Chirac today cannot offer the 30% wage increase that DeGaulle did in 1968. Stitch-up deals are simply not there to be had.

Across the world our rulers called on Chirac to stand firm. The Ruling Class fears are our hopes. French students and workers have set an example to us all. In the words of the old 1968 slogan "It is only a beginning. The struggle goes on".



French railway workers stood on the train tracks to stop scabs that were helped by the riot police.

## The struggle in 1968

THE events of May 1968 in France involved the biggest strike that capitalism has ever seen. At its height, ten million workers were on strike.

It all started with students protesting against disciplinary procedures against one student - Daniel Cohn Bendit. They were also demanding mixed halls of residence. A demonstration of about 500 on 3rd May became 60,000 only 3 days later.

The french riot police - the CRS - showed their vicious face in the demonstrations. They baton-charged and beat the students. Suddenly the students protest became a symbol of revolt against the ten last repressive years of the DeGaulle government.

Workers began occupying their workplaces. On 14th May 200 workers in an aviation factory occupied. By 19th May, 2 million other workers, including the big Renault and other car works had joined them. On 22nd May,

10 million were on strike.

Initially, the Communist Party led union, the CGT, had denounced the students as "wreckers" and "ultra lefts".

The movement grew and the strike-wave affected everything from the shipyards to the petrol pumps, from the post office to the folie bergeres music hall. "Everything is possible" became the chant of the day.

The whole atmosphere gave a glimpse of workers freedom. "Nothing would ever be the same again" the Prime Minister conceded.

DeGaulle had retreated to Germany, so 'grave' was the situation. The government sought a deal with the unions and students. They turned to the union leaders.

Finally on 25th May, the Grenelle Agreements sealed the unions deal with the government. Industrial workers were to receive a 35% wage increase. And the CGT was to sell the deal to their members and get them back to work.

Many rank and file workers rejected the deal. They booed Seguy, the CGT leader, at the

vast Renault works and told him to resign. But with no other leadership giving an alternative to workers, the union leaders soon gained their control.

No method was too devious to get the striking workers back to work. CGT officials eventually cajoled everyone back and meanwhile DeGaulle was appealing for order and a show of confidence in his government. There was a referendum.

Socialists and Communists appealed to the maintenance of the Republic. All talk of workers power dissolved in the mouths of the Union leaders. Their political leaders eager to get a stake of governmental power.

With such reliable allies DeGaulle could only but win. He triumphed at the polls.

The greatest strike capitalism had ever seen was over.

It failed thanks to the so-called socialists and communists, whose loyalty to capitalism proved stronger than loyalty to their own class.

## Revolt in China

CHINA has been rocked by the biggest challenge to the ruling class since the "Democracy Wall" movement of 1979.

Hundreds of thousands of students took to the streets to demand greater freedom and democracy, in open defiance of government bans.

The economic "modernisation" of the past eight years has improved living conditions in the cities and raised hopes for more freedom. These expectations particularly affect China's two million students.

As splits have opened up inside the ruling class over the future direction of the economy, even limited changes have come under attack.

Many observers say students have been backed by

BY CHARLIE HORE

the "modernisers" in the regime who are using the marches to put pressure on their conservative opponents. Even if this is true, the movement has gone far beyond what any section of the ruling class would want.

The movement started in the eastern city of Hefei on 5 December, with a march of 1,000 students demanding electoral

reform. Over the next 12 days similar marches took place in at least eight other cities. Then it spread to Shanghai, China's largest city, and took on a very different character.

For five days the city centre was blocked by angry crowds of up to 70,000 people, including large numbers of workers.

The protests had become much more militant, focusing on official corruption and police brutality, as well as the snail like pace of political change. "We won't wait 10,000 years", read one banner.

One crucial factor was the example set by French students whose protests

were widely reported in China.

As the demos went on official attitudes hardened. At least 300 students were arrested, and armed police prevented students from leaving their colleges.

The next day, however, a series of marches, started in the nearby city of Nanjing, called for 'an end to despotism'. For the first time students in Beijing took to the streets, protesting against the arrests in Shanghai. The Beijing authorities promptly announced a string of restrictions on marches, and declared four areas of the city out of bounds.

But posters appeared on

other campuses calling for a rally in Tiananmen Square (one of the banned areas) on New Year's Day.

Local officials tried to stop the rally by flooding Tiananmen to cover it with a sheet of ice! Despite this hundreds of students gathered at the square on 1 January and at least 25 were arrested as they broke through the police lines.

In the early hours of the next day over 4,000 students marched to occupy Tiananmen to demand the release of those arrested. After they had swept through several police lines, they were stopped by an official promise that all those arrested had now

been released. Most returned to the campus, but more than 1,000 carried on to make their original protest.

As released students returned to their colleges, another 1,000 students set off to occupy Tiananmen to mark their victory, and to show that the ban could not be enforced.

The ruling class undoubtedly backed down through fear of sympathy marches spreading across China, giving the movement a feel of its power. Though the marches may well now subside under the pressure of exams, the ferment will certainly

continue. One early sign of that has come from the students in Hefei who sparked off the movement. They have demanded—and won—the right to put up their own candidates in local elections. Yet when they were held, 2,000 of the 7,000 students and staff boycotted them, because the concessions they had won didn't go far enough.

Why we need a revolution in Ireland. Price: 50p from P.O. Box 1648, Dublin

# Is the Left right or wrong?

IN THE coming general election there will be three main contenders for the left-wing vote. The Workers Party, Sinn Fein and the Labour Party all occasionally call themselves socialist. They have been preparing for the general election for some months.

All three of these parties set up "advice centres" in hopeful constituencies; they issue statements to the press in the name of the candidate. Papers like the *Irish People* and *Republican News* do regular reports on local issues in the hope of boosting their candidates' chances.

What do these parties stand for? Here *Socialist Worker* looks at the policies of the Irish Left and argues for its own alternative.

## The Labour Party

The Labour Party is still the biggest party on the left. But it is a disaster. In 1969 it won 17 percent of the votes. In the last local elections it won just 8 percent. Its members are largely inactive—party activity usually means passing resolutions and electoral work.

Labour Party conferences can pass very left-wing resolutions. Officially, the Labour Party is for a 35-hour working week, the nationalisation of the "commanding heights of the economy" (the banks and biggest firms), the scrapping of all repressive laws, full equality for women—but these official policies mean absolutely nothing.

Despite its supposed openness and "democracy", the Labour Party is run by the party leaders and the TDs. It is their record rather than the policies that count.

The Labour Party has been in coalition with Fine Gael for nearly four years. During that time unemployment has doubled. Real wages have declined. It has embarked on a major programme of hospital cuts. Whenever workers have fought, the Labour Party has been among their most vicious enemies.

During the Cork ESB linesmen's strike, Dick Spring denounced the workers and sent in the police to break their picket lines. Ruairi Quinn warned workers not to occupy factories that made them redundant or they would lose IDA help.

This "toughness" has not been shown to the wealthy. Labour Health Minister, Desmond backed down and gave the wealthy consultant doctors a private clinic inside Dublin's Beaumont Hospital. Spring offered the

oil companies major tax breaks to get them to drill off the Atlantic coast.

Labour ministers did not utter a squeak when the AIB wangled a cool £200 million from the state to cover its losses from insurance dealing.

In the coming general election their vote will shrink further. No socialist will shed any tears for them. But they are not going to disappear, for two reasons.

First the trade union leadership needs the Labour Party. It is a lever into government. It offers the prospect of a "political road" where limited reforms can be won by horsetrading rather than struggle. The idea of the Labour Party as the political wing of the trade union movement helps to cement the division between political and eco-

nomie struggles.

That is why the ITGWU bureaucrats may grumble about the Labour Party—but the union machine will be put at its disposal at election time and beyond.

The second reason why Labour won't disappear is the Labour Left. The Labour Left always hold out the hope that the party can be kept out of coalition and eventually find its soul. After the approaching electoral disaster, watch out for the party's new left turn and its agonising about where it is going. However all experience shows that this can never change the Labour Party. Even where Labour Parties form governments without coalitions—as in Spain, Greece or France until recently—they operate the same way as out Irish version. Everywhere, in coalition or not, Labour is a graveyard for socialists.

## The Workers' Party

THE Workers' Party is a peculiar party by any standard. It prides itself on respect for the institutions of parliament—but its origins are in the Official IRA. Its core leadership claim a strong adherence to the countries of the Eastern Bloc—but its new breed of councillors in Dublin are moving away from old style stalinism.

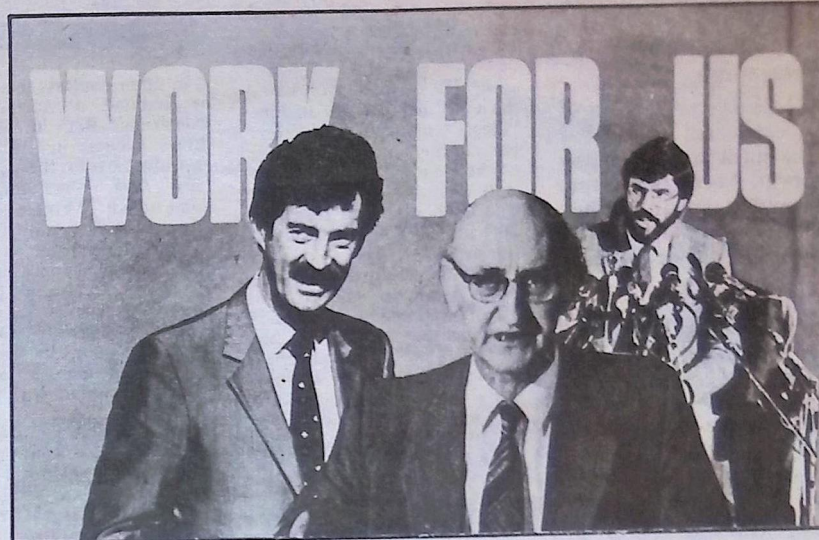
Despite these contradictions, the WP has built a solid base in working class areas because of its espousal of a brand of class politics. The WP were very active in the fight against the recent attacks on social welfare recipients and in the pro-divorce campaign.

