

THE WORKER

Paper of the Socialist Workers Movement

INSIDE:
1968 THE LONG ROAD FROM DERRY

pages 4 & 5

**FIRST TAX
NOW CUTS**

WE WILL NOT

TIGHTEN OUR BELTS

A MAJOR attack on living standards is being prepared by the Coalition. Plans are already afoot for cuts in the order of £500 million in public spending. It can only mean:

*the removal of food subsidies,
more overcrowded classrooms for our children,
longer waits for hospital beds,
the worsening of an already miserable transport service from CIE,
the reduction in social welfare payments,
redundancies in the public sector. The ESB are already talking about 1,000 surplus staff.*

Even before these cuts are imposed, it has already been announced that we now have to pay for our water. Local authorities are now charging an average of £40 a household for drinking water!

Fitzgerald and Spring have taken up the axe because they no longer believe it possible to increase taxes or impose new levies. Special levies now take 8 1/2% of most workers wages.

That is on top of the already high taxes on PAYE workers. Further increases in this area could bring a response that would make this years tax strikes led by

Waterford Glass workers look like a tea party.

By cutting back on public services, the Coalition hope to get away with an isolated and fragmented response—and leave us with little to show for our high taxes.

They mustn't be let get away with it.

But isn't the country up

It is not the mass of working people who have run up the debts.

John Bruton claims that 'every man, woman and child in Ireland owes £4,000.' When did you or your children receive the present? When did you enjoy this spending spree?

The debts were undertaken by those who own and control the country. Between 1971 and 1979 over £2 billion was handed out in grants and subsidies to private enterprise—both native and foreign. The bosses pay little or no taxes on their profits. Minister for Finance, Alan Dukes, admitted that £250 million was lost last year on the special tax concessions to the bosses.

And who are the debts owed to?

Over one third of all the

income tax collected goes to pay the interest payments to the parasites of the world banks. Every time you do without you are helping the profit margins of a Rockefeller, of Chase Manhattan or indeed of the Bank of Ireland.

The debts of Ireland LTD are only part of a crazy system that is now capitalism.

Countries from as far apart as Argentina, Poland, Brazil or Ireland are now hanging out of the purse strings of the world's banks. Their workers are being told to do without food, or health care to repay the loans and save their country's 'credibility'.

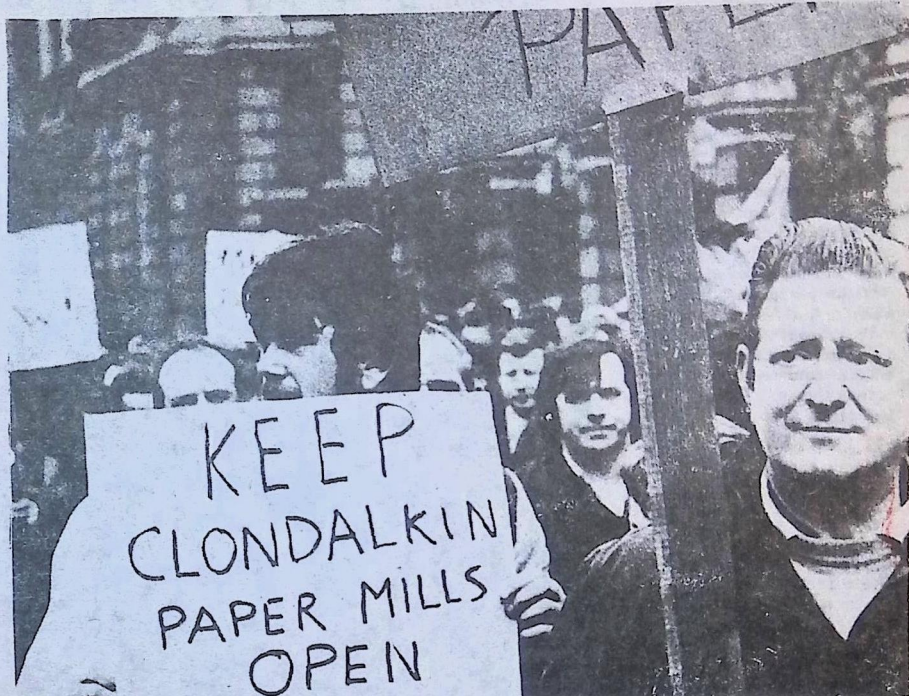
Our own boss class likes to pretend that Irish workers are especially lazy, greedy and bloody-minded.

But every single group of workers in every single country are being given the same message.

"You must tighten your belt".

But it is only to compete against each other—and for a team that is run by those who can't even make their own system work.

The only message to the Coalition plans for cuts has to be resistance. The key to that resistance has to be the workers of the public sector.



These are the Clondalkin workers. They have been fighting for their jobs for almost two years. They have been lied to and betrayed.

The Coalition Government agreed to take over the mills and re-open them. But they have failed to live up to their promise.

But the Clondalkin workers are not giving in. They have organised a day of action to highlight their plight. They have mounted a picket on the Government Central Stationary Office. They are calling on public sector workers to black certain types of paper. They deserve all the solidarity they can get.

It is their jobs and their conditions which are directly under threat.

And they have the power to do something to fight back—which isolated groups of bus passengers or hospital patients can't do.

At the end of September 800,000 Belgian public sector workers launched a general strike against their government's plans for cuts of £102 million in public spending.

The strike was totally blacked out from the international news media. Although the strike was eventually sold out by the union leaders, it did manage to wrest limited concessions from their government.

But the key lesson for Irish militants is how the strike started. It wasn't the trade union officials who began the fight—they ran just fast enough ahead of the strike in order to sell it out.

The strike began with the railway workers of Chareloi walking out spontaneously. They were joined within hours by rail workers in other parts of the country. They toured the post offices, the schools, the local government offices looking for support. The strike began through the initiatives taken at rank and file level on the shop floor.

In Ireland the only effective resistance to the cuts will be through industrial action.

The union leaders will totally oppose us on that.

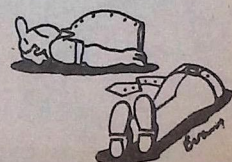
They believe the 'cuts' are inevitable precisely because they believe capitalism is inevitable.

It will be up to rank and file workers in the public sector to begin the fight.

The first step should be the refusal to cover for lost services, or lost jobs in the public sector. But if we are to beat back these attacks it will demand strike action to push back this government.

And it will demand socialist ideas to sustain any fight against the message of sacrifice.

THE MAN WHO
THOUGHT IT WOULD
HELP THE COUNTRY IF
HE TIGHTENED
HIS BELT...



How the liberals took over the Amendment campaign

Hundreds of socialist and radicals fought on the abortion referendum. For many it was their first entry into 'politics'.

While the pro-lifers won the vote, there was a significant opposition in the cities. Many are totally fed up with the power of the Catholic Church.

'Where do we go from here' has become the question for those involved. In September 250 people turned up to the final Anti-Amendment Campaign Conference to ask that question. There were few answers on offer.

MARNIE HOLBOROW, a former member of the Anti-Amendment Campaign Steering Committee, looks at the aftermath.

THE RELATIVE success of the Anti-Amendment Campaign has led some people to believe that, now the amendment is over, other campaigns can be launched for the winning of women's rights in Ireland.

The Divorce Action Group has been looking for support.

Other groups hope to re-mobilise Anti-Amendment support in their areas for a campaign for a local contraceptive clinic. A series of conferences have had as their theme "What is the next Campaign"?

