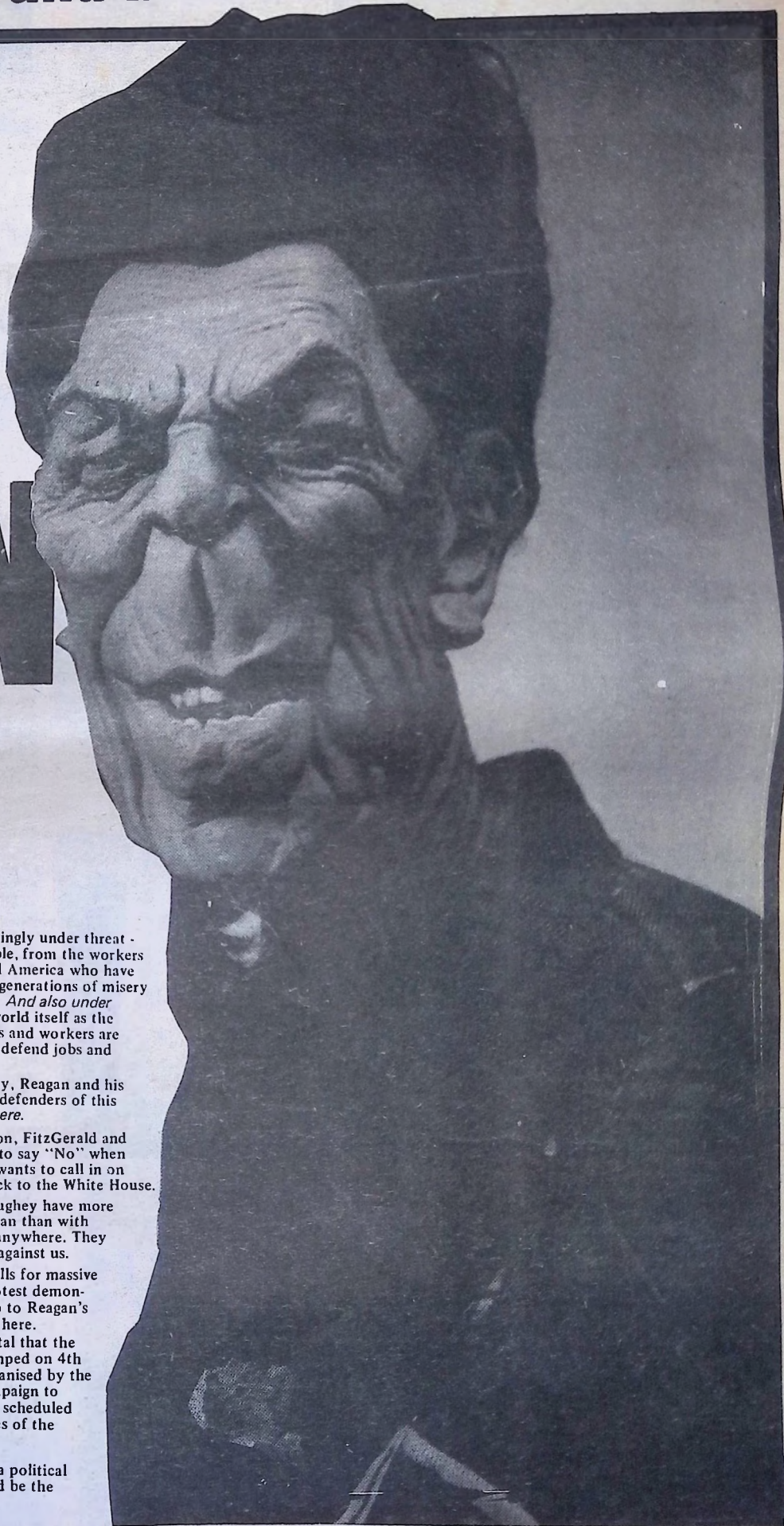


# Socialist Worker

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism

## KICK REAGAN OUT



**THE RECEPTION RONALD** Reagan gets in Ireland should make one thing clear to the world - that this man is as welcome as an outbreak of bubonic plague.

To millions of people throughout the Third World, Reagan is the very personification and never-ending source of all their political ills.

In Western Europe, he represents a nuclear strategy which could, literally, blast whole countries off the face of the earth.

In America itself he is a vicious opponent of the Trade unions and an advocate of Thatcherite economics which prop up the rich as they grind down the poor.

As far as Ireland is concerned, he is a commercial traveller for multi-national corporations which come here - not to "provide jobs" - but to suck out profits while the going is good, and then up stakes and get out when it suits them. As it has suited quite a lot of them in recent times.

On the North, he has never distanced himself from British repression, and never will.

He is coming to Ireland only because he reckons there's advantage in it for him self, that it will win him Irish American votes in November. Those who make him welcome here are part of the Reagan re-election campaign.

Those who suggest Reagan has a "soft spot" for this country are either soft in their own heads or hopeless sleeveens. The man wasn't even aware of his supposed Irish ancestry until it was pointed out to him in 1980 - when he was 69 years old!

And even then he showed no interest until another election came round.

And Ballyporeen? Reagan has had villages the size of Ballyporeen razed to the ground in Central America and the inhabitants slaughtered when he reckoned this was in the interests of capitalism.

FitzGerald and Haughey aren't rolling out the red carpet because they are ignorant of all this. They know it well, but its not particularly important to them

What's important to them is that they, too, are part of an international capitalist

system which is increasingly under threat - under threat for example, from the workers and peasants of Central America who have risen up in revolt after generations of misery and cruel exploitation. *And also under threat* in the Western world itself as the economic crisis deepens and workers are forced to fight back to defend jobs and living conditions.

At the end of the day, Reagan and his regime are the last-line defenders of this rotting system *everywhere*.

And in that situation, FitzGerald and Haughey aren't going to say "No" when Reagan tells them he wants to call in on Ireland on his way back to the White House.

FitzGerald and Haughey have more in common with Reagan than with working class people anywhere. They are all in it together - against us.

*Socialist Worker* calls for massive support for all the protest demonstrations in the run-up to Reagan's arrival and while he is here.

In particular, it is vital that the Dublin streets are swamped on 4th June for the march organised by the Reagan Reception Campaign to coincide with Reagan's scheduled "address" to the Houses of the Oireachtas.

Reagan represents a political pestilence which could be the death of us all.

Why Reagan is not welcome here

— SEE  
CENTRE  
PAGES



# The missing millions - where it all went!

NOT EVERYONE loses in a recession. Some of our very own Irish entrepreneurs are not doing too badly.

The average pay of a managing director in Ireland has been calculated at £625 a week according to a recent survey. At the other end of the pile a woman worker in the clothing industry took home a mere £79.37 a week. In other words, her managing director probably took home up to eight times more pay!

But our middle class apologists object: doesn't the managing director pay more tax. This is true. But they are also given many fringe benefits. 99% of MDs get a company car or a car allowance. A quarter of them are entitled to posh pension schemes. Two fifths of them get subsidised lunches and free medical insurance.

That medical insurance entitles them to jump queues and get better treatment than under the health service. And to help them get the best out of their medical insurance a group of consultants are

building Ireland's first luxury private hospital in Booters-town, Co. Dublin where MDs can have saunas and manicures while being treated for acute indolence.

## PROFITS

*Independent Newspapers*, headed by ace profiteer Tony O'Reilly recorded a profit of £3 million this year. He also has extensive interests in the oil industry which is set to rake in even more money.

*Allied Irish Finance* will turn in a profit of £17 million this year. Much of the profits come from diversifying abroad. They have just bought the First Bank of Maryland in America.

The other banks aren't doing too badly recently either. *Ulster Bank* made £27 million while *Northern Bank* made £12 million for the year up to 1983.

Then there is *Waterford Glass*. Their front company Avenue Investments made

£10.17 million this year. But it is not enough for the greedy slob who runs the company. The idler grandson and daughter of Joseph McGrath are putting the company on the market for a take-over. That way they would make a massive killing all at once.