The problem with the party is its politics. In *The Irish Industrial Revolution*, the Workers' Party outlined their view of how socialism could

be won in the South. They argued there that the struggle must go through many different stages. The first stage was to create an Irish working class that was a majority class in Ireland. For this a large-scale programme of industrialisation was necessary. So the WP prides itself on supporting the multi-nationals, who would industrialise the country quicker than the native capitalist.

But their main aim at this stage is the creation of a "state-capitalist" Ireland. Here the state-owned sector would gradually expand itself in order to speed up industrialisation.

The main problem with this approach is not the stalinist-type hardships it would involve—it simply cannot work. The experience of



●Labour Leader Dick Spring Workers' Party leaders Tomas MacGiolla, and Sinn Fein's Gerry Adams

countries like Poland show that the real state-capitalist countries were not able to "do it themselves". They were forced to turn back to the world economy for borrowing and technology. That on turn led to massive economic chaos.

Because they place such great stress on industrialising Ireland at any cost, the WP has hardly any feel for workers' struggles. It continually argues that it is more effective to vote left rather than to organise and fight. During the recent teachers' strike, its members argued for accepting a sell-out deal and then using their voting power to punish the Coalition TDs!

In one vital area it plays a particularly rotten, reactionary role. The WP supports a return to a sectarian Stormont-style parliament in the North. It backs the fight against so-called "terrorists". It is for a new version of censorship in RTE to keep republicans off the airwaves. It supports the RUC but wants a police authority with more powers. It views Sinn Fein as a "proto-fascist" party and so defends repression against them. For these reasons it often ends up attacking republicanism from a right-wing, pro-loyalist standpoint! It is this pro-imperialist stand which has lost it much of its support in the nationalist working class areas of the Six Counties.

## Sinn Fein

SINN FEIN are the newest contenders for the left-wing vote. Under the Adams leadership the party has swung decisively to the left. Its decision to drop abstentionism is an indication of its increased involvement in Southern politics. Its commitment to the Northern struggle means that it has avoided (and probably will for some time) selling-out its politics.

Sinn Fein is absolutely right on one point. It argues that the Northern state cannot be reformed but must be smashed. The experience of the civil rights movement, and every initiative by the British government since, proves that the sectarian monster of the Northern state cannot be quietly put away. The Six Counties depends on a sectarian police force, repressive laws and bigotry for its very existence. The entry of Sinn Fein into Southern politics will raise these issues forcefully.

Yet despite its left turn, Sinn Fein is a nationalist rather than a socialist party. It sees the problems of the Irish economy as the result of being "an extension of the British one". It fails to point the finger at capitalism itself.

It holds out the hope that all Irish men and women, whatever their class, can be

won over to the "struggle for national independence". This is why Adams could appeal to Haughey to join him in opposing the Anglo-Irish Agreement and could even offer an electoral pact to the SDLP to defend "pan-nationalist interests".

The reason for these proposals for alliances with the likes of Haughey and Hume has to do with SF's "stages" view of the Northern struggle.

In a recent interview Adams said: "What is on the agenda now is getting rid of partition—not socialism". But the problem is that many upper-class nationalists—like Haughey—have as much of an interest in maintaining partition—and so sectarianism—as do the British establishment. That is why they support extradition and defend the Special Criminal Courts. It is not that they are "betraying Ireland"—it is rather that they know where there class interests lie.

Adams has explained that: "there was a parallel type of strategy adopted by Sinn Fein on social security, housing and welfare as the Labour Party activists in London and elsewhere".

So it's a bleak vision. A long haul through thousands of years served in prisons and hundreds killed in armed struggle just to arrive at a view of socialism with which Neil Kinnock could agree!

## BUILD THE REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST ALTERNATIVE

THE SOUTH'S General Election takes place against a background of economic crisis. Neither the Coalition of Fianna Fail even pretend to offer any answers.

In this situation many would expect an advance for left-wing parties. Unfortunately, it probably will not happen.

There are two reasons for this. Firstly, the defeats that Southern workers have suffered over the last five years combined with the role of Labour in Coalition has disillusioned many workers. It has been the extreme right who have been making the running. Their arguments about "the

need to return to traditional values" and cutting back the public sector have made the headlines.

But secondly, the politics of the major reformist and republican parties are to blame. Both Labour and the Workers' Party look on Ireland as if it were on the lower steps of a moving escalator. They see years of gradual manoeuvrings and reforms until we get to the higher stage of class politics that are seen in countries like Britain and France. But the problem is that the politics of their equivalents in Kinnock and Mitterand don't amount to very much. The last few years have shown that workers have fared no better under majority Labour governments.

Sinn Fein sees the issues differently. But they also constantly tell us that class politics is not yet on the agenda. They quite correctly raise the issue of the Northern state—but they see an alliance with middle-class nationalists as the way forward.

The Irish left needs an injection of full-blooded class politics. In practice this means looking to the self-activity of workers as the means of bringing change. The activity of workers in resisting

redundancies; in building solidarity with struggles can do far more to change the situation in Ireland than all the efforts to put reformist or republican TDs in the Dail.

But something else is needed. The day-to-day struggles of workers ave to be connected to a political understanding of society. There needs to be an organisation that argues that parliament is not some neutral body that can be used by either bosses' or workers parties alike. Such an organisation must spell out why it is in workers' interests to take up the struggle against the Northern state. All the right-wing nonsense on "the need for discipline", for an end to divorce and abortion, and even on the victimisation of gay people over the AIDS panic, needs to be combated. In a word that demands a revolutionary socialist organisation.

None of the major Left parties come anywhere near to that. That is why it is necessary to build independently of them. That is the task the Socialist Workers Movement has set itself. Over the next few weeks it will be holding public meetings to put the revolutionary socialist case.

FIFTEEN years ago on Sunday 30th January 1972, thirteen people were murdered on the streets of Derry by the British army.

But fifteen years on, a whole generation of young people have only the haziest knowledge of the events of Bloody Sunday.

Here *Socialist Worker* examines how and why the civil rights march in Derry on that day ended in a massacre.

IN THE sixty five years of its existence, there has been much injustice in the state of Northern Ireland. Beyond a doubt, Bloody Sunday was the worst injustice to have happened in that time.

In the eighteen years since the current "Troubles" began, there has been much condemnation of so-called "terrorists". What happened on Bloody Sunday and what has happened since then exposes the sheer humbug of the protestations of the British government, unionists and constitutional nationalists to be against the use of violence for political ends.

On Monday 9th August 1971, the British army picked up 342 men in a series of dawn raids on nationalist areas throughout the North. Internment had returned. The reaction was swift: barricades were built and soon people who before would not have been seen dead at a peaceful demo were involved in violent rioting.

A massive rent-and-rates strike was called; soon even government figures confirmed that there were 26,000 families on rent strike. In Derry on 16th August, 8,000 workers staged a one-day strike against internment.

At the beginning of December 1971, the Northern Resistance Movement—a recently-formed united front supported by the Provisionals and most left groups—announced that if the internees were not released by Christmas they would organise a series of protest marches in defiance of a government ban on parades.

The first march took place up the M1 motorway on Christmas Day. The NRM's initiative forced the Civil Rights Association—supported by the Official IRA—to take to the streets also. In the first four weeks of January the NRM and

the CRA held a total of nine "illegal" marches in different parts of the Six Counties, some of them ending in fairly heavy riots when the army moved in. The CRA march in Derry on 30th January 1972 was one of this series.

The march left the assembly point late. It was scheduled to set off from Bishop's Field in Creggan at 2.00pm, but the organisers waited for the arrival of outside contingents which were being delayed at army checkpoints at the edge of town. It got underway, about 10,000-strong, at 2.50pm and headed down Southway towards the Brandywell area.

It was assumed that at some point the army would stop the march reaching its objective—Guildhall Square. When this happened, it was planned to go to Free Derry Corner, in the Bogside, to hold a meeting.

The march was led by a lorry from the back of which members of the executive of the Civil Rights Association instructed the young marchers in the front ranks to "keep in line, six abreast please", they were cheerfully ignored.

By the time the column wound its way into William Street (outside the "no-go" area of "Free Derry") the crowd had grown to 20,000 and there were now hundreds in front of the lorry. In lower William Street, the front ranks came in sight of a formidable army barricade which blocked the street from wall to wall (barricade 14 on map). The lorry was only at the junction of William Street and Rossville Street.

The organisers realised that it would be impossible to drive the lorry through the dense crowd to the front, turn and lead the marchers along Rossville Street to Free Derry Corner. It turned straight into Rossville Street and most of the marchers followed.

After some confusion at the army barricade, stones and bottles were thrown at the soldiers. The army replied from behind the barricades with rubber bullets, CS gas and a water-canon spraying coloured dye.

In other contexts this might be counted a violent confrontation. But in William Street in Derry in 1972 it was very much par for the course. A local *Irish Times* journalist commented: "Ah well, another friendly wee Derry riot".

