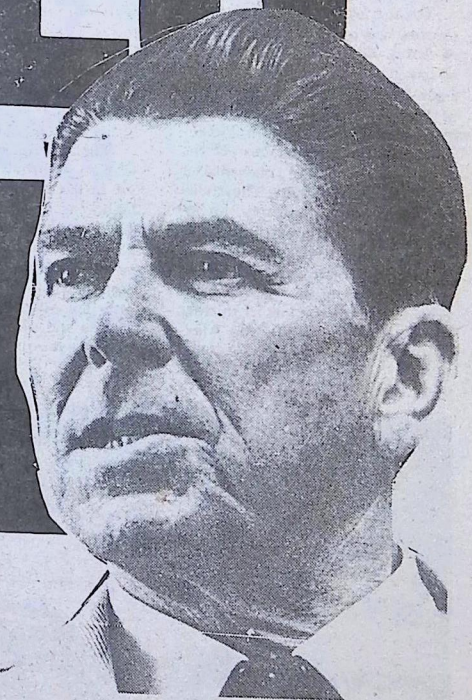


W THE WORKER

Paper of the Socialist Workers Movement

INSIDE:
Sinn Fein Ard Fheis:
Eamonn McCann
reports

STOP THEIR MISSILES



**KEEP IRELAND
OUT OF NATO**

REAGAN AND Thatcher have taken the world a step closer to war.

Their Christmas present to us all are Cruise and Pershing missiles.

Those are first strike weapons – they allow Reagan

and Thatcher to get their fingers on the button first.

Would you trust them after: Grenada?

The Falklands? Thatcher's shoot-to-kill policy in Northern Ireland?

Reagan and Thatcher are war mongers. Their system is in crisis.

For ten years their recession has lasted. Capitalism in decay leads closer and closer to war.

Fitzgerald, Haughey and Spring make the odd noises about peace.

But all three of them are bringing this country closer to NATO.

We may be neutral they tell us – but we are firmly part of the Western Power Bloc.

That is why they do nothing when Reagan's bully-boys marched into Grenada.

The only way to fight the missiles is to fight the system that produces them.

The sooner the fight for socialism begins the sooner the world will become a safer and more peaceful place.

The arms race – why talks won't help p4-5

OIL BOOM

only for the bosses

OIL NOW holds a mystical significance for Irish businessmen to such an extent that they are prepared to speculate millions of their ill gotten gains in shares associated with it, at a time of deep recession, and at a time when not a drop has been brought ashore.

by JIM BLAKE

One of the reasons why there will be delay in bringing the oil ashore is that the oil company concerned, Gulf (who brought us the Bantry disaster) are waiting to see what conditions will be imposed on them. At the moment, for instance, the Health and Safety at Work Act does not apply to offshore installations. The Oil companies know how much governments want to solve their economic and political problems with a quick injection of the black stuff.

The oil companies know that only they have the wherewithal to do the developing and they are prepared to sit it out.

BRITAIN

Something similar took place in Britain in the 1970's when the government, faced with what it thought were economic difficulties rushed the oil ashore with scant regard for safety regulations.

But the other cost is, (and several experts have put it down to the "economy of speed"), that 106 workers were killed in accidents between 1970 and 1980 in the British sector of the North sea.

On top of this, 450 serious accidents had been recorded by the of 1980. A further 528 "dangerous occurrences" had been reported since 1974. In fact the likelihood of being killed in the course of employment on offshore installations in the British sector of the North Sea was eleven times greater than that of accidental death in the construction industry, an industry itself not greatly noted in its overconcern for workers' lives.

In the North Sea in 1965 in the British sector, the Sea Gem collapsed with the loss of thirteen lives. In March 1980, the Alexander Kielland turned over when



a leg collapsed. That was in the Norwegian sector and 123 workers lost their lives. In another incident off Canada 90 workers died in '81.

What is the explanation for the high numbers of deaths and injuries. Businessmen in true capitalist tradition have talked about "pushing the frontiers of Science" in what they see as new industry.

In fact it is more reminiscent of the early days in mining.

Then capitalists resisted all legislation as unfair and unnecessarily restrictive and justified child labour on the grounds that it was good for the children. Just like then the owners still resist unions so that in the North Sea, union recognition had been achieved on only six out of twenty-eight rigs by the end of 1977 and even now remains at only 20%.

Irish oil workers fought hard in the early 70's for union recognition and are now 100% unionised so that pay is better than anywhere else in Europe and accidents are a lot less. The hours remain longer than for Norwegian workers though.

On the rig I worked on, the Dyvi Alpha in the Celtic Sea, we had shop stewards on each shift and there were regular safety meetings with the captain. We were given training in fire-fighting and first aid and we had regular weekly safety drill. The result was that we had only relatively minor injuries with crushed toes and fingers though one man did lose part of a finger. I was assured by workers who had been on other rigs, especially the American ones, that things were much worse there.

SAFETY LAWS

Despite all this, however, the new Health and Safety Act does not apply to offshore installations and there is every sign that the oil companies will resist it being implemented.

One American rig official summed up what their attitude to law is, even if it is implemented when he told a British safety expert, "We break your fuckin' law every fuckin' day. If we didn't you would'nt have one fuckin' hole drilled in your fuckin' North Sea." (quoted in W.G Carson "The other Price of Britain's Oil").

But it is not just the oil companies. One ITGWU official told me that the Irish Government is doing everything to resist the imposition of EEC legislation governing offshore work, and further told me that Gene Fitzgerald, when Minister for Labour had kept him off one of the committees concerned.

PROSECUTIONS

Prosecutions against oil companies and rig owners for breach of regulations have been rare.

Of a total of 13 cases taken in the North Sea only 5 actually got to court and up to 1980 no company had been found guilty.

The penalties, even if found guilty are derisory anyway, things like £400 maximum fines.

In one case where it was clear that a diving company Infabco had an unsafe diving bell resulting in two deaths, the case was dropped when it turned out in court that Infabco had subcontracted out to a company which was registered in Dublin and impossible to pin down.

We hope that Irish workers and the trade unions will learn the lesson of the North Sea and ensure proper safety and proper regulation of safety. They can not rely on the Irish Government who are only too keen to accommodate the Oil Companies.

So far there have been no serious accidents on rigs in Irish waters, but in the Bantry Bay disaster of 1979 when 50 workers were killed, the two oil companies Total and Gulf were found to be seriously deficient on several points of safety. Their omissions were possible because of the "highly anomalous legal situation". It is up to workers through the trade unions to rectify that situation.

No one else will do anything about it, least of all the Tony O Reillys of this world who have already made their killing on the stock market.

Ex-Soldier speaks out



RIOTERS, BY-STANDERS and passers-by at the British Embassy during the H-Block protest know to their cost how viciously the police suppress those who dare oppose the 'line' of the state, never mind its existence. The police serve the state but they live among the people and are aware of the public mood.

Soldiers are isolated in barracks. They are trained to kill, to obey without question and to risk being killed.

Recruits in the Irish Army have six months of initial training which turns them into tools of the state.

John Cleary was a private and was trained to attack riots. He says that his platoon were issued with riot gear and ordered to break up a simulated riot by another platoon.

Most of the platoon were unnecessarily violent, beating friends as well as strangers. The riot formation, he says, was very well worked out and the training was intense. There were baton charges and snatch squads who went in after the 'rioters', taking out whoever was handy.

Just as National Guardsmen could shoot four unarmed students dead at Kent State, Ohio, he thinks that his fellow recruits were capable of any violence ordered. He was one of the soldiers used as scabs during strikes, and again he says, the habit of

obeying orders which had come down the chain of command from the ruling class overcame the soldiers feeling of solidarity with their fellow workers.

Another ex-soldier joined the army at seventeen and three months later found himself outside Mountjoy Jail under orders to break up a crowd who had joined a PRO demonstration.

There were 300 soldiers, some armed with guns and live ammunition, the rest with batons. The officers wore no insignia or identifying markings. They gave orders by shouting and banging their plexiglas shields with their batons.