*The Smurfit Group* turned in £14.2 million for the year ending January 1983. The same Mr. Smurfit has landed himself a cushy number in Telecom Eireann where he is insisting that workers now have no automatic right to their jobs.

## FIGHTING

So next time you hear that we should all tighten our belts - give them the two fingers. It is time that we started to get our share of the cake. That means fighting now for hefty wage increases to compensate for past losses.

From: *The National Crumb*, paper of the Cork Unemployed Action Group.



# Two-faced Labour

THE LABOUR Party has an amazing ability to look both ways at once.

\* It sits in a Coalition government which threatens workers who occupy their factories with the Forcible Entry Act. But in its conference it passed a resolution "saluting their struggles".

\* Its T.D.s are pledged to vote for the Criminal Justice Act - but its conference condemns the Bill.

\* In Coalition, it has locked up Nicky Kelly and thrown away the key. At conference, it demands his release.

There are two sides to the Labour Party. A corrupt careerist leadership and a rank and file with some glimmer of left wing instincts. The activists of the Party pass the left wing resolutions - but it does not make a whit of difference to how the party works. The truth is that the conferences will never control the party machine, because the party is not one that is geared to workers struggles but is purely a vote getting machine. "Revolutionary socialism" will always have a field day by way of compensation.

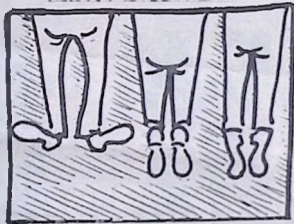
This elementary point is lost to Joe Higgins, the Militant supporter on the Party's Administrative Council. He called for the "greatest possible unity in the run-up to the EEC elections", provided there was no witch hunt of Militant.

But which comes first - the maximum unity to elect a careerist to the Euro gravy train - or a fight to split as many as possible from the bankrupt policies of Spring and friends.



BIG Boss Man, Tony O'Reilly

Annual GARDAI CONFERENCE



GARDAI VOTED FOR THE RETURN OF THE DEATH PENALTY  
130 VOTED FOR 3 LORDS HUMANIST

AT THEIR annual conferences recently the Gardai made it clear that they're not happy with the Criminal Justice Bill. It doesn't give them enough power, they say. And they went further. By a vast majority - with only three against - they called for the maintenance of capital punishment.

It's not enough that already they can lift people for up to 40 hours without charging them with anything. It's not enough that they can beat people up, force "confessions" out of them and put them away for a few years on the word of an inspector.

Of course, all the major parties agreed that this wasn't enough, that the cops should have more power. So they brought in the Criminal Justice Bill - a vicious, repressive piece of legislation which will certainly mean increased harassment for kids in the inner city, for workers on strike and for all socialists and republicans.

But the cops want even more. They know that they're above the law at present but they want the law brought into line with their practice - just in case some zealous judge forgot what his job really is and gave one of them a taste of their own medicine.

In the past, the Offences Against the State Act gave them fantastic powers to use against republicans and subversives. Now as unemployment becomes a permanent reality in the South, they want those powers extended to everybody. Which proves a point: every time the state gets away with repressing a minority of political activists the poison of repression grows throughout the whole of society. That is why the Criminal Justice Bill must be fought hand in hand with a defence of all those labelled "subversives".

# Teach yourself MARXISM



WORKERS' revolutionary potential lies in the collective nature of their struggle

# Why workers are powerful

THE WHOLE history of mankind has been a history of class struggle. Right down through the ages oppressed classes have fought to liberate themselves from the ruling minorities - but have always failed. Only with the development of capitalism is it now possible for the complete emancipation of the oppressed classes to become a reality.

Under other societies - Feudalism, slave society etc., there were always attempts at liberation, but it was impossible to achieve socialism because of the position of the oppressed classes - mostly peasants, slaves and artisans, unprepared by their daily lives to take control of society.

The majority were illiterate, they had little idea of what things were like outside of their own immediate locality and, above all, their everyday life divided them against each other. Each peasant had to worry about their own plot of land; each craftsman about his own small business; each was to some extent in competition with the other, not united with them. Capitalism changed all that. Its competitive nature and the need to produce quicker and cheaper to gain a bigger slice of the market meant bringing workers together into factories, educating them to operate the machines.

Capitalism makes workers co-operate every day at work. Each person on an assembly line has to do her/his bit if the next is to be able to do theirs. Each typist types her/his part of a report before someone else photocopies it and someone else collates and binds it. Those of us who have jobs co-operate with other workers every day.

All this means that the working class can be a force which not only rebels against existing society but can organise itself, electing and controlling its own forms of government, so as to change society in its own interests and not just set up another Taoiseach or group of bankers.

And of course, workers have the power to stop producing, to stop industry, turn off the lights, to grind the wheels that run society to a halt.

Most of the time, workers don't believe that they have this power - after all we're constantly being told that we're only able to follow orders - that's the message of the television, the papers etc.

But there is one point at which workers challenge this idea - when the collective power that runs factories, offices, hospitals and railways is used to stop them. Lenin said that every strike, however limited its goal, carries within it the embryo of socialism.

After all, what is socialism? With the frills removed, it is people collectively running society. Instead of being caught up in the chaos of capitalist competition and the mad rush for profit at any cost, it is working together for the common good. Our tremendous cooperative power would be controlled, not by a ruling class looking for profits, but democratically and for the fulfillment of human needs.

This doesn't mean that strikers set out consciously with socialist goals in mind. But collective action is the only way to win a strike, so the logic of workers position under capitalism - collective action in production, collective action in struggle - takes us in a socialist direction.

And once involved in struggle, peoples ideas change. They gain confidence, gain a sense of their ability to change their own lives, their ability to control things. That's why many workers who start out on strike with very sexist and racist ideas find these ideas challenged by their experience in struggle. Often even experienced revolutionaries are amazed by how quickly workers lose these ruling class ideas.

That's why we in the SWM get involved in workers struggles. Because only in struggle can significant numbers of people be won to socialist ideas. And that's why Marx said that "the emancipation of the working class can only be brought about by the working class themselves".

PADDY CARROLL



# "POWER TO THOSE WHO WORK" - PORTUGUESE REVOLUTION 1974



"THE REVOLUTION will never happen here" socialists are often told. But just ten years ago Portugal, a country very similar to Ireland, came close to the brink. Patsy Moran looks at a struggle that had the bosses of Europe shaking in their boots.

FOR OVER ten years the fascist regime in Portugal had been suffering military setbacks and defeats in a colonial war in Angola and Mozambique. Even the boss class in Portugal came to believe that keeping their colonies in Africa was too costly. On 25th April 1974 the fascist regime of Salazar and Caetano was overthrown.

The immediate victors of the revolution were the Armed Forces Movement (MFA). The MFA was an organisation of 500 lower ranking conscript officers. Many of them were ex-students who had opposed the regime and had seen the stupidity of the colonial wars but they were not by any means all left wingers.

Once the old regime was destroyed, the working class of Portugal began to move. There was a mass purge of the secret police - the PIDE. And it did not stop there. The purge was carried into the factories. Any manager that had supported the old regime was driven out. When the bosses replied with a wave of redundancies, the factories were occupied and run under workers control. The workers demanded nationalisation under workers control.

"We do not have any



LISBON, 1975... a packed football stadium.

illusions in workers management under capitalism. But we want the factory nationalised as an emergency solution. And we do not want any phoney nationalisation that only helps the bosses" (quote from the workers of the Nefil Furniture factory).

Empty buildings and luxury hotels were taken over. In the Hotel Correios the occupation committee said: "The working people will devote their time to transforming this luxurious hotel complex of the rich into a place for workers to enjoy themselves - into a people's canteen, a child care centre and an old people's centre".

As a response to this wave of working class militancy, the Socialist and Communist Parties were asked to join the Provisional government on 9th May. Immediately, the CP in particular set out to denounce workers in struggle. Striking bakery workers were denounced as fascists. Postal workers were attacked for demanding a 35 hour week.

