

Socialist Worker

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism

Fianna Fail - just like Fine Gael

THE BOSSES

FRIENDS

ELECTION REPORT

FIANNA FAIL is on the way back. Everyone is fed up of the Coalition government. And to many Fianna Fail

seems the obvious alternative. Anyone interested in 26 Counties politics knows that the "Tweedledum and Tweedledee" labels of Fianna Fail and Fine Gael are totally correct. They are both bosses'

parties. They serve the same interests. Their differences are differences of style, of emphasis, of approach. So why are so many working class people looking to Fianna Fail?

Fianna Fail offers reflation of the economy and investment in the construction industry which, it claims, will provide jobs for everyone. Fianna Fail is, it tells us, the party of "the man in the

street". It is adamantly opposed to the water rates.

And of course, FF "The Republican Party" won't sell out on the North.

Back in 1977 Jack Lynch said that FF would not deserve to remain in government if it couldn't bring unemployment to below the 100,000 mark.

SMOKING

Lynch was given to smoking the pipe a lot. And his jobs turned out to be pipedreams. So are Haughey's. True, investment in the construction industry could provide hundreds of jobs but they would only be a drop in the ocean of unemployment. None of the Dail parties can do anything about unemployment. The world economic crisis has meant that the bosses aren't getting the huge profits they've come to expect from their investments. So they're not investing. And nothing Fianna Fail can do will get them putting money into jobs until they're sure of huge profits. FF can do as little about that hard economic fact as Fine Gael has.

For those of us who do have jobs, income tax is the biggest issue. When PAYE started to eat into wages in the late 70s, Fianna Fail decided the tax system was unfair and that it would do something about it. So they abolished wealth tax in 1977. The year before its abolition, this tax had raised £6.5 millions. Since then, the PAYE worker has picked up that tab too.

Fianna Fail's opposition to the water rates is another fairy tale. Their literature for the local elections says that they are opposed to water and service charges. Their canvassers tell us that they never supported the water rates.

Yet before the last general election Fianna Fail produced a detailed economic plan "The Way Forward". This stated that in order to pay

for investment in water and sewerage systems, "it will be necessary to consider imposing realistic charges on individual users of sanitary services . . . this matter will be examined in the context of legislation to empower local authorities to charge for services generally". That was in October 1982 just 6 months before the Coalition introduced the water rates to which Fianna Fail have "always" been opposed.

Fianna Fail showed its true colours on the North during the Hunger Strikes. That great Republican Haughey stood by and let ten men die. He put no pressure on Thatcher. He could have withdrawn the troops from the Border, but that would have meant breaking with his cronies in the British ruling class. And Fianna Fail will never do that.

Fianna Fail clearly provide no alternative to the bosses' policies of Fine Gael. No matter what happens in the local elections on June 20th everything will remain the same.

That doesn't mean though that we shouldn't vote. The vote is a means of expressing dissatisfaction with the way society is run. A big left vote can make the boss class feel shaky—as Sinn Fein's 59 seats in the Six Counties have done.

We say then, vote Left. Where possible, vote Sinn Fein which, for all its political faults, is the only party running which combines radical policies with a determined fight against imperialism.

But no matter who gets the votes on the 20th, the working class will have as little control over their lives as ever. Elections will never give them control—that will take action from workers ourselves to change things for ourselves.

None of the parties involved in the local elections can lead the working class in that action. The SWM is attempting to build the basis of a party which can. When you've finished voting, come and join us.



Harry Fleming, Sinn Fein candidate in Finglas, Dublin, seen here during the occupation of the Ranks Mill, of which he was one of the leaders. The Ranks occupation, which was sold out by the union leaderships but which inspired broad support at rank-and-file level, showed how to fight back against the bosses' offensive. Supporters of Socialist Worker are giving their number one preference to Harry and to Sinn Fein on June 20.

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WORLD VIEW

BRITAIN

A HOUSE of Commons committee has given the Special Branch a clean bill of health after conducting an "enquiry" into its activities. The purpose of the investigation was to examine the grounds for suspicion that the branch was persecuting individuals for political reasons. According to the committee however, such fears are "unfounded".

In the report, a subversive is defined as one who intends to "undermine or overthrow parliamentary democracy by political, industrial or violent means". This of course gives the cops a carte blanche to keep records on, and generally intimidate any striker or political activist seen as a "threat to the state". No one is safe. Naturally, civil liberties groups have heaped scorn on the report.

AUSTRALIA

THE FEDERAL Government has been forced by workers action to introduce legislation aimed at pacifying the power workers in Queensland. Since February there has been continuous industrial unrest among those employed in the electricity industry.

The initial strike was prompted by the Regional Government's use of non-union labour. The workers responded by walking out which resulted in power cuts and the blockade of the state by the unions. The authorities responded by sacking 800 men. Due to continuing trouble, the Central Government have come in over the heads of the Regional Government and have taken the power industry in Queensland under federal jurisdiction. The 800 workers will now be re-instated.

Meanwhile in the same state, the police made massive raids on abortion clinics in the middle of May. As the state justice minister described the clinics as "factories", the cops took away nearly 50,000 medical histories and caused distraught women to flee from the buildings. Local television crews filmed the scenes. Under Queensland law, abortion is only legal in exceptional circumstances. Two doctors have been charged.

SOUTH AFRICA

THE SPIRAL of unrest throughout the country continues unabated. Despite horrific police violence people are organising in their homes, in the streets and perhaps most significantly of all, in the workplaces. There were 1,560 violent incidents in black townships in the month of April alone. At the end of that month, the biggest strike ever in the country took place. Over 14,000 miners walked out of the gold mines in Western Transvaal after the bosses had sacked 92 shop stewards. Unfortunately the strike collapsed after a week when the full resources of the state were unleashed.

Nearly 400 people have been killed in the violence since September. Only six of these were from the security forces.

Two leading trade unionists and a member of the ANC have been jailed for lengthy periods for "treason". Twenty seven other leading activists are still waiting to be tried on this charge. This tactic represents an attempt by the state to smash the growing opposition, by eliminating the potential leadership.

POLAND

THE GOVERNMENT attempted a piece of international PR last July when 600 political prisoners were released under an "amnesty". The face of this has been revealed lately when the same number of people were arrested during the Solidarity demonstrations in early May. These activists now face a five year jail sentence.

The present unrest has shown that Solidarity is far from being a spent force. Over 10,000 marched in Warsaw on May Day. The official Government march was infiltrated and brought to a halt by over 500 workers. Later that evening a crowd of 2,000 gathered outside the Union's headquarters. This gathering was dispersed by repeated baton charges and water cannon.

In a survey taken by the Government last Autumn, only 25% of workers supported the imposition of martial law and the majority supported free trade unions.

Down but not out would seem to be the situation.

CENTRAL AMERICA

IT WOULD appear that relations are becoming strained between the Honduran armed forces and the Contras, who base themselves in Honduras while attempting to overthrow the Sandinista Government in Nicaragua. For the last few years the Contras have been camped along a 30 mile stretch of the border. From their positions they have launched lightning raids into Nicaragua, where they have distinguished themselves by callous murder and rape in border villages. But due to their general lack of success, it seems that the Hondurans are becoming pissed off.

One senior army officer has recently described the Contras as "a bunch of dilettantes who pass their lives in the Casino". He further opined that "they will overthrow the Sandinistas". In response to the claim by the Contras that they had 17,000 men under arms, another Honduran officer replied, "It's a lie".

