

Socialist Worker

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism

They are all...

BANK FRAUDS

Bottom left hand corner: Allied Irish Bank's boss Niall Crowley, below: Brian O'Neill, Managing Director of the Insurance Corporation of Ireland, Peter Greer, ICI Chairman until last year and Allied Irish Bank's Gerry Scanlan and Garret FitzGerald the Taoiseach.



WHAT THE scandal over the Insurance Corporation of Ireland shows is that the banks have been ripping us off for years, that they intend to continue ripping us off, and that there is nothing either the Coalition or Fianna Fail intend doing about it.

ICI, a subsidiary of Allied Irish Banks, went bust for a sum of at least £120 million and possibly as much as three times that. It was greed for profit which brought it down. ICI in London had been issuing high-risk, fast-buck policies to individuals and companies involved in blood-stock, satellite communications and even obscure US and European sports contests. Gambling, in other words.

And when the gambles didn't come off they turned to the tax-payer - ie, to the PAYE sector which forks out 85 percent of tax revenue in the Free State - to bail them out. And the Coalition agreed immediately to put the squeeze on us to rescue their

high-roller AIB chums.

Faced with public uproar, they then modified this scam by agreeing with Fianna Fail's more devious suggestion of making the Central Bank - the State's own Bank - come up with the readies. Which merely means that the debt is passed on to the public by a less direct route.

This is despite the fact that AIB - like Bank of Ireland, Northern and Ulster - is a private concern run by capitalist directors for the profit of its individual shareholders. And the profits are huge.

AIB's profits in the last financial years were a massive £85.5 million gross. B of I made £81 million the same year.

Out of this the banks pay very little in tax. The "levy" on AIB's £85.5 million was only £14.6 million - 17 percent, far less than the average industrial worker has stopped from a meagre pay packet.

The banks play an abnormally big role in the Irish capitalist economy. Small-time capitalists have always been under-capitalised and have turned to the banks rather than to the stock exchange to raise money. Having established this unusual degree of control at home, the profit-lusting bankers then looked abroad, and also tried to dismantle traditional financial barriers to get at other home areas where rich pickings were in prospect.

Thus AIB involvement in insurance in the UK and B of I's take-over of the Civil Service Building Society last year.

In all this the top bankers show a contempt for the working class. AIB chairman last month urged the government to aim at higher emigration to get rid of workers who otherwise might cost "our economy" money in dole payments.

In October 1982 he argued that "spending in areas like

health and education is just a waste of public money".

But it's not a waste of public money now when he turns to the tax-payer to replenish his private coffers!

The only sane solution is a socialist one - to nationalise the banks. But that cannot be done by legal, bourgeois means. Economists calculate it would need £610 million to buy out AIB and B of I.

They should be nationalised without compensation. And that's something no party committed to working within the capitalist system can contemplate - including, as the Dail exchanges showed, the Workers' Party.

It could only happen as part of a thoroughgoing transformation of society in a socialist direction, which in turn requires the building of a revolutionary socialist party based on the working class rather than on touting for electoral support within the system controlled by Niall Crowley and his class.

Inside: Sharpeville remembered - pages 4 & 5

What we stand for

The Socialist Workers Movement is a revolutionary socialist organisation that fights for a workers' republic and international socialism. The system under which we live, capitalism, is based on production for profit—not for human need. It leads to poverty and war; racism and sexism. It is a system that can only be destroyed by the class which creates all the wealth—the working class.

REVOLUTION NOT REFORM

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

NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR MOSCOW

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

AGAINST PARTITION

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

We stand for:
 The immediate withdrawal of the British Army
 The disbandment of the RUC and UDR
 No to extradition and collaboration on border security

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

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

AGAINST ALL OPPRESSION

Revolutionaries oppose all form of oppression that divide and weaken the working class. We are for real social, economic and political equality for women. We are for an end to discrimination against homosexuals. We stand for full separation of the church and state. We stand for secular control of the hospitals and the schools.

THE UNIONS

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

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

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

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

THE PARTY

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

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.....

Does Coalition truce spell collapse for Labour Left?

HAS the Left in the Labour Party collapsed?

That seems to many to be the conclusion drawn from the recent unanimous decision of the Administrative Council of the Party to set up a "commission" to discuss Labour's participation in Coalition.

This paper has had many criticisms of the Labour Left but there was one thing we always credited them with and that was unswerving opposition to Coalition.

They've just swerved — to the right. The AC decision was unanimous. Yet Michael D Higgins, the much-quoted left-winger, sits on the Council.

And it is not just the "soft" left which has given in to the pressures of "Party unity" at any cost. The Militant Tendency has two supporters on the AC. Labour Youth claims there will be no truce on Coalition. But while Militant may have argued against the proposal to put off discussion of Coalition until 1986, they voted in favour of it. The demands of "party unity" meant they voted with the right!

But this rightward lurch is not so amazing. It is the nature of Labour Party politics that anyone involved in it — even in a group of genuine socialists like Militant — gets sucked into the politics of reformism.

Despite differences with fellow party members Spring and Desmond, Militant do see the real battles as taking place within the constituency groups of the Labour Party, the trade union bureaucracy and the Dail. The real strength of the working class is then seen not in its industrial muscle but rather in the number of votes it possesses and how it uses them.

Once socialists start down this road they find it necessary to

water down their politics — to appeal to as broad a layer of support as possible. And they find it necessary to actively oppose any cause which might lose them votes—anything "unpopular". Nowhere is this more obvious than in the Militant's ideas on the North. Supporting the struggle against imperialism in the North does not make anyone very popular. Defence of the armed struggle can be a long and hard argument. That is why Militant place most of the blame for the violence and division of the working class on the Provos.

According to them Catholic and Protestant workers can be united by concentrating on those "economic" issues which they have in common, such as housing, unemployment and wages, while ignoring those which tend to divide such as sectarian discrimination and the border. This is the easy and respectable thing to do, undoubtedly, it makes Militant's position within the Labour Party much easier and allows them to win over a number of Protestant workers to their politics. But such a position on the North is not socialist — they are accepting sectarianism.

Of course the Protestant working class must not (as Republicans tend believe) be

written out until after Ireland is united. But neither must they be allowed to cling to the privileges (for example, in housing and jobs) which they have enjoyed at the expense of Catholic workers in return for their support of the Six County state.

It is these privileges, not Republican violence which is responsible for the sectarian division. They have been built into the structures of the Northern Ireland State. All attempts to reform them out have failed — the Orange State cannot be reformed.

Any socialist group seeking to create real and lasting unity between Catholic and Protestant workers must place at the forefront of its demands the end of partition and the reunification of Ireland.

Not only that, but it is necessary to defend those who take up arms in the cause of justice. Not to do so would be to stand on the side of imperialism and to alienate that section of the Nationalist population which has suffered intolerable repression for decades. Blame for all the violence should be placed squarely where it belongs — on the shoulders of the British ruling class.