Campaigns, though are not always the way forward. They can end up being very conservative and taking steps back as well as forward. So cautious was the AAC for example, that at times it was as anti abortion as the other side.

In the name of 'unity', it sought support, above all from the 'middle ground'. And 'middle ground' is another way of saying middle class.

We're not used to that middle class in Ireland. We're specially not used to seeing them working alongside feminists, socialists and others in campaigns. The liberals who took to the platform in the AAC were a new middle class in Ireland.

They were the product of the seventies and its turn-away finally from protectionism and turn-towards the EEC. And now, as they negotiate grants from Brussels, or try to lure American capital to Ireland, the excesses of SPUC are an embarrassment to them.

The likes of Donal Cashman or young Irish entrepreneurs don't

want to be seen as part of any 'Irish backwardness', so they too, oppose the amendment.

For their own interests of course. Those looking for real change should not be taken in by them. Their role in the AAC proves the point.

Rather than opening up the way for real change in terms of women's rights, the liberal end of the AAC avoided the whole issue of women's rights. Instead they insisted on such arguments as 'pluralism' and 'legal precedents' and, in order to be a fully respectable campaign, tirelessly wheeled on doctors, lawyers, protestant ministers and the conscious-

ridden Fine Gaelers. Not surprisingly such arguments and such people were of interest to an extremely small and fairly elite section of people. What's more, very few ordinary people could take their concern about 'current medical practice' very seriously. The people who were saying it were themselves often members of a government that has done more through its cut-backs, to deteriorate 'current medical practice', than even the amendment would.

Yet it was that respectable end of the campaign that completely dominated. The left—socialists, feminists and simply people looking for more than liberalism—were drowned out. It is a lesson that needs to be remembered. Now for example the Divorce Action group appears to be seeking a similar respectable consensus. They are talking about divorce 'to put civil law in line with the church' or so as to 'strengthen the family unit' which hardly sounds like divorce at all.

Reforming campaigns however are not always so easily contained. Sometimes they can make important strides forward. Whether they do or not depends how much working class is present in them and how confidently workers push for things that will directly benefit them.

In the case of either the divorce campaign or the Corrie campaign in the seventies, mass working class support was won. With that kind of mobilisation, those campaigns became, in spite of their limited aims, direct attacks on the governments of the time. And thus concessions were wrested from the state.

The situation is very different today here in Ireland. The AAC for all the pockets of working class support that it received, did not have generalised and organised working class support. In fact it was perceived by many to be a largely middle class campaign.

On the one hand, 'respectable' arguments prevailed. On the other workers felt too burdened under the yolk of job losses and wage cuts to feel confident enough to join en masse the ranks of the anti amendment campaign.

Yet that support is vital. Not alone for the AAC but for the winning of women's rights in general. Deprived of that the campaigns become benign and frustrating. Campaigning for a much needed contraceptive clinic in an area immediately comes up against the overall problem of cutbacks, which calls for a general political response and which an isolated campaign on its own will not be able to solve.

More often than not, such an isolated campaign will be tempted to compromise and begin setting up a clinic on its own, thereby letting the state off the hook.

It is important that socialists do not see their role as being the best campaign activists for weak-kneed campaigns. For precisely the limitations of campaigns per se socialists must see their major role as building a socialist alternative to the system that makes women equal to a fertilised egg.

That alternative will not be built where people politically perceive it—in campaigns—but where people have the power to do something about it—in the working class. That means that all those struggles that increase the confidence of the working class, increase also the chances for women to win, in the end, far more than can single issue campaigns.



Despite the recession, Irish bosses are not doing too badly, thank you very much. Dan McInerney hasn't spent too long crying over the plight of the thousands of unemployed building workers.

He has been 'diversifying'. Last year McInerney Ltd turned in a whacking profit of £3.3 million. That is almost three times higher than their 1980 level. Half the profits are now coming from overseas—particularly from the Middle East.

It seems that Dan McInerney is now employing as many Arab and Indian workers as Irish.

'Productivity' and 'competitiveness' is at an all time high on the contract labour in Saudi Arabia!

And make sure you don't shed too many tears over another darling of Irish industry—Michael Smurfit. The bosses magazine *Business and Finance* gives his annual salary from his American operation as £170,000 a year. The same Mr Smurfit is taking over the new semi-state Bord Telecom. There he will be claiming that the company is overmanned. Maybe he would like to set the example of forgoing his American perks and dividing up the £170,000 between the 20 surplus post office workers who average £8,500 a year.



Myth of Irish Neutrality

ROBERT EMMET was reputed to have said: that his epitaph should not be written until Ireland was free. Today's Irish boss class puts the matter differently. Ireland will be 'neutral', and will stay out of NATO until the border is gone.

Like most of the rest of their claims it is turning out to be a sham.

De Valera began the policy of neutrality by refusing to allow the British use of the South ports during the war. It was an attempt to prove to the mass of people that Ireland was totally independent from its old empire.

Through such gestures, Fianna Fail won the massive popular vote that it has today.

70,000 soldiers from the South were recruited into the British Army.

Today the claim to neutrality has become even more threadbare. The expulsion of the Russian diplomats and the banning of Aeroflot flights from Shannon followed direct pressure from America.

This paper of the Socialist Workers Movement is totally opposed to the politics of the Russian regime. But we are even more opposed to our own boss class and its blatant hypocrisy.

When were British diplomats ever expelled for organising the biggest spy ring in this country?

When was there ever the slightest protest against the American policy of butchery in Central America?

of them are now operating in this country. Irish companies like Smurfit and Milner are increasing their ties with American capitalism.

With such a degree of integration, it doesn't do for the junior partner to criticize.

A dramatic example of direct American pressure received little publicity recently. Niall Andrews of FF and M.D Higgins (Lab) attempted to sponsor a mildly critical resolution in the Dail on American policy in El Salvador. But before they got anywhere the phones of the Fianna Fail front bench were hopping with instructions from the American Embassy. The attempted resolution was stopped and a mealy-mouthed resolution urging 'reconciliation' took its place.

In the past the myth of Irish neutrality had its uses. It allowed an Irish contingent to participate in the UN, defending the interests of world imperialism.

But today even the myth has become outdated. The growing dominance of American capital in the South and the opening of the new Cold war is doing away with this piece of fiction.

Socialists and radicals should no longer be sheltering behind the myth of a neutral Ireland—but rather building working class internationalism in the fight against NATO and the bomb.

by PADDY CARROLL

REMEMBER the Youth Employment Levy? It takes 1% of your weekly wage. Ever think how many jobs have been created for our unemployed youth—currently numbering 60,000.

They have set up six projects in Dublin which employ the grand total of 100. 'Employ' is too grand a word. The ex-dole graduates are all on temporary work average a mere £40 a week. Recently the Dublin Corporation have sacked 250 workers from the Environment Section only to recruit more from the YEA.

But the real plums are kept for the young small businessman. 14 young 'businessmen' have received rent-free premises in Glasnevin. £10,000 have been handed to a magazine in Cork which employs four people. Is there no end to the gravy train for Irish capitalists?

The only secure job the YEA created was for its chief executive Niall Greene—the ex-Labour Party hack.

THE Workers Party in Waterford have really distinguished themselves. They ran their Anti-Amendment Campaign under the slogan: 'No to abortion; No to the Amendment'. Well as the AAC said: 'If you don't know, vote No!'—No?