Snatch squads grabbed people and handed them over to the police who arrested them. Three soldiers were court-martialed for releasing someone they knew.

Several soldiers were injured. One was on sick leave for a fortnight because a rock had hit his leg.

The soldiers had been ordered to only hit people on the backs of their legs but in the heat of the moment some of them lashed out aimlessly.

Bloody Sunday is often blamed on the Paratroopers instead of on the system they uphold. Any regiment of the army of any state is capable of committing atrocities against the people they are supposed to be defending.

T D's set target fight for 19%

THE RECENT increase of 19% for members of the Oireachtas and Judiciary is an absolute scandal.

This at a time when the already burdened PAYE workers are told time and time again to tighten their belts and accept cuts in essential services such as Health and Education.

At the time the Government pay increase was announced, it was also rather slyly announced that the use of state cars was abolished from Nov 1st. This was merely an attempt to soften up the general public and a vague attempt to justify the huge increase.

This increase in double figures was in direct contrast to the single figure pay increases that workers were told they had to accept earlier this year.

After 19% increase Ministers are also supplied with drivers, travelling allowance, overnight allowance, Dail attendance

allowance, subsidised meals, postage, telephone calls, stationary, secretaries, etc., all at the tax payers expense.

I wonder what my employers reactions would be if I demanded bus fares and £16 for attending work each day along with my wages!

In the Public Service pay deal talks, John Boland offered the workers a mere 8% over 15 months—4.75% from Septembers '83 and 3.25% from February '84. I fail to see how he is attempting to bring members of the Oireachtas wages into line with the Public Service!

When this paltry 'offer' was rejected by the workers he condemned the Public Service with the usual arguments referring to the security of the job; a damned lot of good that is in the absence of realistic pay increases.

Needless to say this was just a ploy to turn other workers

and public opinion generally against the Public Service, "Divide and Rule" wins again.

It is interesting to note that when quoting Public Service pay, the media tends to focus on higher Civil Servants rates of pay, giving the impression that all Public Servants are highly paid. Most of the public service is made up of lower paid grades such as clerical assistants, Clerical Officers, and Staff Officers.

The Trade Union movement criticised the 19% increase, but we the workers are tired of talking. We want action, we do not want token gestures of verbal condemnation from the Trade Union leadership as the rich get richer and the poor poorer.

With unemployment growing every day and people attempting to live on less than the increase alone that Garret Fitzgerald has just received, its about time the Government realised that workers' impatience is growing and will not accept these injustices much longer—or is it perhaps that they realise this and are attempting to bring in the Criminal justice bill, which will give the police more power in an attempt to control the workers.

by P. GRAY



Enjoying their wage rise -- the Mercs and Perks Coalition

SINN FEIN TURNS LEFT

But 'United Ireland' comes first

THE PROVOS' lurch to the left at their recent Ard Fheis is to be welcomed. But it is not to be over-estimated.

What happened wasn't a dramatic new turn. It was just that developments which had been going on for some time came finally to a crunch.

For some time the Provos have been looking increasingly towards the working class, and taking up social and economic issues which they would have dismissed as irrelevant a decade ago.

Thus, this year's Ard Fheis demanded that members become active in the unions; dealt at some length with public spending cuts; voted to modify (slightly) the party's opposition to abortion; called for cooperation with other 'progressive' groups in broad campaigns; and so on.

A long way from the days when 'Brits Out' was regarded as the only slogan the Movement would ever need.

But this doesn't mean that Sinn Fein now has a 'Marxist leadership'—no matter what the *Daily Mail* thinks.

Sinn Fein has certainly changed its strategy. But its main aim and its priorities stay the same.



Gerry Adams spelled it out in his first address as SF president: 'We must be mindful of the dangers of ultra-leftism and remember at all times that, while our struggle has a major social and economic content, the securing of Irish independence is a prerequisite for the advance of a socialist Republican society.'

In other words, getting the Brits out is *still* the main priority. Adams agrees with Ruairi O Bradaigh on that. He differs from him only about the best way of doing it.

Both O Bradaigh and Daithi O Conail, in their personal statements to the Ard Fheis, were clear and explicit about the ways in which they thought the movement was going wrong. They stood by the Eire Nua policy of creating 'provincial administrations' in each of the four provinces and various councils and administrative bodies in counties, regions and right down to parish level.

This is a plan for a 'New Ireland' after the British have left. It can be put on the table as a blueprint, to encourage anyone impressed by it to back 'Brits Out'. O Bradaigh and O Conail seem to have had hopes that, properly presented, it might even attract support from Northern Protestants.

In fact, it's a hare-brained scheme. And it doesn't deal with the class realities at all.

But more important from Adams' point of view, it didn't provide any means of mobilising people. It didn't link up directly with people's actual concerns and worries about unemployment, taxation, housing problems, etc. Eire Nua was an abstraction, a vision of the future, not a guide to action in the present.

And because of that the Provos were left with the national question alone as a mobilising focus in the here-and-now. Which might work well enough at times of high national emotion—during the hunger strikes, for example—but it didn't provide any basis for building the organisation and solidifying its support.

It is not possible to build a mass movement in Ireland *solely* on the basis of the national question. On its own the national question simply comes down to 'Brits Out'. And that single slogan confined Sinn Fein as an effective organisation to the North, reducing the Southern segment to a support group for the struggle 'up there'.

Implicit in this argument—put forward by Adams & Co.—is an understanding that business people, big farmers and the middle classes in the South are not available to be mobilised in any struggle against Britain and for a united Ireland. The same goes for the Catholic middle class in the North.

What these groups want and need is a compromise with the British ruling class. That's what the New Ireland Forum and FitzGerald's summit with Thatcher are all about. The bitterness of these groups against Thatcher is that she won't do a deal with them.

So the Republican Movement *must* turn to the working class, runs Adams' argument. And that means getting stuck into union work, water rates campaigns, the fight against public spending cuts, civil divorce and so on... all the progressive things voted through by a majority at the Ard Fheis.

But the main aim of all this activity is not to bring the working class to power but to bring it into the fight for an independent, unified country.

There is a massive contradiction at the heart of this new nationalist strategy.

Nationalism, of its very nature, assumes that everybody, of every class within the nation has some common nature. That's what nationalism *means*.

The way the contradiction works in practice is clear in the tactics of the Provos—not the right-wing O Bradaigh Provos, but the left-wing Adams Provos—in campaigns like H Block and against the informer show trials.

Despite all the protestations about socialism, the Provos argue inside all these campaigns against making working class action the key strategy. They go instead for lobbying of lawyers, doctors, TDs, newspaper editors, 'dignitaries' and so on. Their instinct—based on the bedrock nationalism underlying their politics—is *still* to try and construct an all-class alliance of 'the nation'.

This is not to suggest that the 'left turn' is just a cynical manoeuvre. It isn't. It's a genuine development in ideas and a reflection of Sinn Fein's own class composition.

Unlike the Republicans of, say, the 1916-23 period, or even the Republicans of the 40s, 50s and early 60s, Sinn Fein is now a largely urban-based organisation. A majority of its members are working class.



Members of the new Ard Comhairle Danny Morrison, Paddy Bolger, Tom Hartley

That's a result both of changes in Irish society generally, and also of the way in which the struggle has developed, and where it has developed, over the past 15 years—not in hillsides and valleys but in city ghettos and prisons.

And that will be emphasised even more in the future as a result of organisational changes agreed at the Ard Fheis. Motion 113—hardly noticed in the media—will revamp the Sinn Fein set-up to give far more weight to city areas—mainly Belfast and Dublin—at the expense of the rural counties in the South and West.

Sinn Fein seems set to make significant advances in the 26 counties as a result of all this. The appeal—particularly to working class youth—of the new radical line, allied to the vibrancy of the armed struggle in the North, is obvious.

This is a good thing. Anything that breaks sections of workers from the right-wing blocks of Fianna Fail and the Coalition parties and leads towards the left is to be welcomed.

