

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism

Glass workers show way to...

SMASH F.F.F.

PAY FRAUD

OVER two thousand workers in Waterford Glass are fighting against a pay cut. And the Irish media are attacking them for being "greedy", "too well paid" and "irresponsible".

This is not altogether surprising. The press in Ireland is run by big business. They would love to see more pay cuts and attacks on working conditions.

The *Irish Press* group, for example, is now run by the union-busting firm Ingersoll and wants pay cuts from its own workforce.

The owner of the *Irish Independent* is one Tony O'Reilly. O'Reilly has a direct interest in smashing the Glass workers strike. O'Reilly is involved with the American banking group, Morgan Stanley, in owning a major stake in Waterford Wedgewood, the company in control of Waterford Glass.

This is why we can expect nothing but lies from the "free press" about the Glass workers.

The truth is that the Glass workers are standing up for

everyone who has had their union attacked in the last few years.

A victory at Waterford Glass will raise the sights of every worker in the country.

In particular, it will give great confidence to those who want to do away with Fianna Fail's pay fraud, the Programme for National Recovery.

Fianna Fail conned the union leaders into a three year deal where wage increases were limited to two and a half per cent a year. But now prices are rising fast and mortgages are going through the roof.

Real anger is mounting among trade unionists about the PNR. Shop stewards in Aer Lingus, Unidare, B'1 are calling for a campaign of opposition.

A victory at Waterford Glass will show to workers everywhere that militant action can smash Fianna Fail's pay fraud.



Waterford Glass ATGWU convenor Jimmy Kelly addresses strike meeting.

EAMONN McCANN Fianna Fail's 'preferred option'

THE decision of the Dublin Supreme Court last month to release Owen Carron triggered as comical an outburst of establishment outrage as has been witnessed in the land for many a year.

One faction in Leinster House, led by Fine Gael, demanded changes in the law to ensure that all future extraditions would go through more or less automatically.

Another group, including the entirety of Fianna Fail, argued that there was no need for any change because future cases would be heard under the 1987 Act—which would have had Carron bundled back over the Border.

This was the line taken by Haughey during his visit to Belfast to talk to the parasites' "union", the Institute of Directors.

Haughey was shored up by the fact that Thatcher and the Thatcherite press had, as per usual, united every nationalist in Ireland in anger, by displaying colonial contempt for the Irish courts and Irish institutions.

Meanwhile, the Fianna Fail Ard Fheis roared with half-lunatic approval as five hundred anti-extradition motions were distilled down to the single proposal that wanted men and women from the North should be tried in the no-jury Special Criminal Court under the Criminal Law Jurisdiction Act.

DECLARED

In a slight variation of the Haughey line, "Justice" minister Ray Burke declared that this was the Dublin Government's "preferred option".

There are a couple of things opponents of extradition should keep clear in mind as events unfold.

The argument has been about what court they should be charged in and under what legislation.

The deepest-green constitutionalists are the most enthusiastic about having "terrorists" charged in the Southern Irish courts and the most iffy about extradition to British courts and they express the most ferociously anti-British



Owen Carron

sentiments when the Southern courts are made little of by the likes of Thatcher.

What is being expressed here is a fierce loyalty, not to a united Ireland but to the Institutions of the Twenty-six County State.

This was very clear during the Fr. Paddy Ryan affair. British Tory attacks on the integrity of the Irish Attorney General's office resulted in even the *Irish Independent* backing the decision to refuse extradition.

Constitutional nationalism in Ireland is well capable of "standing up to Britain" while simultaneously stamping on Republicanism.

This may be too subtle a thought for some Loyalist leaders but it ought to be obvious enough to any Republican who recalls the 1940's when de Valera's Government stood firm against all pressure to bring the South into World War Two—and at the same time had Republicans hanged and huger strikers allowed to die.

On each issue the approach was dictated by the interests of the Southern State.

So demands that Haughey should "stand up to Thatcher" are off-target. They let the Southern State off the hook and potentially undermine opposition to repression by the Southern State.

This is important because there is plenty of play left in the extradition issue. Despite what

Haughey says, the 1987 Act will not close all extradition "loopholes". The offences which the '87 Act removes from the "political exception" are strictly defined—use of explosives, automatic weapons, kidnapping, murder etc.

EXCEPTION

These do not cover the full range of offences which come up in extradition cases. For example, escaping from custody will still be covered by the "political exception".

From time to time, extradition is still likely to be a bone of contention between Dublin and London. In this circumstance, Burke's "preferred option" could well come centre stage, particularly since it may well be a future Labour Government's "preferred option" as well.

This would enable Fianna Fail to adopt its all-time favourite posture—using the jackboot on "subversion" as means of demonstrating how self-confidently independent the Southern State now is.

The point for serious revolutionaries is not to put pressure on Haughey to stand up to Thatcher but to campaign among the Southern working class to stand up to, and eventually to overthrow, Haughey and what he stands for.

Can West Belfast be made to work?

ANGER and dismay were the local reactions last month to the British Government's latest proposal for redevelopment in West Belfast.

Sketches of a woodland development and a futuristic retail and leisure centre helped explain the latest British package.

The proposal, supposedly intended to create jobs, is actually based on the removal of Mackie's Engineering Works from the Springfield road area of West Belfast.

Mackie's is notorious for its long history of discrimination. Although it is located in a nationalist area, only about 20 percent of the workers there are Catholic. Mackie's also has a rotten reputation for scandalously low wages.

Now the new American owners are to get £20m to move to a modernised site in nearby Woodvale, making it even more unlikely to employ Catholics. The old Mackie's site is to be used for the development of housing, leisure, and small business—retail and small workshops. As if this were not enough, insult was heaped on injury when it was announced that 130 of the present 930 Mackie's jobs will go in the course of the move—and that 200 further jobs are at risk.

In other words, £20m of public money will be given to US big business for a development which will cost jobs.

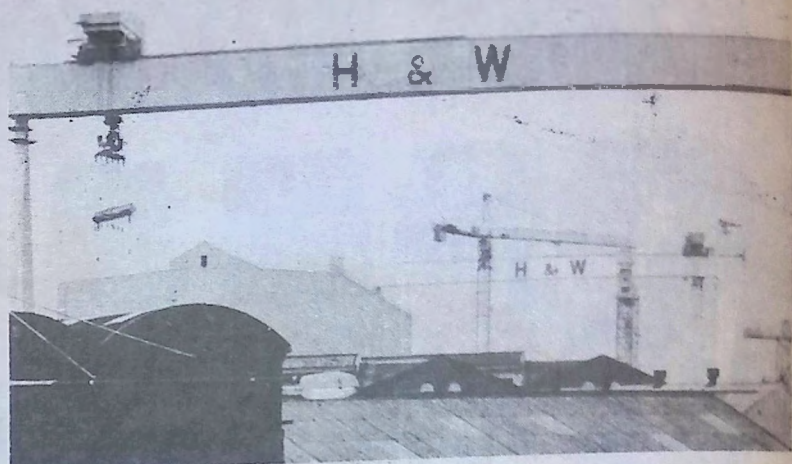
At the same time, no government money is guaranteed for the scheme which is supposed to create jobs.

The scheme is to cost £30m, but British economy government minister Needham says most of this must come from private, not government sources.

This is another cynical exercise by the NIO—pulling in private money to build a leisure centre at the same time as workers in Belfast City Council leisure centres are losing work because of the shortened hours.

Because of discrimination against Catholics and the decline in traditional industry, West Belfast has 10 percent of all the unemployment in the North.

by JOAN McKIERNAN



Industry has been run down

Many districts have a rate of over 50 percent. The loss of Mackie's is the latest in a steady decline of jobs.

The O'Fair Report, published in 1988, found that over 6,000 manufacturing jobs had gone West Belfast since 1976. In the last few years jobs in schools and hospitals, including the Royal Victoria Hospital, the largest single employer in West Belfast, have been cut because of privatisation and public sector cuts.

And British government changes in social security have resulted in a loss of £5m in the budgets of the Falls and Shankill dole offices last year. The recent 10 percent Housing Executive rent increase will further increase the hardship of the unemployed.

In the face of all this, the offer of possible jobs in leisure and retailing offers little hope. These jobs are low-paid and usually part-time. Already Belfast city centre is inundated with plans for shopping complexes.

As well, there are new complexes opening in Poleglass and the An-

dersonstown road.

The bankruptcy of capitalist planning is evident when the main idea they come up with is more and more shopping malls at a time when the consumer boom is slowing down.

Praise has recently been lavished on the British government for its spending plans for deprived areas of Belfast. The NIO has finally faced the fact that they have a problem of "alienation" on their hands.

REPAIRING

So now there are plans to spend International Fund money on repairing schools and hospitals, proposing much needed parks, and providing training schemes for the still non-existent jobs.

O'Fair, the group campaigning for jobs in West Belfast, recommended that 18,000 real jobs and £250m were needed to overcome the economic problems of the area.

But the recent an-

nouncement that "Making Belfast Work" and the International Fund are to spend £92m on all the deprived areas of Belfast over the next three years shows how little the government is prepared to do.

This is a paltry sum compared to last year's £1.2b to finance the privatisation of Shorts and Harland and Wolff. And that was on top of the £530m that has gone to the Yard since 1975.

The RUC just got an increase of £40m giving them £460m to spend in 1990. And they have a kitty of £66m just for new buildings.