But simply mouthing these

demands will not be enough to break Protestant workers from Loyalism. If it was that simple the problem would have been solved long ago. They will only be broken away when they can see that socialism is on the cards and that in order to grasp it they must leave behind forever the stale bigotry of Loyalism. And that's where the Southern working class comes in.

No longer are they isolated in a sea of Conservative Catholic farmers. Today, as never before, they have the strength to bring the pillars of capitalist society North and South tumbling down.

But in order to do so they must have a leadership which sees and argues for the need to smash the existing state and replace it with one directly controlled by the workers.

One major obstacle to the transformation of society is the idea that such change is possible through the election of a sufficiently left-wing government. Over and over again, countries like Britain, France, Chile have shown that the ruling class won't hand over power. It has to be taken from them by the mass activity of the working class.

The problem with the Labour Party goes much deeper than Coalition. And the problems with the Left in the Labour Party are more than just their recent concessions on Coalition.

The whole basis of such parties — however militant their membership — is reformist politics. Put simply, they don't want to tear down the pillars of capitalism but merely to paint them a different colour.

— TONY RIGNEY



Spring, Quinn and Higgins, all pals now—and Militant?

DOUBLE TROUBLE

THERE'S nothing like a crisis to crystallise a crack. Recently published EEC statistics indicate that birth rates within the Community are falling as more and more women become unemployed, or fail to find work. The implication is that the "family wage" one worker is supposed to support a household on is so totally insufficient that unless a wife can supplement that income, they just cannot afford to have kids.

Cutbacks across the European Community have pushed the double burden of work both inside and outside the home increasingly onto the shoulders of women. The inevitable strain on the family unit and the implications of a declining birth rate have spurred our European leaders to quick and decisive action.

A birth rate of 2.1 per woman would, it appears, be ideal to maintain a stable population level. To encourage women to go along with this neat figure, various measures, such as "information campaigns" and research and analysis have been proposed. Generally the sort of stuff the EEC is very good at.

On a different note, while it has been recognised that

more financial aid is needed, little has been forthcoming. Truth is, the family unit is there to support the system, not the other way round.

TEA TIME

THE Sri Lankan government has announced measures designed to curb strikes, not content with that, go-slows and even overtime bans are considered "against the national interest" — any amount of workers' organisation seems to be against them.

MONEY BAGS

WHEN Gerry Scanlon, Chief Executive of AIB, cruises up to the traffic lights in a car that cost more than some of the houses he has stolen, he can dream as he waits for the lights to change of the thousands of small overdrafts that will increase to pay off his financial worries.

Maybe he'll suck a little more blood, put the squeeze on the interest payers, after all there's £16 m dividends to pay the AIB shareholders. And shareholders get edgy when they are kept waiting for the green light... Nothing like a little joy riding on the way to work.



GET 'EM YOUNG

TWO Israeli teenagers recently departed from these shores. They left having toured secondary schools around the city addressing kids round their own age and answering questions about life in Israel (Israeli style).

They displayed incredible insight into their country's intricate foreign policy: "Our wars all take place outside of Israel"... full marks for observation.

On the massacres in Lebanon: "We regret having had to get into the situation in Lebanon and we are trying to get out, but they are chasing us, and we have to get more stringent."

On the persecution of the Arabs, the problem, it seems, is that Arabs don't fight as regulars, but as guerrillas. "We just don't know who the terrorists are. They could be

grandfathers... or children... or anybody." Which is a tidy explanation why they terrorise all Arabs. Fountains of wisdom these kids.

Naturally, they both see army service as there "patriotic duty". By the sound of it they'll probably go places in the Israeli army.

DON'T CARE

KEEPING the customer satisfied didn't include putting up with sexual harassment and abuse for three shop assistants in Sydney. They refused to wear the bright pink "we care about you" badges supplied by the supermarket's management.

Despite a three, five and 15 years employment record, they were all sacked.

£16 A LIFE

A SOUTH African police officer was recently brought to court for beating a black person to death. Though it was found that he had actually killed this person, the judge wasn't about to get carried away, after all what's new?

The cop was fined £16, which is less than the victim would have to pay for being in a white place at the wrong time. — JEAN CROSS.

No joy for joy- riders



SLING-shooting rocks at the cops. Fascists made the running on the streets.

THE French National Front has gained considerable support in France. Just four years ago, the

NF leader, Jean-Marie Le Pen, was unable to muster even the 500 signatures needed to put him on the presidential ballot

paper.

Yet in last June's European elections Le Pen received 2.2 million votes,

FRANCE: Le Pen Nazis thrive on Left failure

11 per cent of the total and his party took ten seats in the European Parliament.

And as the right-wing vote increased, the Communist Party saw its electoral fortunes decline. During the 1960s and 70s the CP had always been the major working class party with more than 20 per cent of the vote.

In 1981 their vote had slipped down to 16 per cent — behind that of the Socialist Party and by the European elections they had lost almost a half of the votes they had had in 1979. They polled only 0.1 per cent ahead of the Nazis.

The widespread dissatisfaction and disillusionment with the government of so-called Socialist President Mitterand is understandable. They came to power committed to a radical programme of social equality, cutting unemployment and raising living standards.

Today unemployment is at record levels — nearly 2.4 million French, 9.5 per cent

of the workforce are jobless. Living standards have fallen and the new Prime Minister, Laurent Fabius, is following Thatcherite policies.

The U-turn in government policies had not been long in coming.

When they were just a year in office, in June 1982, they announced the first austerity measures. In March 1983 these were followed by an even more severe austerity package.

Communist Party participation in the government ensured that the two main union federations, the Communist-dominated CGT and the Socialist-dominated CFDT, moderated their criticisms of this change of policy. But as the government's attack on jobs and wages became more vigorous, the pressure on the union leaders to do something built up.

As the unions dithered as to how to handle the growing resentment, the right-wing took to the streets. Conservative students, doctors, farmers, small businessmen and even the police demonstrated against the government.

In the midst of all this, Le Pen and his Nazi followers, started to talk about "foreigners" and "law and order". Using the slogan "the French first" he talks of sending immigrant workers "back". Most of these immigrants come in fact from former French colonies and are French citizens.

But Le Pen wants to deny them and their French-born children citizenship as part of his proposals which are similar to legislation imposed by the Vichy regime (the Nazi puppet government during the Second World War).

ADMIRATION

Le Pen makes no secret of his admiration for Hitler and the Nazis. In sleeve notes for a record of songs and speeches of the Nazi era he said Hitler's rise was the result of "a powerful mass movement finally popular and democratic".

Yet this man won more than one out of six voters in France's thirty-six largest cities, with an especially strong showing among self-employed and white-collar workers. Nearly 30 per cent of his supporters had voted Socialist in 1981!