At the same time, it is not the function of Marxists to stand on the sidelines cheering the Provos on—although there is a brand of 'Marxist' around who appear to do nothing else. You can tell them by their glassy eyes after a Provo parade passes.

What socialists have to do—and what the Socialist Workers' Movement is doing almost alone on the left—is to point out to socialists and workers who think the Provos might be the answer to their problems that the most fundamental ideas of traditional Republicanism have not been discarded.

And that these ideas do *not* provide a basis for consistent socialist politics, even in short term campaigns—much less lead on towards workers' power in Ireland in the long term.

by EAMONN McCANN.

West Germany – The Miracle Economy

WEST GERMANY has often been held up as the 'miracle economy'. But today 2.4 million of its workers are unemployed. By 1986, it is estimated that 5 million would be on the dole.

Wolfgang Koenig looks at how the German unions are responding.

The German Metal Workers Union—the IGM—has taken up a policy of fighting for a 35 hour week. Alongside other measures like early retirement at 58 instead of 60, and the fight against inhuman new technology—the IGM claims that their policies could create 225,000 new jobs.

The preparations for the battle to reduce the working hours have already started. Leaflets have already been issued, workplace meet-

ings have been held and the rank and file have shown themselves ready for the fight.

In 1977, the IGM National Conference made the decision to demand a 35 hour working week in the next pay round. But the fight in the winter of 1977/78 failed because of the strong organisation of the employers.

They locked out the majority of those who went on strike. The workers were forced to accept a compromise. There was a reduction in hours for shiftworkers and for workers over 50 years old.

The rest of the metal workers were granted 6 week holidays.

The IGM conference in 1982 again took up the issue. It argued

that the policy would lead to the hiring of other workers and help increase the demand for goods. A flourishing economy in turn would create still newer jobs. Their arguments then, were in terms of making capitalism work.

But there are also some more immediate problems. There is the question of compensation. The employers are demanding a cut in pay to make up for their loss in hours. They argue—as they always do—that the German economy would be ruined if there was no compensation.

There are already signs that the IGM bureaucrats will give way and accept a wage cut. So a 35

hour week must be fought for alongside a battle for pay increases.

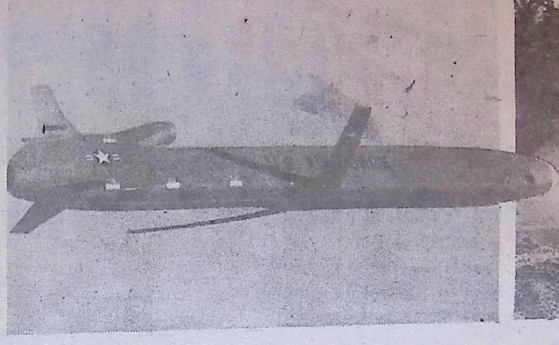
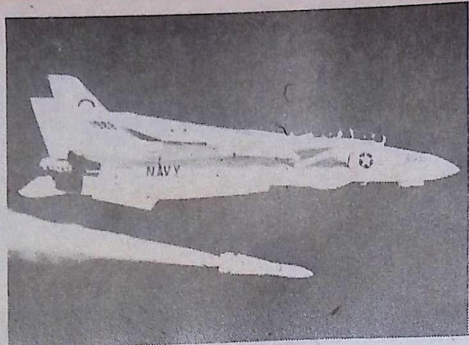
The other problem is low earnings and overtime. A shorter working week could mean more overtime. Especially for those workers whose wages don't keep up with their living standards. Again, the key is to tie the issue to eliminating low pay.

Militants also have to keep watch that the bosses don't intensify work to make up for the cut in hours. They will try and load us with more work in a shorter time. This threat is very obvious to office workers, who are faced with the introduction of computerisation.

Why is the issue so important?



Unemployed sign on at West German Dole office.



The arms race

THE NATO deployment of Cruise and Pershing missiles in Europe and Russia's SS20 equivalent; the mad rush into satellite weaponry; neutron bombs and the rest of the science-fiction paraphernalia fuels a renewed arms race. At the same time the Cold War intensifies. USA invades Grenada and threatens Nicaragua and even Cuba; Russia gets bogged down in its own Vietnam-Afghanistan. And an undeclared war war consumes the middle east. International tension increases and total war threatens—Why?

POWER

Real power in all major countries lies in the hands of very small and very privileged groups of people: in the West the directors of the huge corporations, in the East the top party officials who control the economy and the state.

Each of these ruling groups, West or East, sees the key to its survival through expanding its economic wealth at the expense of other ruling groups. The directors of General Motors are continually obsessed with expanding their share of the car market by squeezing that of Ford, Chrysler and the Japanese car firms. The rulers of West Germany are increasingly worried about the need to expand the markets for their goods and to stop the Japanese getting at them.

Again, the recent events in Poland have shown things are not essentially different in the Eastern bloc. The immediate cause of the Polish strikes was food shortages as the rulers of Poland cut home consumption in order to sell more abroad.

So the whole world is dominated by rival ruling classes, who maintain powerful and privileged positions for themselves, but are at the same time involved in endless competition which each other. In every country these rulers explain to the rest of the population that they would 'love' to increase living standards, but this is not possible because of 'competition'.

The second great feature of the modern world is that the rival ruling classes which control each country operate more and more across national boundaries. Ford operates not only in the US, but also in Britain, Germany, Belgium, Spain and a score of other countries (including, at least for the moment, Ireland at Cork.) The 'Seven Sisters', the gigantic American, British and Dutch oil companies, run oil wells, refineries and service stations in every part of the globe. The great Japanese companies operate not only in Japan, but in Taiwan, Hong Kong, South Korea, Indonesia and sell many of their products in Europe and the US.

EXPANSION

Key sectors of Russian industry depend for raw materials not only on what is produced inside the USSR, but also on iron from India, phosphates from Morocco, gas from Iran—as well, of course, as on coal from Poland and engineering goods from Czechoslovakia and East Germany.

The internationalisation of wealth is most marked in the case of the American economy. In the 1960s it was estimated that the total output of American firms

overseas was greater than that produced by any country apart from the US itself and the USSR.

Since then there has been a huge expansion of the financial wealth held overseas by US banks, with vast loans to countries like Turkey, Brazil, Zaire, Poland. The point has been reached where many poorer countries spend half or even two thirds of their export earnings in any one year on debt repayments and interest. The major part of these debt repayments go to American banks.

It is this vast proliferation of American business throughout the so-called free world which explains the way in which the rulers of America see their national interests as dependent upon a similar proliferation of their military forces. They feel that the US's real boundaries are along the frontiers of Pakistan or Saudi Arabia, around the southern tip of Latin America or along the 38th parallel in Korea, because in all these places the investments and markets of American firms are to be found.

Throughout the post-war period the owners of the great firms have lived in fear of losing key parts of their overseas wealth. The fears expanded as they increasingly organised production on an integrated, international basis. The 'threat' they fear can come from three sources. It could come from revolutionary movements inside particular countries. It could come from the Eastern bloc attempting to solve some of its economic problems by moving into areas where previously Western interests dominated. And it could come from

individual Western states taking action (like the imposition of import controls) that might damage the prospects of the giant multinational firms of other countries.

The massive scale of American arms expenditure has been designed to ward off these possibilities. It has meant that when regimes have come to power which US business interests have not liked—as for instance in the Dominican republic in the mid 1960s, and more recently in Grenada—American troops have been able to move in (in exactly the same way as Russian troops moved into Czechoslovakia in 1968 and were poised to back up the military take-over in Poland a couple of years ago). It has meant that the rulers of the US have been able to threaten nuclear annihilation against the Russians if they made intrusions into the American 'sphere of influence' (as the Kennedy government threatened nuclear annihilation in the early 1960s after Khrushchev started putting Russian missiles in Cuba). And it has meant that the Americans have been able to make sure that their allies have not taken any measures that would be damaging to the US multinationals that operate within their borders.