RUSSIA

EVER WILLING to do what's best for the people, the Soviet Government has recently signed a two billion dollar import deal with their buddies in the US. No, it's not for some badly needed foodstuff or technology, but a great product of Western civilisation—Pepsi Cola. This will double the amount of the stuff already available in the USSR. However it can be seen as an attempt to provide a substitute for the copious quantities of Vodka consumed behind the curtain.

I wouldn't give much for their chances.

—TOM O'DONOGUE

Revolutions in the Third World

AT MANY times this century—especially since the Second World War—it has appeared that peasant-based or anti-imperialist revolutions have supplanted workers revolution as the motor of progress and hope for humanity.

The coming to power of Mao in China in 1948; the Cuban Revolution of 1959; the guerrilla victories in Vietnam; Zimbabwe, Angola and the rest were not based on the working class. Yet their victories were real and their rhetoric spoke of "socialism" and described itself as "Marxist". This led many socialists in the West to claim that the Marxist view that only the working class could create socialism was out-dated and a new road of peasant revolution in backward countries was opening up.

But the issue is by no means new. In 1917 Russia was a backward country. Predominantly peasant, its industrial capacity—although concentrated in a small number of very large factories—was tiny. Of the vast number of souls who struggle to earn a living in Tsarist Russia only about 3 million were workers.

Among socialists in Russia before the Revolution, there were three views of what was possible. All excluded the immediate building of socialism on the impoverished basis of Russian backwardness.

The Mensheviks (who would be described as "moderates" in today's phraseology) argued that the coming revolution would be like the French Revolution of 1879—"bourgeois-democratic". That is under the leadership of the liberal capitalist class the revolution would sweep away Tsarist absolutism, feudalism etc. and institute a modern capitalist Republic with parliamentary government, etc.

The Mensheviks argued, therefore, that the workers' movement should pressurise the bourgeoisie to fulfill their historically allotted task. And should refrain from raising any demands or talk of workers power that might cause the capitalists to take fright.

LENIN

Lenin and the Bolsheviks, on the other hand, recognised the futility of asking the capitalists to fight. At the end of the eighteenth century the bourgeoisie was definitely a revolutionary class prepared (more or less) to wage a resolute fight against the old order. But now they were a conservative class and while they stood to gain if Tsarism was swept aside, their fear of the workers paralysed them from taking the lead.

Although the position of capitalists in Russia would be strengthened by a successful revolution in Russia, Lenin argued, the workers' movement must remain independent of the liberal capitalist and, in alliance with the peasantry, take the revolution in their own hands to finally purge Russia of all vestiges of feudalism and Tsarism.

Trotsky took a third view. A capitalist class in modern conditions could not launch a revolutionary struggle for its own interests, because in the resulting upheaval the working class would put forward their own programme that would threaten the bourgeoisie.

The working class was the only class, he argued, who

had an incorruptible interest in overthrowing the Tsar. They were the only section of society available to lead the coming revolution. They would secure victory by championing the demands of the oppressed peasantry.

But having taken power and accomplished the democratic tasks of the "bourgeois" revolution, the workers would not step aside and return to exploitation under capitalism, but would begin to implement the programme of their own liberation—socialism.

The extent to which the workers' government could achieve this "Permanent Revolution", Trotsky argued, would depend on support from working class revolutions in the advanced countries.

In February 1917 the Tsar fell and a revolutionary period opened in Russia. On his return to Russia from exile, Lenin took up in all but name, Trotsky's "Permanent Revolution" perspective when Lenin delivered his famous "April Theses" calling for "all power to the Soviets". By October 1917 the workers were ready to take power in their own name and begin the construction of socialism in Russia. The isolation of Bolshevik Russia, the famines and Civil War and the failure of revolutions elsewhere in Europe prevented the new workers state from getting very far and eventually destroyed it—but Trotsky's perspective had been brilliantly vindicated.

But why couldn't the peasants have taken the lead? After all they were by far the most numerous class in Russia at that time. There have been many heroic peasant rebellions throughout history. But they have one central limitation. They are not a collective class.

Peasants work their land with their families. Driven to desperation by oppression a peasant rebellion will kill the feudal lord or landowner—and then what? Seize the land and work it as before. Whereas workers freeing themselves from capitalist enslavement can collectively seize hold of the factories and refashion society from capitalist fetters, peasants can only reparcel the land and increase their own consumption. Another aspect of the same question is the class differentiation within the peasantry between big and small peasants. The limit of the small farmer's aspiration is to become a big farmer. This means that peasants as a class are incapable of independent political action—they look to some other class to represent their interests.

In 1917 in Russia, it was the workers that championed their demand for land, but, as Trotsky had pointed out, throughout the nineteenth century revolutions in Europe the peasantry had always supported one faction or other of the bourgeoisie.

The young Communist International recognised the importance of "Permanent Revolution" in the contest of the anti-colonial movements developing at that time. It said at its Second Congress in 1920:—

"A resolute struggle must be waged against the attempt to clothe the revolutionary liberation movements in the backward countries—which are not genuinely communist—in communist colours. The Communist International has the duty of supporting the revolutionary movement in the colonies and backward countries only with the object of rallying the constituent elements of the future proletarian parties—which will be truly communist and not only in name—in all the backward countries and educating them to a consciousness of their special task, namely that of fighting against the bourgeois-Democratic trend in their own nation. The Communist International should collaborate provisionally with the revolutionary movement of the colonies and backward countries, and even form an alliance with it, but it must not amalgamate with it; it must unconditionally maintain the independence of the proletarian movement, even if it is only in an embryonic state".

Within a few years Stalinist reaction prevailed and in 1925, when mass workers' strikes and uprisings were spreading throughout the industrial centres of China, the Communist International instructed the young Chinese Communists Party to fuse with the Chinese Republican Movement—Kuomintang. Stalin had decided that a bourgeois ally in China would be worth the sacrifice of an independent working class party.

Here re-emerged the old Menshevik theory of stages that Lenin and Trotsky had been at such pains to overcome. First stage: national unification, expel imperialists, defeat warlords and emperors. For this "bourgeois-democratic" revolution the leadership of the bourgeoisie nationalists is appropriate, therefore disband the independent voice of workers revolution—liquidate Chinese Communist Party.

Stage two: at some indeterminate time in the dim and distant future when stage one is complete, the struggle for socialism can begin.

The results were catastrophic. In 1927 Chiang Kai-shek, leader of the Kuomintang, had the CP massacred. Never again was the Chinese Communist Party



Trotsky

to have any base at all among the workers.

The disaster of China in the twenties again vindicated Trotsky's claim that in modern conditions the bourgeoisie would not launch a serious fight against their oppressors. Rather than fight they butchered their CP allies.

In 1948, however, when Mao came to power, the essentials of the bourgeois-democratic revolution were accomplished. Didn't this refute Trotsky's Permanent Revolution theory?

Firstly Trotsky said that the bourgeoisie was no longer a revolutionary class. Experience has shown this to be categorically true. The Chinese Kuomintang—the bourgeois nationalist movement—was incapable of concerted action and waited passively during the war for the West to hand them power. Modern times have yielded no examples of nationally oppressed bourgeoisies throwing off their imperialist yoke.

Second Trotsky argued that the peasantry would not take the lead but would follow—for good or ill—the lead of other classes. In China Mao's Peoples Liberation Army was recruited from the peasantry but under the leadership of petit bourgeois intellectuals. The Peoples Liberation Army never represented the peasantry organised as a class—indeed its recruits left the ranks of the peasantry to become liberation fighters, as did Castro's guerrilla band in the fifties. This element of Trotsky's theory has been shown to be categorically true too.

Thirdly Trotsky expected that the historical necessity of accomplishing the tasks of the bourgeois democratic revolution would raise the workers to their feet. They would step forward to lead the revolution culminating in workers' power.