The boss class became increasingly worried. Two attempted coup were launched from the right. After the second failure in March 1975, the working class grew in confidence. More factories were taken over. The massive landed estates in Alentejo were expropriated as co-operatives. The paratroopers who were sent to carry out the coup fraternised with the workers. The army barracks of Lisbon had become infected with revolutionary ideas. The soldiers who had previously

fought a dirty colonial war in Africa issued proclamations saying: "We demand the immediate execution of fascists and their accomplices, whether or not they are officers whether or not they are generals...The Soldiers are the Sons of the People". (Lisbon Light Infantry Regiment)

The state was losing control; a sharp difference developed at the top. The CP began to find a balance between the demands of its working class base and its role in government. Its objective was proclaimed to be the democratic revolution - not the socialist revolution.

The Socialist Party moved rightwards. They demanded that the occupied radio stations and newspapers be handed back to their owners. They worked closely with the right wing of the MFA. In Northern Portugal, which was mainly rural, they helped organise attacks on the CP's headquarters.

By 1975, the situation in Portugal was complex. The

CP and the left of the MFA supported workers struggles to some extent - but also wished to subordinate the working class to the rule of the MFA. The CP's slogan was for 'unity between the people and MFA'. This led to a major problem. The revolutionary left had limited influence in the working class movements. They argued for the formation of workers councils where the class could organise themselves independently of the MFA. They managed to organise a demonstration of 40,000 in Lisbon to support the formation of workers councils. An organisation to link the most militant factories - the Inter Empresa - was formed.

But those embryos of workers democracy organised only the militant minority of the class. The importance of workers councils is that they pull in the most conservative elements of the class, as well as the most militant, that they unite all political parties in the class - because everyday they prove that workers can solve the concrete problems

of revolution. But the influence of the CP ensured that most workers thought it sufficient to look to the left of the MFA to carry through the revolution.

A revolution that stagnates is bound to be destroyed. Without workers councils, without the prospect of decisive measures to solve the crisis, the wavering elements move to the right. By May 1975, the Socialist Party had a huge majority at the polls.

Their base was amongst the farmers of the North. The CP and the MFA had made lots of promises to these farmers but had done nothing to improve their conditions. The farmers could have been provided with cheap credit, with tractors from the factories which once made luxury cars, with a guaranteed price for their products - but only if power rested in the workers councils and not with left sounding army officers.

In November 1975, a preemptive right wing coup ended all the to-ing and fro-ing and imposed a state of emergency.

There was no co-ordinated response. In fact, the CP argued against strike action. The left wing barracks were isolated. The power of the state machine was re-imposed. Mario-Soares, the leader of the Socialist Party eventually came to power. The bosses of Europe were triumphant.

The lessons for today are clear. There is a need for a very different party to the CP or the SP. A party that could recruit the most class conscious workers; a party that gave a lead on the sectional and national struggles; a party that saw its job as organising the class to take state power. In Portugal such a party would have fought the illusion of looking to the left of the MFA and instead sought to build workers councils from the immediate struggles and the fight against reaction.

Portugal also shows that anyone who talks about bringing socialism from above will never bring socialism at all. There should be no stopping a revolutionary process with talk of artificial stages, like calling for a "democratic", not socialist revolution.

## Nicaragua

# Under siege

THE REVOLUTIONARY regime in Nicaragua is under siege.

The USA has mined the ports of Corinto, El Bluff and Puerto Sandino. Nine thousand 'contras' - American financed right wing guerrillas, regrouped from ex-dictator Somoza's infamous National Guard - are occupying areas in the north near their bases in Honduras. Five thousand other 'contras' have attacked from the south, overrunning the town of San Juan del Norte. More than a thousand people have died in attacks from the contras in recent weeks, and the Nicaraguan army is stretched to the limit.

## TOPPLE

The aim is simple - it is to topple the government prior to the Nicaraguan and American elections, both scheduled for November.

If that fails, then according to diplomatic sources quoted in the *Sunday Times*, the idea is to "cause so much internal unrest that Nicaragua will be unable to lift its state of emergency and will be forced to postpone the election". Reagan would then be able to persuade congress to provide really massive military might to bring down the government.

cannot be harvested due to the war.

The "contras" could not survive without American aid. According to *Jane's Defence Weekly* the value of US financial support to the various "contra" forces to date has been estimated at over \$55 million. Their aim is the overthrow of the regime because it threatens their imperialist domination of the region.

## CONCESSIONS

Unfortunately, the left-nationalist regime in Nicaragua has already been making concessions in a desperate bid

to defend itself. At the end of last year, it offered an amnesty to some "contras", gave guarantees to private landowners and kicked out representatives of the Salvadoran guerrilla movement.

## SPREADING

The best hope of the Nicaraguan revolution's survival lies in spreading it beyond its own borders. That is why the decision to expel the Salvadoran and cut off aid is an extremely retrograde step.



POPULAR support for the revolution



# WHY YOU SHOULD

## The NATO connection

REAGAN'S visit to this country has received a lot of support from the Fianna Fail party.

At their last Ard Fheis, Haughey called on Reagan to come out in favour of Irish unity. But he is not alone in his call. The constitutional nationalists - FF, FG, Lab, SDLP - of the "New Ireland Forum" haven't a clue what to do once their report is published. If they have any strategy at all, it is to look for American support as a lever on the British ruling class.

There is some little reason for their optimism. The British and American ruling classes have different interests - despite their close world alliance. Traditionally, the Tories in Britain are tied up with the captains of Orange industry and the defence of the Northern state.

For the Americans, even more than the British, the main concern is the stability of the South. American capital plays an increasingly important role south of the border. One third of all manufacturing workers are employed by American companies. The attraction of the South to date has been the absence of any strong left wing or radical nationalist force.

William Shannon, the US ambassador in Dublin in 1978, said as much: "In other places, 30% of the population are voting communist. All the leading parties in this country are sympathetic to private enterprise - so that an American does not have the fear that his operation might be nationalised".

But things are changing. The growth of support for militant republicanism North of the border has set alarm bells ringing in Dublin, London and Washington. Prior has already warned that if the growth of the Provos is not checked, Ireland may become the "Cuba of Europe".

But what can American involvement offer the constitutional nationalists? In the short run, nothing. The Forum is a farce. Its aim is to save the SDLP but it has no way of doing this. The reason is simple. The Northern state is irreformable. Any attempt to resolve the crisis on a capitalist basis can only mean either increased repression against the Catholic community or withdrawal of the guarantee to the unionists.

Either alternative would plunge the country into instability. The politicians of the Forum won't go down that road at present. Both the British and Irish ruling classes have no choice but to contain the Northern crisis by a series of short term measures and adjustments.

But in the longer term, they cannot stand idly by as the Provos grow in strength. That's where the Americans come in. They can be invoked as mediators between the ruling class of the South, who are subject to nationalist pressure, and their British counterparts. In the process the sham cover of Irish neutrality could be thrown to the winds in a settlement that offers some form of unity for membership of NATO.

This option is already popular with Fianna Fail. Their protests about infringements on "Irish neutrality" are basically that it is being sold too cheap. They have repeatedly stressed that neutrality was not designed by De Valera and Lemass as a gesture towards international peace. It was a protest against partition. So, when the US invaded Grenada, the FF spokesperson, Brian Lenihan, slammed the mild mannered objections of FitzGerald, reminding him that we are dependent on US investment.

There will be sections of the Republican movement who will not be adverse to American involvement - provided the republican role is duly recognised. Despite recent influxes of left wingers the Provos remain an organisation concerned to free a nation rather than a class.

Revolutionary socialists start out from a different point of view. We are concerned with the "national question" insofar as it involves the struggle of Catholic workers

against discrimination and bigotry. We support that struggle because it is a prerequisite for working class unity on this island. But a united capitalist Ireland offers nothing to the mass of workers but the unity of the Northern and Southern dole queues. If we got a United Ireland on



It is vital that massive numbers of people turn out and show that Ronald Reagan is not welcome in Ireland. Reagan's military machine is propping up murderous right-wing regimes all over the world. His warmongering brings us closer to nuclear holocaust every day.