But with British spending priorities like these—money for business profits, discrimination, repression and spending cuts for the working class, it is a wonder there isn't even more alienation around.

It should also be evident that no solution to the economic problems of West Belfast will be forthcoming within the context of capitalist economies. The need to build a revolutionary socialist presence in the area is urgent.

Fighting SPUC's gag

A FORUM in Dublin on May 5 will discuss how to fight SPUC's censorship. It is part of the continuing fight for women's access to information on abortion.

Last autumn, the students showed the way to fight—defy the law. When SPUC got an injunction against them they organised a noisy, 400-strong picket outside the High Court.

Many young people became involved in politics for the first time.

Yet for the celebration of International Women's Day—nothing was organised on the right to information issue. The SWM, along with the Women's Information Network, some students and individuals quickly called a public meeting.

Around 120 people came, and speaker after speaker argued that control of fertility is essential to women's liberation, and that choices about pregnancy must include abortion if women are to play an equal role in society.

The meeting showed that a small number of people are prepared to defy the law and fight SPUC. The forum on May 5 is to decide how to carry the fight forward—by leafletting, by building for a demonstration in late October when the students are back, and, very important, by taking the information into the workplaces to ensure that when the demonstration takes place trade union banners will be on the march.

Only by extending the campaign outside the colleges can the right to information be won.

The anger against SPUC can be built on. Now is the time to organise.

Strikes return to schools

THE last week of spring term saw thousand of school children forced to stay home as members of the North's largest teachers union came out on a one day national strike.

This was the first disruption schools have suffered in three years.

Sixty-two percent of the NASUWT voted for strike action and in Belfast 700 teachers attended a rally. Addressing the rally, Tom McKee, the regional official, made it clear that "the issue isn't just pay. More cast for salaries won't solve the problem of stress".

In the same week a survey by the union reported that one in five teachers drank more than normal and one quarter had a stress-related illness.

The implementation of the GCSE exams,

changes in the school curriculum, the introduction of formal assessments at 8, 11, 14 and 16 and the proposed scheme of schools managing their own budgets have all added to the workload.

The final straw came when the Department of Education offered a paltry 8.5 percent pay increase after spending nearly three quarters of a million pounds on a glossy brochure publicising its intended changes for schools in the North.

Eight copies of Socialist Worker were sold at the rally.

WE THINK

Dishonest debate over 'national unity'

"NORTHERN nationalists should settle down now and grow up" Senator John A Murphy told a debate in the Mansion House last month.

Seven hundred people turned up to hear Murphy, Jim Kemmy TD, Bernadette McAliskey and Eamonn O Cuiv debate whether the demand for a united Ireland was an obstacle to peace.

Senator Murphy describes himself as a socialist—though a very moderate one.

In a crude way he was spelling out a message that sections of the Irish Left peddle.

For the Labour Party and the Workers Party the resistance of Northern nationalists to discrimination and bigotry is an irritating embarrassment.

Their embarrassment is understandable.

The reformist Left is trying to deal with a state that is inherently unreformable.

Eighteen years after direct rule the North to supposedly clear up the sectarian mess, little has changed for working class nationalists.

All serious reports bear this out. Catholics in Northern Ireland are two and a half times more likely to be unemployed as Protestants.

The housing situation is also worse for Catholics. 16



percent of Catholic and 6 percent of Protestant households had one or more bedrooms below standard.

North remain overwhelmingly sectarian. The UDR, for example,—set up to replace the Protestant dominated B Specials—is 98 percent Protestant.

None of this is to make out that Protestants in Northern Ireland remotely resemble the whites in South Africa. 22 percent of the population of

Northern Ireland, for example are dependent on supplementary benefits—and that includes substantial

POVERTY

But within this situation of poverty for all workers, there is systematic discrimination against one section.

And socialists of the ilk of Senator Murphy have no answers to that but to tell

people to "settle down".

The debate at the Mansion House, however, also highlighted the weakness of the reformist Left. An invitation was extended to the Fianna Fail Senator and grandson of de Valera, Eamonn O Cuiv to put the case against partition.

O Cuiv's speech was disgusting.

Extolling the record of FF government, he claimed that the unemployed were better off in the South than in Brit-

ain or the North.

He also argued that minorities in the South were "well treated".

Coming from a party that has voted consistently against halting sites for travellers and campaigned against divorce, this was some cheek.

The decision to invite a FF speaker was a deliberate part of the current republican strategy of building a "pan-nationalist" front. Increasingly, this involves a return to the "wrap-the-green-flag-around-me" rhetoric.

The invitation to the the 1916 Commemoration march in Dublin included a call to "celebrate your nationality—bring a tricolour".

FF has no problems with this flag waving nationalism. Indeed it has always been an indispensable part of their armoury.

The current Programme for National Recovery, for example, rests on the notion that workers and employers must pull together "for Ireland".

And it is precisely that ideology that has held back the Southern working class through the building of a militant class conscious workers movement, that it will be possible to extend the fight against bigotry and oppression throughout the island.

The return to the green flag will only leave the working class the prisoners of Fianna Fail.

USI Congress squabbles

AT THE USI Congress this year the problems in the politics of the student movement came to a head.

A power struggle between two semi-hidden ideologies—soft-left two-nationism and Republicanism—and the alignment of colleges behind these two main contenders, left many students despairing at the future of the student movement.

Squabbles, procedural coups and vote management—the logical tactics for people who won't declare their politics—reduced congress to a prelude for the main scrap: the election of the incoming executive.

The vote management and mandate-breaking by dele-

gations have further split USI and given more ammunition to SPUC and their allies to champion their cause of disaffiliation and voluntary membership.

U-TURN

The political U-turn on abortion infor-



mation shown by one-time hardliner and incoming President, Karen Quinlivan, is hardly surprising. But it will do nothing to appease the Right. In fact it will only help them by further driving a wedge between students.

Disaffiliations and voluntary membership

are on the agenda, even in colleges with solid fighting records. The political positions (and lack of them) taken by the bureaucrats at and around congress have shown that they are

ACTIVISTS

unwilling to tackle these threats properly.

It is up to activists in colleges putting forward a fighting programme and arguing for greater democracy at the Activist Conference in November and the Special Constitutional Conference in January, to set the student movement back on a winning path.

■ SHANE O'CURRY

Sunbeam disaster

IT'S ALL over at Sunbeam. The Cork textile factory that until recently employed 540 people has been snapped up by the Mayo-based "Labaum", reputedly with behind the scenes backing from Ben Dunne.

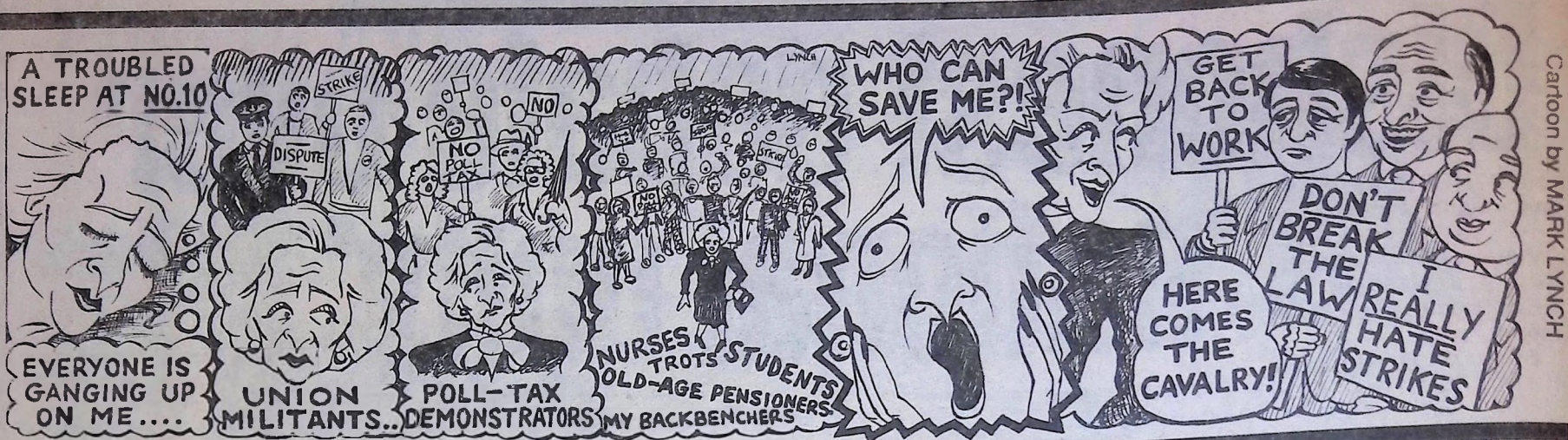
The new owners immediately sacked everyone, and threatened that a new workforce of only 100 would be recruited from elsewhere. But it could have been otherwise.

When Sunbeam went bust the workers occupied in defence of their jobs. Predictably, SIPTU officials refused backing, claiming the action would jeopardise IDA efforts to secure a buyer. The pressure worked. The occupation was ended and the outcome is disaster.

Labaum cynically avoided a new occupation by upping the new workforce to 150 and recruiting from existing staff. But suspicions abound that the new owners are only interested in asset-stripping and pinching the order books for their Mayo operation.

Responsibility for this sorry state of affairs rests squarely with Joe O'Callaghan and Gerry Mullins of SIPTU, who's only answer to every threat of redundancy is to roll over and die.