Five minutes later, at about 3.55pm, a soldier positioned on the roof of Stevenson's Bakery shot into William Street and wounded 15-year-old Damien Donaghy. John Johnson, 57, ran to help him. He too was shot and wounded from the bakery roof.

Donaghy and Johnson were carried into a nearby house and treated by a doctor. Neither were seriously wounded. In the chaos and confusion, as thousands milled around and helped one another through the gas, few realised that two people had been shot.

## The Massacre

BY 4.10pm, the overwhelming majority of people were gathered around the platform at Free Derry Corner. The chairperson handed the mike to the first speaker, Bernadette Devlin. Hearing the meeting get underway, the few people remaining in the William Street area started walking back.

About this time the army fired again. The shots came from near the junction of Chamberlain Street and William Street. One killed Jack Duddy, 17, who was standing in Chamberlain Street near the Rossville car park. This was the first body seen on television being carried away by a priest waving a handkerchief soaked in the boy's blood. The second shot Peggy Deery, 37, also in Chamberlain Street.

These shots were heard by the crowd gathered for the meeting and for a few moments there

was panic. Nobody knew who was shooting at whom or whether anyone had been hit. The organisers, from the platform, appealed for calm and told people to "stand your ground". Those still streaming back began to hurry, some to run.

Immediately after the shooting of Jack Duddy and Peggy Deery, a Whippet armoured car and seven Saracen armoured troop carriers drove at high speed into Rossville Street. Three of the Saracens drove into the car park behind the Rossville flats. The others stopped outside the flats in Rossville Street, just short of a makeshift barricade.

Almost before the Saracens came to a halt, soldiers armed with self-loading rifles were leaping out. The people who were walking towards the meeting, the last few stragglers, began running, panic-stricken, for the safety of the crowd.

The soldiers from the Saracens began shooting as soon as they hit the ground. Michael Kelly, 17, William Nash, 19, John Young, 17, were shot dead as they crossed the barricade outside the Rossville Flats.

In the Rossville car park, one of the Saracens pinned Alana Burke, 18, against a wall, seriously injuring her. Soldiers emerging from the carriers immediately shot dead Kevin McElhinney. Seeing McElhinney fall, Mickey Bridge, 25, ran out screaming "murderers!" He was shot and wounded. Patrick McDaid, 24 and Michael Bradley, 22, were shot and wounded.

Those who were in Glenfada Park tried to flee into Abbey Park when soldiers, who had come on foot from the William Street area, appeared. At the narrow exit from Glenfada Park to Abbey Park, James Wray, 23, Gerald Donaghy, 17, Gerald McKinney, 35, and William McKinney, 27, were killed. Joseph Friel and Patrick O'Donnell, 40, were wounded.

The soldiers who had killed Michael Kelly, William Nash and John Young had stationed themselves at a low wall beside the barricade in Rossville Street and set up a line of fire across the narrow exit from the Rossville car park. Patrick Doherty, 21, and Hugh Gilmour, 17, were two of those who ran into this line of fire. Both were shot dead.

Bernard McGuigan, 41, went to the assistance of Doherty. He too was shot dead. Alex Nash, 52, father of William Nash, ran to his son when he saw him fall. He was shot and wounded. Patrick Campbell, 53, was shot and wounded about half-way between the Rossville Street barricade and Free Derry Corner. Michael McDaid, 17, was also killed in the same line of fire.

In about fifteen minutes, the British army had shot dead 13 men and injured some ten more women and men. Yet not a shot had been fired by anyone except the army, not had anything more lethal than sticks, stones and bottles been thrown. The 1st Battalion of the Parachute Regiment of the British Army had launched a totally unprovoked attack on an unarmed march.

Within hours of the shooting, the propaganda machine of the British army had swung into action claiming justification for the massacre. Their statement read:

"Three companies of the 1st Battalion of the Parachute Regiment were called forward to disperse rioters and make arrests.

"Soon after they deployed at 4.10pm they came under nail bomb attack and a fusillade of fire of 50 to 80 shots from the area of Rossville Flats and Glenfada Flats was returned at seen gunman and nail bombers.

"In all, a total of well over 200 rounds was fired indiscriminately in the general direction of the soldiers."

The British government and the House of Commons rushed to the defence of the army. There was more outrage expressed in Westminster when Bernadette Devlin didn't hit Reginald Mauding half hard enough than there was at thirteen people being murdered in cold blood to prop up Stormont.

Under the crudest of examinations, the army's and British government's version of events collapses entirely.

●The army and government claimed that an unspecified number of nail bombs were thrown before soldiers opened fire. A nail bomb consists of up to a pound of gelignite encased in six inch nails. Its explosion can be heard at a distance of half a mile. Within a half a mile radius of the area where shooting took place there were many thousands of people including British and foreign journalists and television personnel. None heard nail bombs.

●The army claimed that more than 200 shots were fired by the IRA at the soldiers. Nobody but the army spokesman heard these shots. Some journalists claim that a few shots were fired by the IRA towards the end of the "battle". But no-one heard IRA shots before the army opened up.

●The army claimed that some of the wounded men had been nail bombers or carrying arms. None of the wounded were charged with any offence.

●The army and government claimed that all the dead men were carrying either guns or nail bombs. At the insistence of relatives carbon tests, to determine whether a gun or bomb had recently been handled, were carried out during post-mortems. All tests proved negative.

Perhaps the most damning evidence of all against the army and government's version of events is the medical evidence available in the autopsy reports.

●The army claims that soldiers fired only at "seen gunmen and nail bombers". Taken on its own, without the corroboration of the many witnesses who deny the army's story, the medical evidence is conclusive in disproving the army story. Reports of all the autopsies are available in Appendix F of Dr Raymond McClean's book "The Road to Bloody Sunday". They show, and witnesses agree, that the men were shot bent low, running away, on hands and knees crawling away, standing still with hands on the head or crouched with hands on the head—under arrest—when shot.

## The Whitewash

CLEARLY the army's story wasn't true. True accounts of the events of Bloody Sunday should have appeared in the *Sunday Times* and *Observer* of Sunday 6th February 1972. Both papers had sent a team of journalists to Derry; both had assembled accurate accounts of what had happened; both accounts demolished the army's and British government's version of the events.

In the days immediately after Bloody Sunday Lord Widgery had been appointed to head a Tribunal of Inquiry into the facts of the events.

On Friday 4th February, Lord Widgery told the editor of the *Sunday Times*, Harold Evans, that it would be inadvisable to publish his Insight team's report. Mr Evans complied. The next day, Mr David Astor, editor of the *Observer*, decided to follow suit. Before the Inquiry had even begun, Widgery had already been successful in his task. He had stopped the facts being made public.

Widgery had begun as he meant to go on. The conclusions drawn by the Widgery Tribunal Report were wrong, dishonestly arrived at and politically motivated. He set out to exonerate the army; this he did by ignoring, distorting or dismissing the facts—accepting the word of British soldiers who had every reason to lie above the overwhelming evidence of independent witnesses including English journalists, doctors, priests and teachers. Faced with the evidence of these civilians that the soldiers fired at innocent people, Widgery replies, in effect, that they couldn't have been innocent people because had they been innocent, the soldiers would not have fired at them!

An examination of the twists and turns which Widgery had to execute to avoid the truth would fill this entire paper and more but an examination of just one victim's case will more than suffice to prove Widgery's whitewash.

## The "Nailbomber" in Tight Jeans

THE most publicised evidence of terrorist activity on 30th 1972 was the discovery of four nail bombs in the pockets of the body of Gerald Donaghy, one of those killed in Glenfada Park. As Widgery points out (para. 88) there are only two explanations for the presence of the nail bombs.

Either Donaghy had them in his pockets throughout, or they were planted. Widgery decides "on the balance of probabilities" that they had been there throughout.