RUSSIA

None of this means that the Russians do not play a part in creating the arms race. Those who rule in the Kremlin also have their international economic interests—especially, but not only, in Eastern Europe. Their concern since 1945 has been that the Americans, British, West Germans or Japanese might try to seize some of these

from them. So they have continually tried to match Western military strength with their own.

Once military competition between great powers begins, there is no end to it. Each imagines new weaponry that the other side might develop—and tries to forestall it by developing such weaponry itself. So it does not matter how many warheads already exist, more have to be created in order to keep ahead in the race. Competition forces the ruling groups East and West to behave in ways that would seem completely irrational if the competition did not exist.

Hence the continual spiral of arms spending, the continual amassing of means of production, the devotion of vast sums of money that could be used to improve human life on means to destroy it, the continual exhortations to people to produce more but to live on less.

Would more arms reduction talks help?

ARMS TALKS

The historical record shows that peace talks alone will never bring peace. The cold war itself arose precisely out of a series of summit conferences. These were held between the victorious allies at the end of World War Two. Roosevelt for the US, Churchill for Britain and Stalin for Russia decided to protect their wartime gains by dividing up the countries of the world between them.

The spirit of this carve up is revealed in Churchill's account of an incident in October 1944: 'I wrote out on a half sheet of paper:

Romania: Russia 90%—the others 10%

Greece: Great Britain (in accord with USA) 90%—Russia 10%

Yugoslavia: 50—50%

Hungary: 50—50%

Bulgaria: Russia 75%—the others 25%

I pushed this across to Stalin, who had by then heard the translation. There was a slight pause. Then he took his blue pencil and made a large tick upon it, and passed it back to us. It was all done in no more time than it takes to set down.'

The finally agreed spheres of influence were of course a little different from this, but the fact remains that the present division of Europe came out of these agreements between the great powers.

When, for instance, the resistance movement that had freed Greece from German rule tried to oppose the consequences of the carve up (which meant Greece was to be ruled by right-wing politicians who had refused to fight the Germans) it was smashed by British and American troops who could boast that they had Stalin's approval.

REVOLT

When in 1956 the workers of Hungary staged an uprising against Russian rule, they were not given one item of material aid by the Western powers who were insistent that they had to keep to the terms of the 1944 agreement.

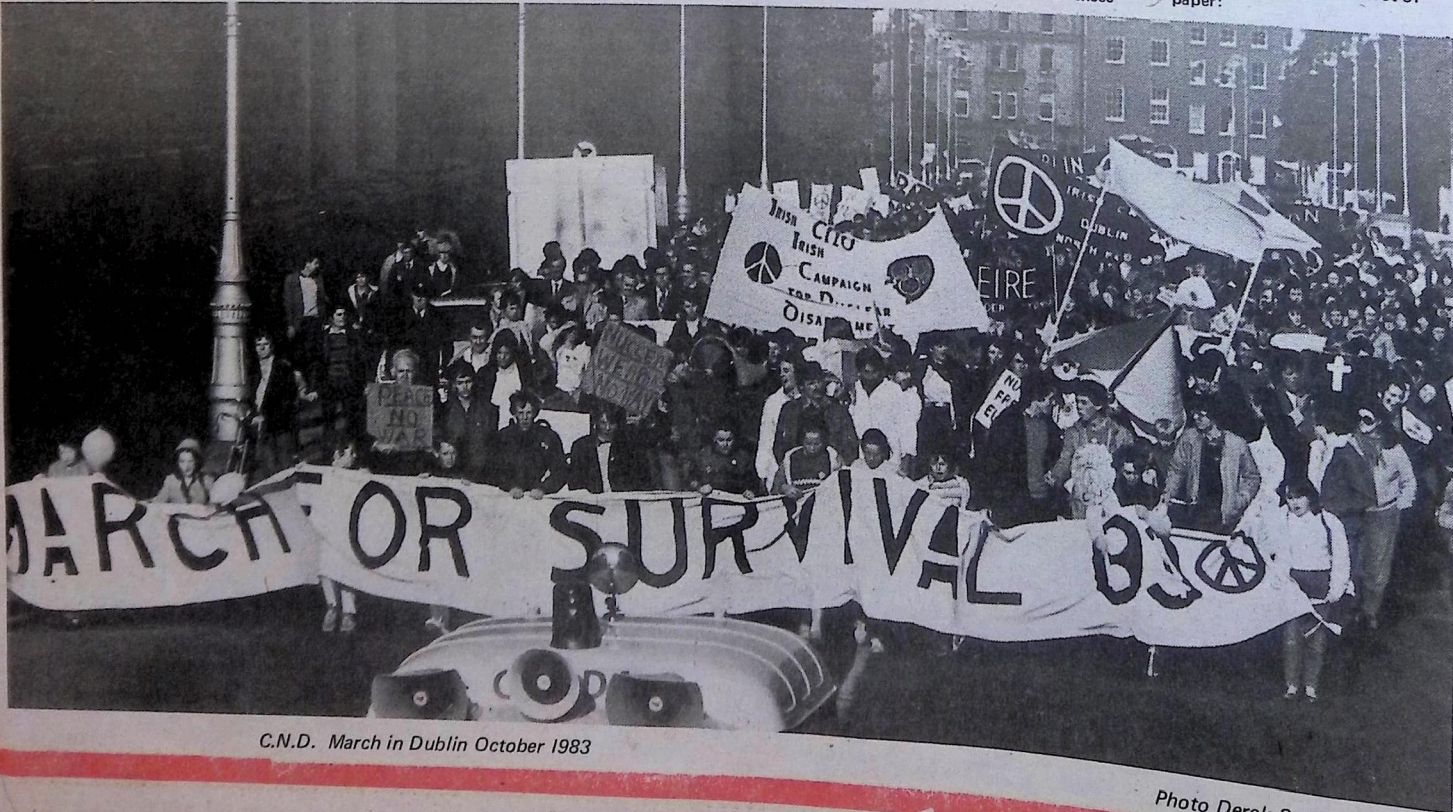
The carve up did not do away with the arms race or the threat of war. It merely laid down a framework in which it developed. For in both East and West, those in power recognised that the only ultimate safeguard for the boundaries for the 'spheres of influence' laid down in 1944 was military might. And so again and again, along the borders between their respective spheres of influence, there were clashes as each tested out the real strength of the other: in Berlin in 1948, in Korea in 1950, around China's offshore island Quemoy and Matsu in 1958, over Cuba in 1962.

S.A.L.T.

In the same way, the Salt One Arms Limitation Agreement of the 1970s did not stop the growth of nuclear arsenals. It only ensured that they developed in certain directions rather than others. Indeed, it has been argued that the very terms of the agreement ensured that vast sums were spent on ways to get round its terms, producing the horrendous new array of weapons that are being installed today.

What is true is that between the Cuba crisis of the early 1960s through to the late 1970s, the immediate threat of nuclear war seemed to recede. Despite the horrendous war waged by the US against Vietnam and the Russian occupation of Czechoslovakia, the rulers of the US and Russia seemed on almost friendly terms.

But since 1979 the world has seen a regression to cold war. The last few years have seen the decision and actuality of deployment of Cruise missiles throughout the



C.N.D. March in Dublin October 1983

Photo Derek Speirs

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ern Europe, the invasion of Afghanistan, US action in central America and Grenada and the middle East. We have faced during this period a succession of international crises, pressure for increased arms spending East and West, the return of the spectre of nuclear annihilation.

We cannot understand this new cold war, with its enlarged deployment of weaponry, unless we look at what has been happening to the rival economic interests this weaponry is meant to protect.

In the 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s the world experienced an unprecedented economic boom (itself a product of the massive arms spending of the period). In the boom the rival groups, East and West, could all see their wealth expanding without having to clash too violently with other ruling groups. Although they kept expanding their weaponry in order to protect what they had, they felt less pressure to go to war with each other to get more.