Unfortunately, far from fighting these fascists, the policies of Mitterand's government have done much to gain them support. And neither the Communist Party, now in opposition themselves, nor the revolutionary left in France have concentrated their efforts on halting the advance of the fascists.

The anti-fascist campaign has been left to local activists or ad-hoc organisations of young students and immigrant workers. For all their lack of resources these groups organised before Christmas the largest leftwing demonstration that Paris has seen for years. And thousands of young people came on the streets to oppose the fascists.

It is this kind of activity that can stop the fascists and kick them off the political stage in France.

— GORETTI HORGAN

Local election campaign — Sinn Fein trims



THE Sinn Fein strategy for victory — fighting "with the ballot box in one hand, an armalite in the other" is about to be tested. May and June will see local elections North and South of the border. The elections will be the main focus of Sinn Fein activity over the coming months.

The Sinn Fein electoral strategy has generally been called "a left turn". But the way in which they mean to fight the elections shows just how superficial the turn has been.

In the North Sinn Fein has sought an electoral alliance with the SDLP against the Unionists. This follows Gerry Adams' call for "pan-nationalist" talks. There is some support for this idea among SDLP members. In fact, Hume's abortive talks with the IRA were in response to pressure from his own members for nationalist unity.

What is Sinn Fein, a supposedly socialist party, doing looking for unity with

the scumbags of the SDLP? It seems that socialist issues are to be played down until the border has been removed. By offering an alliance, Sinn Fein is spelling out the truth about its own politics — that it does not matter what politics you have, nor what class you stand with, as long as you are a nationalist.

In offering alliance, Sinn Fein is sowing the illusion that the SDLP has some role to play in the struggle against imperialism. Yet the fact is that the SDLP and their backers in the South are major obstacles to the ending of partition. The SDLP acts as a cover for, and justifies the Southern state's collaboration on border security and extradition.

And in the run-up to the local elections in the South, a similar rightward drift is evident. The main Sinn Fein candidates will be the 24 councillors they already have. Yet these are predominately right-wing. Councillors like Frank Glynn and Paddy Ruane in Galway or Joe

O'Neill in Donegal have never had the vaguest tint of pink in their politics. They stand openly for small business interests.

But there is no question of such councillors being "de-selected" despite the left turn. The matter is not even discussed. The truth is the politics or class interest you represent don't matter to Sinn Fein. It is precisely because Sinn Fein is an alliance of class forces itself that it can so easily offer pacts with nakedly pro-imperialist and pro-capitalist parties.

Just as telling are the issues on which Sinn Fein will fight the election. The main thrust will not be against ever-growing repression — the Supergrass system in the North, extradition in the South. The election will be fought on local issues — poor housing, lack of facilities, etc. That is why the party has thrown itself into establishing advice centres and clinics wherever they have members.

By cultivating the image of super social workers, Sinn Fein hopes to gather in the votes. In the last general election, Christy Burke in Dublin Central claimed he had been able to "solve most of the cases" that had come before him in his clinic. In this, they are following the well-trodden road taken by the Workers Party and the Labour Party. Despite important differences on the national question, all parties that base themselves on the advice centre or clinic are simply offering themselves as substitutes for the self-activity of workers.

The run-up to the elections has also seen an increased "community coverage" in the pages of *Republican News*. But like the *Irish People* the scandalous conditions are just highlighted. There is rarely a paragraph in the paper arguing *how* the struggles can be taken forward. The reason is simple. The aim of the articles is not to agitate or to

offer a strategy on how to fight. They are simply designed to show that Sinn Fein is "on the side of the people" and so worthy of a vote at the next election.

The Sinn Fein approach to elections stem directly from their overall strategy. They see elections as providing a propaganda blow against Thatcher and FitzGerald. They are simply a boost to the armed struggle. But both the ballot and the armalite are based on the same assumption — that the actions of a few hardline nationalists can substitute for the mass action of the working class.

A revolutionary socialist organisation would approach elections very differently. They would use elections as a platform to argue for working class action. Its candidates would spell out the need for solidarity action with workers who are in struggle. It would raise the question of extradition and would use the electoral campaign to organise those who are prepared to fight on the issue. Instead of fostering illusions about what the candidates could achieve in council chambers, it would use the elections to challenge the fake democracy of the Dail and local government. It would point out how the real power in this society lies in the boardrooms of big business and how that power could only be broken by the mass action of working people.

Sinn Fein will be doing none of these things. Instead it will stand on its record of community service. It will gravitate more to appealing to Fianna Fail voters on a conservative nationalist basis. Already Danny Morrison has proclaimed to such voters that "Sinn Fein's aim is not the overthrow of the Southern state" but merely completion of "unfinished business" that has been left over on the road to Irish independence. All of which points to the need for a party that is intent on smashing this statelet — by mass working class action.

— KIERAN ALLEN

EVERY time you turn on the radio or pick up a newspaper these days some Garda Superintendent or lawyer or "concerned person" is complaining about the lack of "law and order" on the streets of Dublin.

They claim that Dublin joyriders, who rob up to £2 million worth of BMWs, Audis, etc per week are blasé about getting caught. What's the point, they moan, of arresting somebody who may get a £2 fine or if sent to jail may get out the next day. The system is too lenient is the cry on every right-wing paper.

The fact is most joyriders are sent down for a year with passengers getting six months. 90 car thieves went to jail in the first ten weeks of this year.

Justice Minister Noonan maintains that Spike Island is needed to cope with "the epidemic". He's already increased prison accommodation from 1,230 to 1,700 but then with local elections coming up he's not so worried about opposition to any "law and order" measures. And the papers are making sure that right-wing candidates get their propaganda across as journalists rave about "car crime" attacking "our" gardai.

They inform the public every day that the public are shocked, horrified and disgusted by young thugs.

However one section of the public — working class young people — have clearly their own which side they're on.

During the riots in Cabra last year, and less serious troubles in Coolock and Glas since, hundreds have needed the police. They are in the same boat — without jobs or the hope of them, picked on by the cops and living on a pittance.

CONDEMN

The fact that so many of the rich can spend up to £1,000 on a car while they expected to live on less than £30 a week is the crime of these young people. What shocks them at the Criminal Justice Act has become law and they are daily harassed under it. The only defendants sentenced leniently are cops and illegally registered taxi-plates. They can't get promoted or than disciplined for hitting suspects, that both and third-level education reserved for middle class school leavers.

It's while joyriding and such "kicks" are a source of frustration, they do go to rock the stinking fascist system which is unemployment and dead lives. They only rage repression, greater for the gardai and the police.

Only fighting for a better future can eventually control them. Anyone who is interested in just that should leave the CW where it is and join the SWM. — LIZ BUTLER.