INTERNATIONAL



Is Thatcherism finished?

MARGARET Thatcher's government is in deep trouble. The situation which has undermined her demonstrates the relevance of revolutionary socialism—and the irrelevance of reformism to the day-to-day struggles of working-class people.

There is massive hostility to the poll tax in England and Wales as councils set average charges of £400—a third higher than government predictions.

Huge anti-poll tax demonstrations and riots shook England at the end of 1989, where the poll tax has been in place for a year one in five are still refusing to pay.

Interest rates and inflation have risen dramatically. Mortgage rates higher than 15 percent have left thousands of families in desperation. Inflation at nearly eight percent has taken the shine off Thatcher's boom and many of her powerful backers in big business are deserting. The construction magnate McAlpine stepped down last month as Tory money raiser.

Manufacturing investment fell by 20 percent in the second half of 1989. The possibility of creating a pre-election boom looks remote.

In the mid-Staffordshire by-election in March a safe Tory majority of 14,000 was overturned.

Over the past year three government ministers have resigned and local councillors have even torn up their Tory party cards. Opinion polls place Kinnock's Labour Party 20 points ahead and so on and so on.

All this is in stark contrast to the alleged invincibility of Thatcherism. Despite all the talk of an irreversible change in the political climate it turns out that a substantial and growing sec-



tion of the population has not bought the arguments of Thatcherism.

But if Thatcher has not won the battle of ideas, the leaders of the Left act as though she has.

Neil Kinnock's leadership of the Labour Party has been characterised by retreat on every front.

In a succession of Employment Acts over the past ten years the Tories have progressively restricted actions trade unions can legally engage in.

BALLOTS

First there was requirement for ballots for the political funds. But to Thatcher's dismay, in subsequent union elections nearly all the funds were confirmed.

Strike postal ballots, outlawing of solidarity or secondary action quickly followed. These were used against the Fleet Street printers disputes,

the miners strike and the P and O Seamen's dispute.

In every instance Kinnock responded by urging unions to "act within the law". And with the exception of Scargill and the NUM, union leaders did. Now Kinnock has made it clear that a future Labour government will leave the substance of these Tory laws in place.

Yet numbers of railwaymen and other rank and file workers did black coal movements during the miners' strike. Despite the recent slanders of Scargill, huge numbers of workers did contribute to the striking miners.

Yet the TUC leadership refused to organise serious solidarity action.

During the picketing of that strike, Kinnock continually condemned "picket line violence" and demanded the NUM hold a ballot in accord-

ance with Tory laws. It was not some enchantment with Thatcher by the working class which lost that dispute. It was the willingness of the leaders of the working class to sacrifice the miners to "obeying the law".

Again, despite massive public support for the ambulance men's six-month dispute, the settlement was not a victory. NUPE leader Roger Poole preferred to keep the dispute within legal limits and cultivate "public opinion" rather than fight for escalation and serious solidarity action.

'EXTREMISTS'

It was the same story with the poll tax. Kinnock rose day after day in the House of Commons to tell Thatcher he agreed with her, that demonstrations outside Town Halls had been organised by "extremists" and that

refusing to pay the tax was "undemocratic". Kinnock joined in condemning the riots in London's West End following police attacks on the massive demonstration on March 29.

Time after time the chance of mobilising working class anger to inflict a decisive blow on Thatcherism—because the Labour leadership, in keeping with its reformist ideas has advocated staying within the law.

Only revolutionaries who are out not to win office within the system but to overthrow the system can consistently operate a strategy of urging the working class to do what is necessary to win—whether the law likes it or not.

Since the Tory laws are designed precisely to make it impossible for the working class to win legally, this is the only strategy which makes sense.

Now, with Thatcher on the run, socialists have to choose sides. Either for those fighting Tory injustice or for the police thugs and Thatcher.

Kinnock had no difficulty making up his mind—whose side he was on. He wants to distance the Labour Party from any action which might upset anyone—to go for the lowest ideological denominator.

Socialists side with those fighting, those refusing to pay, those organising "unlawful" secondary action. That's the difference between reformism and revolutionary socialism which the twilight of Thatcherism has thrown into sharp relief.

KEVIN WINGFIELD

Tory racism over Hong Kong

THE "Hong Kong passports" affair has revealed the naked racism of the British Tories—and shown that Neil Kinnock's Labour Party is just as bad.

Hong Kong is due to be handed back to China in 1997. Understandably, after last year's massacre of workers and students in Tiananmen Square, many of the colony's five and a half million people are looking for possible places of refuge.

But Thatcher's government has decided to admit only 50,000 heads of households and their families. They say this is the maximum British people would accept—a straightforward concession to racism.

Those being looked after are the colony's elite—"key entrepreneurs", police, spies, leading civil servants, etc.

Even this is too much for then rabid Right led by Norman Tebbit. They want NO more non whites in Britain. And they were joined by the Labour Party in the Commons division!

Labour condemns the elitism of the Tory plan—and offers a different scheme which would admit far fewer—at most around 30,000.

The furthest a small group of the Labour left would go was to refuse to vote against the Tory plan. Not a single Labour MP spoke plainly against any immigration control—the only consistent anti-racist position.

This highlights again the need for a constant battle against racist ideas—and the fact that Labour can't be counted on to wage that battle.

We should note, too, that this issue is directly relevant to Ireland. After the abolition of internal border controls in the EC in 1993 all member states have undertaken to implement each other's immigration controls—the so-called "Fortress Europe" concept.

Already non-white people arriving in the South are stringently checked. After 1993 it will be much worse.

Fianna Fail ministers who have been whinging to their friends in the US about the extremely mild "harassment" of Irish illegals there, have no compunction about helping British racists keep other "illegals" out.

Rank and file members of Labour and the Workers Party should be demanding to know why there hasn't been a cheap out of their leaders on this issue.



Thatcher: 'swamped'

GORBACHEV'S GREATEST CHALLENGE

by PAUL McGARR

LITHUANIA's demand for self-determination is the biggest challenge Gorbachev has faced to date. But it's only one in a whole series of national revolts.

What lies behind this explosion of national discontent—and what should the attitude of socialists be to it?



RUSSIA'S RULERS have subjected non-Russians in their empire to racism, discrimination and often brutal oppression for centuries.

Marx writing in the last century accurately described the Tsarist empire as "the prison house of nations". The same was true of Stalin's USSR and is true of the Russian empire today.

The national minorities only briefly escaped the prison of oppression in the aftermath of the 1917 revolution.

Then Lenin and the Bolsheviks insisted oppressed nationalities could break away from Russia and form a separate state if they so chose.

Some did. Finland seceded, as did the Baltic states. Others, like the Ukraine and Georgia, were independent for a period before joining the federation of workers republics where there was absolute equality between different nationalities. For example, Russian had no special privileges over any other language.

Such freedoms didn't survive the counter-revolution carried through by Stalin and the bureaucracy he led in the late 1920s.

The new rulers abandoned socialism and sought to develop the Russian economy in competition with other states.

They rebuilt the old Tsarist empire with all its old brutalities. Non-Russians were systematically subordinated to Russian control once again.

With the Hitler-Stalin pact of 1939 the reversion to the methods of Tsarism went a stage further.

Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia, independent since 1920, were seized by Russian troops. So too was Moldavia, then part of Romania.

To enforce Russian control a reign of terror was unleashed. On the night of 14-15 June 1941 around 60,000 Estonians, 34,000 Latvians and 38,000 Lithuanians were deported and Russians were sent in to take their property.

Almost half a million Volga Germans were exiled to the east in 1941. A decree was passed deporting every citizen of the Kalmyk republic to Siberia in December 1943.

In 1944 700,000 Chechens, 250,000 Crimean Tatars and 190,000 Karachi were deported and their republics literally wiped off the map.

TODAY ALMOST every family will have someone who remembers the horrors meted out simply because of their language or nationality under Stalin.

In the years since Stalin's death in 1953 the worst of these atrocities have been stopped. But the national grievances

Why the empire is in revolt

have never been resolved.

The Crimean Tatars and other deportees have not been allowed to return to their former homes.

And national oppression, though less barbaric, still continues.

Russians make up just 52 percent of the USSR's population. Yet in 1984 there were 4,218 periodicals in Russian across the USSR and just 736 in all other languages combined.

Language and education reveal the depth of discrimination most clearly. In 1979 a census revealed only 23 percent of children in the Ukrainian capital, Kiev, could be taught in their own language—60 percent of the city's population are Ukrainian.

At the same time a survey in Kirgizia found not one kindergarten used the Kirgiz language.

REPORTS IN the official Russian press in the last two years give an indication of the scale of the problems.

In Georgia people complain of enormous difficulty in obtaining Georgian typefaces. In Kazakhstan there are almost a million Ukrainians, yet in September of last year there were no books at all in Ukrainian in libraries.

The official newspaper *Izvestia* reported in February last year that in Moldavia, "During the time of Brezhnev the use of Moldavian in any workplace at all was considered almost a manifestation of nationalism. Schoolchildren began to be ashamed of speaking their own language."

Racism against Kazakhs and other Asian peoples is common, with terms like "blacks" and "backward" in common use. In Kazakhstan around 35 percent of children still can't be taught in their own language.

Discrimination in favour of Russians—and those non-Russians willing to "become" Russian—is especially

pronounced in the army and state bureaucracy.