CRISIS

Since 1973, however, the world has moved back into the sort of economic crisis that was a regular occurrence until World War Two.

In great economic crises, rival groups of rulers find that the survival of the wealth of some of them depends upon the destruction of the wealth of others. The multinational business giants suddenly find themselves threatened either by revolts of those they exploit or

by inroads from their competitors: even a General Motors or a Ford begins to have nightmares of bankruptcy. The oil giants suddenly face the prospect of losing control of some of their wells. The apparently all-powerful Russian state finds that it is not producing enough wealth to give workers the increased living standards it has promised, and is beset by strikes in its giant car plants.

RIVALS

Under such circumstances each ruling group begins to work out ways to stretch out its tentacles to get at the wealth of other ruling groups; each ruling group fears that its rivals have the same intentions against it. And so where they can, they begin to build up the armed forces of the state to increase their bargaining power. This has happened before.

The world slump of the 1890s led to militarisation and a desperate competition for colonies and spheres of influence between Britain, France, the US, Germany, Japan and so on. The slump of the 1930s similarly led to militarisation in Germany and Japan, followed by Britain, France and the US. In both cases the end result was world war.

WAR

On past experience then, the heightened-military tension following on from world economic crisis should come as no surprise.

Of course the rival ruling classes try to gain support by disguising their aims in ideological cloaks. But it is easy to see how hollow it all is. 'Socialist' China supports NATO, has friendly relations with Pinochet's Chile and goes to war with 'socialist' Vietnam; the US aids the guerrilla forces of the ousted genocidal maniac Pol Pot and supports him at the United Nations; 'socialist' Russia and Cuba aid the Ethiopian military dictatorship against Eritrean liberation forces; and so on.

The conflicts are real enough. But they derive not from different ideologies, but from the struggle between the different national rulers of a competitive, world capitalist system.

In many ways the situation today resembles that in the run up to the First World War. Then as now there was an arms race; in place of Russia and America there was Britain and Germany; in place of ICBMs dreadnoughts; then as now each power tried to bolster its strength with a string of alliances with unstable states; then as now far-sighted people on either side to advise the ruling classes that the end result would be a war that no-one could gain from; then as now the ruling classes had more important things to do than listen; then as now a series of international summit conferences took place over two decades, each apparently stabilising the situation for a period, only for new tensions to arise and new threats of war.

(This article consists of edited extracts from Pete Binns' pamphlet "Missile Madness" available at 50p + 25p p&p from: 41, Herberton Park, Rialto Dublin 8).

SPECIAL REPORT
COMPILED BY KEVIN WINGFIELD
AND DERMOT BYRNE

HOW TO FIGHT!

GARRET Fitzgerald thought the Americans were going a little too far in breaking 'International Law' to invade Grenada. Fianna Fail thought Garret was going a little too far in making a mildly whimpering criticism of the Americans.



Mr Niall Andrews

Yet does Garret Fitzgerald or Dick Spring condone the bombing of hospitals? The Western Press announced that 20 mentally handicapped patients were blown to smithereens during the invasion of Grenada. Pravda, the official Russian paper put the figure at 50. The Irish government had nothing to say on the incident.

Maggie Thatcher wasn't too upset either. She only condemns bombs in the North. Her only worry was that Reagan acted without her consent and made her look like a third-rate power.

The invasion of Grenada, a tiny island of a hundred thousand people, shows the barbarity to which US imperialism is prepared to sink. The US has never let a decade go by without invading some country with a 'leftist' government. Today they have stockpile weapons systems that can blow the world apart. The question for socialists all around the world is what can you do about it all?

The natural reaction of most people is to appeal to the sanity of our rulers. But in the end it is crude utopianism. Imagine walking around the American embassy and asking for peace in Grenada.

'Please Mr Reagan don't bomb any more mental hospitals' Some official or other might say 'We really do want peace but there was a bunch of lefties got control so we needed to bomb—sorry about the hospital.'

Appealing to capitalist politicians gets you nowhere. Yet that is exactly the strategy of CND. They continually invite the likes of Niall Andrews, the Fianna Fail TD,

onto the platform. The same individual has come out in support of the Turkish military dictators—one of the world's worst torturers and aggressive NATO members. Yet that is irrelevant for CND. The fact that Andrews shows his 'concern' is enough.

But the only concern a capitalist politician will show is of the type that has absolutely no teeth and gets nothing done. The only radical example 'neutral' Ireland might give is a waffly resolution on disarmament at the UN. It achieves absolutely nothing.

It is the crisis of capitalism in the West and state-capitalism in the East that has brought us to the brink of a world holocaust. The only future lies in building a movement that seeks to overthrow capitalist imperialism. This is the root of war. Capitalism has always fed on war and slumps.

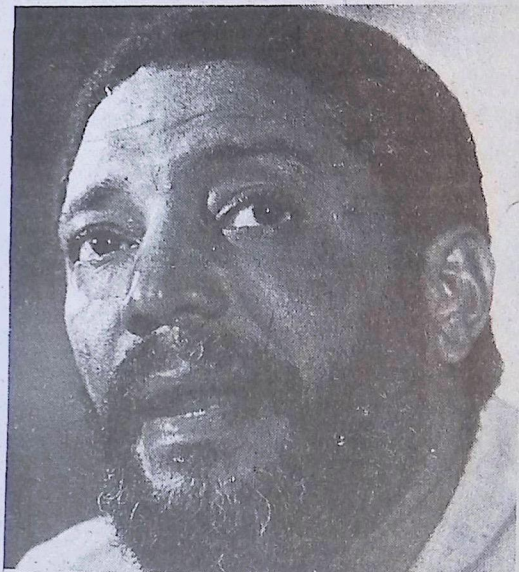
In the face of this threat, socialists must argue that only the working class—of all countries—has the community of interests and the potential power to do away with the barbaric system.

There is a connection between the arms race, the brutality of the British army in the North, and the closure of Clondalkin paper mills. It is capitalism. And there is a connection between a workers sit-in, a workplace agitation on the national question and the taking of power in the imperialist heartlands by a revolutionary working class. It is class struggle.

That alone is the politics with any future. That is the politics of the Socialist Workers Movement.

The current aggression of US has nothing to do with the person-

AMERICA'S #1
AND DON'T YOU FORGET IT



Maurice Bishop -- Reagan used his death as an excuse to invade Grenada

at characteristics of Ronald Reagan. The war-mongering can't therefore be stopped by appeals. When Reagan pushes the military might of America, he is pulling his own capitalist allies into line and pushing his rival superpower on to the defensive.

Nor is there much point appealing to the neutrality of this country. Despite their words, our government go along with the invasion of Grenada. Any real blows

against Uncle Sam are blows against the protectors of capitalism. Even the most 'democratic' governments don't want the boat rocked. The odd Labour Party spokesperson might issue a statement in support of less bombs and less missiles. But he does so knowing it is safe enough not to topple the applecart. A little bit of peace is good for the public image.

GRENADA



Under siege from the USA

THE LEGACY OF LEON TROTSKY

THIS little pamphlet, *Permanent Revolution*, by Tony Cliff was originally published 20 years ago—just after the Cuban revolution. It is still of special relevance to revolutionary socialists in this country. Recently Gerry Adams and Jim Prior have come to agree on one thing: Ireland may yet be Britain's Cuba.

The pamphlet takes as its starting point Trotsky's theory of 'Permanent Revolution'. Trotsky argued that the bourgeoisie of underdeveloped countries were incapable of providing a democratic revolutionary solution to the problems posed by imperialist domination. The decisive role would instead fall to the working class who could pull the peasantry in their wake. The class would do so as part of the struggle for workers' power.

But socialism demands a high development of the productive forces. The workers may take power in an underdeveloped country—but they cannot construct socialism on the basis of an underdeveloped economy. The revolution would have to spread. Imperialism itself provided the objective basis for the possibility of spreading revolution. It pulled the most underdeveloped ends of the world in to one economy.