Reagan's visit to Ireland has two main aims - to help him win the Irish /Catholic vote in the US so he can continue his policies for another four years. It is also designed to bring Ireland closer to NATO.

The main arguments used to say we should welcome this nuclear terrorist to Ireland are that American investment provides jobs here and that Reagan might help bring about a united Ireland. In this feature we show that US capital invests in Ireland only for the huge profits which they are able to get out of Irish workers and we look at what Reagan might do on the North.

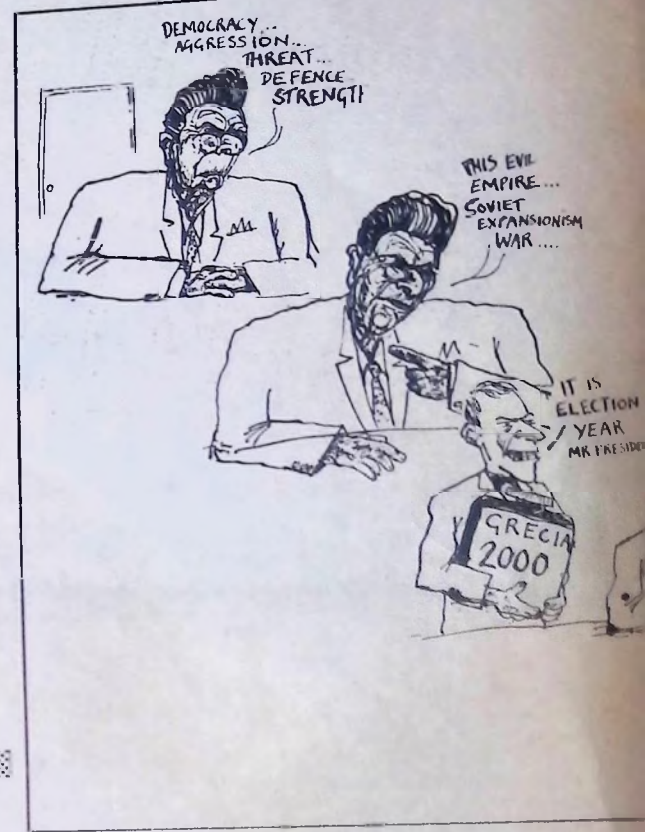
In the US itself, Reagan has been trying to smash the labour movement. His policies have hit American workers with the same ferocity as workers all over the world who are exploited by the American ruling class.



"I will be back..." said Kennedy when he left Ireland. He couldn't make the return gig but his buddy and successor Reagan is coming to finish the job.

American terms, it could only mean that the Cruise missile would be our new symbol.

Our position remains the same as the left wing faction of the Republican Congress: the only united Ireland worth fighting for is a united socialist Ireland. Reagan will never play a useful role in that fight.



## Kicking Ro

WHEN WE SAY that we're against Reagan and American imperialism, people sometimes think this means we're against Americans. Not so. We're against the American ruling class - the tiny minority of American capitalists who exploit not only the workers of Central America, Philippines, etc, but also exploit the mass of working people in the US itself.

So in being against the American ruling class, we are in fact on the side of the vast majority of Americans - the workers who produce America's wealth.

### CUTS

And there is no doubt that the American working class is under attack from the ruling class of that country. Reagan has presided over much of that attack. He cut \$25 billion from social spending - welfare, unemployment benefits and food stamps have all been slashed. This \$25 billion cut during the worst recession in the US since the 1930s, is the exact sum which the US administration is pouring into military "aid" to the murderous right-wing regimes in Central America.

This attack on the working class did not start under Reagan. In 1979 workers at Chrysler car factories were forced to accept a drop in wages to about \$2.50 per hour

less than other car workers. Of course, this led the other main car makers to insist their workers agree to "concession contracts" as well.

### PATCO

Reagan stepped up the attack in 1981 when he fired 12,000 air traffic controllers in the PATCO strike. The smashing of this strike set the pattern for what followed. Less than 18% of the workforce are now unionised. Attempts to organise workers in the electronics industries





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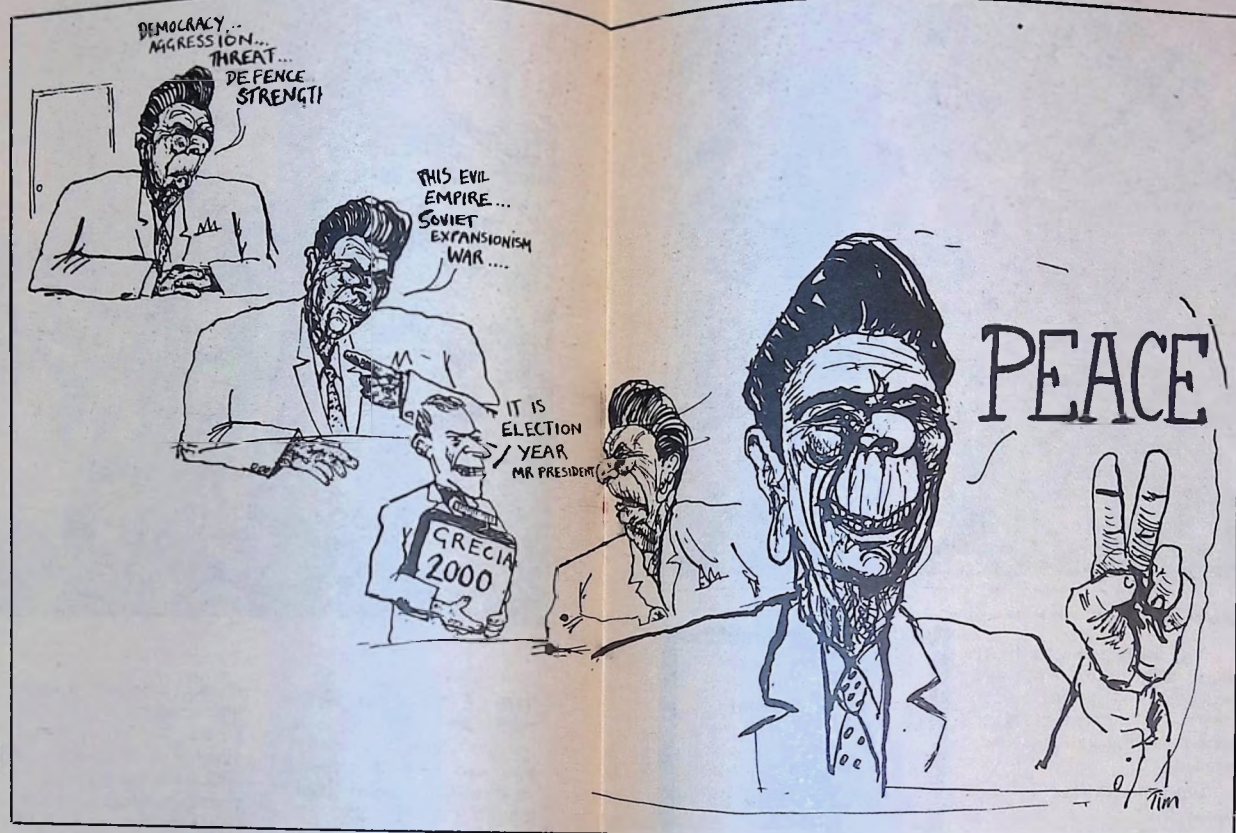
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## Making

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When Ronald Reagan arrives  
even more subservient hosts.  
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Today a third of Irish work  
owned companies. American  
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come from American investme  
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# Kicking Ronnie in the teeth

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have largely failed. Companies  
have deliberately closed down  
factories in the North and  
East to relocate in the non-  
unionised South.

As workers became demor-  
alised, the number of strikes  
dropped to the lowest level  
since 1942. Then last year, the  
steel workers accepted a wage  
cut of \$1.25 an hour and  
agreed that wages would  
return to 1982 levels only  
in 1986. And last November,  
saw the smashing of the  
militant Greyhound bus  
workers who were forced to  
accept a 13% cut in wages.