The ruling party is dominated by Russians at every level, as is the officer corps of the army, in which Russian is the sole language of command.

Russian is still privileged over other languages and described as "the common medium of intercourse and co-operation among all the peoples of the USSR"—even though around one in five of all people don't speak Russian.

In 1979 the teaching of Russian was made compulsory in all kindergartens. There is no compulsion for the children of Russians living in non-Russian republics to be taught the local language.

Non-Russians also suffer the worst conditions, poverty and unemployment in the USSR.

In Baku, capital of Azerbaijan, the Russian press admitted last year there were 250,000 unemployed despite previous official claims that unemployment didn't exist in the USSR.

They live in the most miserable conditions. A Russian journalist wrote of a Baku shanty town that "if it had not been for laundry hanging on ropes and TV aerials sticking out of the ground we would never have guessed that people lived there."

Workers from central Asian republics of the USSR are drafted into the worst jobs in Russian cities.

These "limitchki"—mainly women—have no residence rights in the Russian republic and are forced to live in squalid overcrowded dormitories. There are over 700,000 such workers in Moscow alone.

Discrimination extends to every sphere of life. Russia's rulers worry the high birthrate among Muslims in central Asia will mean Russians will soon be a minority in the USSR.

So funds for mother and child health care and social services are systematically starved from these areas.

Throughout the 1970s and into the 1980s it was common for non-Russians to be jailed for "nationalist agitation".

No one was ever imprisoned for Russian nationalism.

An employment survey in the late 1970s underlined the discrimination against Ukrainians—the biggest non-Russian nationality in the USSR—in their own country.

Ukrainians made up over 80 percent of workers in the worst paid jobs in transport and construction. In technical and managerial jobs over half were Russians.

One report on the construction of a major power station in the Ukraine showed that while almost all the workers were Ukrainian almost all technicians and engineers were Russian and no less than 92 percent of all managers were Russian.

Another report described how the most common chauvinistic abuse by Russian officials was to demand from a Ukrainian to speak in a "civilised" language (ie Russian) and not a "peasant" (ie Ukrainian) language.

THIS HISTORY of oppression and its continuing reality lies behind the national explosion rocking the USSR today.

The situation is complicated because Russia's rulers from Stalin to Brezhnev deliberately maintained a pecking order of oppressed nationalities in each area, to divide and rule.

In Georgia, for instance, Georgians were second class citizens compared to Russians. But Ossetians were second class citizens compared to Georgians. Similar examples occur across the USSR.

As a result when grievances erupt they can often be directed not against the real enemy—the Russian rulers—but another oppressed national group.

Some local bureaucrats and some in the national movements have been happy to focus the movements in this direction.

Equally, many corrupt local

bureaucrats have played on nationalist resentment against Russia to protect their own positions against attack from Gorbachev and his allies.

In other areas local sections of the ruling party have been forced to distance themselves from Moscow and talk of independence in order to maintain credibility with local people.

This is what lies behind the current split between Moscow and the ruling parties in the Baltic states—especially Lithuania.

GLASNOST HAS lifted the lid on decades of accumulated bitterness among the oppressed nationalities in the Russian empire with explosive and often messy consequences.

The national revolts are likely to continue and deepen in the months and years ahead.

The only real solution to the national oppression in the USSR is precisely that implemented for a few years by Lenin and the Bolsheviks in the aftermath of the 1917 revolution.

Socialists should unreservedly side with the rebellion of the oppressed nationalities in the USSR. We defend absolutely the fight of people to speak and be taught in their own language for instance.

Above all we unconditionally defend the right of all the oppressed nationalities in the Russian empire to break away and form their own separate state if they so choose.

At the same time we look to the one force in the USSR that can both win freedom from oppression for all the nationalities and through its struggles lay the basis for a real equal union between the different nationalities.

That force is the huge multinational working class of the USSR. In the great miners' strike last year we saw a glimpse of how workers from Siberia to the Ukraine could unite in common struggle against their common exploiters and oppressors.

Such struggles can link and give direction to the national revolts. They can focus the rebellions on the rulers of the Russian empire and not other oppressed nationalities and in doing so lay the basis for a real union of socialist workers' republics.

Victims of capitalists

THE Birmingham Six campaign has become the most popular cause in modern Irish politics.

Every national newspaper, all Leinster House parties, the trade unions, the Churches, artists, "personalities" and celebrities" of all sorts, demand the release of the Six.

It is the issue above all others on which Republican complaints about British injustice to Irish people seem to strike a chord.

The sheer scale of the injustice has commanded attention. The image of six innocent people in prison cells for more than fifteen years sparked widespread outrage.

This time next year, if they are not released, they will have spend a hundred years in jail between them.

And they are obviously *innocent*. The confessions were beaten out of them and the forensic evidence concocted has long ago been established beyond doubt.

Everybody who has studied the

case knows they are being kept in prison because letting them out would be an admission that the West Midlands police, a Home Office forensic scientist, and high-ranking law officers have been guilty of torture, perjury and conspiracy to pervert the course of justice.

And that judges, up to and including Lord Chief Justice Lane, have connived at this happening. In other words admitting that the Six are innocent means admitting that the British system of justice is diseased.

It is this—Lord Denning's "appalling vista"—which the British Government doesn't want to have to face.

So it is vital that the pressure is piled on to force Home Secretary Waddington's hand, not only to free the men but also to illuminate the "appalling vista" so that everybody can see it.

It is important to understand that the vista doesn't have to do *only* with the way Irish people are treated by British courts.



THE popular idea in some circles in Ireland that British people are virtually all paid-up members of the "law-and-order brigade" is far from the truth.

One of the reasons for the poll-tax riot at the end of March was precisely that thousands of young British working-class people hate the police's guts.

This is particularly true in inner-city areas, and even more so in the case of young blacks. Some estates in London are near-enough no-go areas.

In such districts there's an instinctive understanding—at least as well developed as anywhere in Southern Ireland—that the law is not neutral. That the function of the system of "justice" is not to regulate society in a "fair" manner but, on the contrary, to defend the status quo and all the inequality and oppression which goes with it.

Of course at times of social peace, when there is no real challenge to the status quo, it's possible for the ruling class and their hangers-on in politics and the media to argue that "justice" is impartial, that "all are equal before the law" and so forth.

At such times the average citizen's direct experience of the law might not be too unhappy, so the propaganda might work.

But once real discontent builds up, the law moves to contain and suppress it, and the real meaning of "justice" begins to become clear. People in areas where discontent abounds tend to have a clearer view of this reality.

Once discontent becomes focused and organised and is perceived as a threat, the



fundamental role of the law is expressed with open savagery.

So pickets during the miner's strike in 1984/85 were harassed, intimidated, viciously assaulted, denied the right to move freely around the country on perfectly legal business, framed on spurious charges etc. etc.

CHARGED

Serious police assaults inflicting grievous bodily harm on peaceful NUM members were clearly seen on television in a number of instances. But not one cop was every charged.

Exactly the same happened during the 1986 pickets at Murdoch's Wapping printing plant. More than a thousand injuries, over three hundred

by **EAMONN McCANN**



Defending the Establishment

specific police assaults investigated—over 20 cops charged—and not one conviction.

This scenario will be very familiar to Irish people.

The Broadwater farm case illustrates the point even more plainly.

After relentless police oppression of the mainly-black youngsters on the estate in Tottenham, North London, mass resistance finally erupted in 1986. In the course of the fight-back, a policeman, PC Blakelock, was killed. Three men were convicted of murder. One, Winston Silcott, dubbed the "ring-leader" was sentenced to thirty years minimum.

He was convicted solely on the basis of a "confession" which he denied having made and which, anyway, didn't

amount to an admission of guilt.

The case had been surrounded by hysterical media coverage. The case of the Broadwater Farm Three is every inch as great an injustice as that of the Guildford Four or Birmingham Six... although it's to be hoped that the Three won't have as long to wait.

THREAT

Like the Irish in certain circumstances, the young people of Broadwater Farm had been perceived as a threat to established notions of law-and-order. So they were deemed to have no rights whatever.

The Three were Broadwater Farm residents in the wrong place at the wrong time.

A look at the way the system of justice is structured in Britain shows why this happens. It has more to do with class structure than with nationality.

Take the judges alone. The British Law Lords comprise nine judges on £90,000 a year, plus the Lord Chief Justice on just under £100,000. All these ten come from highly privileged backgrounds. Nine went to expensive public schools, eight graduated from either Oxford or Cambridge.

Under them are 24 Court of Appeal judges, of whom 20 went to public school and 10 to "Oxbridge".

The next rung has 79 High Court judges, 42 to public schools, 53 to Oxbridge. It is at this level that we first encounter a woman judge.

At the next level, among the 388 Circuit Court judges, we encounter the first black.

All the judges are recruited from the ranks of barristers, which it's practically impossible for anybody without a private income to join.

This structure is obviously in no way representative of the British people as a whole.

But it reproduces the class structure of Britain with great accuracy.

It wasn't simply because the courts were British courts that they put the boot into the Birmingham Six. It was because they were British capitalists' courts.

And they are perfectly willing to put the boot into British workers when they feel it's in their interests to do so.

We in Ireland have a vested interest in linking up with those British people who also have a vested interest in overthrowing what the courts represent.