THE POWER TO BREAK

A brutal regime

TWENTY FIVE years ago the cold-blooded killing of 69 blacks in a small township called Sharpeville in South Africa hit the headlines around the world. **ALAN GIBSON** looks at what happened, and how blacks have fought back against the apartheid regime since.

'THE CROWD seemed to be loosely gathered around the Saracens (armoured tanks) and on the fringes people were walking in and out. The kids were playing. In all there were about 3,000 people. They seemed amiable.

'Suddenly there was a sharp report from the direction of the police station. There were shrill cries of "Izwe lethu" (our land)—women's voices, I thought. The cries came from the police station and I could see a small section of the crowd swirl around the Saracens. Hands went up in the Africanist salute. Then the shooting started.

'We heard the chatter of a machine gun, then another, then another. There were hundreds of women, some of them laughing. They must have thought the police were firing blanks. One woman was hit about 10 yards from our car.

'Her companion, a young man, went back when she fell. He thought she had stumbled. Then he turned her over and saw that her chest had been shot away. He looked at the blood on his hand and said "My God, she's gone!"

Police panic

This is how one eye-witness, Humphrey Tyler, editor of *Drum*, recorded the nightmare of Sharpeville. He was part of the estimated 10,000 blacks who had gathered outside the police station at Sharpeville on 21 March 1960.

They had come demanding to be arrested for not carrying passes allowing them access to proscribed (white) areas. There had been many similar protests ever since the passes had been introduced in 1948. They had all fizzled out.

This time, however, the police panicked. They claimed the crowd started throwing stones at them.

In response, and without warning, they pumped an estimated 750 rounds into the crowd.

Almost 200 people were injured, and 69 killed. As the bodies were being carted away so news of the massacre raced around the countries' poverty-stricken black townships.

In Cape Town thousands of African workers stopped work and stevedores walked off the ships. A 'day of mourning' a week later resulted in riots and shooting around Johannesburg, and police baton charges at the crowds in Cape Town.

The end of the month saw a huge demonstration in Cape Town, and mass pass book burnings in many black townships.

The pundits started predicting the downfall of the apartheid regime. Politicians around the world were screaming for reforms. The old colonial powers, like Britain, had spent years fostering moderate black governments in now independent African countries.

Mandela arrested

They feared that the potentially revolutionary force of black people in South Africa would become a living example for Africans throughout the continent. Overseas investments to the country practically ceased.

But, against all the odds, and using unprecedented terror and violence, the demonstrations and riots were, one after another, quelled.

The South African government, led by the rabid right-winger Dr Verwoerd, declared a state of emergency.

Over 20,000 people were rounded up, including around 1,000 white liberals. The only reform the regime conceded was to allow Africans to buy European liquor.

The African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan African Congress (PAC), the two leading black organisations, were outlawed. Leading figures, such as Nelson Mandela, were arrested. The arrests continued right through to 1964, when much of the internal leadership of the black movement were arrested at Rivonia outside Johannesburg.



(Top) A strike in Durban in the mid-70s—part of a massive wave of struggle which swept the country and included the schoolchildren of Soweto (above)

THE MOVEMENT against apartheid had been smashed. The regime had stayed. Black trade unionism, which had started to re-organise following its shattering at the end of the Second World War, had also been totally outlawed.

Foreign investment once more came pouring into the country. Numerous companies opened factories, taking advantage of the cheap and non-unionised labour the apartheid regime could guarantee.

The black organisations, riven with internal debate and splintered into warring factions. Two leading forces emerged. One centred on the ANC and for an across-race alliance against apartheid.

Power

The other—although a much less coherent force—saw real power, not with black and white politicians, but with black and coloured workers.



(Left) Sharpeville after the massacre. (Above) A woman holds up her burned pass book on the day of mourning for the Sharpeville dead

APARTHEID

The birth of black unionism



Dunnes show the way

EIGHT MONTHS after the Dunne's Stores strike against apartheid started the Irish Congress of Trades Unions has finally got around to issuing a statement of support!

And a pretty wishy-washy affair it is. No ringing call for solidarity action or sign of determination to bring the buzzard Ben Dunne to heel. After all this time what the official leadership of the Irish trade union movement offers is mere words.

And that's despite the fact that the Dunne's strike is, on the face of it, incredibly popular. Nobel prize-winner Bishop Tutu has, quite rightly, praised the 11 strikers to the skies and invited them to come to South Africa for the first anniversary of the strike next July.

The United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid has expressed its "great appreciation" of the strikers' stand.

The African National Congress, of which the imprisoned Nelson Mandela is leader, has communicated its "profound admiration and thanks."

Labour Minister Ruairi Quinn has put on record his "personal admiration" for the strikers.

TDs from Fianna Fail and Fine Gael have likewise weighed in with expressions of general support.

No strike in Irish history has ever attracted support from such a broad spectrum of opinion, nationally and internationally. And yet it heads towards its first anniversary with no sign of a significant breakthrough towards victory.

That's despite the fact that the demands of the strikers are in no way "extreme". Since Mary Manning first refused to handle South African goods at the check-out in the Henry St. store in Dublin last July and suspended as a result, the strikers' demand has been that workers who have a conscientious objection to handling South African produce should have the right to refuse acknowledged. That's all.

The 11 workers have shown marvellous determination and fortitude, battling on through a bleak winter on the picket line. If courage was enough to win they'd have won long ago.

If courage allied to unprecedentedly wide support was enough, they'd have won in a couple of weeks.

There are two reasons they haven't yet won.

The first is the vicious intransigence of the Dunne's Stores management, which is associated with apartheid through the activities of one, Noel Fox, an accountant, a trustee of the Dunne family fortune and a negotiator for Dunne's management in industrial matters. He is also the official representative in Ireland of South Africa's main investment-seeking operation.

Apart from that, Dunne's harbours a hatred of trade unionism anyway. Managing Director Ben Dunne Junior makes no secret that he would prefer not to have to deal with unions at all so that he could treat all "his" workers as slaves.

The nature of the Dunne's management is one reason. The other is the nature of the trade union leadership.

To their credit, the IDATU leadership issued the instruction not to handle apartheid goods in the first place and didn't hesitate to make the dispute official the day Mary Manning was suspended. But in order to win, the strike desperately needed, and still

needs, solidarity action from other trade unionists.

What's needed to hit Dunne's Stores hard is strike action in sympathy from other unionised Dunne's workers and the effective blacking of supplies to the Dunne's chain generally.

There's little point trying to stop the Henry Street shop on its own. The elements still working there are either casual workers desperate for the day's pay or hardened pro-management scabs who are beyond argument.

But there are trade unionists working in Dunne's other stores all over the country, North and South, and it would be possible to bring some of them out. It would not be easy. Mass unemployment has demoralised many workers and made them fearful of the consequences of taking management on.