## How to fight Multi-nationals

THE flood of foreign invest-  
ment into this country has  
brought two conflicting res-  
ponses from the left.

On one hand, the Workers  
Party and most of the trade  
union leadership have gone  
out of their way to welcome  
the development. The Workers  
Party have even claimed that  
foreign capital plays a more  
progressive role than native  
Irish capital. In Galway, recent-  
ly, their members camp-  
aigned for the introduction  
of a Tesco shopping centre  
as against one run by the  
local 'petty bourgeois Irish  
shop keepers'.

That type of politics leads  
to collaboration with the bos-  
es. It goes more than half way

Meanwhile, unemployment  
has climbed to the highest  
level since the war. And being  
unemployed in the US is an  
even worse fate than here in  
Ireland. 45% of the jobless  
there are either ineligible or  
have run out of unemploy-  
ment benefit and so are  
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CUL DE SAC

The truth is there is no  
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# D HATE REAGAN

## Making a fast buck

JOHN F KENNEDY'S visit to Ireland in 1963 marked the opening of a new phase in Southern Irish history. It co-incided with the decision to throw open the Republic to foreign investment. When Ronald Reagan arrives in June of this year, he'll be met by even more subservient hosts. Since the early sixties American capital has penetrated every sector of Irish life.

Today a third of Irish workers are employed by foreign owned companies. American companies dominate. In 1981, for example, 70% of the jobs the IDA was planning for, were to come from American investment. Banks such as Chase Manhattan are taking a bigger share of the cake.

The Coalition and Fianna Fail would argue that the partnership with American capital has been fruitful. It certainly has been for the rich backers of those parties. Native Irish capitalism was dying on its feet in the fifties. The attempt to found an independent Gaelic capitalist Ireland had been a miserable failure. Today the most dynamic areas of Irish capitalism are those which are most closely tied to the foreign sector.

But it has not been the same for Southern workers. In order to attract foreign capital and to revive native capitalism, the Southern state devised the most generous incentive packages in the world. Corporation Profits Tax is set at 10% (zero after a fast accountant gets to work); there is a 100% grant for training companies are offered ready-made factory buildings and subsidised rent. They have full freedom to repatriate their profits. Last year £300 million was moved out of the country with the Irish government even knowing.

The result is that the tax burden falls on Irish workers. Just consider one simple fact. 40% of Irish workers pay more than the standard rate of tax. In any other country that level of taxation would mean a high level of social services. Yet this country has the lowest record in public home building and the

most overcrowded classrooms in Europe

Foreign capital has been more favourably placed to take advantage of the no-holds-barred free-enterprise climate. Native Irish capitalism takes the higher proportion of grants—but still manages to have a far higher rate of bankruptcies. Three years ago, Garret Fitzgerald boasted in America that U.S. investment in Ireland was making a 30% rate of profit. Almost by way of reply, the chief executive of Johnston Wax said: "In the U.S. if we had a 20% return we would be delighted."

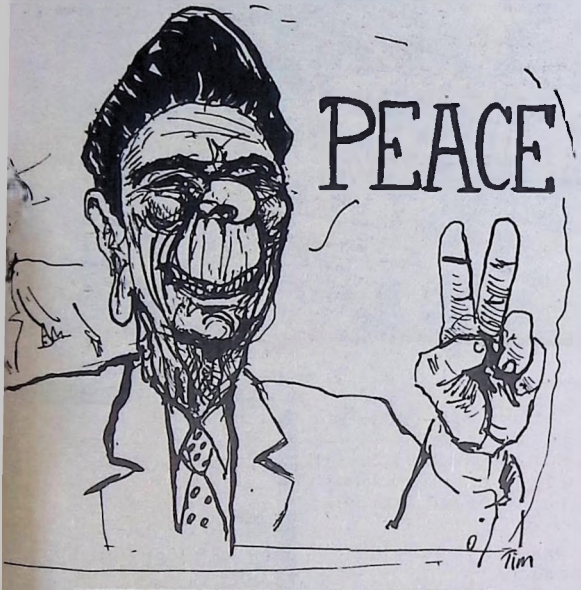
There are no accurate figures on the scale of U.S. profits in Ireland. Money streams back and forth within the multi-nationals and the figures are cooked for tax reasons. But the most reliable are the U.S. Department of Commerce calculations that American companies made \$570 million in Ireland in 1981 and \$615 million in 1982. If that were true then over one third of all profits in Ireland are made by U.S. companies.

Many of those companies have a vicious anti-union record. Digital, Wang, McDonalds, General Electric are just some of the names who have fought hard against union membership. Many more have been persuaded to accept unions only on the basis of sweet-heart deals provided by the ITGWU. At one stage, every single worker in the Shannon industrial estate had to be a member of the ITGWU. In return, the union guaranteed never "to interfere with management prerogatives." In other words, to keep the union off the shop-floor except for the occasional visit of the official.

Quote — The advantages of Ireland.

"In other places 30% of the population is voting communist. All the leading parties in this country are sympathetic to private enterprise — so that an American does not have the fear that the operation might be nationalised."

—William V Shannon, Ambassador to Ireland in 1978.



## nie in the teeth

largely failed. Companies deliberately closed down factories in the North and to relocate in the non-unionised South.

As workers became demoralised, the number of strikes dropped to the lowest level since 1942. Then last year, the steel workers accepted a wage cut of \$1.25 an hour and agreed that wages would turn to 1982 levels only in 1986. And last November, after the smashing of the militant Greyhound bus workers who were forced to accept a 13% cut in wages.

Meanwhile, unemployment has climbed to the highest level since the war. And being unemployed in the US is an even worse fate than here in Ireland. 45% of the jobless there are either ineligible or have run out of unemployment benefit and so are condemned to welfare programmes that are at the "discretion" of individual states and in many cases, they have to look for charity.

### POVERTY

The official estimates say that there are 35 million people in the US living below

the poverty with another 40 million living just on or above it. That's why the soup kitchens were set up and proved so popular - because people were actually starving!

### WOMEN

Oppressed groups suffer most. Women can no longer get abortions on Medicare in most states; at the same time the cuts have virtually taken away all single parent allowances. Roughly half of all black youth are unemployed, the average wage for black workers is 60% that for whites

and 32% of black families live below the official poverty line.

But its not all gloom and doom. With the slight recovery in the economy over the last months, workers are looking for some share of the increased profits. Many American workers oppose Reagan's policies abroad and there is an ever growing layer of workers who reject Reagan, reject the "concession contracts", reject the arms build up. This rejection cannot but continue to grow in the future.

GORETTI HORGAN

## How to fight Multi-nationals

THE flood of foreign investment into this country has brought two conflicting responses from the left.

On one hand, the Workers Party and most of the trade union leadership have gone out of their way to welcome the development. The Workers Party have even claimed that foreign capital plays a more progressive role than native Irish capital. In Galway, recently, their members campaigned for the introduction of a Tesco shopping centre as against one run by the local 'petty bourgeois Irish shop keepers'.

That type of politics leads to collaboration with the bosses. It goes more than half way

with the argument that nothing should be done to frighten away investment. The influence of those politics was seen clearly in the tax campaign. The obvious demand of that campaign should have been to tax the bosses—native and foreign. Instead the campaign was diverted on to an attack on 'the farmers block' or the 'professional classes'. In fact on to every other group but the real culprits.

### NATIONALIST

The other response has been equally confused. Sinn Fein and the Communist Party argue that the multi-nationals are responsible for all our ills.