Trotsky's theory provided revolutionaries with a vital weapon: it warded them off from looking for 'progressive' allies among the upper classes. It did away with any stages view—first national sovereignty; then progress towards socialism. It placed the struggle for workers' power—not just national independence—on the agenda in every country

in the globe.

As a guide to political action the theory was brilliant. But it couldn't predict events. It wasn't a law of society'. For in a whole series of societies from China to Cuba; from Vietnam to Ghana 'anti-imperialist' revolution occurred. Trotsky's prediction that the bourgeoisie was incapable of leading them was correct. But for various reasons, neither did the working class play any decisive role in those revolutions—still less lead them. Those revolts were succeeded by ringing calls to win the battle for production rather than extend the power of workers' councils.

Cliff argued that the lower middle class 'intelligentsia' had substituted for the passivity of workers. Coming from the nooks and crannies of society, rather than any specialised sector, it aspires to represent the interests of the 'nation'. It despises its country's backwardness and the passivity of its working class. Without any organic links to the major classes, it is capable of fantastic vacillations. But in general its solution was 'state-capitalism' where the resources of the nation are mobilised via the state to break the chain of underdevelopment. Such planning from above has no necessary connection with workers power. In fact as those societies are drawn further in to the world economy they are forced to turn on their own working class in their drive for accumulation.

In Ireland, this class has already at its disposal a powerful vehicle. It is the republican movement. When the Workers' Party and now Sinn Fein turned left, 'social-

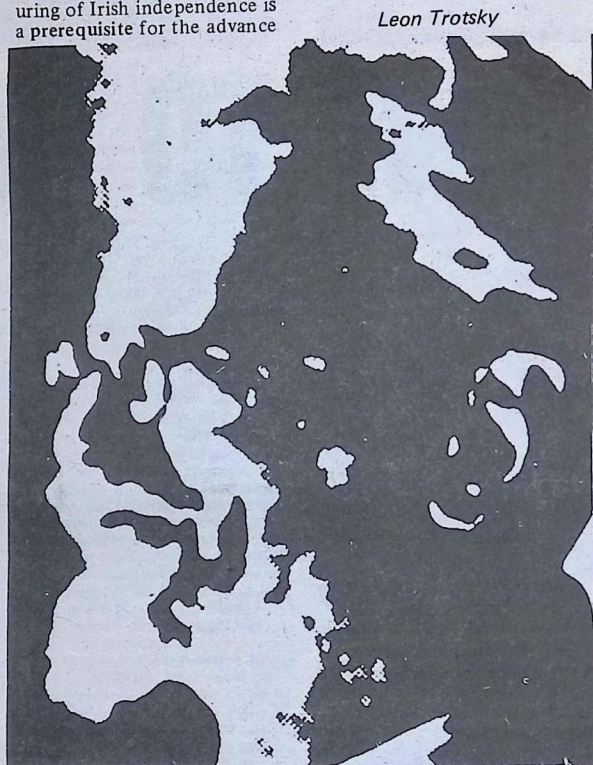
ism' came to mean state planning to achieve a fully independent Ireland. Inevitably, the drive to state-capitalism is combined with radical rhetoric. But there will be problems for those who take the rhetoric seriously and ignore the substance.

At the recent Ard Fheis of Sinn Fein, Gerry Adams said: 'We must be mindful of the dangers of ultraleftism and remember at all times that while our struggle has a major social and economic content the securing of Irish independence is a prerequisite for the advance

to a socialist republican society'. This little pamphlet by Cliff lays the theoretical basis for seeing the differences of class interest between those who advocate radical anti-imperialism and those who fight for revolutionary socialism.

Worth a read. And only 50p. by KIERAN ALLEN.

'Permanent Revolution' by Tony Cliff, published by Socialist Workers Party (Britain), 50p + 25p p+p from SWM, 41, Herberton Park Rialto Dublin 8.



State of the Right

YOU might well ask what a nice socialist girl like me is doing reading a book like this. A good question since Desmond Fennell is known to be one of the most right wing rant-and-raver journalists going.

Well I suppose I thought that it would give me some insight into the workings of an anti-socialist, anti-woman, anti-everything progressive mind—and provide me with some good quotes to use in the future. It didn't. It was just boring. Because everything he says has been said so

many times before.

For example that we are living in a 'consumerist' society which according to Fennell is when workers want to have some of the little luxuries which bosses take for granted—a car, TV, fridge, etc.

Similarly, when women want the freedom to enjoy sex separated from having kids through the availability of free and safe contraception and abortion, Fennell describes this as 'sexual consumption at will without troublesome consequences.' Really, we're sick to death of this kind of crap.

Desmond Fennell, *The State of the Nation*, Ward River Press £5.95

Poor Fennell is having a hard time of it in Ireland in the 80s. Not only does he hate the little social progress that has been made, he totally fails to understand the nature of the Irish economy which, he insists, is more than ever that of a neo-colony of Britain.

It is, of course, true that historically the economy of the 26 Counties has been determined by Britain's and certainly when the Southern economy was opened up to foreign capital in the early 1960s it was British imperialism which mainly took advantage of it. But even at that stage the British economy was going through a rapid decline. As a result its investment in the South tend to be mostly in those traditional sectors of industry which are not capital-intensive.

The low level of investment combined with Irish entry into the EEC and the resulting flood of American capital into the South has meant that the economy became less and less dominated by British capital.

That this is the case becomes obvious when we see that the longer term economic decline in Britain has not been matched in the 26 Counties. In fact, until 1981 the South was showing a record growth in levels of investment and productivity.

Despite what Fennell says then, all the signs are that the cycles of Southern Irish capitalism and its recent slump are increasingly dictated by the world economy and not by its link to a declining British economy.

This fact really messes up the rest of Fennell's argument which is that if we were only to break our link with Britain, start talking Irish, go back to daily Mass and become De Valera's nation of 'strong youths and comely maidens' then we would be in a position 'to manage, order and shape our affairs, under God, in the manner which we find appropriate'.

CLASS

The truth of the matter is, of course, a truth which Fennell would never admit because it is against the interests of his class—the mass of people in this, or any, country will NOT be able 'to manage order or shape our affairs' until capitalism, of which British imperialism forms a part, is overthrown. When it is, ideas like those which Fennell peddles will go with it. — by GORETTI HORGAN.

Back to the Roots

THE JAZZ festival in Cork with the sponsorship and support of multinational Guinness has become established as a fairly high powered event in the Jazz calendar. This year there was the American all stars who included Arvell Shaw who played bass with Louis Armstrong for 25 years.

To anyone who has ever lifted an instrument and tried to blow a note, (and I tried mine on the clarinet with the Kingscourt and Cavan St Mary's Brass and reed band, thus becoming endeared of Freddy Gardiner records for life) jazz is appealing. It is happy swinging music, (well most of it anyway). Nowadays there is something called "progressive" jazz with which I have failed to come to grips. And that leads to something else about jazz.

It is after all the music of the poor blacks who lived and worked in the southern states of North America. It was and still is to a certain extent an expression of their work and their feelings. The blues came out of a heartfelt protest against a cruel oppressive system called capitalism.

I remember the 50s and 60s in England when we worked for Wimpeys, Murpheys and John Laing. We crowded into the Hop Poles in Hammersmith or the Bedford in Camden Town to listen to the great Irish traditional musicians like Bobby Casey, Paddy Malyn and Jimmy Power and we exulted in it. It gave us enjoyment and an identity.

Then something happened. Our music suddenly became fashionable with the middle classes. They trooped in with Aran sweaters and poodles into grotty little Irish Ghetto pubs. The old boys with the tweed caps and button accordions were puzzled and perplexed. They should have been flattered but they weren't. Jimmy Power explained to me then that he much preferred playing to a noisy Irish pub crowd than to the middle class folk fans in the clubs. He drew strength from the pub crowd but the other crowd tired him out because he maintained they didn't really understand the feelings behind the music. They showed they didn't understand the music either by clapping during the performance.