Hillery returns to the Park

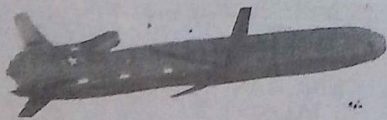
With all the hullabaloo surrounding the expiry of President Hillery's term of office, the fact that the three major parties can agree on a candidate for the office points to the innocuous role it plays.

Of the few powers the president has, the most important would seem to be the referral of Bills of the Oireachtas he may deem controversial to the Supreme Court as if the judiciary weren't the friends of the boss parties anyway. In fact, in its 45 year history, the holder of the same office has exercised this power on only 6 occasions never causing major alterations. What a waste of tax-payers' money!

The present incumbent, Patrick Hillery, has had a good time of it on the same taxpayers money.

This last 7 years as president were preceded by a few years in Brussels in the plum 'job with perks' of EEC Commissioner.

Now set for another 7 years in the Park, it may interest readers to know that as well as his allowance of £41,000 (tax-free?) his personal secretariat costs another £16,000 not to mention domestic staff and a cool £15,000 entertaining expenses.



Even then neutrality was a myth. Most RAF pilots who crashed were driven back to Northern Ireland. Some British ships were re-fuelled.

Air craft tracking facilities were available to the British. And

There is an old saying. You don't bite the hand that feeds you. It is the bible of Irish capitalism. Economic ties directly dictate foreign policy. Today one fifth of the South's manufacturing industry is owned by American subsidies. Over 300

Reagan's bloody backyard

IN 1979, General Somoza was overthrown by the Sandinista-led revolution in Nicaragua. He was overthrown after 18 months of mass struggle involving general strikes, insurrections in the cities and in the countryside culminating in a general uprising of virtually the whole population. A new state was built based upon the armed power of the Sandinista guerrilla army that had led the uprising.

The armed power enjoyed mass support and was easily able to stop the attempts of the anti-Somoza section of the old capitalist class to take control after he fled. The revolutionary government was able to provide the mass of the population with huge gains in education, health services and land.

It is these very positive, concrete gains as well as the mass involvement in the revolutionary uprising that confuses many socialists as to the nature of the Nicaraguan revolution.



NICARAGUA:

Despite the material gains made by workers and peasants it did not involve power passing to these classes. The slogan of revolutionary socialism is "All power to the workers' councils."

The slogan of the Sandinistas is rather different. "The National Direction (of the Sandinists Front) will command—The first priority of the Sandinists is the development of 'their' country"

After the insurrection when workers started pushing their own class demands they found the Sandinista government opposed to many of these.

It is not that they had any great hatred for the workers. They did not—but they did see the tasks of the revolution in a way that inevitably lead them to take action against the workers interests.

They saw their aim as building the country's economy in competition with the economies of other countries, and to replace dependence on the US by developing relations with countries in Western and Eastern Europe and the third world.

Any revolution in an economically backward country would face many of the pressures affecting Nicaragua today. This would be true even if the revolution involved workers holding power through workers' councils. A workers government however would see that the only hope for the revolution was through spreading the revolution to other countries.

Marxists recognise that genuine socialism is only possible on the basis of a world-wide revolutionary development. The division of human society into classes for thousands of years was not the result of an historical accident, but of the scarcity of the material means needed to keep humanity alive.

In the most favourable circumstances, what you get in such cases is industrialisation, but at the cost of immense suffering to workers and peasants. But in many cases in the modern world, the initial poverty of the country is so great that industrialisation cannot succeed.

Then you get all the worst barbarity associated with state capitalist exploitation, without even the growth of new industry.

Since the Russian Revolution, millions of socialists throughout the world have enthused about attempts to build socialism through industrial development in individual countries—and then have become disillusioned with the whole idea of socialism as they have seen the outcome. That is why it is so necessary to insist that

Capitalism, by developing the economy through exploitation, has created sufficient wealth to end the class division for ever—providing it is overthrown.

But that wealth is not concentrated evenly throughout the world. The development of capitalism has deprived many parts of the globe of such wealth. If there is not a spread of working class revolution, the middle class revolutionary governments inevitably more in the direction of new forms of capitalist exploitation. The fact that the revolutions had immense popular support does not alter this. countries like Nicaragua, where there is no workers' power, are not socialist—at the same time as defending them against US aggression.

Report by
Willie Cumming

WHAT WE THINK

US' SECURITY, we are told, is threatened by the 'Reds' in Central America.

In order to keep this little patch of the world free for democracy, Reagan has sent 5,600 troops, two aircraft carriers, 2 battleships and 17 other warships to Honduras for 'exercises' on the Nicaraguan border.

The US are also arming and training the 'Contras', ex-soldiers of the former Nicaraguan dictator Somoza, for direct attacks on the revolutionary regime in Nicaragua.

Reagan's hypocrisy knows no bounds. It's only two years since he was shaking with anguish when the Russians were carrying out similar 'exercises' on the Polish border. More recently he has protested against the Russians shooting down the Korean airliner while he supports a government in El Salvador that has massacred thousands.

Nicaragua is an undeveloped country, 700 miles from the US, 57,000 square miles and 2.7 million people. That is a population and area roughly equal to the State of Iowa.

El Salvador has 4 million people and is about the size of Munster, Cuba has an area and population comparable to those of Ohio. Putting all these together you still come up with a population and area less than that of California. The reality is that even if all Central America were to 'fall', the US is 17 times larger, with a population 10 times as great and a GNP scores of times bigger than them all combined. Some threat to US security!

If however, you translate 'US security' into 'US investments' you get a clearer idea what Reagan is defending in Central America. The US spent huge resources waging a war in Vietnam for 12 years. They feared the example to other countries, if the relatively small amounts of investment they had in that country were taken from them without a struggle. For similar reasons they fear the revolutionary upheavals in Central America.

If Ronald Reagan sends US troops there for real, in a bid to overthrow the Nicaraguan regime and defeat the guerrillas in El Salvador, he will be taking just one more step in a saga of ruthless aggression that has gone on for more than 80 years.

General Smedley Butler, who headed the military interventions of the early part of the century wrote,

"I spent 33 years and four months in active service as a member of our country's most agile military force—the Marine corps—and during that time, I spent most of my time being a high-class muscle man for Big Business, for Wall Street and for the Bankers. In short I was a racketeer for capitalism... Thus... I helped purify Nicaragua for the international banking house of Brown Brothers in 1909-1912. I helped make Honduras 'right' for American fruit companies in 1903".

American rule of Central America, has meant poverty and dictatorship. It is truly the backyard of the American regime—showing up its hypocrisy and naked imperialism. For that reason socialists all round the world have a duty to defend the guerrillas who are fighting back and the government of Nicaragua who are under threat of invasion.



Belgium strikes

A RECENT general strike in Belgium has shaken the bosses of Europe.

200,000 Belgium public sector workers launched a general strike against their government's plans to cut £102 million from the public spending programme.

The Belgian government are faced with debts that amount to one tenth of the national income.

The strike began when the railway workers in Charleroi walked out on Friday 9 September.

Within hours they were joined by rail workers in Liege, Brussels and in parts of Flanders.

By Monday the entire Belgium rail network was at a standstill.

The workers unions, the Socialist CGSP and the Christian CCSP were forced to back them. They called for a continuation of the strike until the following Friday.

REFUSED

They refused, however, to call out the rest of the public sector.

But the workers in the Post Office, radio, television and local councils came out of their accord.

Afraid of being by-passed, the union leaders were forced to call a one day general strike in the public sector.

The government began to negotiate and withdrew some of their proposals.