Foreign investment is signalled out for attack. It is conveniently forgotten that

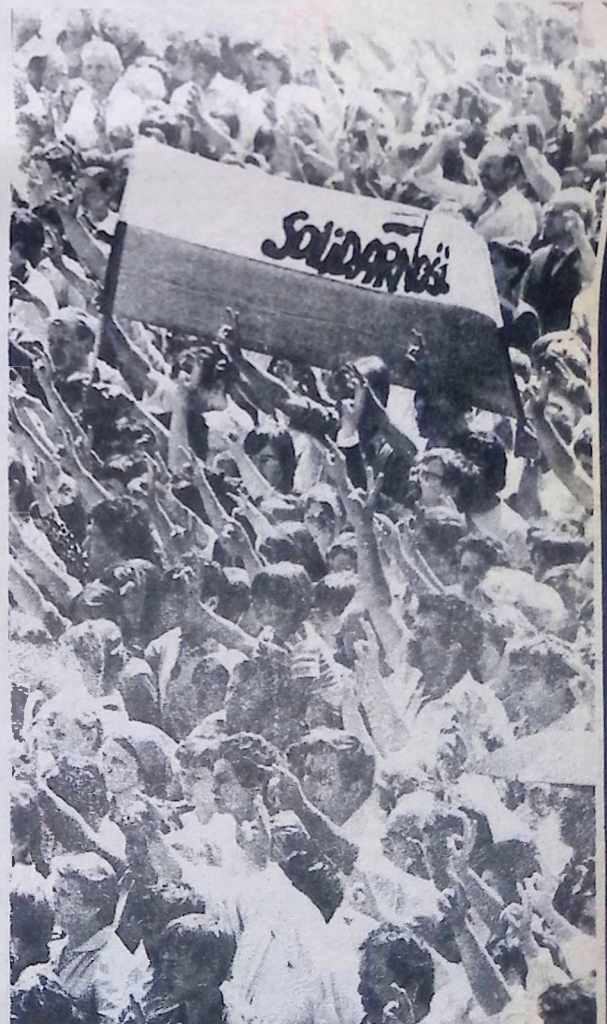
native Irish 'entrepreneurs' gain as much from the free hand outs and grants. The unspoken hope is that there is still a viable road for an independent capitalist development—or at least one propped up with a heavy dose of state industry.

### CUL DE SAC

The truth is there is no national capitalist road. Irish capitalism can only survive through its alliance with the multi-nationals. The alternative of state capitalism would meet the exact same problems as De Valera's attempt to construct an independent economy behind the tariff walls.

Capitalism today is organised on a world scale. The

integration of Ireland into the world economy is irreversible. Furthermore, workers can have no control over where investment comes from in this society. For those reasons socialists should be opposed to the multi-nationals to the extent that they are opposed to capitalism in general. We are for organising against every boss—native or foreign. We are not for expelling foreign investment simply to be left with the gombeens. We are opposed to all subsidies to the capitalist class. When the IDA claims that they won't come to this country without subsidies we have to reply that there are many sweatshops who claim they will close down on the very hint of a union in their



**HYPROCRITE:** Reagan "supported" Solidarity in Poland but smashed the air traffic controllers union PATCO job.

Our hope lies not in retreating to the Ireland of the fifties—but in developing solidarity with workers in America, Britain and throughout

the world who today confront many of the same bosses as ourselves.

KIERAN ALLEN



# MORRISON MISSES OUT ON MARX

IF THE PROVOS won the war tomorrow, would that make England free?

An odd sort of question, it was brought up by Danny Morrison in *Republican News* in April.

Morrison was reviewing Geoff Bell's recent book, "The British in Ireland - a suitable case for withdrawal". And he mentioned that one of the book's weaknesses is that it doesn't "irrefutably demonstrate Marx's axiom... that a 'nation which enslaves another cannot itself be free'". Morrison says that he doesn't know the answer and he reckons Bell doesn't either.

Danny's got a point here. But it's not the point he thinks he has.

He writes: "While the MPLA and FRELIMO's guerilla wars of attrition in Africa certainly were crucial to the April 1974 revolution in Portugal, a string of other successful national liberation struggles this century meant no tangible changes domestically for the particular imperialist power.

"OK, Vietnam and Watergate clipped a foot or two off Nixon's nose and curtailed the United States' global adventures for a period, but decolonisation, unless it occurs traumatically and at a time of crucial political upheaval for the imperialist power, can be accommodated with few revolutionary dividends".

This is all true but its beside the point - and not very close beside it either.

## EXPLOITATION

Marx didn't mean and no Marxist has ever suggested, that once a nation stops directly exploiting other nations it automatically becomes free of exploitation itself. Indeed, if this were the case it would follow that a nation which isn't into colonial exploitation at all couldn't be into exploitation at home either.

It would mean that there was no exploitation in Sweden, say, or Mexico or Austria. None of these countries have "foreign possessions". But in different ways and with different degrees of ferocity the working class of Sweden, Mexico and Austria are exploited by their "own" capitalists.

What Marx was getting at was not that nations exploit nations but that classes exploit classes.

## CLASS

The British nation as a whole never exploited the Irish nation as a whole. Even at times when British rule in Ireland was at its most savage and every last possible ounce of wealth was being drained out of the country, the mass of the British people were

*I have become more and more convinced - and the only question is to drive this conviction home to the English working class - that it can never do anything decisive here in England until it separates its policy with regard to Ireland most definitely from the policy of the ruling classes, until it not only makes common cause with the Irish, but actually takes the initiative in dissolving the Union, established in 1801, and replacing it with a free, federal relationship. And this must be done, not as a matter of sympathy with Ireland but as a demand made in the interests of the*

*English proletariat. If not, the English people will remain tied to the leading strings of the ruling class, because it will have to join with them in a common front against Ireland"*

(from "Marx and Engels: Selected Correspondence).

living wretched lives of unrelenting misery and could in no sense have been described as "exploiters". On the contrary, they were being exploited - and by the same class of people who were exploiting Ireland.

And at the same time there were in Ireland Irish people who did not groan under the weight of British exploitation, but who rather participated in it and grew fat on the proceeds.

It is true, of course, that the fact that the wealth extracted from Ireland - and from all over the rest of the colonial world - was available to the British ruling capitalist class made it easier for them to pay some out to the British working class in order to buy off working class discontent.

But insofar as this happened, insofar as British workers won anything, it was as a result of their own struggle against the capitalist class, not something which automatically came to them as a direct consequence of British rule in Ireland.

## ANTI IMPERIALIST

What Marx was getting at was that where you have a situation in which one nation is under the control of the other, it follows that the nation doing the controlling is itself divided into classes with one class exploiting the mass of the people. And that it is therefore in the interests of the mass of the people - the workers - in the imperialist country to support the anti-imperialist struggles of the subject nation. Because the anti-imperialist struggle is aimed against the very people who are exploiting them too.

Another aspect of this is that no socialist state could possibly exploit another

country. Because the very process of workers coming to power would involve the destruction of the exploiting class. And workers can only do this and come to power when they are conscious of their own interests - conscious among other things, of their own identity of interest with those who suffer under the colonial yoke.

## SOCIALIST

In a socialist state there would be no exploiting class, no exploitation. That's what socialism means. (Which, incidentally, is another reason for rejecting the bizarre notion that Russia is socialist).

Danny Morrison doesn't see this. (And he's quite right in suggesting that Geoff Bell, in his generally admirable book, doesn't seem to see it either). This is not because Morrison is stupid or reactionary or lacking in sight. To be fair, he is none of these things. But he is a Republican.



British miners in revolt against the Thatcher government - the same regime that oppresses the North.

And the crucial distinction between Republicans and socialists is that socialists start from the proposition that the fundamental divide in our society is between classes while Republicans start from the proposition that the fundamental divide is between nations.

And unless the class divisions within both the colonial and colonised nations is at the centre of your analysis, Marx's axiom will indeed make no sense at all.

But it makes sense to socialists.

EAMONN McCANN

**Discussion meeting**  
*"Are we for a United Ireland"*  
**Speaker:**  
**Paddy Carroll**  
 in Rob Roy Pub  
 Cork  
**Thursday 17th May**

# The Sexual Revolution

NOT MANY people today will have heard the name of Alexandra Kollantai. But in Russia in 1917, at the height of the revolution, it was a name on everyone's lips.