I just wonder if the black musicians who developed the original jazz music feel that it is a little trampled on by the white European middle classes who have no idiom of their own and seem to show this by removing themselves even further from the "roots" by inventing an esoteria called "progressive" jazz.

But I may be completely wrong. Perhaps someone else could explain.

by JIM BLAKE

Luther: the first reformist

IT IS the 500th anniversary of Martin Luther's birth.

Jim Blake reviews a timely production of "Luther" at the Everyman Theatre in Cork.

The "Luther" play examines the man who was credited with the Reformation of the late medieval church. That in turn gave rise to what we now know as Protestantism.

Written by John Osborne who was one of the "angry young men" of 1960's Britain, it is the story of an Augustinian Friar, Martin Luther, the son of a miner who finds himself heavy with doubts and guilt in his role as a priest.

The other friars chide him for his "over stimulated conscience" and one of them says "every time you break wind you rush to a confessor".

Luther was a reformer. He was no revolutionary. He stayed within the confines of a religion even when he rebelled against the Pope and the Church. He publicly denounced the Monsignor Horan of the day, John Tetzel who hawked indulgences round Europe to raise money for a new basilica in Rome.

Luther, according to the play is amazed at the effect his rebellion against the Church of Rome has. It galvanizes the students at the Wittenberg university where he teaches into taking to the streets in his support. His ideas spearheaded the revolt of the European bourgeoisie against the old aristocratic order. But Luther is horrified at the resulting civil war and totally disowns the armies who want to fight for his reformist ideas.

The play ends with Luther retired happily into domestic bliss with a former nun and a baby, and on the best of terms with his former professors at the University. Like all good reformers, he retired when the "rabble" took his ideas seriously.

There were a few curious priests and nuns at the play alongside me. Having seen the play over twenty years ago in London, I could afford the luxury of watching for their reactions. Their clapping and enthusiasm became less as the play progressed and it appeared to leave them silent and thoughtful, which I suppose is what a good play is all about.



Young Blueshirts...Fennell's vision for Irish youth.

CLONDALKIN

Workers save some jobs

THERE were many who breathed a sigh of relief when the Dublin-wide strike in support of the Clondalkin workers was called off. At the last minute the Coalition came up with an offer. 35 jobs were to be kept in a paper processing factory run by a Canadian company. Negotiations would continue with an unnamed British company on taking over the rest of the paper making operation at Clondalkin.

It was by no means a victory as the ICTU bureaucrats liked to claim. It just salvaged something from a near total defeat for Clondalkin workers. Over 400 workers originally worked in the mills. Only 35 are *guaranteed* jobs - the rest have to depend on the assurances of the likes of John Bruton. The Coalition slipped out of its commitment to nationalise the mills. One year ago it looked like the Clondalkin workers could set an example to every worker in Ireland. Today the Coalition has managed to escape.

The Union officials, John Carroll, Billy Attlee and Matt Merrigan claim they did a great job. Walking into Dick Spring and telling him the Unions were about to disaffiliate from the Labour Party

supposedly brought the Coalition to its knees. The reality is very different.

Bruton and FitzGerald saw the weakness of the bureaucrats. They saw how they refused to call the strike on the day the Dail was debating the issue. They saw how they refused to extend the strike on a national basis. But neither did the Coalition want at the moment to totally discredit and alienate the union leaders.

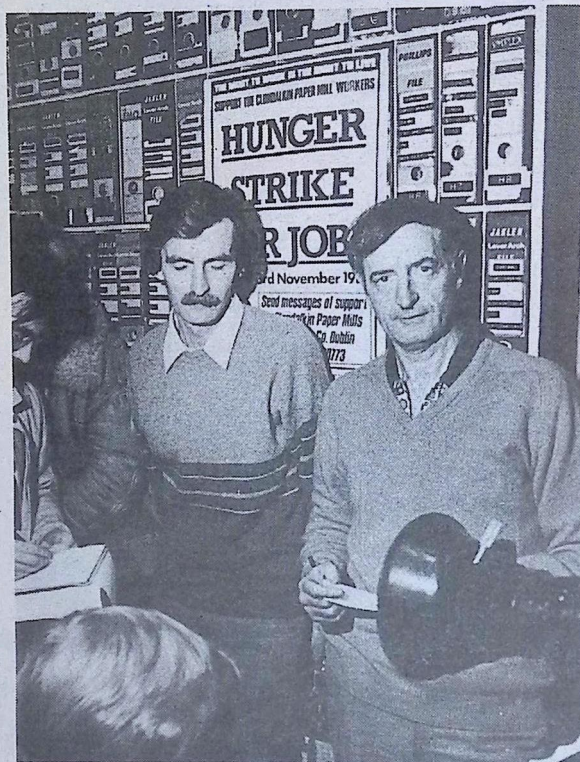
The most vicious set of cuts are about to be announced. Many jobs will go in the public sector. Hospital, education and transport services are about to be slashed. The Coalition will need the co-operation of the union bureaucrats to see those cuts are implemented. Co-operation for the government means that the union officials can make the most militant noises - but do absolutely nothing.

Irish capitalism is in crisis. The bosses have gone on the offensive. In that situation, even the most militant worker will begin to look to the trade union bureaucrats. It becomes harder for rank and file militants to rely on their own strength and by pass the officials. But the lesson

of Clondalkin is that there should be no reliance on the union officials.

To win a struggle demands solidarity. The Clondalkin workers found that out. So has every other group of workers who have been on strike recently. But the

trade union officials fear the spread of struggle. That's why they approached the Clondalkin workers with the most hesitant and weak-kneed steps. And that is why there are only 35 guaranteed jobs at Clondalkin today.



INDUSTRIAL NEWS

Dole Days in Cork

Long days lengthen into Winter now
Leaves litter the pavement in the South Mall
Marina walks are silent
Action and interaction gone
Factory gates are closed - forever.

BY JIM BLAKE

Corpo worker suspended

THE suspension and threatened dismissal of Mick Barrett, a carpenter in Dublin Corporation for refusing to carry material (door-frames, staircases, etc.) to his place of work himself - which is normally done by a van driver - is the latest attempt by the Corpo to put the boot into the workforce by trying to get them to do two jobs for the price of one.

Over the years, the workforce in this section of the Corpo - Housing maintenance - has been dwindling rapidly despite the fact that the major new Corpo schemes have been built (Tallaght, Blanchardstown, etc.).

This is due to compulsory retirement at 65 with those retiring not being replaced plus a ban on any new recruitment.

While this ban remains there is a backlog of repairs in the houses

building up every day with increasing pressure on the workforce to be more flexible.

Two years ago they threatened to sack carpenters if they did not do welding, giving the excuse that they could not get welders.

The Craft Group (unofficial body representing craftworkers) produced evidence to the contrary which forced the Corpo to employ four welders.

But they have dug their heels in this time and will not be budged as easily as negotiations have proved futile.

Industrial action is now inevitable. But with a confident employer due to massive unemployment, Mick Barrett's fight has to be the fight of all workers - not just in Dublin Corporation.

DUNNES: spread the strike

FOR OVER four weeks now seventy workers in Dunnes Stores of South Gt Georges Street in Dublin have been on strike.

They struck when one of the clerical workers was sacked for refusing to work on the sales floor, something she was entitled to do under a union/management agreement.

Although a few shoppers have passed the pickets, the strike has seriously affected the store.

Dunnes is normally packed

this time of year, but now only a scattered number are in at any one time.

The grocery section, a vital source of income, has been closed down.

The strikers have said: 'We are prepared to stay out for as long as it takes.'

This dispute has its roots in the previous strike in Dunnes in February of this year. The issue then was the ratio of part-time staff to full-time staff. The workers felt they were being kept part-time in

order to cut costs for Dunnes.

Dunnes were able to do this by using clerical staff to stand in on the sales floor.

As a result of that strike, an agreement between union and management was signed, allowing only those workers who agreed to work on the sales floor to do so.

Dunnes have refused to honour this agreement, and Mr Dunne himself has said that he is determined to rid the workforce of the 'cancer' within it.