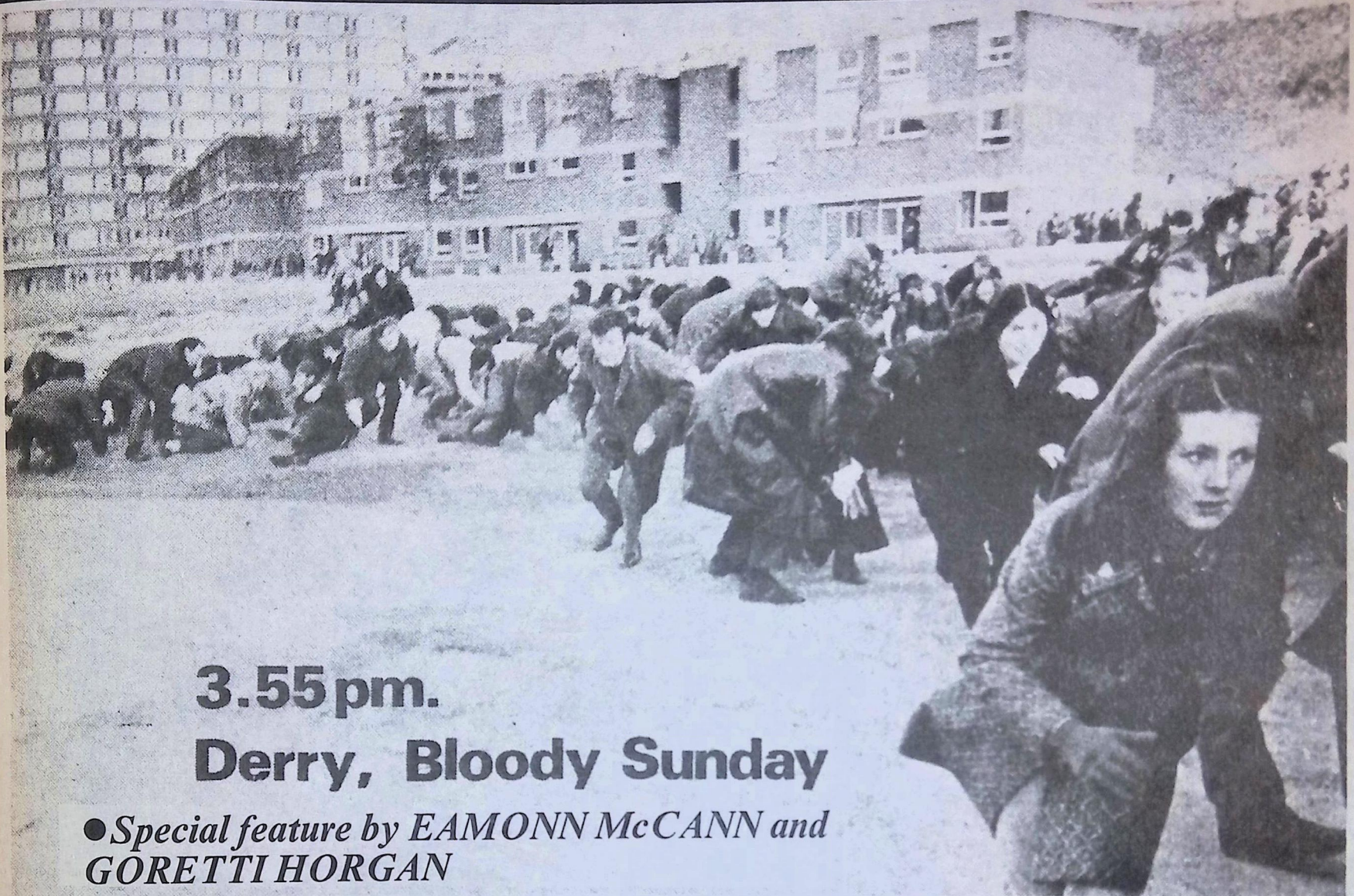
When he was shot, Donaghy



●William Street, Derry 1972

# the real terrorists exposed

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## 3.55 pm. Derry, Bloody Sunday

● *Special feature by EAMONN McCANN and GORETTI HORGAN*

was wearing tight-fitting jeans and a denim jacket. He was carried into the home of Mr Raymond Rogan by Hugh Young and Gerald McCanley. Mr Young had searched Donaghy's top pockets for identification but did not find anything. McCanley told the Tribunal that he noticed nothing in Donaghy's pockets; that he would have noticed any bulky object.

While in the Rogan home, Donaghy was examined by Dr Kevin Swords of Lincoln Hospital. Dr Swords loosened Donaghy's clothes, examined the wound in his abdomen and then "went over his whole body" for other wounds. He did not notice any nail bombs. Had they been there, he said, "I could not have failed to notice".

Charles Hazlett, a reporter working for the *Belfast Telegraph* was present when Dr Swords carried out the examination. He noticed no nail bombs.

Mr Rogan noticed no nail bombs as he carried Donaghy to his car, put him in the rear seat and set off for Altnagelvin Hospital. At that point Donaghy was alive. Dr Swords told the Tribunal: "I would not have given him another half hour after leaving the house". Had the car not been stopped the journey would have taken about ten minutes.

The car was stopped at a military check-point. Mr Rogan and Mr Young, who was in the rear seat with Donaghy, were told to get out. A soldier drove the car to the Royal Anglians

Aid Post at Craigavon Bridge where Donaghy was examined by the Medical Officer. He was pronounced dead. The Medical Officer told the Tribunal that he made a detailed examination of Donaghy. He saw no nail bombs.

The nail bombs alleged to have been found on Donaghy contained over a quarter of a stone of four inch wire nails plus explosives. Two were allegedly in the pockets of his tight-fitting jeans and two in the pockets of his jacket.

The allegation was, then, that these bulky objects had been protruding from Donaghy's pockets; that he had been subjected to detailed examination by two doctors—one of them a serving army officer—and handled and observed by a number of civilians including a reporter, and that none, not even the army officer, had noticed them.

Widgery concedes that "it seems likely that these relatively bulky objects would have been noticed when Donaghy's body was being examined" (para 88). Assuming, that is, that they were there.

The first person who claimed to have seen the nail bombs was soldier 127, a bomb disposal officer. He told the Tribunal that he was called to Craigavon Bridge at about 5.05pm to examine a car. He began to search the car. Donaghy's body was in the back seat.

He saw a nail bomb protruding from one of Donaghy's pockets. "About one third of it was sticking out". He then found three more in the other pockets. Each was about the size of a tin of Coke, four or five inches long and two inches in diameter.

"Between 5 and 6 o'clock" a *Times* reporter was called to look at the body. He saw the nail bomb in the jacket pocket. A police photographer was called to photograph the body with the bombs protruding from the jacket pocket. There was army evidence that numerous uniformed police were in the vicinity of the car, as well as at least one member of the Special Investigation Branch and at least one member of the Special Branch.

On the face of it, it would seem not only "likely that the relatively bulky objects would have been noticed" before soldier 127 reached the body. It is quite bewildering that they were not. Soldier 127 saw one of them merely by looking at the body.

Neither Dr Swords nor the Medical Officer saw them in the course of two detailed examinations of the body. That would seem to lead directly to the conclusion that the bombs were put into Donaghy's pockets after he was examined at the Royal Anglians Aid Post.

Widgery's reasons for rejecting this explanation were: "The alternative explanation of a plant is mere speculation. No evidence was offered as to where the

bombs might have come from, who might have placed them or why Donaghy should have been singled out for such treatment."

Evidence of a plant was not "mere speculation". If the bombs were not there up to and including the time Donaghy's body was examined by the Medical Officer, they *must* have been planted. And the evidence that they were not there, far from being "mere speculation" was unanimous and overwhelming.

Widgery's complaint about the absence of evidence on the origin of the bombs and the identity of the planter is strange indeed. The only persons who could have provided such evidence were the planter and his associates—and why should they come forward?

### The Truth

SINCE the British army, the British government and the Widgery Report were all clearly lying, what is the truth about Bloody Sunday?

One of the most popular theories is that the Paras simply ran amok and shot indiscriminately into the fleeing crowd "to teach the Bogside a lesson". This is highly unlikely. Paratroopers don't run amok.

They are by all accounts a highly disciplined and efficient force. It can be safely taken for granted that they took up the positions they had been instructed to, laid down the instructed lines of fire and aimed at the targets they had been told to aim at.

With the exception of Peggy Deery and Alana Burke, all the dead and wounded were men. Every man killed was, broadly speaking, of "military age", that suggests highly discriminate shooting.

The 1st Battalion of the Parachute Regiment were not stationed in Derry. They arrived from Palace Barracks, Holywood on the morning of 30th January. They went back to Palace Barracks the same evening, mission, presumably, completed. What was the mission?

A British *Socialist Worker* pamphlet "What Happened in Derry" published in March 1972 advanced the theory that the army plan was to entice the IRA to battle in the area around Rossville Street, to trap it in that area and wipe it out. It was suggested that the shooting of Damien Donaghy and John Johnson was quite cold-blooded and designed to bring IRA men pouring out of the Bogside "to defend the area".

The numerous contradic-

tions in the army's story about Donaghy and Johnson, and the fact that even Widgery had to concede that neither was engaged in an attack on the army when they were shot, supports this theory.

The IRA did not act as the British army expected it to. The main reason for this is that, while there were some members of both the IRAs on the march, none of them was armed. The IRA do not use marches as a cover from which to attack the British army. To do this, and thus place the lives of marchers in danger, would be tactical lunacy.

Whatever the details of the army plan, of one thing we can be certain: that the military and political establishment expected much more than an arrest operation on 30th January 1972. We have it on the authority of the British Minister of Defence, Lord Balneil that plans for 30th January were discussed and agreed by Cabinet Ministers at Westminster. Such august persons are not called upon to authorise mere arrests.

They planned for a Bloody Sunday in Derry. As was pointed out in "What Happened in Derry": if Stormont was to survive it needed "something drastic done about anti-internment marches".

"For more than a year security forces had not been able to operate freely in the Creggan,

● *Continued over*

# Fianna Fail: sixty years of serving the bosses

•Continued from previous page

Brandywell and Bogside areas. Since 9th August, the day of internment, the army and police had been shut out completely. This area of 30,000 inhabitants, by far the biggest no-go area, was a running insult to established ideas of good order."

They planned to smash the resistance of the people of "Free Derry", and to smash the armed resistance of the IRA. On 30th January, preservation of Stormont was uppermost in their minds.

North and South, the reaction to Bloody Sunday was massive. Tens of thousands of workers went on strike and marched in Dundalk, Cork, Dublin, Galway and Limerick. The Taoiseach, Jack Lynch, was forced to declare 2nd February, the day of the victims' funerals, a day of national mourning. If he hadn't, most of the South would have closed down anyway. After three days of marches and riots a 30,000-strong crowd burnt down the British embassy in Dublin.

In the North there was a one-day strike across the Six Counties and a three-day strike in Derry. There was rioting, hijacking and road-blocking in every nationalist working class area.

Since then, and partly as a reaction to Bloody Sunday, tactics have become more subtle. Stormont has been abolished, but the sectarian state remains intact; discrimination against Catholics continues; the policy of shooting to kill unarmed civilians is still used and still covered-up, as the Stalker affair so clearly shows.