Trotsky mistook a possibility for a certainty. Given the defeats of the workers movement worldwide in the twenties and thirties, the domination of Stalinism among advanced workers, it could not at all be expected that workers would automatically be revolutionary.

In the situation of weakness of the old regimes in China and Cuba and the pressing need to reorganise society, socially marginal forces could—in these "over-ripe" situations accomplish some semblance of the task. But it must be noted that all the "National Liberation" regimes have had to come to terms with world capitalism and imperialism. The palpable gains for the masses of Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe are a mere show of what the liberation movements set out to achieve.

It becomes clearer as time goes on that only the working class can accomplish the task of national liberation by attacking world capitalism head on. Those who argue for a "stages" approach—national liberation first, socialism after—are flying in the face of recent history.

This is a lesson anti-imperialists in Ireland need to learn just as much as anyone else.

—KEVIN WINGFIELD



Mao's P.E.A. took power in 1948

Whatever happened to the women's movement?

FIGURES RELEASED last month by the Central Statistics Office show that ten years after the Equal Pay Act, women still earn on average only 67% of the average man's wage.

And last year, while men's wages increased by 11.5%, the wages of women workers rose by only 10.7%. The average weekly male industrial wage was £180 while the average female wage only £110. So the man's wages rose by £20.70 a week while women's rose by only £11.77 a week. In other words, the gap between male and female earnings is actually widening.

What's more, as the economic crisis deepens, the bosses look increasingly to part-time workers as a way of keeping wage costs abysmally low. Part-time workers are not covered by much of the employment protection legislation—many of them don't work enough hours per week to qualify under the Unfair Dismissals Act, Maternity leave, pay-related unemployment benefit etc. 90% of part-time workers on both sides of the border are women. Most are not organised in trade unions.

Some of the unions have begun to realise that the lack of organisation of these workers weakens the industrial strength of their

unionised co-workers. IDATU for example, has begun a campaign to recruit part-time shop workers. In some stores, like Dunnes there are as many as 5 part-time workers to every full timer.

As women workers earn relatively less and less and are forced into part-time and low paid jobs, what is the Women's Movement doing? Apart from those feminists working in the strip-search campaign, the bulk of feminists in Dublin are gathered around the Women's Centre. The Dublin Women's Centre has increasingly become the voice of the Women's Movement in the 26 Counties.

DEMANDS

Hot Press magazine recently asked the Women's Centre to draw up a list of demands which might represent the needs and interests of Irish women in 1985. The demand to stop the strip-searches in Armagh jail was conspicuous by its absence, which says a lot about the politics of the women involved.

Instead we are told that "above all"—above demands about contraception, abortion, equal pay etc.—"above all they want "An end to the national myth that Irish women impregnate themselves, i.e. exemplified by



Members of the Irish Women's Liberation Movement arrive in Dublin's Connolly Station after illegally importing condoms from Belfast.

the statement "she got herself pregnant".

In my opinion, this "above all" demand exemplifies what is worst about feminism. The expression "she got herself pregnant" is slang. It is true that it is an expression used only in relation to unmarried women—married women tend to be "expecting". But even if the expression were done away with—what difference would it make to the standard of living of single parents in the country?

It is, after all, a peculiarly Irish expression. Yet most single mothers in Britain, like their Irish counterparts, live on or below the poverty line, pay too much for childcare, have difficulties holding down their jobs etc. The fact that British slang doesn't imply that they impregnate

themselves makes absolutely no difference. In other words, this demand is about nothing more than a minor piece of linguistic sexism.

But it comes from a grouping which sees language, structures and laws as being more important than the concrete effect which these things have on people's lives.

NOTHING

For example, the demand about abortion is for "the decriminalisation of abortion". This would mean absolutely nothing to the thousands of women who go to England every year for abortions. It would not mean that abortion would be available here at all.

Unfortunately the Women's Movement, which began in this country with demands which affected the mass of

working class women—"one family, one house" and "contraception for all"—has increasingly become a movement for "liberated" lifestyles for the few women who can afford it.

That's why you didn't find them taking up issues like the Armagh strip-searches. It's divisive. Strip-searching does not affect all women—only those fighting imperialism. So those taking up the issue are clearly giving their support to the anti-imperialist struggle. Bourgeois feminists prefer to stick to issues which highlight the oppression of women without challenging the system. They don't want to rock the cradle, but neither do they want to rock the boat of class society.

DEPENDENCE

Take for example the demand listed second in Hot Press: for recognition of rape within marriage. Apart from making it clear in law that women are not their husbands' personal property, such recognition would make no difference whatsoever to the lives of thousands of women who are forced, through economic dependence, to remain in long-dead marriages.

The legal recognition of rape within marriage will do little to end it. For most women the only way out is to

get the financial independence which would allow them to leave their rapist husband. In the long run, all rape will be stopped only when we overthrow the sexist system that promotes the idea that women are second-class citizens, sexual commodities to be bought or sold or taken forcibly.

ORGANISATION

In the meantime we need to push not for changes in language or law, which make little real difference, but for access for all women to facilities such as free childcare, contraception and abortion on the health service; decent jobs with equal pay and proper working conditions, etc.

The simple and free availability of these facilities would give women the opportunity to play a full and active role in the workplace and allow us to get involved in the political struggle to overthrow class society. And allow us, in its place, to build a world where everyone, women and men, together make the decisions about, take control over, what affects our lives.

The SWM is trying to build an organisation that can lead working class women and men to do just that. Why not help us? —GORETTI HORGAN

FG LAUDS SPIKE

I NOTICE Minister Michael Noonan got a good round of applause at last month's Fine Gael Conference.

He had proved "Spike" was no holiday camp for "dangerous, uncivilised young thugs". Six young men had tried to escape, but didn't succeed.

"What we want is more prisons in Dublin to cope with Joy Riders", said Noonan. In 1982 there were 1,200 people in prison. In 1985 there are 1,922. But the real problem is on the lips of everyone in this country—when are the youth going to have jobs instead of living on £28 a week and having no proper future ahead of them? How can they be expected to sit back and listen to the Right-wing telling them to tighten their belts when they are already

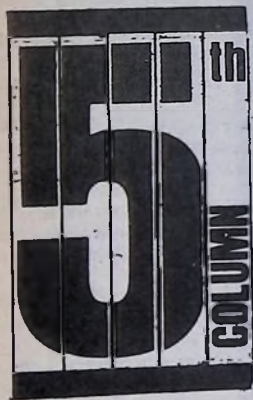
below the bread-line?

Joy Riders are a section of our working class who are fighting back at the ruling class—even if they are trying to smash some of their little luxuries. But that is not the way to change things. Workers have got to get together and fight back as one.

We have to take over the whole system and control it so as to get rid of the class that is screwing us into the ground.

It is no good fighting as individuals and giving them more power to put us down. We have to organise as one revolutionary party who can put forward the real meaning of socialism. We don't say it will be an easy ride, but it will be the last one workers will ever need to take.

—CAROL MERRIMAN



Teeth & Trousers

IT IS definitely not true that Barry Desmond has ordered the screening of "Marathon Man" in all the dentists' waiting rooms. Though it might go some way to abating the latest absurdity of the public health cuts.

Public Service Minister, John Boland has placed a recruitment embargo on dentistry. This freezes the number of public dentists at 66 in Dublin. There are 144,000 young people currently eligible for free teeth care in the city, many of whom will be too old to qualify for the treatment they need by the time their turn comes up.

At least it's safe to assume that Dublin will never be a recruiting ground for Dracula.