But there is a minority of Dunne's workers who would be open to solidarity appeals if there was a vigorous campaign, involving leaflets, lunchtime meetings and so forth. And building on that minority it would be possible to reach many others and to convince them that mass action would force Dunne's hand—and that this would be in the interest of all Dunne's workers who are cheated off everywhere with the petty provocations and harassment they have to suffer from the bosses.

If the workers win this one they'll have put manners on the Dunne's management once and for all.

Blacking supplies would require a similarly vigorous campaign in other unions. And that's clearly not going to come from the likes of the T & G leadership which is currently concerned about nothing but the union's own cash-flow problems. Such a campaign can only come from rank and file workers themselves.

Again, it wouldn't be easy. Far from it. And officials from some other unions are as likely to sabotage such a campaign as to support it. It would need a rank and file strike support committee, with the Dunne's strikers at the heart of it.

It should appeal directly to workers who are servicing Dunne's. For example, to tanker drivers who supply the many Dunne's stores which have oil-fired heating. To workers in Irish Biscuits in Tallaght who supply their products to Dunne's shelves.

To Rowntree Makintosh in Kilmainham who make Mars Bars. To Gateaux in Finglas. To Batchelors in Cabra. To Avonmore, Premier, Lyon's Tea. And so on.

At an early stage some effort was made in this direction. But there is only so much 11 strikers can do, particularly when they have to maintain a picket line.

What this strike needs is the direct involvement of as many rank and file workers as can be mustered. That won't happen as a result of appeals, however well-meant and welcome, from church leaders and decent liberals. It needs working class organisation to call such a campaign into existence and switch the strike into a higher gear.

The SWM will play any part it can in bringing such a campaign into existence.

The 11 strikers have already done more than could humanly have been expected of them. They are a shining example to all trade unionists. It is vital, for all our sakes, that they win. And only rank and file action can enable them to win.

While the economy boomed at a rate only second to that of Japan, the conditions of black workers deteriorated. By 1973 around 80 percent of African workers employed in British and South African controlled firms were paid below the poverty line.

In the neighbouring countries of Angola, Mozambique and Rhodesia the battles against white supremacy were, by the early 70s, reaching critical points. These struggles began to be reflected in a new found confidence among black workers.

A strike of black Johannesburg bus drivers in 1972 won 35 percent wage increases. This was the prelude to a massive wave of strikes that started in one of the biggest industrial centres of the country—Durban.

In January 1973, 2,000 workers at a brickworks in the city struck for higher wages. They won. Their example was quickly taken up. Textile workers were on strike by the end of the month. Again they won modest wage increases.

These strikes sparked off a wave of similar stoppages which spread throughout the city, and

then to other parts of the country. By the end of the year over 100,000 workers had struck, and the bosses and the government were having to backtrack. Over the years of outright repression black workers had learnt how to avoid arrest. Only 0.2 percent of the strikers were ever prosecuted. In other words, the government were at a loss to know how to quell the strikes.

Their answer was a reform of the labour laws. These labour reforms weren't just a response to this upsurge of black trade union militancy. They were also a reflection of the much greater role black workers had taken in the economy.

development of a black student movement. The student movement exploded in June 1976, culminating in a mass uprising of black school children in Soweto. They were protesting at being forced to study in a foreign language—Afrikaans.

This time the regime shot down and killed 130 blacks. Again the protests and demonstrations spread. And this time black workers became directly involved when a three day general strike in August brought the majority of workplaces to a grinding halt.

The apartheid regime once more survived. But it had been shaken, and another batch of labour reforms were introduced—the main one being that blacks could now form their own trade unions.

Black trade unionists saw these reforms as a trick to get them to compromise with the apartheid regime—something they were not prepared to do. But many employers had had enough of waves of unpredictable and uncontrollable strikes. A number of them signed recognition agreements with black unions.

If the employers hoped that this would stifle militancy, they were soon proved wrong. These

agreements gave an even greater boost to factory organisation. More victorious strikes were waged towards the end of the 70s.

Until then, however, the potential of the massively powerful migrant workers employed in the mines had not been touched by the growth of trade unionism. This all changed in July 1981 when 10,000 miners, employed by the giant Anglo-American Corporation, ripped apart buildings and plant. They were protesting at management trying to deduct wages to pay for the funerals of dead miners.

Since then the wave of strikes, and the growth of black trade unionism have become a central feature in South Africa. More than half a million black workers are now organised in trade unions. Between 1981 and 1984 there was, on average, a strike a day throughout industries as varied as food and motor manufacturing.

This wave of strikes has yet to significantly recede or be beaten. It has become one of the most powerful trade union movements in the world.

Potential

The reforms weren't very great, and were clearly designed to stymie the growth of black trade unionism. But the negotiating rights they contained gave black workers a much greater idea of their power to change things—even if only in their own workplaces.

And this notion of power coincided with growth of black consciousness following the victory of the black movements in Angola and Mozambique, and the

The state's dilemma

SO GREAT is the crisis in South Africa the once seemingly invincible apartheid regime is being forced to make, in its own terms, major concessions.

Last year, an effort to engender pro-government sympathies among the predominantly middle class Asian and coloured communities failed. The election of representatives to a new three chamber parliament was boycotted by the vast majority.

At the same time as these elections were taking place the regime was flaying out once more. Seven thousand troops and police were dispatched to round up 'revolutionary elements' in three black townships—one of them Sharpeville.

And last month 18 Africans were killed and 16 black leaders arrested for treason, when the government tried to shift hundreds of thousands of squatters from the Crossroads settlement outside Cape Town.

These bouts of brutal repression only aggravate further the upsurge of black workers' militancy—something which is all too clear to foreign in-

vestors, and increasingly to South Africa's internal business community.

A recent conference of representatives from leading British companies expressed disquiet at the situation. And last week a joint statement by six South African employer bodies reaffirmed their commitment to 'give visible expression' to the government's efforts to reform the system.

Radical reform

Such statements only send the regime's security forces into a rage however. Important and powerful sections of the regime, and large sections of the white community, will fight, to the end, any radical reform of apartheid.

Such attitudes have, over decades of bitter struggle, created a black working class movement which is not only organisationally strong. It also possesses enormous political experience. Many of its leaders, and much of its rank and file, know the regime cannot be reformed—that it must be overthrown.

THE MOVEMENT against apartheid has been smothered. Black trade unionism, which had started to re-organise following its shattering at the end of the Second World War, had also been virtually outlawed.

Foreign investment once more came pouring into the country. Numerous companies opened factories, taking advantage of the cheap and non-unionised labour the apartheid regime could guarantee.

The black organisations, riven with internal debate and argument, lapsed into warring factions. Two leading forces emerged. One centred on the ANC argued for an across-class, and cross-race, alliance against apartheid.

Power

The other—although a much less coherent force—saw real power, not with black and white politicians, but with black and coloured workers.

struggle which (above)

ONE THIRD of all black children under the age of 14 do not get enough food to eat, and are stunted in their growth.