There have been other injustices, other massacres. In some—Ballykelly, Warrenpoint, the M62 bombing—more people have been killed than on Bloody Sunday. What makes Bloody Sunday loom large as the most evil event of the last 18 years is the fact that in relation to all other massacres the perpetrators have been reviled, sought out as murderers. Often, in an attempt to assuage public outcry, suspects have been tortured and made to confess to crimes of which they are innocent. Many, like the Birmingham Six and Guildford Four continue to serve long prison sentences despite their innocence.

But for this most cold-blooded massacre, the leader of the killers, Para Commander Lt. Col. Derek Wilford, was awarded the OBE in the following year's New Years Honours and later in 1973 he attended Buckingham Palace and the Queen of England ceremoniously congratulated the mass murderer for a job well done.

And what lies behind the hypocrisy? It is the fact that when Col Wilford and his men shot dead 13 men in Derry, they were protecting the interests of the ruling class and it is the ruling class which decides what constitutes "terrorism". As Bernadette Devlin pointed out in the introduction to the British Socialist Worker pamphlet "What Happened in Derry":

"The ruling class respects and recognises only its own power. In defence of 'democracy' and 'peace' they will break every democratic right, every law, every concept of peace and justice they themselves ever set up."

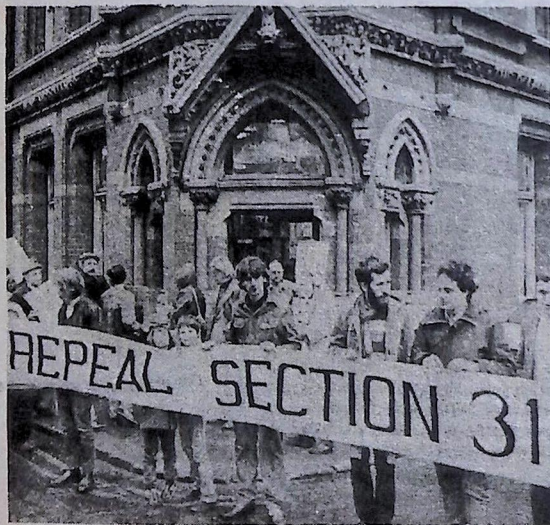
**EVERYONE with any sense wants to get rid of the Coalition government. We're all sick of the rising and growing unemployment which have gone hand in hand with cuts in health, education and social welfare and which have caused a drop in the living standards of most working class people. It is clear as daylight that Garret FitzGerald, Dick Spring and their cronies must go.**

The question is who and what is there to put in their place? For many the answer is Charles Haughey and Fianna Fail. There's nothing new about this. Every time a coalition government has been in power Fianna Fail come to be seen as the political party which holds out most hope. Then when Fianna Fail have governed for a while, the Coalition comes to be seen once again as the only salvation.

That's why Fianna Fail and Fine Gael were christened Tweedle Dum and Tweedle Dee—there's really no difference between them and they get turn and turn about at being the government which protects the bosses' interest and keeps workers down.

But FF is seen by many workers, republicans, and even some socialists as being somehow a bit better than FG; as being less of a friend to the bosses, more of a friend to the unemployed and much more sympathetic to republicans. This view has led many who should know better to call on workers to vote for FF. During the 1981-82 series of elections, the Communist Party of Ireland went so far as to have in their newspaper a headline saying "VOTE FIANNA FAIL!"

In constituencies where Sinn Fein isn't standing its supporters tend to vote solidly Fianna Fail and where Sinn Fein does have candidates a large share of their transfers go to Fianna Fail. One has to ask how this view of such a nakedly pro-boss party has emerged? One thing is



•Despite the rhetoric, Haughey has indicated that he won't scrap Section 31



•Bosses friend Charlie Haughey

PHOTO:DEREK SPEIRS (Report)

sure. It can't be from its record.

From the day they first entered the Dail in 1928 FF made it clear that they were on the side of the bosses. Their basic philosophy was that Irish workers ought not to be exploited by foreigners while there were Irish exploiters available for the task. With this in mind De Valera, once he came to power, set about restricting imports and imposing the tariffs which were to profit the small manufacturing capitalists that his party represented.

## EXPLOITERS

The "economic war" with Britain was in fact about developing Irish capitalism, not about national independence. British capital in Ireland had remained untouched, not least because to take it over might have suggested to the more imaginative that Irish capital, too, might usefully be expropriated.

Nor was there any ban on profits "earned" in the 26 counties being invested abroad. To facilitate this, FF did not break the link between the Irish

currency and sterling and bank interest rates continued to be co-ordinated with the British rate no matter what the state of the domestic Irish economy.

In March 1935, De Valera was faced with the first big strike of his administration when Dublin transport workers struck for the restoration of wage cuts and against the arbitrary dismissal of a bus driver. The strike lasted eleven weeks. The government did what Fianna Fail governments have continued to do ever since and sent in scab army lorries to ferry people to work. Nonetheless, the strikers stood solid and won substantial wage increases.

Fianna Fail's position in the class war has not changed any since the 1930s. It is still implacably anti-working class. In 1981 Haughey tore up the last phase of the National Wage Agreement and refused to honour it.

He and his party are totally opposed to the DIRT tax—which attempts to claw back some of the massive amount of interest earned by the wealthy in our society. Similarly, they stand squarely against the introduction of the Land Tax which seeks to get from bigger farmers a rural equivalent of business rate.

It was in the thirties too, that Fianna Fail showed itself to be very much the party of the Catholic Church. The playing of the "Catholic card" began when FF first took their seats in Dail. Cumann na nGael (the forerunners of Fine Gael) had begun to substitute the Holy Writ for secular law with the Censorship of Films Act 1923. By 1929 they had got around to the censorship of publications and Fianna Fail decided that it had better show its Catholic qualifications.

## PROTESTANT

De Valera defended Mayo County Council's refusal to sanction the appointment of a Protestant librarian and around the same time went on record as being against Protestant doctors being allowed to cure sick Catholics (Dail Debates

June 1931).

FF's 1937 Constitution ensured that Home Rule would be Rome Rule and the FF party has not allowed itself to be affected by any of the secularism or liberalism of the 60s or 70s. In 1979, when the McGee case forced the legislation of contraception, Haughey introduced his infamous "Irish solution to an Irish problem" which ensured that contraception would be (not very easily) available only to married couples.

Two years later he assured SPUC that they had his support for their anti-abortion amendment to the constitution. Last year, FF adopted an entirely hypocritical "neutral" approach to the divorce referendum although its party activists ensured that the anti-divorce lobby had the use of FF's canvassing machine.

Nowhere is FF more hypocritical however than on its supposed republicanism. To this day, FF maintains that it is "The Republican Party". Once again, the party of Irish capitalism started as it meant to go on. De Valera had come to power in 1932 with the support of the IRA. Three years later, he had all copies of *An Phoblacht* seized and 96 members of the IRA jailed. The last republicans to be hung in the Free State were executed under a FF government in the fifties. This repression of the IRA, though, went hand in hand with FF's constant re-iteration of its dedication to a United Ireland and to the "traditional aims of republicanism".

Today's FF under Charlie Haughey is no different—if anything it has learnt to more effectively combine the rhetoric of republicanism with the fist of repression. Thus Haughey's recent statement that all political parties and all candidates in the forthcoming election including Sinn Fein should have access to the air-waves sounds like he believes in the repeal of Section 31—a piece of repressive legislation which he never failed to implement while Taoiseach.

In fact, when asked directly on the RTE news if he would

repeal Section 31 if elected, he effectively said NO! He would he explained, "review the situation" and "consult with the security forces". Haughey is merely playing the "green card" for fear of losing votes to newly anti-abstentionist Sinn Fein candidates. Similarly, FF have appeared to oppose extradition. In fact, they wholeheartedly accept extradition in principle, wanting only the prima facie evidence that the wanted person may have done what the Brits say they have. But then, that's not surprising.

## SUPREME COURT

Over twenty years ago in 1964 the Supreme Court ruled that the Petty Sessions Act provision for extradition was unconstitutional under Article 40 Section 4 of the constitution. In 1965, Charlie Haughey the then Minister for Justice responded to this judgement by passing the Extradition Act.

If Haughey and Fianna Fail aren't the answer, then what is? In the long term the only way unemployment, low wages and falling living standards can be fought is by the working class organising to fight.

In the meantime we can vote as left as possible for Sinn Fein if they are standing in our constituency; if there's no SF candidate then for the Workers' Party or any independent left-wing candidate; If it's the nearest thing to a left-wing party available, we can vote Labour.

Voting for minority parties is a form of protest—it shows we are sick of Fianna Fail and Fine Gael. The more seats small, left-wing parties win, the better chance there is of an unstable, minority government. And minority government is good for the working class.

Such a minority government couldn't risk too many cuts and would have to maintain popularity by keeping welfare payments and wages higher than otherwise. On the other hand, a secure Fianna Fail government could confidently continue the anti-working class policies of the Coalition.



# MARXISM MADE EASY 'DEMOCRACY'

WITH an election approaching in the south workers and students are being urged by their union leaders to "enter the political arena by voting in a certain way. We are being told that our power lies in the ballot box and that the prospect of winning or losing votes is enough to persuade politicians to promise tax reforms, higher pay and lower college fees.

The union leaders are accepting an old myth - the fairy tale that says that our society in which we live is democratic. It is a simple and, at first glance, a reasonable assumption i.e. the people elect the Dail or parliament which then passes legislation on behalf of the people. In this way we all appear to have an equal say in the running of society.