She spoke at the ship yards, in the canteens, to the soldiers in the barracks, to the soviets, to the women textile workers and the wives of soldiers and workers. She moved waverers to support the revolution and had no truck with those who said that a democratic parliament was enough to fight for.

She, along with the Bolsheviks, Lenin and Trotsky, argued for workers power, for workers to build the soviets (workers councils) to secure that power.

Russia was changing in front of people's eyes. From an authoritarian Czarist regime, workers councils became the norm. From fighting the Czars war, workers came to fight their own, against the white armies that tried to snatch back the gains of the revolution. From believing that a woman was a wife a family always a family and women the second sex, people came to see a very different reality.

Women had played a role right at the front of the revolution. Women textile workers and soldiers wives had triggered off the revolution in February. Women began to take part in meetings of the Soviets - the decision making bodies of the emerging workers state.

Amid all these changes, the family changed too. The old chains began to break.

The family as a refuge, as a means of rearing the next generation of workers, became redundant. People began to have a choice about how they lived their personal lives. Local canteens enabled women to be freed from the imposed chore of daily cooking. Child care facilities were provided and the provision of abortion on demand meant that pregnancy was a positive choice. The Bolshevik government did more than any other in history to free women of their oppressive role of home builder and child rearer.

These two short pamphlets of Kollantai's - *Communism and the Family and Sexual Relations and Class Struggle* - reflect these changes. They tell of how the family changed after the revolution, of how people need not fear these changes. Under capitalism, she explains, the family is a privatised individual unit that thinks only of its own needs. Under socialism, however the role of child rearing and domestic work can be a collective responsibility, rather than an individual imposition. The burden and drudge of domestic solitude is lifted and workers freed to make choices about their children and their own personal lives.

Sexual relationships, with out the pressures of capitalism, are also transformed. In *Sexual Relations and the Class Struggle* she says that under capitalism, the idea of your partner being your private property and of

women's inferior role, plague sexual relationships. Socialism relieves people of the pressure to possess the other person, and allows a couple to be equal - people who have chosen to be together.

In many ways these pamphlets have a modern ring to them. They touch on problems that still beset women today. But they also show how much the family and sexual roles reflect the social reality out of which they emerge. There is no such thing as the permanent family or an ideal couple. Both units are historically shaped. The pamphlets are well worth a read for that alone. They are the best indictment of those who claim that they can find their own personal "solutions" separate from the rest of society.

They also show the relationship between class society and private life. She shows how the changes won for women by the Russian working class were the first ever glimpse of what women's liberation could be like. Liberating women from their role of enforced motherhood and housewives could provide for all women, not just the privileged few, the chance to make choices about the rest of her life.

Kollantai later stayed silent when Stalin's regime began to take back many of these gains. She was a diplomat in Norway and seldom heard from. For that, she was wrong. But, at the height of the revolution, she became the embodiment of the New Woman of whom she spoke.

## OUT NOW

Socialist Worker reprints two pamphlets written by the Russian Marxist Alexandra Kollantai at the height of the Russian revolution. In them she looks at the distortion sexual relations suffer at the hands of capitalism, and the beacon of hope socialism offers to their transformation.

50p from your Socialist Worker bookstall

or (plus 20p post) from Bookmarks, 265 Seven Sisters Rd, London N4 2DE

Alexandra Kollantai  
**Sexual Relations**  
 - and the  
**Class Struggle**

A Socialist Workers Party pamphlet



# How the British miners can win

THE BRITISH miners' strike has obviously begun to worry the Tories. Having declared that they'd never budge, National Coal Board (NCB) boss Ian McGregor has now offered talks on delaying pit closures.

The NUM had enough sense to see that all that McGregor and the Tories were trying to do was to appear ready to negotiate so they could increase divisions among miners and split off the weaker elements of the Union leadership. Arthur Scargill refused pointblank to even discuss pit closures.

But telling McGregor to get lost isn't enough to win the strike. Now the miners are faced with the job of developing the kind of rank and file organisation which can turn the demand of no pit closures into a reality.

## PROBLEMS

The problems facing the miners are the same problems facing any workers who are on strike at the moment - getting all the strikers involved in picketing, organising blacking of goods, winning the support and solidarity of other groups of workers.

Up to now though, only the militant minority of miners have been involved in picketing. But every miner must get out picketing if the miners are to do what they did in 1972 and hit the power stations, docks and railways to stop all coal moving.

If the miners can win the solidarity of other workers they can win. A victory for the miners would mean a massive boost in confidence for the whole British working class and could sound the deathknell for Thatcher's vicious attacks on the working class.

The problem is that leadership of the strike hasn't been doing anything to remedy the fact that the majority of strikers are sitting at home and only a minority are active in the pickets etc. Arthur Scargill is the left wing leader of the NUM. In 1972 he was chairman of the Barnsley Strike Committee and then described the strike as "class war".

But in 1972 Scargill was a rank and file activist, organising independently of the right wing leadership of the union, and thus able to counteract their attempted sabotage of the strike. Today, Scargill is himself national president of the union. And the full-time officials who are failing to organise effective picketing are the broad left area leaderships who brought him to the union presidency.

It is these people who are refusing to release the funds needed to finance mass picketing on a national scale. They have warned unofficial pickets they won't receive the union's legal help if arrested. They're allowing coal into the steel plants.

If the miners are to have a chance of winning, Scargill will have to take control of the strike from these people and appeal over their heads to rank and file miners. He will have to call on them to organise independently of the officials, as he himself did in 1972.

But Scargill is unlikely to do any of this. He, like many left wingers, believes that creating a fighting union depends simply on winning union positions. We know that while a strong central leadership would make a huge difference to the strike, the rank and file miners shouldn't rely on it but will have to take the initiative themselves



to spread the strike.

Ian McGregor's offer to phase the pit closures over a longer time scale shows that the Tories and the Coal Board may well be prepared to make concessions if the alternative is defeat.

Strong rank and file organisation will therefore be vital to stop the so-called left officials on the NUM executive from cooking up some rotten compromise which allows Thatcher & Co. to achieve an easy victory.

## CORK: OIL CATERERS PROVOKE DISPUTE

ANYONE who thought that workers will gain from the oil bonanza off the Irish coast should think again. A major dispute has developed off the Cork coast as Marathon Oil attempt to smash union organisation on the rigs.

The rigs are serviced by a company called Campbell Catering. They have provoked a dispute with the ITGWU over an attempted sacking. It seems that Campbell catering were ordered to find a suitable case for sacking so that union membership could be brought into question.

The first worker they sacked for absenteeism was a Mr. Roche. But he was discovered to be in Mercy Hospital having a major operation. In this case they backed off and instead sent him flowers and a cheque for the time he had been off sick.

They then picked on Sonny Joyce who was on a week's certified sick leave. They also brought up his absenteeism two years ago when his three children had to be cared for when his wife died.

Nobody believes that Campbell Catering is working alone. The moves against union members are inspired by the big-brother Marathon. They are determined to smash the unions before the profits start really rolling in.

## ORGANISATION

At the moment, the ITGWU have won the right to have a union hiring hall (only union members can be hired). This was an excellent step in strengthening union organisation on the job. But if the Campbell Catering strike is lost, Marathon will be out to scrap the agreement.

The strike is being weakened by the activities of a number of scabs. The local Cork unemployed paper - the National Crumb has printed their names and they should be treated in the traditional fashion. Mass pickets at Cork Airport are also having some effect on supplies.

All donations to: Campbell Catering Ltd. Strike Committee c/o Connolly Hall, Lapps Quay, Cork.

# 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.

**SOCIALIST WORKER** is produced by the SOCIALIST WORKERS MOVEMENT. If you would like more information on our activities and policies, would like to become a member of the SWM or would like to take out a subscription to **SOCIALIST WORKER** - £3.50 for a year - clip this form and post to SWM, 41 Herberton Park, Rialto, Dublin 8.

I want to join:  I want a subscription and enclose £3.50:

I would like more information about the SWM

Name .....