Late developer

THE PHRASE "all the world's a stage" was obviously coined with the likes of Ronald Reagan in mind. Having failed to play the part of his favourite hero, the Straw Man in the Wizard of Oz, on celluloid he is now attempting to fulfill his dream of having a brain even if it's just an honorary one, in real life.

Harvard University's 350th anniversary celebrations are the focus of his latest academic antics. However White House staff have had to approach the Uni very discreetly as cuts in higher education have done as much to increase the president's popularity as his collection of degrees has done to improve his mind.

In case they send him packing down the yellow brick road, he has been soliciting the support of his cronies. At a banquet in Bonn during his recent trip to Germany, he urged his hosts to join his Star War games. Which he described as a "technological path into the sunshine".

Health Warning

STILL ON the subject of thatched roofs, Denis Thatcher wins this month's

award for rhetoric questions. While visiting the Bradford disaster appeal fund's office he was handed an ash tray to put out his cigarette.

"Oh good" smiled Denis, "we don't want to start another fire, do we?"

Sinking Pints

WE ARE, of course a neutral country. It is mere coincidence that when our warriors are sent abroad to train with other warriors they always seem to end up with NATO tribes.

Last year 73 of our bravest departed these shores to learn from the fighting forces of Britain, the US, France and the Netherlands.

More than half of these went to Britain for "specialist courses". When they tired of playing soldiers they could retire to Bill Budding's pub, Sinkers. They would be just the type of customer Bill would like to welcome.

Budding claims the "honour" of firing the torpedoes which sank the Belgrano, such is the twisted mind of this former navy man that the pub is decorated with pictures of war at sea.

Pleased with reaction to the venture Bill declared there was only "one funny sort of bloke who didn't seem to like the Sinkers idea."

Silent Screen

AT THE Fine Gael Ard Fheis in Cork there was a call for Section 31—the broadcasting ban on Sinn Fein—to be replaced by an "Incitement to Hatred Act".

We wonder if this would prevent Fine Gael TDs themselves from appearing on television, considering the hatred their anti-working class policies incite?

Mind the Step

TEAR GAS was used by mine security men to disperse picketers in Johannesburg recently. Two workers were dismissed following the disturbance and 9,000 of their workmates staged an illegal strike in support of the two. Despite sparse media coverage South Africa continues to be a gold mine of workers' militancy.

Meanwhile state brutality continues. Siphon Mutsi, a student activist died from head injuries sustained after his arrest. The Attorney General of the Orange Free State said there would be no prosecution for the death. The staircases of police stations around the world are becoming slipperier and slipperier . . .

—JEAN CROSS

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 plectet 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

NI elections: SF victory

SINN FEIN'S vote in the North's local government elections shook British and Irish ruling classes. Having parroted for years that the "Troubles" were simply caused by a few "men of violence", the 59 seats won by Sinn Fein left them speechless. Sir Nicholas Scott lamely repeated that still no British Minister would talk to Sinn Fein until they gave up the armed struggle—the very platform on which Sinn Fein had won their 12% vote. Peter Barry persisted in claiming that the SDLP was the only voice of Irish nationalism—even though Sinn Fein overtook the SDLP in Belfast, Fermanagh, Omagh, Cookstown and Strabane.

40% of Catholic voters supported Sinn Fein. Their success was a verdict on the miserable attempts, both sides of the Irish sea, to establish stability in the North. The vote bears witness to those Catholic working class areas across the North who, battered by British repression, RUC intimidation, poverty and unemployment, stand squarely for the smashing of the Northern state. No wonder that Thatcher and Fitzgerald are worried.

INROADS

Sinn Fein's entry into electoral politics, from its own organisation's point of view, has clearly paid off. The much sought-after inroads into SDLP vote has been modestly achieved. The

point now is—what will they do with that newly won support?

Since the results, discussion has centred on questions of council tactics, the balance of power in the councils, who will get the chairmanship and who has the majority of the nationalist vote. Sharing control with the SDLP in some councils has led to Sinn Fein proposing pacts with the SDLP to better defend the "pan-nationalist" interest. What is wrong with this?

Firstly, as Sinn Fein itself pointed out when the SDLP were cooperating with the Unionists on the councils, defending the nationalist people is near-nigh impossible on the sham institutions of the North. With extremely limited powers, and within the general sectarian framework of the Northern state, sitting on a council can, at best, highlight the injustice of the system. It cannot do much about it.

REJECTED

Secondly, the "pan-nationalist" is not one and indivisible. Sinn Fein voters have *rejected* the SDLPs wheeling and dealing at power-sharing and *rejected* its accommodation to partition. They are looking for an alternative outside the structures of the North. Why then, look for pacts with the SDLP? For this or that chair of a council? For a united nationalist block? The truth is the mythical single nationalist block, to which Gerry Adams refers, is divided

Revolutionaries and elections

ON June 20, Southern Ireland goes to the polls to elect local councils and corporations. For the past year, Sinn Fein and the Workers Party have been preparing for the election deadline. Advice clinics have sprung up everywhere. Statements are now issued in the name of candidates rather than parties. Community politics has taken off in a big way. Revolutionary socialists, however, take a very different view of elections.

In the first place, the real power in Irish society does not lie in Dail Eireann or the councils. It lies in the boardrooms of the banks and business. It is absolute nonsense then to promise that you can effectively represent your constituents from elected office. You may be able to help get round individual problems with the bureaucracy—but that is a different matter to advancing working class interests from the council chamber.

Secondly, there is a false debate between the Workers Party and Sinn Fein on whether the institutions of parliament and local government are "legitimate" or not. The point is that they are instruments for the rule of capital. Bourgeois democracy mirrors the freedom of the market place. Everyone can vote—but the bankers of the AIB will always be happy. For that reason revolutionary socialists must always aim to destroy the illusions in parliamentarism. Against them we argue that real change only comes from mass workers action outside parliament.

That does not mean we are against contesting elections. It depends on your reasons for doing it. When the majority of workers believe in parliament then elections and the seats won can be used to expose those illusions. Sixty years ago the Communist International advised that any elected revolutionary socialist should bear in mind that they were "not legislators seeking agreements with other legislators but political agitators in the enemy's camp." The only role for a revolutionary in parliament or local government is to use it as a platform to argue for mass action outside the parliament.

That orientation should be evident in the election campaign itself. Instead of simply trying to get votes, revolutionary socialists should be using the electoral campaign to highlight the campaigns and agitations of their party. They should be seeking to build a fight against extradition or unemployment or for solidarity with strikers through the election campaign.

Unfortunately, despite their claims to revolutionary socialism, neither Sinn Fein nor the Workers Party will be doing any of these things. Instead they wind up most other party activities in order to prepare for the elections. During the elections they do not challenge illusions in voting—but rather re-inforce them by promising to do wonders once elected. Their electoral strategy forces them into an exclusively community orientation. The more unpopular issues like strikes are rarely brought up. Both WP and SF do this because, despite their differences on the North, they have one view in common: that socialism can be handed down from above.

The work of revolutionary socialists is to show that socialism can never come from above but only through the self-activity of workers. Destroying workers illusions in elections is an important step in that process.

into two: the SDLP middle class which gets something from trying to reform the system and the Catholic working class which gets very little. To talk of unity of the nationalist block in the councils, ends up being just another form of the sectarian head-count.

In the Southern local elections too, Sinn Fein's overall and over-riding nationalist preoccupation leads to some glaring contradictions.

On the one hand, it is true, Sinn Fein must be the only political party in the local elections who raises the question of the North at all. Most other would-be local councillors will be offering favours here and amenities there, and avoiding politics altogether. Gerry Adams, at the SF Press Conference to launch their southern election campaign stated quite clearly that they were asking the electorate to endorse armed resistance against the British occupation of the North.