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ist 'justice'



Irish justice no better

THE presence of Fianna Failers, Fine Gaelers, SDLPers, O'Fiach etc. in the Birmingham six campaign can give the impression that "the Irish people" are united in this cause.

But all these elements —FF, FG, etc.—are quite happy to contemplate similar injustice when it suits them.

Very few of them weighed in to the Birmingham six case, anyway, until it became politically profitable to do so. And all of them are totally committed to the Southern courts when the same sort of injustice happens there.

It is no thanks to any establishment party but to the campaigning of radicals backed up by a handful of dogged journalists that Nicky Kelly isn't still in Portlaoise.

Nicky Kelly's "confession" was extracted from him by exactly the same methods used in the Birmingham case.

Not one of the "Heavy Gang" responsible has ever been brought to book. All the establishment parties and papers say that there's no point pursuing this matter now, since it happened so long ago.

In fact, it happened a shorter time ago than the Guildford or Birmingham frame-ups.

The courts which accepted Nicky Kelly's "confession" were as blinded by bigotry as any presided over by Denning or Lord Chief Justice Lane.



In fact, after retiring from the Dublin Supreme court to take up an appointment in Europe in 1985 the Chief Justice Tom O'Higgins (a former member of the fascist Blueshirts), gave as justification for keeping Kelly in jail that: "He never once said that he was innocent"!

SWORN

O'Higgins had presided over two of Kelly's appeals.

The fact is Kelly had gone into the witness box and sworn that he was innocent.

O'Higgins, in other words, had rejected Kelly's appeals on the basis of a completely wrong understanding of the case.

Whether this misunderstanding was deliberate, or the result of sloppiness and not paying attention, doesn't matter. Either way, it indicates contempt for

the truth and for what is theoretically regarded as justice.

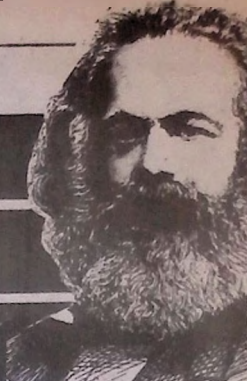
But O'Higgins reputation with the Southern Irish establishment hasn't suffered at all as a result—for the very good reason that he is an integral part of the establishment.

In precisely the same way, Lane and Denning are enclosed in the British establishment.

By "establishment" we mean here that layer of people in politics, the law, the "professions" and so on who directly express the interests of the capitalist class.

In both parts of Ireland and in Britain the justice available from the State is justice which serves the interests of capitalism. That is why it doesn't work in the interest of the rest of us. All the workers of both islands have a common interest in joining together to fight this system.

Teach yourself Marxism



Did Lenin lead to Stalin?

TODAY, hardly anyone denies the brutality of the Stalinist period in the USSR.

But a lot of people also believe that Lenin's commitment to revolution led inevitably to Stalin.

However, the idea that Stalin's tyranny represented the completion of Lenin's life work is a total misreading of history.

The October 1917 revolution in Russia was a workers' revolution. It was based on workers' councils or soviets. It put millions of working people in control of their own lives.

Control of the factories passed to workers. Land was seized by the peasants. Decrees established women's rights to free abortion and contraception and swept away the old laws on marriage.

Far from resisting mass democracy, Lenin and Trotsky had made "All Power to the Soviets" the slogan of the revolution.

The Bolsheviks won a majority in the soviets, but this was no one-party state. The Belgian revolutionary Victor Serge described how "in the years of the greatest peril the soviets and the central executive committee of the soviets included left social revolutionaries, Maximalists, anarchists, Menshevik social democrats and even right social revolutionaries".

"Far from fearing discussion, Lenin seeks after it...He feels he has something to learn from merciless criticism."

So what happened? Instead of the peace and abundance on which socialism depended, there was war and devastation. No sooner had the Bolsheviks withdrawn Russia from the First World War than the first wave of invading armies landed at Vladivostok.

The revolution had no choice but to arm itself against them and the forces of the dispossessed landlords and aristocrats. If it had not, as Trotsky argued later, fascism would have been christened in Russian, not in Italian.

Foreign intervention and civil war lasted four years. Millions perished during the epidemics and famine it brought. Some 200,000 revolutionary workers were killed in the fighting.

Factories closed. People living in towns and cities fled to the countryside. The populations of Petrograd and Moscow, heart of the revolution, were halved. By 1921 Russia's total industrial output was just an eighth of what it had been in 1913.

Revolutionary dictatorship or "War

Communism" as it was called, was the only means of survival. It meant the forced requisitioning of grain and universal conscription.

The Red Army created to defend the revolution won the war. But in the process the working class, the force that had made the revolution, was virtually destroyed. While there had been three million industrial workers in 1917, by 1921 there were 1.2 million. The most enthusiastic and active had died. Those who remained were exhausted, broken, a shadow of the confident revolutionary class of 1917.

DESPERATE

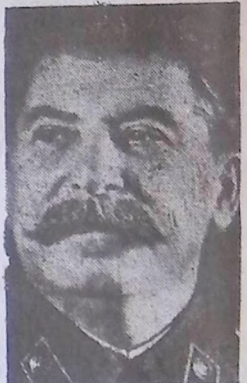
"Owing to the war and to the desperate poverty and ruin", Lenin noted, "the proletariat has disappeared". The Bolshevik Party remained in control, but its social base had gone. Its leaders had only had two choices. Either surrender to counter-revolution or attempt to hold on in the hope that revolution beyond Russia's borders could come to its assistance.

It almost happened. In the period 1918-1920 there were revolutions in Germany, soviet republics in Hungary and Bavaria, and waves of factory occupations in Italy. But the German revolutions of 1919 and 1923 were defeated. The Communist government in Hungary was overthrown by foreign invasion. Russia was isolated and left without the class which had made the revolution.

So by the time of Lenin's death in January 1924 the composition and structure of the Communist Party was very different from the Bolshevik workers' organisation it had been in 1917.

Simply to administer the country the party had been forced to use a vast army of former Tsarist officials and careerists. Now it was falling under the control of a bureaucracy of full-time officials, with the party general secretary Stalin at their head. In place of international socialism Stalin substituted the dogma of "socialism in one country".

Lenin had declared this "impossible". His last political act had been to argue for Stalin's removal. But Stalin hid his ditching of Lenin's ideas



within the aura he developed around Lenin's memory, the cult of Leninism.

At first slowly, then with increasing confidence, the forces of reaction took power. The soviets lost their influence and their democracy. Internal debate within the party was suppressed. All this didn't happen without a struggle. But by 1928 Stalin was in control. Old Bolsheviks and followers of Trotsky were exiled and later slaughtered.

The gains of 1917 were systematically destroyed, their memory erased. By 1935 abortions were illegal, marriage was once more sanctified and divorce priced beyond most people's means.

A layer of bureaucrats assumed control in the workplaces and enjoyed the wealth and privileges to go with their position.

Strikes were made illegal. Workers were not even allowed to change their jobs. In seven years from 1929 wages were cut by half.

The number locked in prison camps doing forced labour soared. By 1933 there were five million.

The needs of the mass of people were completely subordinated to the need to develop heavy industry. The labour camps, mass murders, deportations, the pact with the Nazis, were a negation of everything Lenin stood for. In place of Lenin's goal of workers' power and international revolution—with direct democracy at its heart—Stalin substituted constructing an industrial and military power based on exploitation and terror.

Stalin supplanted international socialism with state capitalism, destroying the revolution that Lenin headed in 1917. Attempts to equate Lenin with Stalin are simply a travesty of the truth.

■ BRUCE MORTON

The Workers Party

Social democracy— but not just yet?

THE events in Eastern Europe continue to have a major impact on the Workers Party.

Leading figures such as Eoghan Harris and Brian Brennan have resigned after proclaiming the "death of socialism". Eamonn Smullen, who controlled the powerful Research section of the party, has been demoted.

The former student leaders Eamonn Gilmore and Pat Rabbitte are making a bid to tighten their control.

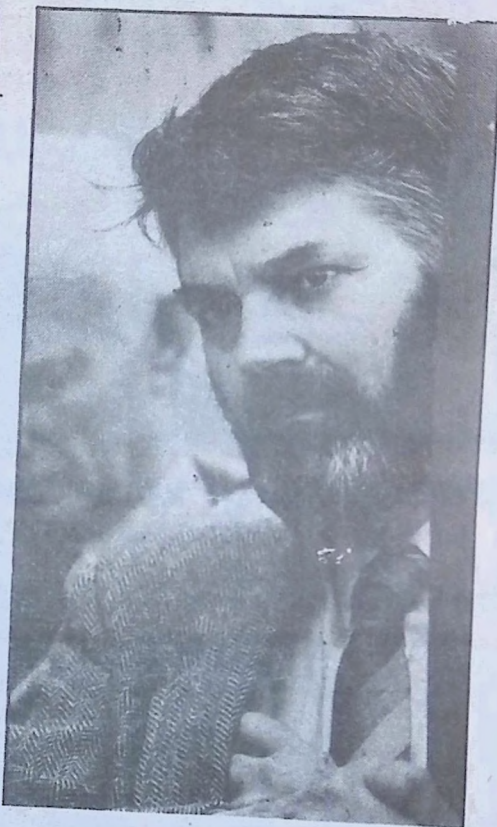
The issue involved is how to react to the collapse of the regimes which the WP has championed for two decades. The "old guard" around Harris and Smullen, who have been steeped in conspiratorial politics from the party's republican days, took to Stalinism in the late sixties like ducks to water. Here was an ideology that showed how an industrial base might be built in their country. Moreover, it provided a model of party building where total control lay at the top.