Address .....

## SOCIALIST DAY SCHOOL

### THE REVOLUTION AND LATIN AMERICA:

Most people know of the poverty and repression in Latin America. But what are the chances of change? Mike Gonzales of the Socialist Workers Party in Britain writes extensively on Central and Latin America. He will talk about the possibility of workers taking power and bringing socialism to that region.

### ARE WE FOR A UNITED IRELAND?

All socialists want to get the Brits out of Ireland. In this session Kieran Allen asks is a united capitalist Ireland worth fighting for?

### WHAT IS REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM?

The capitalist system is rotten and must be replaced by socialism. But how? Eamonn McCann gives a guided tour of the revolutionary road to socialism.

SATURDAY 9th JUNE 2.00 - 6.00 p.m.

For venue and further details contact *Socialist Worker*, c/o 41 Herberton Park, Rialto, Dublin 8.



# Socialist Worker

# QUACK CURE FROM DEAD DUCK FORUM

## Provos in all out euro poll blitz

ONE THING you have to give the Provos: they don't do things by half.

Once they decided to contest the Euro elections they went the whole hog, putting up candidates in all four Southern constituencies and mounting a massive campaign to topple John Hume in the Six Counties. And to a large extent, all their activity is now geared to bringing out the biggest possible vote.

Of course that's logical enough. There's no point winning an electoral campaign without trying to win every first preference in reach. Which, from the socialist point of view, is where the problems start.

We concede that every vote for Sinn Fein, North and South, is a vote *against* the establishment consensus and *for* resistance - resistance to the British presence and policy in the North, resistance to the right-wing, big-party stitch-up in the South. In that context, the more Sinn Fein votes the better. We're absolutely clear about that.

### FIGHTBACK

But voting for Sinn Fein is in no way an adequate answer to the problems of the working class. In a particular election, it might be the best available way of indicating a willingness to fight back. But its not much more.

EEC candidate Danny Morrison put it clearly when he spoke after Sinn Fein had beaten the SDLP out of sight in a Belfast council by-election in March: "The disastrous vote for the SDLP augurs well for Sinn Fein in the European election in June and shows that grass roots constituency work, which the SDLP cannot compete with, was appreciated by the people who had been left leaderless for years.

"That 20% of the SDLP's second preferences transferred to Sinn Fein is encouraging and shows that the SDLP and Sinn Fein vote are not mutually exclusive".

First, Morrison was attributing a significant part of the Sinn Fein success to Catholic workers' "appreciation" of the work done by Sinn Fein advice centres. And there's no reason to doubt this. Its true that the party members staffing the advice centres work hard for local people, people who have been ignored and taken for granted treated like electoral fodder for years by the SDLP and the Nationalist Party before it.

To an extent, this can be applied to the South too. For decades there have been "clinics" run by Fianna Fail, Fine Gael and in some places Labour. More recently the Workers Party has got in on



ELECTION FEVER GONE MAD - Jim McAlister at the Loup, South Derry: "If we elect Danny Morrison and reject the collaboration of John Hume and the SDLP in June, it will be one of the final nails in the coffin of British imperialism".

the same act. But the Sinn Fein advice centres set up in the past two years have brought a more aggressive attitude to bear and have been willing to organise *with* local people, not just operate the system on their behalf.

And appreciation of this is likely to show up in the SF vote in June's election. But when you get down to it all this is pretty traditional Irish stuff, doing things for people in the hope that they'll do something in return come election time. Its "clientism", and the fact that the Provos might do it better and with more commitment and energy than anyone else doesn't change the fundamental nature of it.

And clientism *can't* lead towards the overthrow of capitalism. Of its very nature its a technique for extracting things from within the system, not a strategy for creating a revolutionary new sort of system.

The other angle on this comes up in Morrison's second point - the overlap in the SDLP and Sinn Fein votes. Again, Morrison is absolutely correct in what he says. Under PR any party serious about taking seats must look for second and third preference support from others in the field. If that 20% overlap could be expanded to, say, 50%, the SDLP would be hit hard - if not in the Euro election then

in next year's Northern local elections.

Likewise in the South, a solid percentage of second preferences from, say, tail-end FF candidates in June would benefit Sinn Fein greatly. You have to go after that vote if you're serious about playing the game. And to get it you must - to some extent anyway, and not necessarily reneging on your own programme - soften the distinction between yourself and the other party. You have to make it possible for voters to transfer without completely contradicting themselves.

This way lies compromise. As Marxists, the SWM would say we have *nothing* in common with the SDLP, or with FF or FG or any other capitalist party. The only thread which will ever link us is the rope we hope someday to have in our hands, and their necks in the noose.

And this isn't a matter of mere rhetoric. Its an issue of political principle.

We must build on clear class lines, among and with the working class, involved in the day-to-day struggles of the class and piecing together a party which can lead workers towards power, not a place like the enemy's parliament.

By and large, its more important to win strikes than elections.

THE MOUNTAIN has laboured - to give birth to a deformed mouse.

The Forum report is full of fancy phrases about the ancient ideal of a united Ireland - but empty of any practical ideas as to how we can get there.

Which is hardly surprising. None of the parties represented in the Forum was ever really going to break with Britain. None of them wants a *conflict* with the British ruling class. What they are after is an *arrangement* - and an arrangement which would leave British interests in Ireland intact.

The Report doesn't tell Thatcher to get out. It offers her a different strategy for staying in, a strategy which - so the Forum Report argues - would hold out hope of ending conflict so that Ireland could develop as a neat little semi-detached neighbour and a credit to the Community.

The Forum parties want the Yanks and the EEC to help bring this about. They want the big battalions of international business to sponsor the re-arrangement.

But the cowboy Reagan doesn't ride to the rescue unless there's something in it for his outfit. And likewise his sidekicks in Europe.

Any deal done along the lines suggested by the Forum

would *inevitably* involve all Ireland being tugged tighter into the NATO alliance, (which gives an entirely new meaning to the old phrase about "bombing a million Protestants into a united Ireland"!).

But anyway none of this is really going to happen. The notion that the British Tories are going to launch themselves into head-on conflict with the Northern loyalists is just that - a notion.

Certainly they won't do it on the basis of Haughey, Hume and FitzGerald offering a dim hope of a British-Irish alliance in the far future.

The Forum's fine phrases are intended to be flung in the face of the Fianna Fail faithful - to blind them to how far Haughey is willing to sell out.

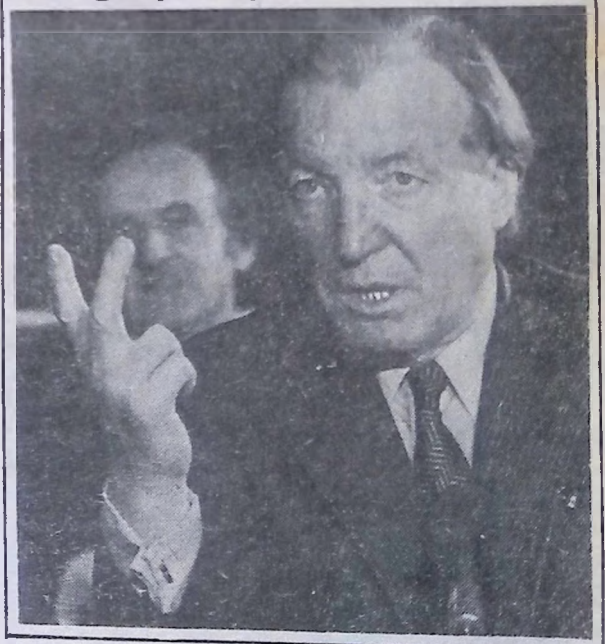
The small print about "practicalities" is supposed to signal to the British that no real offence is intended.

At one level the whole exercise has been a cynical farce. At another, it reveals the utter bankruptcy of the bourgeois parties as far as real solutions are concerned.

Its all over - in more senses than one.

EAMONN McCANN

## Haughey Replies to Critics



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Burke & Adams look for the youth vote in Dublin Central