The politics are far less clear-cut when it comes to the South. They are vague on what they stand for and, more importantly, what needs to be done. Nowhere are we told what workers must do to fight the cuts, or resist redundancies. Workers are asked to endorse the armed struggle but there are no arguments on what can be done now to fight extradition and the special Criminal Courts. Sinn Fein are unclear even on the nature of the institutions they are standing for. As Republican News stated: "many people regard the southern institutions as legitimate". Does that mean that they are adapting to them? Or does that mean that they think Sinn Fein should argue alongside the minority for the overthrow of the Southern state.

VAGUENESS

There is a reason for all this vagueness. The truth is that the "republican alternative" covers a multitude of stands. While Christy Burke in Dublin Central has been involved in workers struggles—like the Ranks occupation—and is seen to represent a working class vote in the area, in Galway the SF councillor tells a different story. He is an employer and a right winger. Just as there is an ambiguity on the nationalist "block" in the North, the "republican alternative" is cross-class in the South.

The central slogan of the SF campaign has been "For Effective Local Leadership". Nothing could be vaguer. It would seem to imply that the record of SF in its clinic work will be transferred to the councils if elected.

Thorough-going clinic work is a far cry from revolutionary resistance. Indeed it implies that with enough hard work, the system can be reformed. Sinn Fein's stress on community politics goes to the very heart of republicanism—that a few "effective local leaders" can substitute for the mass activity of workers.

—MARNIE HOLBOROW

ZIONISM

ZIONISM, as a movement commanding popular support among Jews all over the world is very much a modern phenomenon. To understand the deep-rooted racism which is at the heart of the present day Middle East conflict, we must return to the roots of Zionism, which has its origin in 19th century Central Europe. Zion is an ancient Hebrew word meaning Jerusalem. The term "Zionism" was used for the first time in 1894, coined by an Austrian Jew, Nathan Birnbaum.

In the late 19th century, as capitalism moved into crisis, anti-semitism became rampant. As a result of economic deprivation and successive waves of pogroms and persecutions, millions of Eastern European Jews emigrated to the USA and, to a lesser extent, to Western Europe. The arrival of these strictly orthodox Jewish paupers was a source of embarrassment and fear for the well-established bourgeois Jewish communities of Western Europe and the United States. But in spite of emigration, up to the outbreak of World War Two, the bulk of the world's Jewry was constituted by the teeming masses living in the ghettos of Poland, Lithuania, Galicia, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Hungary and the Ukraine.

In 1896, Theodor Herzl, a well-to-do assimilated Austrian Jew, who as correspondent for the Viennese *Neue Freie Presse* in Paris had been shocked by the rising wave of anti-semitism during the Dreyfus



ZIONISM: MODERN MESSIAH?



Zionism never had the support of all Jews. Even today it is rejected by some orthodox Jews as well as by socialists.

— the ideology behind the Israeli state

was and is, a nationalist, colonisatory venture. Nor has Zionism ever sought to fight anti-semitism. Zionism's answer to anti-semitism has always been to "opt-out" or "get away" from it. Zionists have always believed that anti-semitism is innate and inherent in the "Gentile" world, and as such, incurable. In fact, paradoxically, it is very much in the interest of Zionists to "fan the flames" of anti-semitism, for it is only thus that their ideology can remain active. Both of these extremes view *the Jew* as the problem, though obviously they have different ways of resolving the question. Zionists regard any Jew living in "exile" as somehow "distorted human beings". The Zionist answer is to "opt-out", all Jews must emigrate to Israel/Palestine. The Nazis, of course exemplify the extremist anti-semitic answer.

It is worth noting that strictly orthodox Jewish teaching regards Zionism as an abomination. Before the holocaust and the annihilation of over 6 million Jews in the crematoria of the Nazi death camps, the great majority of Jews opposed Zionism.

Isaac Deutscher, Trotsky's biographer, wrote "At this period Zionism began to develop as a political movement drawing its support mainly from the Jewish communities in Western countries." But the great majority of Eastern European Jews were, up to the outbreak of the second World War, opposed to Zionism. This is a fact of which both Jews and non-Jews in the West are seldom aware.

The Zionists in our part of the world were a significant minority, but they never succeeded in attracting a majority of their co-religionists. The most fanatical enemies of Zion were precisely the workers, those who spoke Yiddish, those who were part of Jewish communities; they were the most determined opponents of the idea of an emigration from Eastern Europe to Palestine. In Poland in 1939, the Jewish population was for the last time electing the leaders of its communities, the *Kelilahs*. The communists, who were then very influential, regarded the *Kelilahs* as clerical institutions and boycotted the elections.

The fiercely anti-Zionist Bund (Jewish Workers Party) took part and polled the great majority of the votes.

Jewish opinion in the West very often equates anti-Zionism with anti-semitism. According to this view the Jews of Eastern Europe in their great majority were just antisemites! This conclusion, of course, is an absurdity. The fact is that the idea of an evacuation, of an exodus from the countries in which they had their homes and in which their ancestors had lived for centuries, — in all this the anti-Zionists saw an abdication of their rights, a yielding to hostile pressure, a surrender to anti-semitism. To them anti-semitism seemed to triumph in Zionism, which recognised the legitimacy of the old cry "Jews, Get out!" The Zionists were agreeing to "get out".

When Herzl died in 1904, Dr. Chaim Weizmann from Grodno in Tsarist Russia, became the acknowledged leader of the Zionism movement. Weizmann was very influential in British diplomatic circles, and through many machinations and manipulations succeeded in obtaining the Balfour Declaration from the British government in November 1917. This was one of the most improbable political documents of all time. In it one nation solemnly promised to a second nation the country of a third! The Mandate contained two obviously contradictory promises made in one breath: the establishment of a Nation National Home for Jews in an Arab country, but without prejudice to the rights of the Arabs!

HOLOCAUST

It was the failure of the German Revolution, 1918-23 and the subsequent smashing of the biggest and best organised working class in the world that brought the Nazis to power in Germany. The ensuing holocaust understandably had the most traumatic effect on the Jewish psyche. The Zionists' argument seemed the only solution. On the 15th May 1948 the Israeli State was declared. Arabs were evicted at gun-point from the lands on which they had lived for many centuries.

The atrocities perpetrated by the Israeli terror-gangs are far too many to enumerate. Suffice it to say that the massacre of 254 men, women and children, many of whose

bodies were mutilated, in April 1948 by the Irgun at the village of Deir Yassein was just the same as what the Nazis did in the locality of Oradour-sur-Glance in

France in 1944 or at Lidice in Czechoslovakia in 1942. The overall commander of the Irgun and the Avraham Stern terror-gang was none other than Menachim Begin. All these terrorist gangs were later amalgamated into the Israeli Armed Forces.

Many socialists today find it difficult to oppose the Zionist solution—to give the Jews "a country without a People". But Palestine was not a country without a people. In order to colonise Palestine, the Palestinians had to be excluded. Their exclusion is the founding principle of the Israeli state.

PALESTINIANS

The Histadrut—the Jewish "trade union" in Israel—was built some 30 years before the state of Israel was declared. Yet even at that time, it was based on the principle of excluding Arab labour. It organised pickets of anyone employing Arabs and boycotts of Arab producers.

Once the Palestinians had been driven by terror from their land, the Labour government of Israel introduced the Law of Return. The Law of Return is straightforward. Any Jew anywhere has the right to settle in Israel. Any non-Jew (except Palestinians) has the right to visit Israel. No Palestinian born in Palestine or their descendants have the right to return. It is racism of the first order. The Law of Return is the inevitable conclusion of Zionism. Without it, four million Palestinians would return to Palestine—the Jewish state would not survive.