Stalinism, however, had a disadvantage in Ireland: it was a serious vote loser. Faced with this, the old guard adopted the relatively simple policy of keeping the heavy Stalinist ideology for the party cadre while winning votes on the basis of playing Ireland's clinic system of politics better than others. The result was an extraordinary cynical, manipulative approach to politics.

This was best exemplified in the General Election in 1982. Before the election the WP condemned the Russian-supported coup in Poland—but afterwards, the party explained in a letter to the Communist Party of Ireland, the *Irish Socialist*, that a "mistake" had been made. The original statement had been "rushed out" by a member who "feared that the party would suffer" if the issue was not "covered off". In fact, the letter went on, the WP supported the military regime in "socialist" Poland.

The Harris/Smullen clique believe that the same type of manipulation will allow them to overcome the likely electoral reverses they may suffer as a result of what is happening now in Eastern Europe. Thus, Harris document "The Necessity for Social Democracy" warns that "unless we break with the politics of the Irish Left, we will remain a marginal party." He advocates support for entrepreneurs like Tony O'Reilly, a tough law and order policy and an attack on the closed shop—because that is what "people" want.

HARRIS, however, has put matters far too bluntly for the



Workers Party luminaries Eamonn Smullen and Proinsias De Rossa

present leadership.

After all, many genuine working class militants with no great love for Tony O'Reilly joined the party to fight for socialism.

De Rossa and Gilmore haven't the slightest intention of defending the Red Flag. They hope to move the party to an openly social democratic position—but not by means of Harris's crude proclamations which, they believe, are made for theatre rather than serious politics.

Making Sense, the party's theoretical magazine makes it clear that the leadership line is "not to dismiss social democracy out of hand". But goes on to pose the question: "which social democracy is being proposed?" Instead of the crude manipulation of Harris, De Rossa and Gilmore would prefer the more open approach of, for example, the Italian Communist Party, which has just "dissolved" itself in order to re-form as a Labour Party-type organisation that applies for affiliation to the Second International—the body to which the Irish and British Labour Parties belong.

This more trendy, up-market version of "social democracy" is advocated in the major reply to Harris, written by Fearghal Ross and Colm Breathnach, in the current issue of *Making Sense*. They ad-

vocate a number of departures for the party.

First, Lenin is to be completely jettisoned. In the only attempt to date by the WP to explain the rise of Stalinism, they argue that the "political and strategic answers" advanced by Lenin, the "insurrectionary model" advocated in the 1920s, and the very attempt to initiate a workers' revolution in an underdeveloped country, were among the prime causes. The implicit argument is that those who advocate revolution rather than reform pave the way for dictators.

BUT the truth is that it has been the reformists of the WP—rather than the despised revolutionary "Trotskyists"—who were singing the praises of dictators like Eric Honeker of East Germany, not so long ago.

Ross and Breathnach's argument also ignores the rather simple point that Stalin had to destroy every single leader of the old Bolshevik party before he took control; that he had to make a complete break from the Bolshevik con-

cept of an international revolution in favour of Russian nationalism; that it was he, and not Lenin, who elevated into a principle a number of restrictive measures forced on the Bolsheviks by the Civil War.

Second, Ross and Breathnach, argue for a new acceptance of the market. They claim that a "regulated market economy may be a step on the road to a socialised economy". Demands for nationalisation are to be put in cold storage. This is a case of a complete flip flop.

Again it was the "Trotskyists" who always argued against the WP that nationalisation did not equal socialism. That unless it was combined with genuine workers control, it simply led to a form of state capitalism.

Nevertheless, the nationalisation of industry and a break with market economics is a pre-requisite for a move towards socialism. Anyone with eyes can now see that we are witnessing the emergence of competition on a gigantic scale by the multi-nationals in a post 1992 EEC market. Believing that an IBM or a Ford can be "regulated" by a social democratic government is pure pie in the sky.

Third, Ross and Breathnach advocate a switch away from any notion that the working class are central to the fight for socialism. They claim that the idea of "the vanguard role of the industrial proletariat" is only held by the "ultra-left" today. Instead, the WP has to build a coalition of the women's, Green, and peace movements with the workers' movement.

BUT there is, for example, no "green" movement which transcends class divisions.

There is rather a set of middle class radicals who use Green issues as the focus for arguing a new vision of a society based on small property owners.

Socialists must take up the question of the environment (which the East European regimes set out to destroy)—but by advocating a different course to suburbanite Greens like Roger Garland.

Moreover, those who break from the notion of the working class being the central agency in the fight for socialism, inevitably end up adapting to the existing system—and as a result are the first to ignore the demands of oppressed groups. In relation to women, for example, it has been the "ultra-left" with their terrible "vanguardist" notions who have championed the fight for abortion information in Ireland—when parties such as the WP have run a mile from the fight, for electoral reasons.

The course advocated by the real social democrats of the WP—the present leadership—will lead to an ever increasing shift to the right. There are already signs of that.

Throughout the unions, WP union officials are selling support for a new Programme of National Recovery on the basis of a "new realist" outlook.

In the Presidential elections in autumn, the WP are advocating support for Mary Robinson—a candidate already opposed by the Left of the Labour Party.

On the extradition issue, the party is maintaining its pro-imperialist stance by rushing in behind the Fine Gael leader Dukes, calling for a tightening up of the law after recent Supreme Court cases.

Genuine socialists in the WP must view these developments with alarm. They should start questioning the aura of paranoia and hatred that their party has advocated against the "ultra-left". After all, it has been the main instigators of that hate campaign who are now proclaiming the "death of socialism".

■ KIERAN ALLEN

SWM Annual Conference 1990

THE Socialist Workers Movement held its annual conference over the weekend of 20-22 April. Delegates from Belfast, Cork, Derry, Bray, Dublin, Waterford, Kilkenny, Dungarvin, Athlone, Navan and Limerick gathered in Dublin for a weekend of discussion, clarification of ideas and decision making about the political direction of the SWM over the coming year.

The conference began by recognising that the events of recent months in Eastern Europe can only be explained in the context of the theory of state capitalism—that the idea that these countries were socialist has been disastrous for the Left in Ireland and elsewhere.

FIGHT

The conference discussed a series of resolutions on the North, on the fight against the Programme for National Recovery in the South, Pornography and Campaign for Abortion Information and the

Marxism in the nineties



Waterford Glass strikers show the way

building of a fighting students' union.

It was agreed that the strike of Waterford

the way workers can fight passivity and take

up the struggle against any new Programme for National Recovery.

Over the coming year implementing the various decisions through the

activity of its branches throughout Ireland and in the process continuing the work of

revolutionary socialist party of the working class.

What's on: SWM meetings

The Socialist Workers Movement is a growing organisation with branches around the country which meet regularly. Those who are interested in the politics of the SWM are invited to attend these meetings.

The meetings begin with a political discussion with plenty of time for questions.

Belfast branch

Meets every Monday
see paper sellers for details

Bray Branch

Meets every second Tuesday at 8 pm in Hibernian Inn, Marine Terrace

Cork Branch

Meets every Tuesday at 8 pm in the Anchor Inn, George's Quay

Derry Branch

Meets every Tuesday at 8 pm in Dungloe Bar, Waterloo Street

Dundalk Branch

Meets every second

Tuesday at 8 pm in ATGWU, Francis Street

Dublin Branch

Meets every Wednesday at 8 pm in the Bachelor Inn, O'Connell Bridge

Kilkenny Branch

Meets every Tuesday in the Club House Hotel

For more details of regular meetings in BRAY, DERRY, DUBLIN, DUNDALK, DUNGARVIN, GALWAY, KILKENNY, PORTLAOISE AND WATERFORD contact: SWM, P.O. Box 1648, Dublin 8 or SWM, P.O. Box 418, Tomb Street, Belfast BT9 5PU.

Two new pamphlets from SWM Is Southern Ireland a neo-colony?

This is a greatly expanded version of an edition which sold out. Written by Kieran Allen, it takes up the republican argument that nationalist politics offer a solution to the economic misery of the South.

By showing how the South can no longer be regarded as a neo-colony of Britain, Allen opens the way for a clear Marxist interpretation of the national question in Ireland.

Price £1.50



Abortion: Why Irish women must have the right to choose

This is a new pamphlet written by Goretti Horgan. It takes up in detail the arguments of the anti-abortionists. It shows up the hypocritical position of the Catholic Church which has not had a consistent stance on the issue.

This first pamphlet from an Irish political organisation which openly states its case for abortion rights deserves to be widely read.

Price £1

Special Offer

Both pamphlets together for £2.50 post free from SW Books, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8.

For a full list of socialist books write to:
SW Books, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

The Socialist Workers Movement is a marxist organisation fighting for a workers' republic in Ireland and for socialism internationally.

FOR REVOLUTION, NOT REFORM

We begin from the proposition that what determines the nature of any society is the system by which its wealth is produced. In the system we live under, capitalism, production is geared to profit, not to human need. Among its inevitable features are poverty, war, racism and sexism. Capitalism cannot be destroyed and these evils thus eradicated by piecemeal reform. It can only be destroyed by revolutionary action by the class which creates all the wealth, the working class.