Yet still the workers movement grew stronger.

The union leaders finally managed to pull the plugs.

The Christian unions first backed down out of the protest.

Then the Socialist trade union refused to call for a general strike that would have involved the private sector.

The strike collapsed in a welter of rank-and-file bitterness and anger.

The Belgium have shown a tremendous lead. This time they were not strong enough to bypass their union officials.

But from such lessons a revolutionary socialist movement needs to be built with real roots in the workplaces.





Hungarian workers topple the statue of Stalin in 1956

Stalin

Butcher of the revolution

IT IS just 30 years since Joseph Stalin's death in 1953. When he was alive, Stalin was the great figure-head of the world's communist parties. The slave-camps, the secret police, the show trials were all dismissed as 'capitalist propaganda'. Yet within years of Stalin's death, his successor Krushchov was denouncing the 'crimes of Stalin'.

Since then his name has been ignored by the same communist parties. But Stalin's basic politics still runs through much of today's Communist Parties and our own 'Workers Party'.

JIM BLAKE looks at the roots of Stalinism — thirty years after Stalin.

On October 1917, the Russian Revolution occurred. It was different to all previous revolutions which had merely brought to power a new privileged class. The Russian Revolution brought the workers to power. The organs of their rule were the workers councils or 'soviets' which were composed of directly elected delegates from the factories.

A workers revolution involves a violent break with the previous organisation of society. To succeed it demands a disciplined party that has trained a section of the class in the art of leadership and of uncompromising militancy.

The Russian revolution was barely possible without the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky and the Bolshevik Party. The workers councils or the soviets were thrown up spontaneously but it is doubtful if they could have snatched power without the energy, foresight and memory of the Bolshevik Party.

It was the party which constantly argued for no trust in the moderates, for the soviets themselves to take the power, for insurrection.

In every healthy body there lurks the cancer cells waiting for weakness to emerge. So too,

within the socialist revolution in Russia, there lay embodied the cancerous cells of conservatism and reaction.

Stalin had always been on the conservative wing of the Bolshevik party.

He played only a minor part in the 1917 revolution. As editor of one of the Bolshevik's paper he called for conciliation between Lenin and those party members like Zinoviev and Kamenev who opposed the insurrection. Stalin, although a member of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik party was not present at the time of the insurrection.

When later official Russian historians tried to re-write events they could do little about making up for Stalin's fence-sitting during this crucial period.

"The greater sweep of history, the less was Stalin's role" quipped Trotsky.

But conditions were to change. Immediately after the revolution the Russian working class had to defend themselves against seventeen foreign armies and their own 'White' armies. The best and most enthusiastic workers went to the front and died. Even after the Civil War was won, Russia faced tremendous economic problems. Production had dropped to half of the 1913 level and there was real starvation in the cities and towns. As hunger increased, tension grew between the tiny working class and the huge peasantry.

Trotsky argued that unless the revolution spread to the advanced capitalist powers, the situation in Russia would become more difficult. In particular, it was vital that it spread to the German working class. Only then could the accumulated wealth of the advanced countries be spread to the backward.

Stalin took a different view. "There is no revolutionary movement in the West," he proclaimed.

With tremendous economic difficulties facing the new workers state, Stalin made a virtue of "socialism in one country".

Socialism, he argued could be built in Russia itself, if it accumulated faster, built more industry

and overtook the West. But how can you accumulate capital for industry in a backward country? You can only do so by attacking viciously the living standards of the very class that made the revolution.

That is exactly what Stalin did. All elements of workers control in the factories was abolished. Inside the Bolshevik party the left opposition led by Trotsky was suppressed and Trotsky and his family exiled.

In a re-enactment of the reign of Ivan the Terrible, Stalin eliminated all opposition to his rule by imprisonment, torture and murder.

Instead of formenting revolutions in their own countries, Stalin ordered the world's communist parties to enter into alliances to protect the one 'socialist' fatherland.

In China the communists were ordered to work with the nationalist Chiang Kai Shek—only to be massacred in their thousands.

In France and Spain, they joined the popular front governments and oppressed workers occupations and strikes.

The defence of 'socialism in one country' led to the selling out of the interests of the world's working class.

A new ruling bureaucratic class emerged in Russia itself to oversee the process of accumulation. It was the direct product of Stalin's policies.

Today that class presides over an economy based on nationalised industry—but with a total absence of workers control. It is a society that we in SWM refer to as 'state-capitalism'.

The traditions of Stalinism continue in those parties today that identify socialism with simply state ownership. Parties like the Workers Party whose primary aim is the achievement of the 'Irish industrial revolution' who openly proclaim that Ireland must go through a period of state capitalism, following the steps of Joseph Stalin.

The name and the hero-worship may be gone but the traditions still remain.

The long

OCTOBER 5 was the day the war began.

On that day back in 1968, 400 hundred or so people marched up Duke Street in Derry for 'civil rights'. At the top of the street the RUC attacked.

Within hours the Bogside had risen up in anger. Within a year the troops were in. And a year after that the Republican Movement was coming apart at the seams, with one lot — eventually to become the Provos — gearing up for an all-out effort to smash the Northern state.

It happened fast, which is one of the reason it's easy now to forget just how socialist the October march had been.

Not Marxist or consciously revolutionary or even particularly radical. But socialist in the very basic sense that the placards carried and the slogans shouted were about the working class.

There were six placards saying 'Class not Creed', six saying 'Tories are Vermin' and six proclaiming 'Tories out North and South'. I know. I made them. That 's out of maybe twenty five placards all together. It's a long time since a march of that political character headed into police lines anywhere in Ireland.

So what went wrong? How come there is only a tiny socialist presence — socialist even in that sense — in the Catholic areas of the North where — unlike anywhere in the South — October 5 is still remembered as a very significant date?

For a start, the socialism of the march, although absolutely genuine, was of a very limited sort. For example, the propaganda line before and afterwards, of the people behind the march continually stressed the need to

by EAMONN McCANN

end the unfair distribution of resources—especially jobs and houses — in the North. That was the 'civil rights' part of it.

And of course that was absolutely right as far as it went. The trouble was it didn't go nearly far enough.

In a situation where jobs and house were scarce anyway, because of the inability of capitalism to provide them, the demand for a bigger share of the available jobs and houses for Catholics implied a smaller share for Protestants.

The only way out of that puzzle would have been to have coupled together the assault on sectarianism in the North with a programme for massive State investment in housing and a programme for full employment. That would have been, would have to be, a socialist programme.

But that wasn't done. There was a general appeal to class consciousness. That was clear from the placards. But the specific immediate demands put forward — that's what makes the sharpest impact — were not socialist at all but liberal, civil libertarian.

That's what allowed middle class chancers and political opportunists to move in immediately after October 5th when it became clear the masses were on the move and to take the show over. Which is where the SDLP came from.



"There were 6 placards saying Class not Creed"

They couldn't have smoothly taken over a movement which had been shouting for the nationalisation of the banks and the building industry, for example, with as much vigour as the demand for an end to discrimination. On the contrary, they would have had to confront such a movement and try to argue down its ideas. Up to a point they would have had to join with the Unionists in denouncing it.

As it was, the movement which rapidly erupted in the wake of October 5th just collapsed into the arms of Hume, Fitt and so forth.