Zionism maintains that only a separate road to self-determination can deliver the Jews from oppression. But there is no path to self-determination possible for the Jews, or any oppressed group, *separate* from that to free all workers and all the oppressed from the yoke of capitalism and imperialism.

Socialists support the struggle for national liberation in so far as it is won *at the expense of imperialism*. The Jewish state can survive only by winning the backing, and acting *on behalf of*, imperialism.

—JOE O'BRUADAIR

Can the PLO beat Zionism?

THE STRUGGLE against Zionism has been led by the Palestine Liberation Organisation. It holds a similar nationalist outlook to the IRA in Ireland. It sees the struggle against Israel in two stages. First, a democratic Palestinian state and then, after this has been achieved the struggle for socialism can begin.

Today, the PLO is in crisis. Over twenty years of military resistance against Israel has led nowhere. As a result, the organisation has split. The Arafat wing is now looking for a reconciliation with America. By doing so, it believes that it can win a separate West Bank state for the Palestinians. The Americans have proposed that such a state would be directly under the control of Jordan. It would be made up of the area conquered by Israel after the 1968 war.

In order to win such a state Arafat is promising to turn away from the path of armed resistance. He has even given hints of a willingness to recognise the legitimacy of the state of Israel. The secret of the strategy is to hitch the Palestinian cause onto the protection of American imperialism.

A more militant wing has now split off from Arafat. But they look to Syria for the means to continue the armed struggle. They could not have chosen a worse ally. In 1976, the PLO joined with the Lebanese left to attack the dominance of the Phalangists. Once it appeared that they were close to victory, Syria intervened to maintain the Maronite regime. There was nothing that the super-nationalist regime of Assad feared more than a victory for left wingers who actively supported the Palestinian cause. Last month, Assad manipulated the Amal militia of the Shi'ite community into an attack on the Palestinian camps of Chatilla and Sabra.

How has the PLO ended up with such rotten politics? From its very beginning all wings of the PLO believed that the struggle against Israel could be won by the armed struggle and the support of "progressive" regimes. The Middle East has an abundance of such regimes. The rulers of countries such as Iraq, Libya, Syria have all portrayed themselves as hard line supporters of the PLO. This has been a way of diverting their own population from attacking their privileges in a similar way to Fianna Fail's verbal republicanism. The history of the PLO is littered with the "betrayals" of these "progressive" supporters.

There was and there is an alternative—the Arab working class. Firstly, a sizeable section of the Palestinians now find themselves inside the borders of Israel. Increasingly, the Israeli state has come to depend on their labour. Secondly, there is considerable working class resistance to the pseudo progressive Arab regimes. Egypt has seen mass strikes over food prices. There was a sizeable Communist Party in Syria and Iraq—until they too went into alliance with the "progressive" regimes.

If the Palestinian movement worked around a strategy that put this working class at the core of the fight against Zionism, they could win. That means openly attacking and seeking the overthrow of regimes that function as a prop to Israel—whatever their fine words. It means fighting for a socialist Palestine. It means a turn from the purely militarist road to a policy of organising resistance of the Palestinians inside Israel.

—KIERAN ALLEN

trial, published a pamphlet "Der Judenstaat". This roused vast interest. In it he envisaged solving the "Jewish Question" by gathering the world's Jewry, dispersed in almost every corner of the globe, into a national "homeland". On 29th August 1897 the first World Zionist Congress was held at Basel, with 204 delegates attending (it was meant to be held in Munich, but the local Rabbis objected). It ended with the resolution "to secure for the Jewish people a home in Palestine guaranteed by Public Law".

At the second World Zionist Congress the following year, Herzl stated "the English were the first to recognise the necessity of colonial expansion in the modern world, and therefore I believe that the Zionist idea, which is a colonial idea, must be understood in England easily and quickly". In his diary he wrote, describing the state he wished to see created, "We should there form a portion of the rampart of Europe against Asia, an outpost of civilisation as opposed to barbarism". This point should never be forgotten about Zionism; it is not, and never was, a movement of national liberation. It always



New technology threatens jobs at Irish Press

WORKERS AT the Press Group of newspapers have paid a high price for the lack of unity between the unions.

All 850 of them were laid off on May 20th after a Management deadline for acceptance of New Technology had passed without an agreement from the Irish Print Union to operate it.

The origins of the dispute lie in the "sectionalism" of the other unions involved, each of which signed deals to safeguard the size of its own membership without any regard to the effect it might have on the jobs of workers in other unions. In doing so they were playing right into the hands of the Company.

The Press Management have seen the issue of New Technology as a useful wedge for driving between the unions.

This has proved convenient enough since New Technology can often blur or extinguish the dividing line between the areas traditionally represented by each union. That makes it easy enough to play one

union off against another over who has the right to organise in what area.

The Print bosses in Britain have long known the advantages of these methods. At the "Portsmouth News" and "Wolverhampton Express and Star", they have managed to set the journalists of the NUJ and printers of the NGA at each others throats.

A similar situation now exists at the Press where the NUJ and IPU have ended up blaming each other for the lock-out.

The usual outcome of such disputes is that the management get the changes they want while all the unions involved are considerably weakened.

But workers can fight back against these "divide and rule" tactics. All members of the Print Unions should push for the following measures to ensure that what has happened at the "Press" doesn't happen again.

1. Rank and file unity—no crossing picket lines and no taking jobs from other workers.

2. No deals over New Technology to be introduced without the mutual agreement of all unions involved.
3. Joint branch meetings and the forming of a federated branch where possible.
4. Maintenance of the closed shop.

These measures if implemented can bring an end to the divisions between workers and between unions, so that instead of fighting each other they can fight together.

DUNNES STORES STRIKE CAN WIN

continued from page 8

Let's get this one straight. Members of the Labour Party worked might and main to commit their party to all-out backing of the strikers against the bosses. And they succeeded. And the end result is that the Labour Minister responsible backs the bosses against the strikers.

No doubt there'll be a motion to next year's Labour Conference condemning Quinn. And that will be passed too—just as this year's conference condemned Liam Kavanagh for reneging on last year's party policy and bringing in water rates. And the condemnation will run of Quinn's back, as it ran off Kavanagh's, like water off a duck.

Socialist energy directed into the Labour Party is energy wasted. Dunnes shows it.

Faced with these facts, one tiny group of strike supporters decided that what was missing was old-fashioned Republican-style direct action. The INLA planted incendiaries in the Henry Street store and a more shadowy group fire-bombed a firm which

had been scabbing. The only result of that was to cause confusion and alarm among some supporters of the strike and to give right-wing law-and-order fanatics a chance to rush in with condemnation. It weakened rather than strengthened the strike.

So what is missing? The answer is as plain as the guilty look on Ruairi Quinn's face. What's needed is rank-and-file solidarity action.

Some of those supplying and servicing the Henry Street store are hardened scabs. But some others are good trade unionists. There are trade unionists in some firms packaging and dispatching goods destined for Henry Street. There are unionised ESB workers, telephone workers, corporation refuse collectors, etc. whose work is essential in keeping the store open. Their support in action would be much, much more important than the benign sympathy of people who are opposed to apartheid but would run a mile from an attempt to spread the strike.

The picket in Henry Street itself is nowhere near as effective as it could be. The store takes in up to £100,000 every Thursday-Friday-Saturday. Simultaneously with other workers trying to disrupt its operation, an effort should be made to blockade the entrance to the store on at least those three days every week. That would require an energetic

campaign to get many more trade unionists down on the picket line even to win support for half day stoppages, for example, so that workers could get to Henry Street en masse.