The machinery of the capitalist state - parliament, courts, army, police etc - is designed to protect the interests of the ruling capitalist class, not to regulate society in a neutral fashion. At most, parliament can be used sometimes, to make propaganda against capitalism. It cannot be used to smash capitalism. Only a workers' revolution can do that and establish a truly democratic society in which workers hold power directly through delegates elected from workplaces and areas and are re-callable and replaceable at any time by those who elect them.

NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR MOSCOW

This kind of socialism does not exist anywhere today. Workers do not have control in Russia, China, Cuba etc. Instead, power is held by a state-capitalist class. A workers' revolution is needed in these countries too.

We are against NATO and the Warsaw Pact and all weapons of mass destruction. We are for the right of all nations, East and West, to self-determination.

FOR AN END TO PARTITION

The Northern State was created by British Imperialism in its own interests. Sectarianism and bigotry were built into it and will continue to exist for as long as the state exists.

The marginal privileges given to Protestant workers are just that: marginal. It is in the immediate interest of Protestant as well as Catholic workers to fight against their exploitation. It is in the interest of all Northern workers to unite against the state and aim at socialism in Ireland.

We support all forces struggling against imperialism and the Northern state, regardless of differences we may have with them.

The interests of the Southern ruling class are no longer in fundamental conflict with those of imperialism. Southern capitalism is a junior player in the world capitalist system. The Southern state too, props up partition, despite occasional nationalist rhetoric.

The "national question" can be solved only by mass working class struggle against both states. Republicanism, by limiting and by appealing for all-class alliances in pursuit of this goal, can never lead the working class towards the defeat of imperialism.

FOR AN END TO ALL OPPRESSION

We oppose all forms of oppression which divide and weaken the working class. We are for full social, economic and political equality for women. We fight for free contraception, abortion on demand and the right to divorce. We oppose all discrimination against gays and lesbians. We stand for secular control of hospitals and schools. We fight for the complete separation of church and state.

FOR A FIGHT IN THE UNIONS

Trade unions exist to protect workers' interests under capitalism. The role of trade union leaders is to negotiate with bosses over workers' position within capitalism. To destroy capitalism, we need a rank and file movement in the unions separate from the leaderships and fighting for workers' interests regardless of the needs of capitalism.

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

To destroy capitalism and achieve socialism the most class conscious sections of the working class must be organised in a revolutionary party. The SWM aims to build such a party through spreading its ideas and through its activity in the working class movement.

Join us!

If you would like to join the SWM or want more details, complete and send to:

SWM PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

Please send me more details of SWM

I want to join the SWM

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....



REVIEWS

Politics of Illusion

Book: *The Politics of Illusion, Republicanism and Socialism in Modern Ireland*. Henry Patterson £7.95.

OVER the last ten years, socialists have seen the Republican movement move left, back to the centre, left again, then rapidly right again.

Many socialists have been confused by this left-right shuffle.

Some argue that socialists should join Sinn Fein to encourage it leftward. Others, like those of us writing *Socialist Worker* argue that Sinn Fein can never transform itself into a socialist organisation because Republicanism and Socialism, like oil and water, cannot mix.

Henry Patterson's new book *The Politics of Illusion* gives a historical perspective to the Sinn Fein shuffle. It charts the history of the Republican movement since the 1920's and examines the many attempts to marry nationalist and socialist politics—the development of what he calls "social republicanism".

Patterson provides a wealth of detail drawing on sources which include the writings, speeches and published interviews of "social republicans". Peadar O'Donnell to official Sinn Fein of the 70's (now the Worker's Party), Gerry Adams and today's Republican prisoners, as well as socialist critics of republicanism like Eamonn McCann writing in this paper.

Since 1918 when de Valera announced "Labour must wait" republicanism has insisted that the unity of nationalists must come before any class interest.

This meant, and still means today, that working class interests were, and are, sacrificed so as not to scare away middle-class nationalists. The Workers Republic is the declared aim but if middle class nationalists are worried by what that could mean for them, then workers will have to make do with the Republic.

The War of Independence, for example, had seen a huge upsurge in working class militancy. Strikes and occupations spread throughout the island from Belfast to Bantry. Workers raised the red flag and declared soviets in some areas. The IRA had welcomed this militancy as long as it was aimed at hampering the movement of British troops and munitions. But the response of the (still illegal) Dail to the continuing industrial struggle was to proclaim: "The present time, when the Irish people are locked in a life and death struggle with their traditional enemy, is ill-chosen for the stirring up of strife among our fellow countrymen".

Throughout Patterson's book he argues that the Republican movement cynically uses workers' struggles and socialist rhetoric when it suits it and



Republicans at Bodenstown in 1971

then abandons those struggles with equal cynicism when they prove an obstacle to "pan-nationalist unity". It seems to me that this is unfair on the Republican movement and overly simplistic in explaining why it shifts back and forward between socialist rhetoric and nationalist practice.

Republicans have never had easy lives. They have been hounded first by the British state, then by both Free State and Britain. From the 1920's they have generally been part of the oppressed classes in society. Until the 60's, small farmers and small shopkeepers were the back bone of the movement. Since the late 60's, it has been composed mainly of urban based working class people.

When they have moved left it has been because there has been a shift to the left in their class material conditions, not cynical strategy, inspire the move.

PRODUCT

However, because they are not a socialist organisation, when material conditions change and there is a rightward move in society generally, the republican movement reflects that move too.

The failure of "social republicanism" to carry through its

socialist rhetoric is inevitable. Its nationalist character holds it back all the time, stopping it from turning the war of national liberation into a class war which could end at the same time the rule in Ireland of both capitalism and its product British Imperialism.

This view of nation, not class, as the dividing line in society also explains the problems Sinn Fein are having in making a breakthrough in the South. As Patterson points out, this issue has been worrying them since the late 70's. In

RHETORIC

1976, Adams wrote that the need to look to the South means taking up issues affecting people there "issues which are linked to the national question and which can only be solved when it is solved, but issues which people do not relate as relevant to that issue".

But as Kieran Allen has shown in his pamphlet "Is Ireland a Neo-colony?" the reason workers in the South don't see any link between their everyday struggles and the national question is because there isn't any.

When they start to fight back Southern Workers come face to face not with British imperial-

ism, but with the independent Irish capitalist class. But the politics of Sinn Fein don't allow it to face up to this incontrovertible fact.

The republicans view of the South as still being dominated by British imperialism also places severe limits on what they see as the kind of society we will have in Ireland when a 32 County Republic is finally won. Patterson quotes Adam's book *A Pathway to Peace* on this subject: "The choice of the type of society chosen in that context is a matter for the Irish nation freed from outside influence".

But freed from outside influence, the ideas of "Irish nation" will still be dominated by the ideas peddled through the education system by the Catholic Church, by the anti-working class propaganda of Tony O'Reilly and his like, by the vicious anti-woman ideas of SPUC and Family Solidarity.

What comes through most of all from Patterson's book is that any politics that sees real freedom for Irish workers in anything short of the mass struggle of the working class North and, especially, South—a struggle in which all the ideas of the Church and the ruling class can be challenged as people free themselves—any such politics is the politics of illusion. ■ GORETTI HORGAN

FILMS

Reviewed by Eve Morrison *Cinema Paradiso*

CINEMA Paradiso won an Oscar this year for best foreign film—a very good choice on the part of the academy.

If you like funny, touching (but never mawkish) films like *My Life as a Dog*, you will love this film.

Directed by Guiseppe Tornatore, the film is a fond tribute to the movies—both the films themselves and the experience of going to see them.

The film follows a film maker from Rome who goes back to his home town in Sicily for the first time in 20 years. An old friend, Alfredo, who used to be the projectionist in the local cinema has died.

What follows is an extended flashback into the childhood of the film maker. It tells how he fell in love with the cinema, made friends with Alfredo and captures what a magical experience cinema was in the days before television and videos.

The film is very funny with the local characters—lovers, a madman, dozers, a priest and townspeople of a tiny Italian town—are lovingly recreated.

It features clips from dozens of classic films so dedicated cine-philes will be in their element.

It stars Phillip Noiret, Jacques Perrin and Salvatore Cascio—all of whom are excellent. Don't miss this film!

War of the Roses

WAR of the Roses is a black comedy that Rose (Michael Douglas and Kathleen Turner) from initial love to absolute breakdown.

Directed by Danny De Vito—one of the better actor/comedians in Hollywood, the film watches the couple descend into increasingly violent bickering over which one of them will get their house.

The blackness of the comedy in the film works well as you find yourself in ribbons watching two people trying to kill each other.

The picture is standard Hollywood fare in one sense—the characters are all rich and white, the film glossy and slickly put together.

But it is a much more cynical film than is usual for a mainstream love-story.

If you're looking for enjoyable and funny entertainment with a bite then this is the film for you.

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Waterford Glass fight pay cuts



"THE most important strike in the last decade" is how the strike in Waterford Glass has been described. Over two thousand workers came out when management imposed a pay cut. The Waterford Glass workers—one of the strongest groups of workers in the South—are now digging in for a major battle.

Their chief opponent is one Patrick Galvin. Galvin took over the post of chief executive of Waterford Glass with a clear mission to produce confrontation. He had previously led major attacks on workers conditions in Guinness.

Galvin provoked the dispute by doing away with the summer and Christmas bonus paid to workers. This was done without negotiations. It was aimed primarily against the cutters in the company. Galvin hoped to pick off one group of workers at a time.