THE PASS laws control where blacks can live, work and travel. Since 1948, when they were introduced, 12.5 million people have been arrested and prosecuted under them.

SINCE 1960 three and a half million people have been forcibly evicted from their homes under the pass laws.

...sacra. (Above) A book on the day of



Prague 1968—later Czech workers faced the tanks of the Russian "workers' state".

Ali fails to face reality

NO Trotskyist would regard present-day Russia as the perfect model of socialism. Yet an intense debate continues over the exact nature of the workers state. What is in question here is whether the Russian workers Road to Socialism should be one of reform or revolution.

"The Stalinist Legacy" a collection of essays edited by Tariq Ali, concentrates on the idea that the USSR is a degenerated workers' state. This theory was put forward by Trotsky himself who argued that: "the social revolution, betrayed by the ruling party, still exists in property relations—"

In other words Russia is a workers' state because the workers formally own the means of production. The "degeneration" manifests itself in a corrupt bureaucracy.

Ernest Mandel in "What is the Bureaucracy" agrees with Trotsky's idea that the social revolution is complete. But he goes on to say: "Only a political revolution will smash the power of the bureaucracy and institute the power of the proletariat."

So we have a scenario of Russian workers moving against the bureaucracy. What does the Kremlin do? It sends in the army. And what is the army but the repressive arm of the state? To take the theory to its logical conclusion the workers would have to retreat. Otherwise they would have to attack the very state

which they are trying to preserve (or appeal to the soldiers' class consciousness which is no different to what workers in a Western capitalist country would do.) This talk of a "political revolution" is essentially a way of avoiding the need of Russian workers to smash what is clearly not any kind of workers state, "degenerated" or otherwise.

For workers today in Russia is in fact no better than the West. Wealth is accumulated in order to compete with America in the arms race. The state runs the country in much the same way as a capitalist company is run: in other words Russia and countries like it are state-capitalist. Workers are exploited, just as they are in capitalist countries.

The whole idea of state-capitalism is practically missing from Tariq Ali's book. "The Stalinist Legacy" gives vivid descriptions of the fate of Trotskyists who struck in Vorkuta prison camp in the thirties and of the Hungarian uprising of 1956. But it fails to face up to the reasons why workers and socialists had to revolt against what was supposed to be their own state.

The book's main fault is that it sticks to the ultimately reformist theory of a degenerated workers' state. And for workers both East and West reform is not the answer—only revolution which is spread internationally can ever succeed in achieving socialism.

DAVID McDONAGH

A warning to women like you

HAVE YOU ever wondered why so few women are involved in politics?

Clearly it is not due to lack of ability. Women who do get involved seem to play quite leading roles. What's more, few women are involved in politics as a "hobby". On the contrary, it tends to take over their lives.

It's also a demonstrable fact that when women do get involved in politics, they tend to be somewhat to the left of men of their class. (Margaret Thatcher is, of course, the exception that proves the rule.) This fact is most obvious when you look at socialist organisations.

Despite feminist rhetoric about "male dominated organisations", women in revolutionary organisations like the Socialist Workers Movement make up about 35% of the membership. But in bourgeois parties like Fine Gael and Fianna Fail women are only a tiny fraction—certainly less than 10%—of the membership.

The reason why so few women are involved in politics and their left-wing tendencies when they are, has to do with the oppression in class society. And this is one of the main themes of Pat Murphy's film Anne Devlin.

Anne Devlin is a very beautiful film. It's also very entertaining. But above all, it is political—it is republican and feminist yet class conscious. It's about the woman who acted as Robert Emmet's housekeeper in order to cover him and his co-conspirators as they plotted the 1803 rising. When the Rising failed, she was arrested.

The only woman political prisoner, she was held for long periods in solitary confinement and constantly harassed and interrogated as she refused to inform.

The prison scenes demand comparison with conditions for women prisoners today.

Anne's period starts. Her jailor refuses to give her sanitary protection. She has to use pieces of her (dirty) skirt. The women prisoners in Armagh, or indeed Portlaoise or Limerick, will tell you that although 180 years have passed, things haven't changed too much.

As the film unfolds, her political convictions deepen and her confidence increases. She is unmoved by threats of execution, by Emmet's pleas to her to save herself by informing on those already convicted. After a while you begin to understand what de Valera had said of a later breed of republican women "they are at once the bravest and most unmanageable revolutionaries".

Anne Devlin shows how involvement in the struggle changes women's consciousness, making them aware of their sexual and class oppression. That process continues today, among the women of the nationalist community in the North, among the women involved in the miners' strike in Britain, among the working class everywhere fighting against the bosses and their system.

The film also shows how the state deals with women who become a threat to its existence. Anne was kept in solitary confinement in damp Kilmainham after her nine year old brother died in her arms from lack of medical care. She was not the last to suffer in this way. Rosa Luxemburg was battered to death, her skull crushed by a rifle butt. The women in Armagh jail are tortured regularly by strip searching.

All of this was, and is, done in an effort to keep women where the bosses want them—oppressed, passive, unwilling to get involved in overthrowing the system. That's why Anne Devlin's jailor told her "I will keep you in jail all the years of your life as a warning to women like you."

— GORETTI HORGAN

Wobbly melodies

ONE OF the things which struck many people during the recent miners strike Britain was the explosion of poems, songs and stories which took place in the mining communities. They were an attempt by those involved in the strike to express their emotions, ranging from the euphoria of the first few months to the grim determination as the struggle neared its conclusion.

DECADES

I realised that there was nothing new or unique about this when I read the "Industrial Workers of the World Songbook". It contains songs written or sung by American workers during the first few decades of this century. Like the miners songs they were not written to be top ten hits but rather to express the emotions felt and lessons learnt in the course of the struggle.

At the time when most of them were penned there was a great deal of uncertainty about exactly how socialism could be achieved. Many

believed that all that was necessary was for all workers to join in "One Big Union" which would then call a general strike, lock out the employers and simply take control of industry. This belief which is called Syndicalism is strongly expressed in the Songs.

The problem with syndicalism is that it ignores the power of the State which is always used to defend the bosses. It is ironic therefore that the main exponents of syndicalism in America at the time, the Industrial Workers of the World, were finally crushed in 1918 by the use of State repression.

BUILDING

By then the Russian Revolution had shown that the road to a workers' state lay in the building of a revolutionary socialist party rather than a "red" union.

Some of the songs in the book are well known: such as "Union Maid", "Red Flag" and a slightly altered version of the "International". Many others are written to well known tunes and mock their

original lyrics. For example to the tune of "Onward Christian Soldiers" you get the lines.