A much more vigorous effort is needed to win backing from unionised workers in other Dunnes stores. That would require calling meetings of these workers at which the strikers could appeal directly for support, leafleting the stores, a poster campaign, etc. backed if possible by an official union instruction and directed in the first instance towards a one-day stoppage on a major shopping day.

PARASITE

This type of action wouldn't be very "popular". There'd be no bishops or government ministers expressing "admiration" for those trying to pull it off. But it's the only thing that would hit Ben Dunne hard economically. And that's the only language he and his parasite class have ever understood.

Who's going to organise such action? Quite obviously, not the Labour Party or official ICTU leaderships. Ideally, it should be done through the strikers' own union, IDATU. But it should be done anyway.

Socialist Worker repeats that we are willing to work alongside members of any other political group and individuals of no particular political affiliation to bring such a campaign into existence and make it effective. We have been arguing this now for some months. Many others have expressed support for this strategy in broad, general terms. What is needed from them is practical cooperation to put it into effect.

There is an enormous fund of sympathy among trade unionists for the Dunnes strikers. We need to turn that sympathy into solidarity action. If that isn't done the strike will not end in victory. And only a rank-and-file campaign can deliver solidarity action.

We say to everyone on the Left: Let's get together and do it.

Waterford WP breakaway

THE Workers Party has become unstuck in the local elections in Waterford. A breakaway group, styling itself the "Waterford People's Party" is contesting the election to "set new standards of political conduct in City Hall". Its candidate is Martin O'Regan, a former Workers Party candidate in 1979.

O'Regan's manifesto—issued in green, white and

gold—concentrates on attacking council junkets. It estimates that their two former party colleagues, Councillors Gallagher and Walshe, are among the main beneficiaries of the junkets. Paddy Gallagher went on 34 trips at an estimated expense of £12,000 while Davy Walshe had twenty trips for £8,200. Nothing spectacular in that—except that WP party leader Tomas MacGiolla

pledged that his party would be to the forefront in attacking the junkets.

The rest of the Waterford People's manifesto is a mish-mash of confusion and platitudes. If there are socialists among them, it is well hidden. All of which proves that it is not enough to simply leave the Workers Party—you have to break fully with their rotten politics.

REPORTS

CPSSU Broad Left launch

THE Civil and Public Services Staff Union is not known for rank and file militancy. This view was further reinforced at its annual conference, held in Malahide during May.

A motion allowing members a ballot on arbitration "awards" was defeated. One delegate got a poor response when he suggested a move towards strike action on wage claims. All reliance is still on the negotiating skills of full-time officials and the "independence" of the arbitrator.

For many people, promotion seems to be the only way of getting higher wages. General Secretary Billy Lynch talked about seeking more promotion outlets. Militants must argue that promotion can only benefit a few while decent pay rises improve everyone's position.

A Women's Affairs Committee was the subject of another motion, which fell. The purpose of the resolution was to get more women involved in the union and to end discrimination in the workplace, but it still reflected a reliance on action from above through committees, etc. Discrimination against women in the Public Service can only be countered by rank and file action.

On the positive side a fringe meeting was held to discuss the setting up of a broad-left. The slogan was: For a fighting, democratic union and the meeting was well-attended. Unfortunately it became bogged down in a discussion about the wages of

full-time officials which must have left Billy Lynch's ears burning!

Activists in the CPSSU must now tally round the Broad Left and the need for orientating to the rank and file must be emphasised. Members' confidence must be restored by taking up the day to day issues in the workplace—small victories here and there can be the key to a real fight against wage restraint and public service cuts.

—DAVE McDONAGH,
(Telecom Accounts Branch,
CPSSU)

Galway Hospital

TWO DOMESTIC staff members in Galway Regional Hospital, Mary Curran and Tina Broderick, found themselves being victimised recently for objecting to the behaviour of a supervisor who hurled kitchen utensils, pots, pans etc. and verbally abused them. Both women issued a report of the incident to management, hoping the troublesome supervisor, who is well in with management, would be disciplined. Instead they themselves were to be transferred to another wing of the hospital for their sins.

They objected to this and were sent home. Despite being advised by their shop steward not to, they formed an unofficial picket at the hospital gate on the following Monday May 6th. They were joined on the picket line by 80 workers, some from their union ITGWU, both domestic and

laundry workers and 30 UCATT members from maintenance. A union meeting was called and union official Paddy Powell advised an immediate return to work, promising to put their case through the appropriate channels to make the strike official. The two women are back at work and have heard nothing from the union since.

—BARRY MULLIS
SWM Galway

Storage Tech.

WORKERS at Storage Technology have still got jobs—despite the bankruptcy of their firm eight months ago. The liquidator was recently looking for 60 redundancies. He was prepared to offer one week above the statutory redundancy pay. He got only ten volunteers to take his offer. He was forced to withdraw it.

Despite the failure to launch an all-out sit-in, Storage Technology can still exert considerable pressure. If the workers at this multinational electronics plant were to launch a major campaign to pressurise the

IDA to find them alternative jobs, they could win a lot of support. But the first step in that fight would have to be to take over the plant again. As long as the liquidator stays in control, he will work to demoralise and divide the remaining workers.

DDH Strike

WHAT WAS the DDH in Ballyfermot out on strike for? Union recognition.

9 workers have sought to join AGEMOU. The decision came after the employers tried to worsen conditions. Once the workers joined the union 4 were made redundant. DDH instal Fire Extinguishers. They have many contracts with Dublin Corporation. They should be immediately blacked and kept out of all union jobs until AGEMOU is recognised.

Collections and support for strikers are needed. One of the shop stewards spoke at a SWM Public meeting in the Liberties and raised a collection. They should now tour the factories in the Ballyfermot area and explain their case.

**Support Dunnes
Mass Picket
2pm Henry St
every Saturday**

Called by Dublin Council of Trade Unions

NEWS FROM SWM

The Socialist Workers Movement is a revolutionary socialist organisation with members in Dublin, Belfast, Cork, Waterford, Galway, Dundalk, Dun Garvan and Portlaoise. Its meetings are open to those who support the politics of this paper.

Dublin Northside meets every Wednesday:

Wednesday 19th: State Capitalism
Wednesday 26th: Marxism and Nationalism

Dublin Central meets every Thursday:

Thursday 20th: Marxism and Nationalism
Thursday 27th: Women's Liberation and Socialism
Thursday 4th July: Permanent Revolution

Dublin Southside meets every Tuesday:

Tuesday 18th: Women's Liberation and Socialism
Tuesday 25th: Why the Russian Revolution was lost
Tuesday 2nd July: Party and Class.

For details of all Dublin meetings phone 716932 or write to the national address below.

SWM members also meet in Galway, Cork, Waterford, Dundalk, Dun Garvan, Belfast. For details see below.

Public Meetings:

ISRAEL — A RACIST STATE?

Speaker: CHANIE ROSENBERG (SWP)

Monday 10th BELFAST
Conway Mills, off Falls Road.
Tuesday 11th DUBLIN
CIE Hall, Marlboro' St, behind Clerys
Wednesday 12th WATERFORD
The Old Rogue Pub,
Apple Market.
Thursday 13th GALWAY
Currans Hotel
Friday 14th DUNDALK
Wine tavern, Park St.,

For details for these and all meetings, contact paper sellers or write to National Office: 41, Herberton Park Rialto, Dublin 8. or phone 716932

Socialist Worker

Dunnes Stores STRIKE CAN BE WON

THE Dunnes Stores strike is the most popular strike there has been in Ireland in living memory. So why are the strikers no nearer to winning than they were on July 19 last year when they came out on the picket?