The response to the strike call is already a set-back for him. At mass meetings, only ten workers in Waterford and five in Dungarvan voted against the stoppage.

Right wing politicians such as the Progressive Democrat, Martin Cullen, have attempted to smear the Glass Workers by claiming that a mass meeting is not democratic. Cullen knows very little about democracy. He is a member of the Senate—appointed by Charles Haughey,

rather than even being elected by the elite constituents.

Galvin has already made it clear that the strike is not just about the question of payment of bonuses. He wants widespread changes in work practices at Waterford Glass. His primary aim is to break the shop steward system at the different plants.

SPENDING

In an interview in the *Munster Express* he claimed that the "sixty shop stewards are spending an inordinate amount of time on union business."

He hopes to break this shop steward system in order to get a docile workforce that can produce big profits for Morgan Stanley and Tony O'Reilly.

However, the Glass workers are determined to win. In a highly organised strike, they have established numerous committees to involve workers in the running of the strike. Strong pickets and regular mass meetings are keeping workers in touch with

each other.

The legend that Waterford Glass has become for giving solidarity to other workers in strike will also work for their advantage. Across the country already—in the North and South—workers will be making collection for the Glass workers.

Management Lies

TONY O'Reilly, a major shareholder in the Glass, owns several newspapers. He will be using this "free press" to spew out lies about the Glass workers.

■ **LIE NUMBER 1: The Glass workers are overpaid**
The media is using figures that include overtime and all bonuses. They do not give the basic rate.

The Glass workers are skilled craftsmen who have often served long apprenticeships. They work on a piecework system which means that their earnings are dependent on hard work. The basic rate is moderate and has been frozen since 1987.

It has been the management who are raking off fortunes. Paddy Hayes—the last macho manager—walked away with a golden handshake of £450,000. Jim Colleran got a quarter of a million dollars when he retired from the company's American operation. Despite forcing a contributory pension scheme on workers, management pay no contributions to their pensions.

■ **LIE NUMBER 2: The workers are to blame for the poor state of the Company**

For decades the Glass workers turned in fantastic profits for the dividend holders. Now when the company is in difficulty these sharks want to blame the workers rather than take a cut in their profits.

In fact, the difficulties of the company are due to unbelievable mismanagement.

In 1987, management introduced a rationalisation programme involving 750 job losses. They had projected a sales figure of £78 million a year. In fact, sales were reaching £96 million a year and they were left understaffed. After paying out huge redundancy awards, they were forced to re-hire 300 of the redundant workers on short term contracts.

Socialist Worker says:

THE Waterford Glass workers are the best organised group of workers in Southern Ireland. They have been a beacon for solidarity. They have been the backbone of the local anti-water rates campaign; they have struck on issues such as the H Blocks or the jailings of workers. They spearheaded the PAYE tax campaign when the ICTU deserted the fight.

It is crucial therefore that they win. A defeat at Waterford Glass will lower the sights of workers throughout the country. This was already recognised when IDATU—which organises poorly paid shop workers—gave Jimmy Keely, the

Waterford Glass convenor a magnificent reception when he addressed their conference.

Every socialist and trade union militant should be working flat out to build solidarity with the strike.

■ In the Glass workers union, the ATGWU resolution should be moved for regular collections throughout the country, North the South.

■ Every Trades Council should invite a Glass speaker to address their meeting and push for solidarity.

■ The lies of O'Reilly's press must be countered by a direct appeal to the workers there.

IDATU Conference Round-up

HIGHLIGHT of the Irish Distributive and Allied Trade Union conference this year was the address by Jimmy Kelly, the Waterford Glass convenor.

Delegates gave the Glass strikers a standing ovation. A bucket collection afterwards raised £400.

One of the main issues for IDATU members themselves was the antics of Ben Dunne. Dunnes have barely tolerated the union and have a long history of victimising shop stewards.

In a new and determined move to get to grips with the company, IDATU will be organising regular national meetings of Dunnes shop stewards.

This move to building up the union on the ground floor is to be welcomed. But it also has to be linked with the thorny question of part-timers. At the moment IDATU has no part-time rate for union dues.

The result is that young workers earning as little as £10 for Saturday's work can be asked to pay over a tenth of their wage in union dues. As long as this situation exists Dunnes will always have a ready pool of non-union part-time workers. For this reason the dues for part-timers must be cut immediately.

The IDATU conference also became the first national union to officially commit itself to supporting the independent trade union of the USSR, Sotsprof.



Tony O'Reilly

In June 1989, they introduced a package to cut the wage bill by £10 million. This was agreed to by the union on the basis that it would restore company profitability and do away with the need for further attacks. Less than a year later, management are saying again that the figures are wrong

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism

Tories billion-pound con on North

THE British Tories are conning working class people in the North to the tune of a billion pounds.

The Northern Ireland Office refers constantly to its plans for helping the areas hardest hit by joblessness and poverty.

West Belfast and Derry have supposedly been marked out as "priority" areas. There are never-ending announcements of schemes, plans, surveys, allocations and grants.

But the most striking effect of all this activity is to put vast sums of money into the coffers of capitalist firms—while failing to make even a dent in the overall problem.

The two main agencies for funding economic development are the Industrial Development Board and the Local Enterprise Development Unit. Last month the Northern Ireland Economic Council published a devastating analysis of the performance of both these outfits.

The NIEC document received very little publicity. One reason for this is that all the major political parties accept the NIO's basic strategy. They argue only about the amount of overall funding which goes into it and the way grants and investments are distributed.

But the facts reveal that the strategy is fundamentally flawed.

The facts are that in the last ten years the number of manufacturing jobs in the North fell by 42,000. That's one in three of all the manufacturing jobs which existed in 1979.

All the available forecasts are for this fall to continue.

During this period—when the various announcements of "new developments" are added up—the IDB and LEDU claimed to have created 74,000 "new" jobs.

They also claimed to have "renewed or maintained" 100,000 existing jobs. Which is more than the total manufacturing employment in the North.

In the process, the IDB and LEDU spent a billion pounds sterling.

Who really benefits from the billion-pound con is clear from the fact that over the last two years (1988 and 1989) the number of jobs in manufacturing fell by 1,500—whereas manufacturing output rose by 6.8 percent.

In other words, a billion in tax-payers money has gone into enabling the bosses to get more productivity out of fewer workers.



HUME IN DERRY JOBS FRAUD

ALMOST every week over the past few months there's been a "good news" announcement about jobs coming to Derry.

The people behind the various projects are presented as benefactors coming to Derry out of the goodness of their hearts—or because John Hume has convinced them that Derry is a deserving place.

Hume and Industry Minister Needham hosted a press conference full of razzamatazz and hype to announce 500 new jobs in a Fruit of the Loom development.

It has since emerged that McCarters, who own Fruit of the Loom, are in hock to the tune of nearly a billion dollars to the "junk bond" market in the US.

We'll have to wait and see if these jobs ever materialise.

Then there's the McConnell

Brothers shopping centre—"anchored" by Marks and Spencer—about to be rubber-stamped after a phoney "public enquiry". This, so it's said, will "create" up to 350 jobs.

In the process it's likely to destroy an unknown number of jobs as smaller stores are driven out of business.

A number of "new" civil service jobs in the area have now been "announced" on three separate occasions.

Plus there's a £12 million harbour development planned for Lisahally. And 150 jobs allegedly in the pipeline for Desmond's denim factory.

The first thing every Derry worker needs to note is that no capitalist comes here to "create jobs". They come to make profit. They intend to do this by buying the labour of local people for less than the amount of wealth which the labour will produce.

If, in the process, the number of jobs in the area increases, this is to be welcomed insofar as it takes people off the dole.

But anyone who gets a job out of it shouldn't imagine that somebody's done them a favour.

In fact, WE are doing THEM a favour by providing them with the labour they make their profit from.

FIGHT

The wages and conditions that go with these jobs will be determined by the extent to which the workers concerned fight their own corner.

Hume, Richard Needham, the local Derry media etc are currently setting up a situation whereby anyone who brings up the question of wages and con-

ditions is told they might frighten the investment away—to Greece, Portugal, Eastern Europe or wherever.

Meanwhile, of course, the workers in these places are being told exactly the same.

The SWM in Derry last month called on the local trade unions to spell it out loud and clear that the interests of the workers will be defended to the full in any of these developments which come off.

For a start, it should be made clear now that the construction work on any of these sites will be fully unionised and union rates for each job paid—with nobody paid buttons because they are doing the double and can't afford to object, no abuse of ACE or YTP and so on.

If there is going to be an upswing in the local economy, let's make sure Derry workers get as big a share of the benefits as can be won.

The NEIC report called on the NIO to "recognise the failure" of the agencies' economic strategy and to initiate a "complete rethink".

This is all very well—except that the IDB and LEDU are only doing what comes naturally to

agencies of the capitalist state when dealing with the capitalist economy.

ACTIVE

What would be far more constructive would be active, mili-

tant opposition to the strategy from the trade union movement—official action against redundancies, the rejection of "flexibility" agreements, a serious campaign against privatisation schemes etc.

And in the longer term what

we need is to build a revolutionary socialist party capable of coordinating and leading all the struggles in the workplaces and communities and aiming to sweep away the whole rotten system which the NIO "strategy" reflects.