This idea has attracted many socialists to the notion that socialism can

be brought about through parliament. The poor are in a majority, so then all they need to do is elect a government which promises to improve their conditions. In this way the poor can relax and leave the job of changing society to a reforming government.

The experience of every reformist government to date has proved otherwise. Such governments have consistently failed to bring about the changes which they promised at election time.

Whenever a Labour or Social Democratic Government has attempted to pass progressive legislation the bosses have intervened. If the interests of the capitalist class were under threat, the capitalists simply invested their money abroad. The government - if it had gone this far - was then forced to drop the legislation. Reformist governments in Britain, France, Spain,

Australia and elsewhere have found themselves powerless when faced with the determined resistance of the ruling class.

Even openly pro-capitalist governments have been brought to heel by the bosses. We do not need to look beyond Ireland to see that this is the case. In 1983, Alan Dukes, Finance Minister in the Coalition Government, introduced a mild piece of legislation to close a loophole in the taxation of Government Bonds. The Bill would force speculators to pay the full taxes on their interest gains.

The rich were having none of this. They sought the advice of "investment analysts" and as soon as the Stock Exchange opened £800 million was removed from Government Bonds. Dukes had to drop the legislation. It is clear from all

of this that society is not as democratic as we are led to believe. Power does not lie in the chambers of Leinster House or Westminster. It lies in the boardrooms of big banks and multi-nationals. A million workers can fill in ballot papers to elect a left wing government but a handful of capitalists can destroy all hope of change by simply signing a cheque.

Of course, reforms can be made if the ruling class have something to gain from them. Slavery was abolished in the U.S., not because Abraham Lincoln was a nice guy, but because capitalism no longer required the slave trade. We have health and social services today because capitalism requires a healthy work-force in a period of expansion. In the present crisis such services are under attack with "socialist" Barry Desmond

leading the way in this country.

Markists defend the right to vote and call for a protest vote at election time. We do not believe however, that we have power when each of us goes to her/his polling booth to fill in a ballot paper. Our power lies in our collective strength on the streets and in the workplace. While the bosses can manipulate governments by using their economic power, mass action can move governments in the opposite direction.

In South Africa, the Apartheid Regime has made minor concessions in the face of growing militancy in the black townships and among black workers. Such reforms as ending the ban on mixed marriages and abandoning the pass laws are only cosmetic. Changing economic circumstances have made them possible but the threat from below has

certainly quickened the pace of reform. In fact, the South African government is under pressure from a section of the population which is not even allowed to vote!

The organised masses can not only force reforms - they can also stop legislation which goes against their interests.

This point was proven in France last December when Jacques Chirac's government tried to pass an Education Bill that discriminated against students from the working class. Chirac dropped the law, not because of a debate in parliament, but because the students mobilised on the streets.

Of course in South Africa or France the ultimate threat to capitalist rule is the organised power of workers. Apartheid's instability developed in a period when trade union militancy was at a height. Chirac was defeated when workers came out on strike with the students.

The media discuss politics in terms of Dail debates and legislation. Union leaders accept these terms when they urge their members to use the ballot as their best weapon.

By placing politics strictly within the confines of Leinster House, they are hiding the real political and economic struggles in society.

But by placing politics within the confines of Leinster House, they hide the real political and economic struggles in society. This is the class struggle between bosses and workers. This class struggle is not through the ballot box. It is fought, every day, every week in factories and offices. It is fought through go-slows, work to rules, picket lines and demonstrations.

Only when workers finally defeat the rule of capital, by destroying its state, will we see true democracy;

## EXTRADITION PETITION

AS the Coalition pushed the Extradition Bill through the Dail in December, a number of leading trade unionists from across the 32 counties have put their name to a statement against the measure. The statement was distributed to all the media but they refused to print it.

In their statement, Trade Unionists against Extradition charged that the Extradition Bill would mean:

- returning those accused to the discredited sectarian RUC with the minimum of formality. The Northern security forces regularly obtain convictions and lengthy terms of imprisonment on the basis of confessions obtained by mistreatment, blackmail and even torture. Paid informers - super-grasses - frequently earn the bribes and immunity offered to them by accusing others.
- Those accused face special courts where all semblance of fair play has to be removed. There is no jury. They are tried by the scandalously sectarian Northern Ireland judiciary - Orangemen nearly to a man.
- This measure threatens the working class. Most of those jailed for long periods by the Diplock courts are working class - many trade unionists. Trade unions depend, for their continued existence, on minimum standards of justice from the State. This collaboration in arbitrary, corrupt and sectarian justice threatens the democratic rights of us all.
- The trade union movement cannot stand idly by; please move a resolution along the lines of this one in your trade union;
- This branch/section/committee/etc. calls on the leadership of this union and

the ICTU to mount a campaign of opposition to combat the anti-working class Extradition Bill and to organise publicity among the membership and protest action against it."

Among the signatories to the statement are:

John Mitchell (IDATU)  
Finian McGrath (INTO)  
Joe Duffy (INTO)  
Pete Ford (EPTU)  
John Byrne (EPTU)  
Kevin Keating (EPTU)  
Paul O'Brien (ITGWU)  
Gerry Mullins (ITGWU)  
Phil Toal (ITGWU)  
Barry McCall (NUJ)  
Patsy McGarry (NUJ)  
Eamonn McCann (NUJ)  
Karen Gearon (IDATU)  
Jack Kelly (FWU Executive)  
Ken Quinn (FWU)  
Frank Smith (FWU)  
Phil Flynn (LGPSU)  
Austin Kenny (LGPSU)  
Paddy O'Neill (AUEW)  
Nicky Kelly (NUJ)  
Paddy Logue (Derry Trades Council)  
Daisy Mules (Derry Trades Council)  
Kenny McAdams (Derry Trades Council)  
Tom O'Donoghue (TUI)  
Pat Corcoran (CPSSU)  
Seamus Power (ATGWU)  
Carol Ann Duggan (ATGWU)

The Extradition Bill will not be fully implemented until December 1987. The Southern establishment intend to use it as a bargaining counter with the British. But without major opposition it will still go through.

What you can do

- Order copies of the statement and the full list of signatories. Send £1 for every 100 ordered to SWM P.O. box 1648, Dublin 8.
- Distribute them in your union branch.
- Pass the model resolution.
- Publicise it by writing to the press and papers like Socialist Worker and Republican News.

## WHAT WE STAND FOR

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

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

**REVOLUTION NOT REFORM**  
Capitalism cannot be patched up or reformed - it must be overthrown. That cannot be achieved through parliament as the Workers Party and the Labour Party argue. The real power in this society lies in the boardroom of big business. The structures of the present parliament, courts, army and police are designed to protect the interests of the ruling class against the workers. At most parliament can be used for propaganda against the system - it cannot be the instrument by which workers destroy the power of the rich. We therefore stand for a workers' revolution which produces a different and more democratic society - one based on councils of delegates from workplaces and areas who are democratically elected answerable to assemblies and subject to recall at any time.

**NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR MOSCOW**  
That kind of socialism does not exist anywhere today. Workers have no control over countries like Russia, China or Poland. They are exploited by a state capitalist class. A workers revolution is required in those countries too.

**AGAINST PARTITION**  
The six county Orange state is propped up by British imperialism. That state divides the working class by the guarantee of marginal privileges in housing and jobs to Loyalist workers. The struggle of Catholic workers to rid themselves of sectarianism and bigotry can only succeed by smashing that state. The slow task of building working class unity against imperialism must be begun. However imperialism must be fought in the here and now and we support all forces engaged in that struggle regardless of our differences of programme.

We stand for:

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

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

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

**AGAINST ALL OPPRESSION**  
Revolutionaries oppose all forms of oppression that divide and weaken the working class.  
We are for real social, economic and political equality for women.

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

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

We stand for:

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

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

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



## JOIN US!

I would like more details about the Socialist Workers Movement

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

.....

Send to SWM, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8.

REVIEWS

# Paisley: Born-again bigot

JUST two pages into Ed Moloney and Andy Pollak's book on Paisley, I began to wonder if the Catholic Church that the DUP leader rants about is the same one I was brought up in. I remember being bored by celibate old men who preached that sex was dirty, something to be put up with in order to conceive children. Paisley, however, describes a Catholic theological congress at which young girls drank wine, danced and worshipped a giant plastic penis; after this there were 'public displays of mass sexual intercourse'. Legion of Mary meetings were never like that!

To most people that story is just a joke. It is, in fact, a good illustration of the most basic fact of Ian Paisley's politics - that it is based on undisguised hatred of Catholics. And, as this book amply demonstrates, he invokes that hatred time and time again to turn Protestant workers against their Catholic fellow workers and to whip his followers into a fury of sectarian hatred and violence.

One of the principle themes in the book is the way in which, when he does incite violence, he himself quickly slips into the background leaving others to suffer the consequences. There are many quotes from ex-followers of Paisley's accusing him of inspiring and leading others to crime but then dissociating himself from his followers once they were caught.

Another theme is that of Paisley's involvement with the darkest side of loyalism - the paramilitaries, the

sectarian killers and the bully-boy bigots. As early as the 1950's, he was publicly associated with a group called Ulster Protestant Action, from which the murderous Ulster Volunteer Force later emerged. His fascination with paramilitaries, who he can influence but never restrain, continued through his infamous 'Third Force' to today's 'Ulster Resistance' force.

However well-read you are on Irish History and current affairs, much that you will read here particularly of Paisley's antics in the 1950's will be informative. For those who are too young to remember the events of the late 60's and mid 70's, it will be invaluable in providing an account of what was going on in the loyalist camp.