It would be mistaken to see the dispute purely in terms of a difficult, anti-union employer against his workers.

The world wide crisis of the free-enterprise (profit-motivated) system, i.e. capitalism, has meant that bosses have to maintain their profits by cutting the wages of their workers.

Mr Dunne, like any profit seeking businessman, realises that he cannot do this if his workers have a defence organisation like a union.

Hence he needs to break the power of the union in order to force down his wage costs.

This is the essence of the dispute in Georges Street.

If Mr Dunne wins this strike, he will trample on ALL of the workers employed by Dunnes, whether they work at Georges Street or not.

Because all Dunnes workers will be affected by the outcome of the strike, they should ALL be fully involved in it.

The way that this strike will be decisively won, therefore, is by ALL Dunnes employees coming out on strike.

Failure to do this could lead to the isolation of the strikers in Georges Street.

Workers of the Dunnes empire unite!

You have nothing to lose but your chain stores!

by JOHN STITT



THE WORKER

IN 1984, the Worker will be changing name. There are two reasons for the change. Firstly, there is an obvious confusion with the Worker's Party in the present name. The politics of the Workers Party lead directly to sell-outs. They have turned their back on the struggle in the North. It is state capitalism they want not workers' power. The name of our paper should not lead anyone to think that we have any connection with this party.

Secondly, there are over 200,000 on the dole. It has been predicted that a quarter of the Irish labour force could be unemployed in ten years time. Our present name is obviously a barrier to getting our ideas across to unemployed workers.

The new name of the paper will be Socialist Worker. This name reflects a basic principle of the politics of the SWM - that the struggle for socialism is both a political and an economic battle.

The SWM are also buying new printing equipment to improve the new 1984-look Socialist Worker. Save on Christmas presents. Send donations to: SWM c/o 41 Herberton Park, Rialto, Dublin 8.

THE 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 THE WORKER-£3.50 for a year-clip and post this form 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

by getting the Worker—the paper that fights for workers' power.

W THE WORKER

Paper of the Socialist Workers Movement

INJUSTICE BILL

The easy passage the Criminal Justice Bill is having in the Oireachtas represents a crippling defeat for the Irish Left.

Opposition to the Bill is confined to personal reservations and isolated statements from individual groups and is largely being left

to the Irish Council for Civil Liberties.

10 or 15 years ago many would have been alarmed if such measures had been proposed and not been met with a co-ordinated campaign and concerted trade union opposition. In reality, no government

would have dared to introduce them.

But since then Irish government's direction has been dragged into the wider world. With accession to the EEC and the continuing struggle in the North, Irish governments, even those hiding behind liberal facades have found themselves stepping more and more into line with the western powers. This includes an armed police force and all that goes with it. Already we have a far more repressive court system than even other 'western' countries. And now this Bill.

It contains two central developments. The first of these is the power of arrest and detention without charge for 6 hours and a further 6 hours on application. The actual period of detention could total 20 hours as the time between midnight and 8 in the morning is not counted. Anyone familiar with police behaviour under the existing Offences Against the State Act will realise how open to abuse this is.

As well as this the right to silence is abolished. Under Section 16, the 'failure to mention' any matter by the accused can be raised in court and 'such inferences as appear proper' may be drawn against him or her. Similarly, Section 17 concerns accounting for 'objects, substances or marks' on a person or clothing and Section 18 failure to explain ones presence in a place. These sections mean that ignorance on the part of the accused can imply guilt. In Britain there was so much objection to a Bill with a section like the one here on the abolition of the right to silence that it was dropped.

There can be no doubt that the new law will mean that which witness the judge and jury decides to believe will become the main factor in making court decisions. Even as it stands anyone can see how easily Garda evidence is accepted in the courts.

The arrogance of the Bill is probably best shown by the five year sentences and huge fines for car thieves - the vast majority are penniless juveniles.

The increased powers of arrest and detention without charge will almost certainly mean increased harassment of socialists and republicans. Gay activists are particularly open to harassment since under the 1861 Offences Against the Person Act - the same law under which abortion is illegal - sex between consenting male adults is a crime liable to punishment by a few years in prison.

The brazenness of the government in doing away with the so-called 'democratic principles of justice' on which the state was founded and their total ignoring of the proposals of the Barra O' Broin report can only point in one direction.

Since no significant rise in conviction rates has come about under the emergency legislation in existence now for 10 years and what we are seeing now is the institutionalisation of large sections of this legislation - what may we expect to find the next time the ruling class decide they need 'special powers' to deal with the subversives?



Jobless Zones

ON THEIR recent "fact-finding" trip up North, members of the New Ireland Forum found themselves on the receiving end of earnest little lectures about the marvellous advantages of the "Enterprise Zones".

The "Zones"—one in Derry and one in West Belfast—are the British Tories pet project for handling unemployment.

It is understood that more than one of the Forum contingent came away convinced that the same sort of scheme might be usefully tried out in the 26 Counties.

There are now close on 30 enterprise zones dotted around Britain and the North. The basic idea is that all sorts of cash advantages are offered to investors to set up shop in particular areas. And the usual "government restrictions" are lifted.

The detailed provisions are:

No rates for 10 years;

100 percent of building costs allowable against tax;
No development land tax;
Planning regulations effectively abolished;

No "outside interference" in the shape of, for example, certain health and safety requirements.

The notion is that capitalists, attracted by this atmosphere, will invest money in the zones which would otherwise be salted away in the Cayman Islands or spent on race horses or a plate of fish and chips at the Miraubeau.

This is exactly the type of "idea" likely to appeal to a Southern establishment desperate to be seen to be "doing something" about jobs.

Anyone who thinks that the Labour and trade union leaderships would stop this kind of thing should think again. The people pouring pro-zone propaganda into the ears of the

Forum group included Northern trade union bosses and the SDLP.

But what have the existing enterprise zones actually achieved?

A study earlier this year by a Lancashire business group revealed that 80% of the jobs in the Trafford Salford zone near Manchester weren't new jobs at all: they had come less than five miles away.

And not only that: the fact that the jobs inside the zone were less costly to "create" than those outside had accelerated the general rate of redundancies in the area.

The enterprise zone had destroyed jobs!

Similarly, the biggest "new" project inside any enterprise zone in Britain or the North is the new Daily Telegraph print works in the Isle of Dogs in East London. It will employ 1,900 workers in an area of massive unemployment.

Great stuff—except that the Telegraph will simultaneously close its Fleet Street works—where the work force was 2,000.

That is, 100 jobs down the drain.

Moreover, the Telegraph management is involved in attempts to cut back on wage rates and conditions—on the ground that "Fleet Street rates" no longer apply!

This type of example can be repeated from all over Britain. All the evidence suggests that the enterprise zone makes things worse, not better—for the workers, that is.

In contrast, capitalists lucky enough to get in on the ground floor stand to make a mint.

The other significant effect is that building land inside the zones rockets upwards, not least because all planning regulations, have been swept aside.

None of this should come as a surprise. The enterprise

What we stand for

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

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

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

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

REVOLUTION NOT REFORM

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

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

NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR MOSCOW

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

A SOCIALIST ANSWER TO THE NATIONAL QUESTION

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

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

We stand for:

Immediate withdrawal of the British Army.
Political Status now.
The disbandment of the RUC and the UDR.

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

WOMEN'S LIBERATION

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

FOR A RANK AND FILE MOVEMENT

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

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

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY

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

zone as pioneered by Lee Kuan Yew, dictator of Singapore, who, when he coined the phrase back in the late 50s, was quite explicit that he was setting up a paradise for capitalists, trying to lure them to his island state and away from, say, Macao and Hong Kong. Anywhere in Ireland you hear the phrase "enterprise zone"—or the rou-

ghly similar "Free Port", another made-in-Singapore idea—you should keep in mind where it comes from and what it means.

And demand that the trade union movement in the locality gets its act together to strangle it at birth.

by EAM ONN McCANN