*Onward Christian soldiers:
Duty's way is plain,
Slay your Christian neighbours
or by them be slain
Pulpiters are spouting
effervescent swill,
God above is calling on you
to rob and rape and kill.
All your acts are sanctified by
the Lamb on high;
If you love the Holy Ghost,
go murder, prey and die.*

In a similar fashion the "Star Spangled Banner" is replaced by the "Banner of Labour" and instead of the sickening national chauvinism associated with the former, the latter is in the truest tradition of Internationalism.

My own favourite is "The Red Flag" and although in many socialists minds it has been tainted by its long association with the British Labour Party, it remains for me the greatest Labour song ever written.

It is hard to believe that traitors like Kinnock manage to keep a straight face each year as they sing,

*Then raise the scarlet
standard high,
Beneath its fold we'll live
and die,
Though cowards flinch and
traitors sneer,
We'll keep the Red Flag
flying here.*

Many of the songs were written by Joe Hill who was framed and executed in 1915. The one complaint I have about the contents of the book is that it leaves out the song which immortalised him. Although written ten years after his death there is no reason why it should not be included.

There are over 50 songs in all and it would be impossible to do justice to each one. But recurrent themes are the hatred of the scab and the need for solidarity between workers. Something which hasn't lost its relevance today.

The songbook would not suit everyone. But if you happen to be one of those socialists who fancy themselves as guitar playing revolutionaries or just enjoy a sing-song, then maybe it's the thing for you.

— TONY RIGNEY

Glass profits bonanza



The Crystal division produced £11 million of the profits.

From Russia with love: continued from page 8

which was a total negation of Matxism and against what the Bolsheviks had fought for.

Lenin on the third anniversary of the October revolution said "We have always emphasised that we look from an international viewpoint and that *in one country it is impossible to accomplish such a work as a socialist revolution*". Socialism in one country meant the revolution turning in on itself. It meant nationalism. With nationalism came patriotism and racism.

ANTI-ZIONIST

Stalin used anti-semitism to unseat many former Bolsheviks who happened to have Jewish backgrounds. Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Sokolnikov and Radek were firmly anti-Zionist but it did not save them from Stalin's wrath. Stalin in later years continued to speak of "rootless cosmopolitans".

Of the fifteen members of the first Bolshevik government ever to be organised, only one, Stalin, survived the great purges. Four died natural deaths—Lenin, Nogin, Skortsov-Stepanov and Lunacharsky. The other ten, Trotsky, Rykov, Shliapnikov, Krylenko, Dybenko, Antonov-Ovsenko, Lomov, Oppokov, Miliutin, Glebov, Avilov and Teodorovich were either executed on Stalin's orders or died in Stalin's prisons.

Stalin forced through massive collectivisation of agriculture (having accused Trotsky of being an enemy

of the peasants he proceeded to eliminate a whole class of peasants known as the Kulaks). Workers who supported the Opposition were murdered or forcibly removed to slave labour camps. Strikes were considered "industrial sabotage" and carried the death sentence. One man, Anton Ciliga, who was a leader of the Yugoslav Communist Party and who spent several years in the forced labour camps, estimated that at one point there were as many as *ten million* inmates.

The Russian ruling bureaucracy or "Red Bourgeoisie" as I heard them quietly referred to, do not in fact claim that the country is communist. They say that they have a "socialist" country and are in the process of "building communism"—their definition of "socialism" being derived from one of Stalin's distortions of Marxism.

Marx had said that

communism would entail "From each according to his ability to each according to his needs". In socialism Stalin declared that the guiding motto was "From each according to his ability to each according to his work".

This opened up the way for "socialist competition" whereby workers were introduced to the joys of piece-work and indeed in a textile factory we visited the director was quite proud of the bonus system which gave the mainly women workers half their earnings! Anyone who has ever worked a bonus scheme will know that that means when you are not up to the mark you only get half a wage packet.

The exploitation of workers in Russia and the other "Socialist" countries ensures that there will be workers uprisings as have already taken place in Hungary 1956 and Poland 1980.

Workers of the world must unite to build International Socialism.

— JIM BLAKE



"I AM really excited about these accounts", exclaimed Waterford Glass managing director

Derry sit-in gains partial victory

THE occupation of the Mollins factory in Derry has paid off. The workers there won a partial victory when 130 of them were re-employed by a new company — Maydown Precision Engineering.

When the Mollins closure was announced last October the 430 workers realised that the chances of them getting alternative employment was slim given Derry's chronic high unemployment rate.

That's why they occupied to defend their jobs. "Rescue" talks were started and the British government's Industrial Development Board intervened. They feared the occupation tactic might catch on among other workers threatened with redundancies.

So they have funded the new Maydown company to the miserly tune of £800,000. — just one hundredth of what was given to the De Lorean rip-off scheme. But that sum is enough to get the IDB off the hook.

Owen Kealy in "Success" magazine last month.

He was referring to the just-released figures for 1984 which show that the company has been coining money at an incredible rate and can expect to go on raking in huge profits for some time to come.

"The 1984 accounts are destined, even at this early stage, to remain one of the best sets of figures to be produced by a public company this year", enthused "Success".

Pre-tax profit last year was £14.6 million, reflecting higher sales, particularly in the US and the continuing strength of the dollar which is of great assistance to a firm with a big US export market.

As a result of this soaring success, the millionaire McGrath family and other share-holders have been able to award themselves a 20 per cent. increase in the dividend. And that follows a ten per cent hike last year. Not bad!

The Crystal Division itself produced £11 million of the profits. But the company's other interests are also on the up and up. The Aynsley China subsidiary in Stoke netted Stg£2.4 million profits and, according to "Success" "clearly has far greater potential". Already, according to recent reports in

the UK financial press, Waterford Glass has its eye on a number of other pottery firms in the Stoke area which are likely targets for a takeover if, as seems probable, Aynsley needs extra productive capacity.

FRANCHISE

Meanwhile the Switzer's group, with retail outlets in Dublin, Cork, Galway and Limerick, has, after a troubled period, begun to yield a healthy profit — £1.1 million last year and a projected £1.5 million in 1985.

The group's only loss-maker, Smith's — which has the Renault franchise for the 26 counties — seems also to have turned the corner, partly as a result of the closure of the assembly works in Wexford and enforced redundancies. Smith's losses were down to £750,000 last year and Kealy is confident that it will break even this year.

While the strength of the dollar and improved marketing have played a role, workers in the Glass will know that the fundamental reason for the company's surging profitability is that the workers turn out a very high-quality product for which there is a ready, expanding market. That £14.6 million profit has been produced *by the workers*.

Stewards should keep that very firmly in mind in making — and breaking — pay agreements.

NEWS FROM SWM

The Socialist Workers Movement is a revolutionary socialist organisation with members in Dublin, Belfast, Cork, Waterford, Galway, Dundalk, Dungarvan and Portlaoise. Its regular branch meetings are open to those who want to find out more about the politics of the SWM.