It is also interesting to discover that there is another side to Paisley - one we rarely see in Ireland - that of elder statesman of the European Parliament. In Strasbourg it seems he is reasonable, affable, even friendly with Free State politicians who, at home, he refuses to meet and who he condemns as followers of Anti-Christ and friends of terrorists.

Every political review must have a 'but' and mine is the manner in which IRA activities are described throughout the book. Everything the IRA does is 'murderous'. One suspects this is because the authors want to be 'balanced'. But the IRA are not the other side of Paisley's sectarian coin; they are exactly the opposite, fighting the sectarianism and bigotry inherent in the Northern state. As Orwell put it, we must be able to tell the differ-

ence between the rats and the rat poison

This annoying attempt at a balancing act could not, however, spoil my enjoyment of the book. Perhaps most fascinating for me were the descriptions of the loyalist strikes of 1974, 1977 and 1986.

## REACTIONARY

These strikes were totally reactionary, against the interests of all workers, Protestant as well as Catholic. They served only the likes of Paisley and the Unionist bosses. But even in those most anti-working class of strikes could be seen a glimpse of the power of the working class if only we would use it in our own interests. The 1974 strike brought the Six Counties to a complete standstill. Factories closed down; there were no buses, no trains, no electricity and in loyalist areas, high-ranking civil servants had to queue at Ulster Workers Council offices for travel passes and petrol coupons.

Those who think the working class is dead or no longer has any power should ponder on the loyalist strikes and consider that if workers can show such strength to hang onto nothing more than bigotry and hatred, how much greater would be our strength in smashing the bosses' system and building a whole new world.

*Paisley* is a book which is well worth reading. It is full of facts yet is easy to read and very entertaining. Education and enjoyment together - an unusual combination. - GORETTI HORGAN



PHOTO: DEREK SPEIRS (Report)

# AIDS: No anti-gay lies

AIDS has become a deadly health problem. The Health Education Bureau has warned that 500 people in Southern Ireland carry the AIDS virus. Research indicates that between 30 - 70% of these may go on to contract the disease. In America, it is estimated that there are 20,000 cases of AIDS. Throughout the world there are likely to be anything between 5 and 10 million people infected with the disease.

The AIDS virus attacks blood cells which trigger the immune system. It leaves its victims defenceless before any of the more common diseases. The virus also attacks the brain causing dementia and death.

The Health Education Bureau is due to launch a public education programme on the issue. This is far behind the major industrialised countries who themselves have been very slow off the mark. Yet any education programme in Ireland is likely to run into opposition from the bigots of Family Solidarity and SPUC. Already they

have spread a number of pernicious myths about the disease. Dennis Altman's book *AIDS and the New Puritanism* dispels these myths.

**MYTH No. 1:** AIDS is a disease of homosexuality or a 'gay plague' as the press calls it. This is a case of blaming the disease on the commun-

ities it was first discovered among. In the sixteenth century, syphilis was blamed on the American Indians. The attempt to blame AIDS on gay people has as much scientific basis in fact. In reality, the greatest scourge of AIDS has been in Central

Africa. There it has been a predominantly heterosexual disease. The high levels of poverty witnessed by prostitution and the sharing of needles in hospital, has been a major source of infection.

**MYTH No. 2:** AIDS can be easily caught. The press and the Right have encouraged a major panic. In New York children of AIDS parents have been refused admittance to schools. In Australia, policemen have refused to administer the breathalyzer tests. This panic is out of all proportion to the facts. AIDS can be transmitted - but only by means of blood, semen or vaginal discharge of carrier entering the blood stream of another. The purpose of this panic has only been to strengthen the witch hunt atmosphere.

**MYTH No. 3:** AIDS is God's revenge on the sexual revolution. This is the powerful barely spoken assumption of the Right. Moralists have never been able to entirely rely on an appeal to religious feelings - they have always sought some physical disability as evidence of wrong doing.

*AIDS and the New Puritanism.* Dennis Altman. Pluto Press. £4.95.

In 1348, for example, a Papal Bull described the Black Death as a Pestilence with which God is afflicting Christian people.

Today, the semi-religious arguments are used to bolster a demand for a return to 'traditional values'. If one man and one woman stick together there will be no AIDS.

It is rubbish. Human Beings have never led a monogamous sex life from teens to death bed. Telling people today to 'return' to these values to avoid AIDS makes as much sense as telling people not to cross the road to avoid accidents.

It is also dangerous rubbish. Outlawing 'illegitimate' sex drives it underground. It is precisely in conditions of ignorance and fear that sexually transmitted diseases flourish. In the Victorian times, so beloved of Thatcher and Alice Glenn, syphilis was rampant as people hid their sexual encounters.

Human science will eventually crush this myth as it has done before. AIDS was first discovered in 1979. Four years later the virus was isolated. But the nature

of capitalism impedes scientific progress. Drug companies refuse to share research. French and US scientists wrangle over who discovered the virus. The prejudices against gay people delayed funds for research projects. Even now far more will be spent on developing nonsensical weapons than will be spent on AIDS.

Before a vaccine is discovered AIDS can also be beaten back. But only by complete openness and discussion. There needs to be an explicit safe sex education programme. Condoms and spermicidal cream should be made freely available. Drug addicts should be provided with free syringes. Proper sexually transmitted disease clinics need to be expanded.

This book provides useful arguments against the bigots. It deals extensively with the American experience. It is less adequate on the instances of AIDS in Africa. Unfortunately it suffers from a liberal obsession. It conveys the impression that if the gay community is 'professional', it can lobby the state for more resources. It shows no understanding of the reasons for the wider drift to the right across the world. Nevertheless, with these political limitations in mind, it is still worth a read.

- KIERAN ALLEN



## PACKARDS

## "We're not animals"

"WE ARE NOT ANIMALS — we wanted to be treated as human beings" shouted a worker from the Packard picket line to an RTE reporter.

Packard is a giant American multi-national which is owned by General Motors. In a bold display of contempt for the workers, Packard flew in a helicopter to lift goods out of the factory in Tallaght. And it drove a convoy of trucks through the picket line as 100 Gardai in riot gear stood by.

The strike has been caused by a new management rationalisation plan. They want complete flexibility on the shop floor with workers being shifted around at management's wish. But the plan also tries to strike a blow at the shop stewards' network in the factory.

Packard are demanding that workers who have a grievance come before foremen and managers without the shop steward being present. It is part of the plan to create a gap between the stewards and their members and weaken the shop steward system.

ITGWU official, Brendan Burns, recommended that workers accepted the package. When they refused, he called a second vote to try again for acceptance. But, a huge majority from both the ITGWU and the ATGWU threw out the company's plans even though Packard insisted that any pay rise be tied to the package.

Over the Christmas period, supervisors — some members of TASS — were called in to finish work. Their aim was to supply contracts in Austin Rover in Britain and other contracts. When workers returned, they were immediately told that the supervisors did the work as a training exercise. But when it became clear what the company were up to, workers spontaneously walked out before the date of the official strike was due.

Since then they have maintained a 24-hour, 30-strong picket despite miserable weather conditions. They have been injuncted by the courts and told to stop picketing in large numbers. This injunction and the strong role of the police show the true role of the Irish state as a defender of native and multi-national capital.

Workers at Packard have a tough battle ahead. Two years ago the company changed its senior management to step up its hard-nosed image. When Herr Hartmut Hengsfert arrived as General Manager, he told the shop stewards: "I have broken strikes in Germany, Portugal and Spain. Ireland is no different". Packards have been trying to intimidate workers by threatening to shift production elsewhere.

One way NOT to win is to concentrate on lobbying politicians. In the run up to a general election this will be argued as a sensible strategy. Local politicians, Mervyn Taylor Pat Rabitte and even the Fianna Fail and Fine Gaelers, will bend over backwards to "express

concern" and to "offer to mediate". Some may even be genuine — but it still amounts to waffle. In the end, workers have to rely on their own strength rather than the mindless diversions of politicians seeking election.

Workers can win by stepping up a gear.

\* The power of the multi-national can be confronted by a workers' occupation of the plant. 1,000 workers with husbands, wives and friends could not be stopped. An occupation could give a tremendous base for organising the vast workforce.

\* Every GM product must be balcked at the docks. \* Other GM plants through Europe should be contacted. Where solidarity action is not coming through immediately, workers should think of sending direct delegations by plane.

\* Mass meetings every week with a vastly expanded and elected strike committee can help to involve every worker and keep morale up.

\* Every effort should be made to involve husbands, wives and friends of the strikers in a support network to raise funds and solidarity.



Fifty years ago, the great Flint sit down strike took place against General Motors in America. Wives and children helped workers to win. Like Packard workers today they had to face down police and bosses to win.

## CORPO FIGHT

CONTRACTORS ARE increasingly being used by Dublin corporation to meet the backlog in Housing maintenance. The backlog was created by the government's recruitment embargo which reduced the number of maintenance staff to less than half of the required number. Action by local tenant organisations forced the Corpo to tackle the backlog. This resulted in the contractors being employed.

The use of contractors, far from solving the problem, has led to a dangerous lowering of standards. It is obvious that proper maintenance can only be carried out when the ban on recruitment is lifted.

The unions have failed to take a stand on the issue. Instead of outright opposition to the use of contractors, they have merely sought agreements on their terms of employment. The INMWU, which represents woodworkers, have served strike notice in the case of Fatima Mansions

But this has been done on three occasions since 1985 and on each occasion an agreement was reached which allowed the job to be completed — despite low standards of workmanship and materials. This time, officials in the group of unions are again looking for an agreement.