This is not to argue that an unashamedly socialist movement putting forward practical socialist demands

The revolutionary ideas of MARX



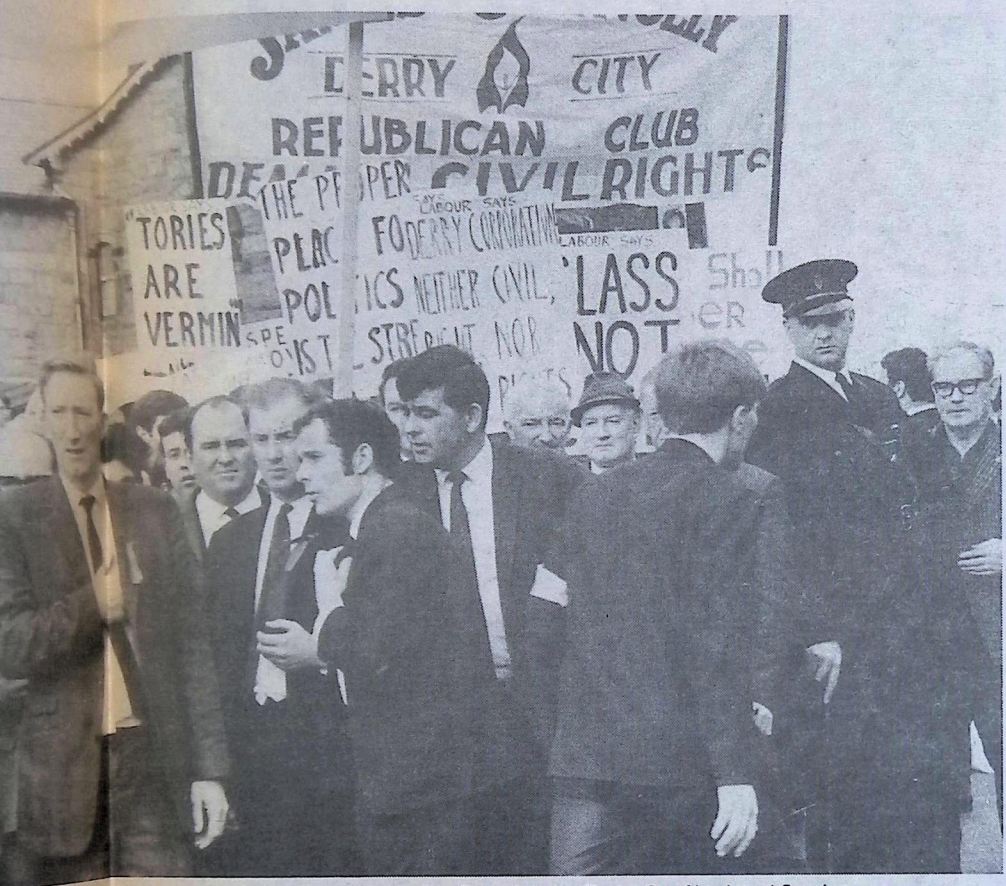
Alex Callinicos

Alex Callinicos's — a member of the British Socialist Workers Party — has just published this book setting the important revolutionary ideas of Karl Marx.

Available at £4.35 (plus 60p p&p) from Socialist Workers Movement, 41, Herberton Pk, Rialto, Dublin 8.



road from Derry



s saying Class not Creed, 6 saying Tories are Vermin and 6 proclaiming Tories Out North and South.

would have had an easy ride to mass support among Catholics in the North in the late sixties. It wouldn't. Nor can anyone pretend that even if such a movement had existed, it would have gotten through to great numbers of Protestant workers.

But it would have attracted support from a respectable number of Catholic workers. And it would have gotten through to some working class Protestants. Not just to a derisory one or two, but to a layer — a thin layer maybe, but one not without importance. The main point is that only a socialist movement had any chance of doing it. And it

therefore should have been done. But the broad socialist attitudes evolved on October 5th were never translated into practical politics. And for that we are still paying.

There was another problem, too, an even bigger one, with the politics of the first march. The whole thrust of the movement looking for an end to sectarianism in the North, implied that it was possible to have a non-sectarian North. That the state could have been reformed.

But it couldn't and it can't. There's been a rake of laws and a raft of official agencies in the last fifteen years trying to make the North work the way democracies are 'supposed' to work. We've seen Stormont reformed and then abolished, 'power-sharing' executive set up and knocked down, a Constitutional Convention which agonised for six months before deciding that the only way forward was to go rapidly backwards, now another Assembly play acting in Belfast while a farcical 'Forum' puts on ridiculous airs in Dublin Castle. And still the cops in the North are Orange to their black hearts, the judges wear sashes under their frocks, the UDR is a Paisleyite army in Brit uniforms and the Brit army itself backs the rest of them up any time they are under pressure.

The North's the North and nothing's going to change it. The Stickies and the rest of them who rabbit on about 'democratisation' are talking daft drivel.

But if you set out to 'democratise' the North — and that's all the civil rights campaign was about once the the vogue socialism of October 5 was got rid of — sooner or later you come up against the

fact that democracy is impossible within the North. And at that point you either go the whole hog and aim to smash the state, or give up and get off-side. The Provos are the people who decided to go the whole hog. Politically, that's the direct link between the civil rights marches and the IRA campaign.

The socialist elements around October 5 had no chance at all of standing in the way of the the Provos' emergence. And to a large extent they had no right to either. Because they had insisted over and over again that the question of the existence of the Northern state was not on the agenda and wouldn't come on to the agenda in the context of the struggle launched in Duke Street. Was ever anybody more wrong . . .

Having opted right out of the national question they had nothing to say when the national question burst onto the centre of the stage whether they liked it or not. There could have been a way around it. Only one way. And that was to pose the question of smashing both Irish states and going straight for a socialist Ireland.

That could have challenged the simple-minded nationalism of the Provos at their outset. It could have prevented the border question being posed in the stark Catholicism v. Protestant-unionism way in which it was



advanced by Sinn Fein and the IRA in the early seventies and which has left a — possibly indelible — mark on the consciousness of a great number of worker, both Catholic and Protestant, in the North today.

But there's something academic about this argument anyway. Because only a movement rooted in the working class in both parts of Ireland, and arguing for its politics in the context of day-to-day involvement in workers struggles at every level, would have had any chance of putting the argument with a real chance of it making a difference. And there wasn't such a movement. And there still isn't. Bleak as it is, that's the main lesson to be learnt from the October 5th march fifteen long years later.

And unless and until that sort of movement is built, and built solidly, built from below the way any sound edifice has to be constructed, until that is done we are still going to face these same problems with the same inability to cut through them and get to the heart of the matter.

The heart of the matter is capitalism. It always was. And the fact that it's only the working class which can get capitalism off Ireland's back. Small as we are, and unimpressive as we might seem in our smallness, it's the fact that the Socialist Workers Movement holds fast to that hard fact which gives us a real role to play in bringing the march which set out in Duke Street to its final and fated destination.



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Revolutionary socialism

THESE ARE hard times for socialists. All around us are the signs of a world in crisis, yet men and women seem unable to do anything about it.

In this island—North and South—close on half a million people are out of work.

The picture is the same throughout the industrial world, 40 million people will be unemployed in the rich countries of the West by 1984.

The slump spells catastrophe for the poor countries of the world. There are 800 million people on the brink of starvation in Africa, Asia and Latin America. For them the crisis means the difference between survival and death.

world war. The Third World War would be a war to end all wars, destroying the human race in a nuclear holocaust.

In the past, working people looked to socialism as the way out of a world of poverty, unemployment and war.

Two main traditions embodied those hopes of a socialist society.

The Communist Parties stood for the socialist revolution which occurred in Russia in 1917.