DUBLIN (city centre)
Meets every Thursday/11th April: *The politics of Rock music*/18th April *Smash Apartheid*

DUBLIN (north side)
Meets every Wednesday/April 3rd: *Why the Working class*/April 17th: *Smash Apartheid*/May 1st: *Women and the fight for Socialism*.

DUBLIN (south west)
Meets every Tuesday/April 2: *The Revolutionary Press*/April 9th: *Why we stand for Gay Liberation*/April 16: *Fascism—Can it rise again?*/April 23: *Republicanism and Socialism*

DUBLIN PUBLIC MEETING:
Stop the retreat—No extradition/speaker: **EAMONN McCANN**/Wednesday 24th April 8 pm/CIE Hall, Marlborough Street Dublin.

CORK
Meets every Thursday/Phone 932828 for details

CORK PUBLIC MEETING:
Connolly—Socialist or Republican?/speaker: **KEIRAN ALLEN**/Thursday April 11/ details from paper sellers.

Branch meeting/April 25th/Palestinian Struggle.

GALWAY
For details of branch meetings phone Kathleen 24682.
GALWAY FOLK/BLUES SOCIAL:
Saturday April 27/Richardson's Pub, Eyre Sq., 8pm
DUNDALK
Meets every second Wednesday/details phone: 36868
WATERFORD
Meets every second Monday/details see paper sellers.

PORTLAOISE
Meets every second Saturday afternoon/see paper sellers
For details of meetings in BELFAST and DUN GARVAN write to SWM, 41 Herberton Park, Rialto, Dublin 8

Socialist Worker

Stop the retreat

SOCIALIST WORKERS MOVEMENT
PUBLIC MEETING
Stop the retreat - No extradition!

speaker: EAMONN McCANN
Wednesday April 24, 8.00 pm
CIE Hall, Marlborough street
Dublin

NO EXTRADITION

From Russia with love

THE SOVIET Union, as it is now called—though it is light years removed from the “soviets” or workers councils of revolutionary Russia—is very much in the news these days.

First Chernenko is dead and all the heads of state including our own hoof it over to Moscow for the funeral. Second, the disarmament talks in Geneva between the bigwig negotiators Kempelman of the USA and Karpov of the Soviet Union, have drawn a lot of world attention, as they manoeuvre missiles around the globe at great risk to our lives.

And third, me and the missus have just returned from a cheap package tour seeing the sights and getting some small insight into the massive country which set the stage for the first working class revolution in history.

As newspaper editors and media commentators drool on about the “tractor driver” and “peasant” origins of the latest Russian premier, Gorbachyev, one thing is becoming clear. All of the Western leaders are jealous of the smooth way the leader moves into power. They are secretly envious of the well-oiled machine that the Russian Communist Party has for keeping the masses in their place—down at the bottom. No strikes, no demonstrations, no public criticism are in any way apparent.

PARADISE

Are Russian workers therefore happily beaver away in some sort of workers' paradise of Socialism?

Certainly my visit cleared up much of the myth and

prejudice that we are sold in Catholic Ireland about “Atheistic communism” (And I am of a generation that sang hymns like “O Mother of all mankind bring Russia back home again” and was warned against people like my cousin Jack Nalty who went off to fight for Communism in Spain).

In Russia people are nowadays well dressed and live in modern well-heated, though small flats. They do not stand for hours in queues for food as we were led to believe—though food in the varieties we know it is scarce and of course consumer goods are scarce, though washing machines and televisions (colour) are on sale in all the department stores.

JEANS

They will, it is true, bag you for your jeans and clothes with any kind of western label.

What is clear is that the working class *do not rule* in Russia. The rulers in the Kremlin are the inheritors of the Stalinist machine which throttled the life out of the working class revolution in the period from the 1920s onwards after the death of Lenin and the breaking up of the Workers Opposition led by Trotsky.

Lenin and Trotsky had both warned that it was the right and the duty of workers to defend themselves with strikes if necessary against *their own workers' state* but Stalin was going to have none of that. He proceeded with a policy of “building Socialism in One Country”

continued on p 7



Seamus Shannon being taken by RUC from Gardai last July.

NEXT MONTH, Brendan Burnswill face extradition from the 26 Counties to the North for an armed attack on the British army in Camlough in 1981.

Up to recently, his defence that he was engaged in a political struggle against British rule would be enough to see him acquitted.

But over the last year the top judges have swung behind extradition.

● In March 1984, Dominic McGlinchey became the first political activist to be extradited after a rushed midnight session of the Supreme Court. The RUC had charged him with the murder of a sub-postmistress, Hester McMullen. There was not a shred of evidence for the charge. McGlinchey's defence against extradition in the South was used as the basis for convicting him in the Northern juryless courts.

● In July 1984, Seamus Shannon was handed over to the RUC. He is still on remand

in the Crumlin Road awaiting his trial.

● In February 1985, John Patrick Quinn was extradited to the British police. Rejecting his defence, Chief Justice Finlay argued that there could be no protection under Irish law for those who sought to overthrow the constitution and establish a workers' republic.

The liberal press claim that the moves for extradition come from an independent judiciary. It could not be further from the truth. Recently retired Chief Justice O'Higgins, who delivered the verdict on McGlinchey, was an active member of the Blue-shirts in his youth and a Fine Gael candidate for the Presidency in the sixties. His successor, Finlay, was a former Fine Gael TD. One of the judges in the Quinn case, Tony Hederman was formerly the national treasurer of Fianna Fail. All of them come from incredibly wealthy backgrounds. All of them have a long record of handing out court injunctions against workers on strike. It is nothing to

do with “independent judgement” — it is *class* justice administered by the rich against all those who oppose their rule.

In the sixties and the seventies, the judges turned down every case for the extradition of a political activist. Then they could afford the mild fiction that they had nationalist objections to the judicial set-up in Northern Ireland. But now the struggle has gone on too long. The ruling classes on both sides of the border face another decade of unemployment and unrest. It is time to hang together and drop the little fictions.

By removing the last block to full scale extradition the Southern ruling class are making an important point about themselves — their problems with imperialism are solved. They now stand fully behind the institutions of the Northern state.

The organisation most directly affected by extradition is the Republican Movement. But to date it has shown itself singularly incapable of organising a campaign to de-

fend itself from these attacks. It will not even use the forthcoming local elections in the South to highlight the issue — believing instead that it must concentrate on “local issues”.

The reason for this weakness is political. Republicanism places little faith in the possibility of mass working class action.

Nevertheless, there is an urgent need for united action against extradition. Such a campaign will not be easy. The defeats which workers have suffered coupled with the increased strength of constitutional nationalists has meant that there is a more right-wing atmosphere in the country. But a united campaign that takes its arguments to the workplaces and the working class communities can begin to turn the tide. It has to be built not around the pressure-group politics of appealing to sympathetic liberals, but around an open and direct appeal to the only class with an interest in smashing the border and sectarianism — the Irish working class.