This is clearly not the way to win an end to the ban on recruitment, nor to ensure that the standard of work done on people's homes are up to scratch. Pickets must be placed and the job stopped. If there is the slightest delay in getting official backing, the workers should act unofficially. Support from other depots and from tenants should then be sought.

— CHARLES NOLAN UCATT

## ESB VICTIMISATION

THREE ESB linesmen in Cork continue to be victimised because of their role in last year's strike. Just a year ago 180 linesmen, drivers and general workers were on what turned out to be a six-month strike to defend hard won jobs and conditions. They were vilified by the media, physically attacked by the Gardai, arrested under Section 30 of the Offences Against the State Act, and worst of all refused support by their own union, the ATGWU and its leading official, Jimmy Tinkler.

They were finally forced back to work through starvation and three strikers, two of them on the strike committee, were suspended.

A proposal to come out again in support of the three was narrowly rejected in a vote by a workforce that had been forced to retreat in one strike and were reluctant to start another. Other sections of the ESB failed to recognise

the implications of the strike's defeat and were not forthcoming with support.

ESB management are continuing to ignore local agreements hammered out over the years, so now whenever a worker refuses to do something against a local agreement he is taken off the payroll or as they call it now "no work, no pay". This has happened to me personally since Christmas.

In the closing of Albert Road depot in Cork and the switch to Wilton, the management have insisted that drivers would have to do all kinds of other general work, which means that at this moment several more general workers, who have been temporary, will lose their jobs.

The three men who have been victimised are still fighting for their jobs. When the union refused the ruling of the Labour Court, these men should have reverted to suspension but

the ESB just sacked them. The union had failed once again and to make it worse, a worker/director also voted against the men. Although he is a member of the ATGWU, Tinkler and the rest of the bureaucracy have not moved to suspend him. While he goes undisciplined by the union, the three remain in limbo wondering if the union and its members will leave them there.

There was one small victory in that the National Mahual Committee voted to support the three sacked men. All ESB workers must move to support these three workers now. After all they are being sacked for carrying out the democratic decision of the local branch. If management are allowed to get away with this they can ride rough-shod over every section and every worker. It is time for other workers to act.

— ESB WORKER CORK SWM

## SEMPERIT RESISTS

SEMPERIT TYRES IN Ballyfermot has become the latest battleground for a management push against wages and conditions.

Before Christmas, they demanded a number of changes to "guarantee jobs". The changes would have meant reducing bonus earnings and increasing job flexibility. For some workers it could have meant a cut of up to £20 a week. Further redundancies were to follow the scheme. Management wanted these

changes despite the fact that workers already had upped production in previous months.

After some hesitation, the shop stewards decided not to issue any recommendation for or against the deal but to put the package to the members for a vote. Even so, some of the leading stewards — some of them Sinn Fein members — called for acceptance of the package.

However, in a tremendous show of resistance

Semperit workers threw out the package by a massive 4 to 1 majority.

Semperit quickly rushed to the press with threats of closure. But in the immediate aftermath of the vote, the factory was running at top gear. Nevertheless, these threats should be taken seriously.

The February AGM of the workers should give a good opportunity for workers to discuss their future strategy.

## Shelbourne— Solidarity is needed now

THE HOODED man in the photograph is not one of those "terrorists" which our ruling class politicians regularly vilify. He is in fact a scab whom the "genteel" managers of Dublin's Shelbourne Hotel are employing to deliver goods past the picket-line at the Shelbourne. So anxious was he to get on with the job that he knocked over one of the pickets. That's why he's being questioned by the chap with the uniform. But we doubt if this hooded thug will be put behind bars.

Meanwhile the strike continues with the Trust House Forte company, which owns the hotel, refusing to even talk to the strikers. The company have a long history of union-bashing in their hotels right across Europe. In 1986 Lord Forte boasted to the British House of Lords: "In my business, we have reduced union membership from 36% to 3%". Lack of union organisation means extremely

low wages for the company workforce. Low pay is the issue in this dispute.

The strikers have received large donations from workers in other THF hotels and the Local Government and Public Services Union (LGPSU) collected £1,300 for the strike fund. Even the Irish Rugby team — whose South African tours have not endeared them to the trade union movement in the past — have decided not to use the Shelbourne for their after-match celebrations during this year's championships. Building workers employed by an outside contractors have refused to do maintenance work in the hotel.

Unfortunately, scabs flow in from Britain are continuing to break the strike — more assertive picketing must be used to convince these people to stay outside. Workers in the other hotels, who are also low paid, should step up their support — spread the strike is the only way to win.



# Socialist Worker

## NO EXTRADITION

**ESCAPED** Long Kesh prisoner, Pat McIntyre, may become the latest victim of the South's new easy extradition procedure. He was arrested in January under the Offences against the State Act. But to deep matters But to keep matters legal, he was released and re-arrested on foot of an RUC warrant.

Until recently, the 1965 Extradition act, ruled out extradition for a "political offence, or an offence connected with a political offence". Up to 1982, to courts repeatedly ruled that offences connected with the Northern troubles were political.

In December 1982 there was a major change Chief Justice Tom O'Higgins (also former Blueshirt, and drinking buddy of the North's Chief Justice, Lord Lowry) gave a ruling in the McGlinchey case. He claimed that the use of force could never be regarded as political. McGlinchey did not wait around for the decision and it was more than a year before they caught up with him and handed

him over.

Since then, Seamus Shannon and John Patrick Quinn were the only other two people successfully extradited for political offences. The judges made excuses as to why the 'political offence' exception should not apply. In practice they had dropped political immunity but in principle it still applied. In each case it created more confusion and controversy. It was time the law courts cleaned up their act.

### EXTRADITION

The British Government had been pressing for extradition since Sunningdale in 1974. The Irish establishment has been anxious to co-operate. The Anglo-Irish Agreement presented the ideal opportunity to formalise their collaboration. After Hillsborough, the Irish Government announced they would be signing the European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism which abolished the political offence exception for various offences.

Not only did political immunity go, but it is retrospective as well. The people they had tried and failed to extradite up till 1982, can now be re-arrested and handed over. New warrants can be sought for old 'crimes' committed long in the past. The convention covers 22 countries in the Council of Europe, including such 'democracies' as Turkey, where trades union leaders have been tortured.

The country seeking the extradition from the South need not even have a sound case against her/him. In fact, in the case of all 3 people extradited so far McGlinchey and Shannon were acquitted for murder because of insufficient evidence and Quinn's case was eventually dismissed because they could bring no evidence at all against him. Even the warrants presented for extradition have been sloppy and inaccurate - witness the spectacle of Evelyn Glenholmes and the gun happy branch men in Dublin streets last year.

Fianna Fail made much of their opposition to the Bill on the basis of no Prima Facie case. They were not, however, opposed to extradition on principle, nor the omission of the political offence clause.

Extradition is another weapon in the State's arsenal of oppression. Fianna Fail would use it just as readily as the Coalition. The only people who in the long run can be relied upon to fight it are the working class.

A campaign can be started at some level in the trade union movement, where, at the very least, the implications of this latest piece of repression can be explained and opposition to it organised.



Lines of Gardai block off the protesters from the Courthouse.

## SECTION 31 GAGS EVERYONE

The censorship of Sinn Fein through Section 31 is becoming more difficult for the Free State government to justify. With Sinn Fein standing in the general election, RTE journalists and production staff will find themselves up against Section 31 more and more. This piece of law is one that the South African African government would be proud. Indeed the reaction of the international media to the apartheid's regime's laws is one that RTE workers could copy. Foreign correspondents often try to find some loop hole around South Africa's laws. RTE journalists tend to accept that they must operate Section 31.

In the run up to the renewal date, the Broadcasting Branch of the NUJ spent over £5,000 in an advertising campaign against the Section 31.

RTE workers also held a picket of the Dail. This certainly helped to publicise the issue and was a good start. But, unfortunately, for many RTE journalists this was the start and the end of the campaign.

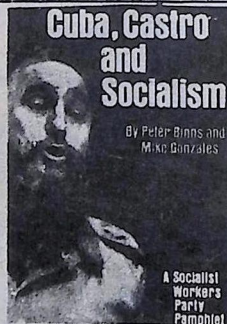
The Dublin Freelance Branch of the NUJ have now suggested a way of stepping up the campaign. A resolution proposed by SWM member, Eamonn McCann, calls on RTE journalists not to operate Section 31 when it prevents them preparing complete reports. Instead, it says they should prepare items which include interviews with Sinn Fein members. If RTE management stop the broadcast, they should refuse to do an incomplete version of the item. This action could easily be spread to FWUI production staff. They already have a policy of defending their members who refuse to operate Section 31. It is vital that opposition to Section 31 is built among RTE workers, as well as through pickets and demos. This is not easy. The dominant

attitude is "we cannot do without it". The manoeuvrings of Workers Party supporters within the station also makes things difficult.

The confusion about last year's 24 hour stoppage by the FWUI was largely manufactured by those, who in effect, support the censorship of Sinn Fein. But the memory of that confusion still hangs over RTE workers. What is needed now is a patient campaign aimed at RTE workers, not moralistic statements about what they MUST do, but with leaflets that explain that it is in their interests to act. They should outline why trade unionists must oppose censorship. This campaign should appeal not just to journalists but also to production staff who have more muscle than the journalists



Patrick MacIntyre is escorted from Donegal Town Courthouse after his extradition to the Six Counties was ordered.



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