The social-democratic parties sought to achieve socialism by winning a majority of seats in parliament.

The record of both these traditions in the past fifty years has been one of defeat, disillusionment, and betrayal.

What exists in Russia and the eastern block is a hideous parody of socialism. A monstrous despotism rules in the name of the working class, but denies workers their most fundamental right—the right to organise. The crushing of the Solidarity movement in Poland being the latest example. Equally the social-democratic parties have not fulfilled the hopes placed in them.

After a brief thaw in the 1960's and 1970's, the Cold War has broken out again with redoubled vigour. Both sides are investing in First-Strike missiles, which makes a mockery of the idea that nuclear weapons are there, not to be used, but to deter.

The most probable outcome of slump and re-armament is

The Labour Party in this country has entered coalition on three occasions with Fine Gael to help administer the system on behalf of big business. Even Labour Party supporters must find it difficult to distinguish between the policies of the Labour Party and Fine Gael. No wonder working class people despair of the possibility of change. There is a third tradition which stands apart from the failures of social democracy and orthodox Communism. It is revolutionary socialism; a tradition of 'socialism from below', and looks to the power of the working class to transform society. This is the socialist tradition founded by Marx and Engels and the tradition in which the Socialist Workers Movement stands. It rejects the view that socialism can be achieved by the parliament or through the military actions of a few. Its traditions go back to the Russian revolution when workers councils were established to pave the way to a new society. This is the tradition which Alex Callinicos examines in his book 'The Revolutionary Road to Socialism'. He looks at the crisis of capitalism and explains how it



Russia 1917:
food kitchen

happened; he examines in detail the history and politics of the Communist and Labour parties. But more importantly he points to a way forward, the need to build a revolutionary socialist party as a way out of a world of poverty, unemployment and destruction.

The book is based on the ideas and experience of the Socialist Workers Party in Britain, but the book is general enough to be read and understood in any part of the world.

It is short and well written, and complex ideas are presented in a way that can be understood by most people. The Socialist Workers Movement set out with these ideas in mind. We have no illusions about the scale of the task or the limitations set by our size, influence and talents.

We ask all those who agree with us to join us in building a revolutionary party.

We are organising a series of meetings based on 'The Revolutionary Road to Socialism'.

by PAUL O'BRIEN

LETTERS PLAYING WORDS

WHEN MICK Brennan, area secretary of the EEP TU set out to rectify alleged mistakes in the Worker, in his letter in your last issue, he was merely playing with words.

The Dublin Corporation Crafts Group was set up in 1979 as a result of the incompetence and back sliding of the trade union officials. However its progress was hampered by the setting up of the official ICTU union group in 1981. It was supposed to be for the purpose of bringing together the large number of unions in the Corpo, in order to present a common approach on negotiations on wages and conditions.

This official Congress group has done absolutely nothing for tradesmen in the Corpo, in fact it has repeatedly gone out of its way through its misrepresentation of the facts in relation to the analogue agreement.

One craft union (painters) is trying to sell the compromise deal (a deal which means no further payment after 1984) maintaining that the agreement is still there. While another union the AUEW is serving strike notice.

John Montgomery is Secretary of the ICTU group. But the union bureaucracy and the officialdom of that body prevents him from

even calling a general meeting of its members in Dublin Corpo—approximately 1,000 tradesmen.

It should have come as no surprise as the union officials cannot even agree amongst themselves.

Mick Brennan sees your original article as an attack on the EEP TU and one of its members, John Montgomery, when in fact it attacks the whole policy of union officials and so-called socialists like Montgomery, a member of the Communist Party. Brennan claims to oppose reformist policies but when it comes to the rank and file of the unions, reformists such as the CP and Labour Party have interests in common more with the Union bureaucracy than with the union members. Rank and File groups such as Corpo craft group expose the collaboration and compromise and such are regarded as a threat.

Hence their reaction in sending Montgomery as secretary of the ICTU group around the depots in September 82 to call off an official work to rule which had been agitated for and organised by the unofficial Craft group months in advance. This was done at the last minute in order to throw total confusion into the workplace.

BUSINESS OLYMPICS

NEXT YEAR the Olympic Games takes place in Los Angeles.

The rules of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) state that the national committees must be non-profit making organisations. But the organisers of the Los Angeles Olympics are already planning to swell a few bank accounts.

Although 3½ million dollars profit was made on the recent World Athletic Championships, Olympic Games usually lose money.

The Los Angeles Olympics however, promise to make a fat profit.

The head of the Olympic organising committee, Mr Peter Ueberroth, believes that capitalism is a 'sturdy horse pulling the wagon' of the Olympic Games, and in true capitalist style costs are being cut to the minimum and large corporations are competing for the profits.

Instead of new stadiums being built

existing sports arenas are being used—including the Coliseum where the 1932 Games were held.

Instead of a new Olympic village being built, local college dormitories are being used.

The budget of 500 million dollars is small compared to the amounts spent in Montreal and Moscow.

130 million dollars worth of sponsorship is being provided. It is the second largest source of income after T.V. (225 million).

Three dozen multi-nationals including General Motors, IBM and Coca-Cola have decided to pay a minimum of 4 million dollars each in return for making advertising capital from their sponsorship. No direct publicity is allowed at Olympic competition events, but there will be, for example the McDonald swimming pool! Levi-Strauss are committing 50 million dollars which includes the cost of clothing the whole U.S. team and all its officials at the games—50,000 people in all!

In the Communist Manifesto, Marx said that "the bourgeoisie has stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honoured and looked up to with reverent awe... (and)... left no other bond between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous 'cash payment'."

This prevented unofficial action which could have stopped the government from smashing the Public Service wage agreement when they introduced the embargo on pay claims, which was a time the analogue agreements could have been defended.

The common interests of union officialdom and reformism combined itself on another occasion in an attack on the unofficial Waterford shop steward movement.

Montgomery, as delegate to the Dublin Trade Council called a meeting in Dublin Corporation and announced that a national stoppage on tax had been called off. This was a blatant lie told again at the last minute in order

As if confirming Marx's statement of over 130 years ago, the new President of the American Olympics Committee Mr William Simon (ex-Secretary of the Treasury) has called for the 'removal of hypocrisy' and asked that direct payments to athletes for TV appearances and product endorsements be allowed.

The corruption of the Olympic Games by commercial exploitation is not new, but its extent and pervasiveness is. Not long after the founding of the original Olympic Games in 776 BC, the corruption of money was felt.

Whereas the first athletes were aristocrats who had the necessary money and leisure to train, very soon the influence of the merchant class in the various city-states began to be felt.

Their first athletes were subsidised with money, food homes, tax exemptions and even army deferments.

Eventually, when the entertainment (spectators) became more important than the competition (athletes), the games fell into disrepute, particularly in the form they took under the Romans.



Jessie Owens

It seems that under modern day capitalist exploitation the Games are falling into disrepute again. With broken time payments (payments for income lost as a result of training) and extensive drug abuse, profits come a long way ahead of the athletes themselves.

For every bemedalled, sun-tanned and wealthy Seb Coe or Eamonn Coughlan, there are many might-have-beens with irritable bank managers and a pair of shrunken testicles.

To throw the maximum confusion into the work place and undermine the shop stewards movement.