The answer to that question is important to every trade unionist.

The Dunnes strikers have been backed by the churches; by the Lord Mayor of Dublin; by the whole official Irish trade union movement through the ICTU; by unanimous vote of the Labour Party Conference; by sections of Fianna Fail which, unprecedentedly, have come down and joined the picket line; by the entire left, including the Workers Party and Sinn Fein and a multiplicity of smaller left groups by liberal organisations like Anti-Apartheid and Afri; even by national newspapers which normally spit venom at "ordinary" strikers; and so on and on.

Even fully-fledged right-wingers, like Fine Gael's John Bruton, find it necessary to express "personal admiration" for the strikers while refusing to come down on their side.

No other strike has ever had such sympathy. But clearly it isn't enough. There's something missing.

There's a lesson here for those who argued that the British miners lost because they didn't gain enough public sympathy, that the absence of a ballot and aggressive tactics by picketing miners alienated support. If that were true, if broad public support was the key to winning disputes, Karen Gearon, Mary Manning and the nine other Dunnes strikers would have been back at work victorious many months ago. They are not, because broad public support is not the key to winning disputes.

ALL-OUT PICKET

And neither is winning the official backing of the labour and trade union movement. Many strikes are weakened because they are unofficial and this is used as an excuse to withhold support from them. Or because, although they are official, other unions don't seriously try to weigh in behind them.

But this doesn't apply to the Dunnes dispute. To its credit, the union, IDATU, made it official from the word go. And the ICTU granted the all-out picket immediately. But the practical result of that formal backing has been near enough nil. In terms of putting pressure on Ben Dunne it hasn't made a blind bit of difference. There's something extra needed which hasn't been applied.

And supporters of the strike can't complain about Labour Party policy either. At its conference in Cork at the beginning of May the Labour Party passed an excellent policy on Dunnes. It called for the complete backing by the ICTU of the Henry St store and of firms continuing to supply the store. The motion was passed unanimously. Neither Dick Spring or Ruairi Quinn nor Barry Desmond, John Carroli or anybody else opposed it. This was a definite triumph for the Labour members—mostly members of Labour Youth, organised around the "Militant"

newspaper—who had put the motion up and organised and lobbied to win support for it.

The Dunnes dispute has been a good test of the strategy which says that socialists should direct working-class struggles through the Labour Party. Because on this issue the Labour Youth comrades have succeeded magnificently. The unanimous backing of the party's supreme policy-making body, annual conference. A considerable triumph achieved as a result of great effort. It is now absolutely firm and official Labour Party policy to organise the all-out backing of the store and its suppliers in conjunction with the ICTU.

DAMN ALL

And so what? The Labour Party member with the most powerful potential to support the strikers is Ruairi Quinn who, as Minister for Labour is, by happy chance, the cabinet member directly involved. What's he done about the party's fine policy?

The answer is sweet damn all. He's behaved as if it had never happened. He merely referred the dispute to the Labour Court.

Referring it to the Labour Court suited those union leaders who all along had led the strikers to believe that because their cause was just and reasonable what they needed was to get a "fair" adjudication of the issue. Much was made of the refusal of Ben Dunne to agree to impartial "impartial" arbitration.

ACKNOWLEDGE

The problem is that the Labour Court is not "fair" or "impartial". It is an instrument of the state, and the State exists to defend the interests of Ben Dunne and his class. But since the Labour Party is committed to working within the existing machinery of the State, that is something which it cannot afford to acknowledge.

So when the Labour Court, inevitably, backs Ben Dunne against the strikers Ruairi Quinn has no option but to go along with it. The Labour Court told the strikers to surrender. Ruairi Quinn endorsed the report.

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Why FG, FF want deal with Brits and why it won't work



Gardaí hand over Seamus Shannon to RUC last year.

GARRET FITZGERALD told his party conference last month that the talks with the British Government on the North "have a 50-50 chance of success". He's a bit of an optimist.

Meanwhile Charlie Haughey has been telling "Today Tonight" that if only he was Taoiseach he could negotiate a peaceful British withdrawal from the North while guaranteeing to look after British interests in the new, united Ireland. He'll be offering next to ski up Mount Everest backwards.

Both FitzGerald and Haughey are quite open and explicit about the fact that they are not opposed to British imperialism in Ireland. What they are up to is doing a deal with British imperialism which would secure its interests in this country while at the same time giving the South some say in running the North. They might differ about the details but essentially this is what they are after.

The reason they want a role for themselves in the North is that they think this is necessary to quieten down the Northern Catholics whose continued militancy is a threat to political stability in the whole island.

Thus the latest leaks from

London suggest that the secret negotiations are focussing on the possibility of all-Ireland courts, joint control of security in border areas or even generally, creating some structure which would enable Dublin to directly represent Northern Catholics and so on. The idea being that, because they had access to these "official" partly-nationalist channels and institutions, Catholic workers would be less likely to turn to Sinn Fein and the IRA.

The first problem with this is that there's nothing in it for the Brits. They are stuck with the sectarian state

SECTARIANISM

in the North, which they created, armed and encouraged and which had provided them with a solid and dependable basis of support in Ireland for more than 60 years. Sure, they'd have liked to "reform" it, to escape the embarrassment which the cruder aspects of sectarianism cause them and which make it difficult for Dublin governments to be their close, open allies.

But the Northern state has proven irreformable. It's institutions—the police, the UDR, the courts—reflect the

sectarian nature of the state at its inception. The anti-Catholic bias in employment in many industries and in local government is as strong as ever, as was clearly shown by the last Fair Employment Agency report—which revealed that Catholics are still more than twice as likely as Protestants to be unemployed. It would have been difficult to end discrimination in jobs even in a time of boom. In the deepening recession it has been flatly impossible.

PREDICTIONS

"Equal rights for all" would require the dismantling of the Northern state. Tens of thousands of Catholic workers who bear the brunt of the inequality recognise that, which is why they voted against all predictions to give Sinn Fein 59 seats in last month's local elections. But Britain isn't going to dismantle the Northern State just because a section of the working class suffers under it. And they are certainly not going to do it just to make life easier for Garret FitzGerald or Charlie Haughey.

In a phrase, the minimum reforms which the Free State needs are way beyond what

the Northern State could concede and still survive. The massive working class Protestant support for the DUP, the OUP and more extreme figures like "burn-the-Catholics" Seawright is itself a reflection of that. With no credible socialist alternative anywhere on offer, Protestant workers, their sense of security already undermined by rising unemployment and the Tory cuts in services, have huddled into the traditional security of "their" State.

DILEMMA

In this situation, FitzGerald and Haughey are caught in an impossible dilemma. They represent the Free State ruling, capitalist class which has no interest in a conflict with their British counterparts. So they cannot represent the interests of the Northern Nationalist workers who are in deep and intense conflict with British capitalism and its Tory mouth-pieces.

That's why "constitutional nationalism" is unable to inflict a decisive defeat on Sinn Fein. Marxists have many criticisms to make of Sinn Fein politics. In particular, we criticise as futile their concept of an all-class alliance of nationalists against the British. For us, the bottom line is that only the working class, under the leadership of class, under socialist leadership, can defeat imperialism, and when it does the result won't be the extension of the Free State over the whole island but the creation of socialism and an end to both Irish states.

But with regard to the need to defeat British imperialism rather than do a deal with it, and to dismantle the Northern State rather than "reform" it, Sinn Fein is absolutely right, and those "left-wingers" who sit on the fence on the issue or try to hide behind abstract slogans about working class unity in the far future are absolutely wrong.