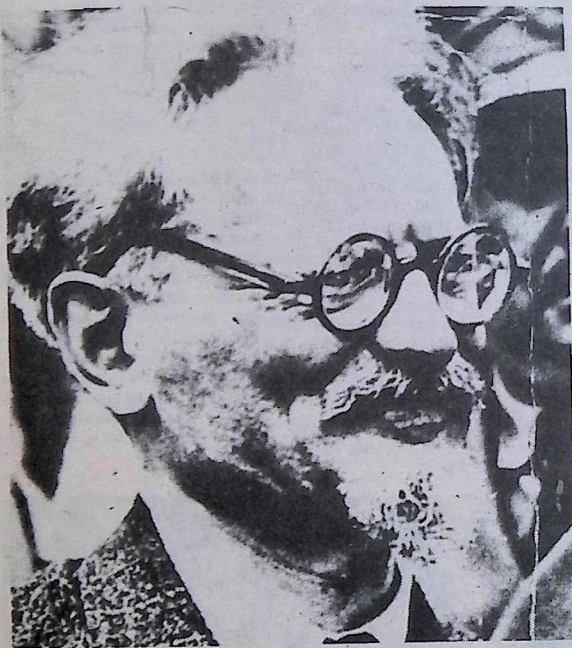
Then in May 83, Montgomery called meetings in Dublin Corporation and instructed workers to pass the unofficial pickets.

Brennan says this is not true, he was merely explaining union policy. Yes, that is a nice way of putting it Mick!

The role of the union bureaucracy is increasingly being brought into question by the rank and file.

So too is that of the CP and other reformist organisations masquerading as socialists.

Charlie Nolan,
Shop Steward, UCATT
Dublin Corporation.



TROTSKY: The failed 1905 revolution proved to him that the working class were the only force that could change society

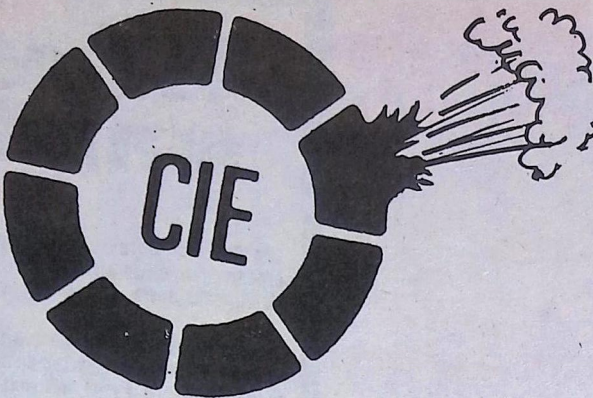
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I want to join; I want a subscription and enclose £3.50.

I would like more information about the SWM

Name

Address



THEIR FIGHT OUR FIGHT

OVER THE past two months, engineering operatives from CIE have been waging a very determined strike, in pursuit of a £15 per week pay claim.

The claim itself stems from a productivity deal, which has been thrown back and forth on the negotiation table for the past couple of years.

Out of these negotiations, other sections within CIE, have received increases averaging around the £20 mark.

The engineering operatives though have been offered an insult of £1.78 pw. An attempt by a highly confident CIE management to enforce a higher productivity levels brought the issues to a head as 450 workers went on unofficial strike. When they tried to transfer 6 workers to some other depot it was just the last straw.

Meanwhile, appeals by the workers, to their unions for official backing, have been met with a total refusal to do anything. In fact they have been scorned with a lot of abuse.

At one point the workers complained that they would be better off on the dole, than working for CIE. The reply from Kevin Lynch, official in the FWUI was "The choice between working for CIE or the dole, is only open to those who work in CIE and they can always jack it in". The FWUI also withdrew shop steward credentials from the CIE steward, Noel French.

The best the ICTU group of unions could do, was to give the same answer as they give to countless other workers, who were angry and determined enough to take on the bosses. "You are breaking such and such a rule, go back to work so we can continue negotiations."

To understand why we have this sort of attitude from the officials of our unions, we could start by comparing the wages of rank and file workers of CIE with that of their average trade union official. It will show how



UNION UNDER ATTACK

186 WORKERS at Ericssons—the Swedish based Telecommunications and computer-multi-national—have been on strike since the summer.

Earlier this year Ericssons began separating their business communications work to a new company E.I.S. This subsidiary, they hope would be non-union. Workers involved in this area of the company's work are organised by the Marine Port and General Workers Union. But the company made it clear that workers would have to be re-employed by the new

far removed from the ordinary worker, the bureaucrats can be.

We pay the salaries of the bureaucrats and finance their perks, but we don't have a situation where we can tell the official what we expect of them.

Things would be different if a democracy existed in the union, where we could elect our representatives, and dump them if they were not up to standard.

The CIE engineering operatives have to some extent realised the necessity of this. When there was no support coming from the bureaucrats they started visiting other factories and work-places, talking to the shop stewards and workers there.

They got considerable support. At the time of writing the CIE workers have been to a great extent, demoralised. The strike has not affected much, but it has not been due to lack of trying.

Attempts have been made to forge links with other sections of workers in order to win solidarity.

But it was obvious more time was needed.

Early in the strike, workers in Clontarf Garage did show some solidarity by refusing to take out buses that were dirty. Had that solidarity been built on, CIE management would have been run out of it by now. Even now the strike could be won. The mass picketing of Alexandra Rd and other key depots has begun to worry the bosses. The winning of support from the Galway e/os and consequent respect for their pickets by the other sections shows how effective solidarity is.

That solidarity has got to be maintained. In Dublin its got to be worked for, despite the 'seemingly' non-caring attitude of the craft workers.

The argument has to be put straight to them again and again. Our fight today is your fight tomorrow. We who are striking today have rejected the bosses arguments to tighten our belts.

We have to convince others to do the same. The experience of the CIE workers has led many to talk about joining an alternative union. AGEMOU members in fact received support from their union during the strike. Many workers would now believe that AGEMOU is the best thing since the last boss died. AGEMOU deserves credit for their stand in this strike. Indeed they have been consistent to some extent over the years in supporting their members. But there has also been a trail of sold out workers who have been betrayed by the bureaucrats in AGEMOU.

There's no reason to believe that this won't happen again in the future. Tomorrow it could be AGEMOU directing its members to go back to work, while, say the FWUI or ITGWU are out.

All unions today suffer from the same sickness of a bureaucracy.

Those of us who have come to terms with this should stay where we are, to lead the fight for workers control of the unions.

Letters of support, money etc., send to CIE E/O strike committee c/o AGEMOU, Frederick St, Dublin 1

MICK BERRY

GAS CO. OCCUPATION

IN SEPTEMBER, the Cork Unemployed Action Group occupied the city centre showrooms of the Cork Gas Company. This pre-empt was to highlight yet another attack on the living standards of the working class, and was part of an ongoing campaign by CUAG to encourage and organise mass resistance to these attacks.

This privately owned company was singled out for two reasons.

The first concerns its discriminatory price structure. During the past year, the company have carried

out the conversion to natural gas, and in the process have angered many domestic users of gas.

Priority for speedy conversion was given to business premises, whilst many homes were left without gas for weeks on end.

Now, not content with its contemptuous treatment of working class people, Cork Gas have introduced their latest price increases. Because of a two-tier system of pricing, those who use least gas, pay most money.

People who only use gas for cooking will be subsidising those

with gas central heating, and of course businesses that use gas.

The other reason for selecting the Gas Company for occupation, was that it epitomises the inequalities of the system that exploits not only the jobless, but the entire working class.

CUAG feel it is imperative to stress class unity, and this latest action, and others, are to consolidate that unity, in opposition to those who seek to isolate the unemployed and create yet another division within the working class.



DUNLOP WORKERS BOUNCE BACK

ALMOST 90% of Dunlop workers voted against acceptance of management offer on redundancy pay.

The workers are demanding £1,100 for every year of service.

They have embarked on a militant campaign to pressurise the management to increase the offer.

Pickets were placed on the Davis Cup tennis match which Dunlop sponsors.

Workers have moved into occupation of the company's headquarters in Dublin and the factory premises in Cork.

Derry O Sullivan—one of the shop stewards in Dunlops said: "This closure is not because of anything the workers have done, but is due to the owners and management. The factory had a dedicated workforce—with maybe 3 or 4 strikes in 60 years. We would like other workers to learn from the way we have been treated."

The politicians of Cork have been quick to show their concern for the workers. But they have also backed off just as quick when the fight got militant.

Speaking of Mayor Denny, Derry said: "His support disappeared when the chips were down".

Of Peter Barry he had only this to say: "if silence is golden Peter Barry's contribution has been priceless".

The politicians and local bosses have begun to condemn the Dunlop workers for putting the neighbouring Ford factory in jeopardy. But shop stewards make it clear they have no wish to destroy jobs in Fords. In fact Ford workers have said they would do the exact same if their jobs were under threat.



OBITUARY

Dublin members of the Socialist Workers Movement were shocked and saddened to hear of the sudden death under tragic circumstances of Hugh McPartland.

Hugh, who had been a member of the SWM, will be remembered by us with affection as a committed socialist, anti-imperialist and warm friend.

We extend our deepest sympathy to his family and friends.

The paper that fights for workers' power

THE WORKER

Paper of the Socialist Workers Movement

Fighting the supergrass system

WHICH WAY FORWARD

"AS I look around this hall I recognise at least a third of the faces", said Fergus O'Hare of the PD at the Dungannon conference which launched the "Campaign Against Show Trials" on October 2.

And indeed, it had all the look of a re-run of the H Block campaign. Not just the same people, but the same arguments — and the same outcome.

Should the campaign be openly linked to Sinn Fein? Should it look mainly to the working class movement for support? Or should it go for support from "all sections of the community" — with emphasis on lawyers, clerics, "liberals", and other "influential" personalities?

To be fair to Sinn Fein — and despite the fact that Fr. Denis Faul had predicted they'd try to take the show over — there was no effort actually to control the affair. Had they made such an effort they'd have managed it easily.

That they didn't doesn't mean they've gone all liberal. They had enough cop-on to know that a crude take-over would have left them open to a barrage of damaging denunciation and not just from Faul. And they'd have left the SDLP particularly off the hook.

The conference decided in effect to aim at a re-enactment of the H Block experience. Motions, mainly

from the Irish Workers' Group, which would have put working class action at the centre of the campaign, were heavily defeated.

This had something to do with the way IWG people argued for their view, which showed little sensitivity to the audience they were addressing. But the motions would have been defeated anyway. There just wasn't a political basis in the Dungannon hall for a campaign along class lines.

What we are going to see now is an all-out effort to attack the paid-informer tactic on a broad, liberal basis, in the hope of creating a climate of opinion — in Ireland, Britain and internationally — which will convince the British that on balance, the tactic isn't worth pursuing, and to put judges in a frame of mind which will lead them to disallow paid-informer evidence.

If that worked it would be no bad thing. But it will be difficult to make it work.

The H Block issue — like Castlereagh and internment before it — could be approached at a certain liberal level. (Which is not to say that that was the best way to approach it). Putting people in prison camps with no trials at all, torturing statements out of them, keeping them naked in cells in their own filth — all

this could be made to outrage the liberal conscience, where such a flimsy thing can be said to exist.

The use of informers might be different.

For a start, it's not that different, at first sight anyway, to what sometimes goes on in Britain, and occasionally in the South, and day in and day out in the U.S. That will make it harder to get people angry.

The real difference is the scale of the informer operation and the political context in which it is happening. In the North the question of the existence of the state is in the background — and not all that far in the background.

That means the campaign will have to be far more directly political than the broad liberal formula. And, if it is to be spread — as it must — outside the Catholic ghettos in the North, it will have to be on a basis other than vague Republican feeling.

For example, Republicans in the South will automatically oppose the informer tactic

anyway. A successful campaign will have to reach out beyond them.

Just as — to quote Gerry Adams — you can't build support in Ballymun on the basis that the Brits are kicking in doors on the Falls, you can't spread opposition in Ballymun to the tout tactic without making it somehow relevant.

And that can only be done on a class basis: by arguing that the tout system is part and parcel of oppression in the North and that this oppression is just another reflection of the way in which the capitalist system maintains itself "up there" . . . the same capitalist system which creates economic and social oppression in the South.

Put like that it's too pat to be persuasive. But unless that's the underlying strategy there's no solid reason for optimism in the long term about support in the South — or even support in the North which will survive any long-drawn-out campaign during which emotions might cool. — EAMONN McSANN

Section 30 — Guilty till proved innocent

by GORETTI HORGAN

WHEN ROY Buckley was arrested recently under Section 30 of the Offences Against the State Act and held for 24 hours, there was a considerable fuss. Roy Buckley is married to a prominent member of SPUC — the hard-line pro-amendment group. That sort of person isn't meant to be familiar with the way that Section 30 is used — to harass republicans and socialists. Hence the indignation and protest.

But now police are planning to further widen their powers.

The government is to introduce a new Criminal Justice Bill which is designed to give the gardai even wider powers of arrest, detention and questioning of suspects.

The proposed law amounts, in fact, to making anyone arrested guilty until proven innocent.

For example, one of the things that Noonan, the Minister of Justice, has been complaining about is the fact that, except under Section 30, you cannot at

present be held for questioning, fingerprinted or your house searched for evidence unless you have been charged with a specific crime. The proposed law would allow the Guards to do all this — without charging you.

Similarly, at the moment you can refuse to answer questions and your silence cannot be used against you. They want to do away with that and make your silence somehow evidence of your guilt — like not recognising the court.

Of course, the police say, there are good reasons why they need these extra powers. Drug pushers, rapists and murderers and muggers. They claim it is impossible to do anything about them without these changes.

That's where the problem is though. The powers of the Offences Against the State Act in relation to arbitrary detention and questioning were 'justified' in 1972 as necessary to combat serious, especially violent and 'terrorist' crimes.

But what it has actually done is strengthened the repressive

What we stand for

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

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

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

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

REVOLUTION NOT REFORM

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

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

NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR MOSCOW

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

A SOCIALIST ANSWER TO THE NATIONAL QUESTION

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

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

We stand for: Immediate withdrawal of the British Army.
Political Status now.
The disbandment of the RUC and the UDR.

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

WOMEN'S LIBERATION

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

FOR A RANK AND FILE MOVEMENT

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

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

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY

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

power of the State — its ability to sit on and even jail anyone who opposes or threatens the system.

The fact that repressive legislation is used against everyone is brought home when you look at the jailings of the Ranks workers, and before them the Ault and Wiborg workers.

And when you look at the official figures for people lifted under Section 30 in 1981, you really see how much laws are used — 2,303 people were arrested yet only 323 were charged with

anything (and we don't know how many of these were actually convicted). In other words only one in seven was charged with a crime!

A major campaign should be mounted against the new law.

The issue should be raised throughout the trade union movement. It is bad enough that they can get away with jailing workers for occupying, or republicans for escaping from Long Kesh.

They must not be let turn the screw even tighter.

