

# Socialist Worker

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism



## DON'T LET THE BOSSMEN GRIND YOU DOWN

THE COALITION are out to grind workers in the 26 counties down. The cuts in food subsidies were only the start. Thousands of public sector workers are now being asked to take a pay pause and a miserable wage increase of 3%. The unemployed are to be deprived of the miserly clothing allowance. We will all have to make do with an even worse health service, and cuts in house building. It is all necessary to pay for "the foreign debt"—or so we are told.

But not all of us will be paying. The born again Blue-shirts in Fine Gael have no intention of asking their rich backers to cough up. Even the mildest suggestions of taking a few pennies off the rich has brought a howl of screams that has sent the Fine Gaelers tramping over the tender consciences of their Labour friends.

Last April, Dukes threatened to close a loop hole in the taxation of government bonds. £300 million was immediately wiped off the Dublin Stock exchange. Dukes backed down.

### PROFITS

In 1981, £800 million was taken out of the country in re-patriated profits by the multi-nationals. The Irish state did not even discover it until two years later. And now it is not going to do anything about it lest it "scare away private enterprise". When the pathetic Labour Party called for a land tax, the rancher's boss Joe Rea had a queue of Fine Gael T.D.s lined up to pledge their loyalty to their puppet masters.

The rich won't pay up. They will "hold the country" to ransom" if need be. They

will organise to protect their greed. They have a leadership that is prepared to fight.

Not so for the working class. The Coalition believe that they can get away with attacks on our living standards because our union leaders have the backbone of a crippled jellyfish. Day after day, Fitzgerald and Spring tell us that we have been living beyond our means on foreign borrowings. It is a rotten lie. In the last four years, the purchasing power of the mass of Irish people has fallen by one fifth.

### SACRIFICES

The sacrifices that the Coalition's National Plan calls for will only help fill the coffers of the world's banks. Already every single penny of Income tax that is raised in the South from the over-taxed

PAYE worker goes to pay off the interest to these bankers. Not the debt — just the interest to the greedy parasites. But why are the interest payments so high? The main reason has to do with the re-building of Reagan's war machine. In order to finance the arms build up, Reagan has borrowed billions. This in turn has pushed up interest rates across the world.

Workers in Ireland and in every other "debtor nation" are being asked to pay through nose so that the bankers can continue to grease the American war machine.

But it is not only the foreign bankers who are making a killing. Our own native sharks are into blood sucking. Last year interest on the Southern "national debt" amounted to £1554 million. But £975 million of that went straight

into the hands of "domestic lenders". Precisely the sort of sharks who whipped £300 million off the stock exchange in the "bond washing" crisis.

The truth is that working people have had no control over how the economy is run. We did not take on the debts. We did not benefit from them. We have no obligations to the parasites who have lent the money. We should not sacrifice our lives and our children's lives to pay for a life of greedy idleness for those at home and abroad.

Let the rich pay for the crisis that is of their making. That should be the response of every militant to the Coalition's National Plan. It is time to break with the deadpan line that there is no alternative but to make sacrifices.

There is an alternative. We can refuse to prop up border security with the British Army and RUC. We can refuse to allow the multinationals to repatriate profits. We can refuse to pay the international bankers and stand on the same side as the workers of Latin America. We can nationalise the banking houses and expropriate the greedy little hogs in our own country who are making a fortune from the "national debt".

That is obviously not going to happen within the limits of capitalism. It will only happen when we start out on the road to the Workers' Republic. The fight begins here and now with every little demonstration against the cuts; with every fight for more jobs; with every battle for more wages. The fight begins when we shout: **NO MORE SACRIFICES!**

**CAPITALIST CRISIS—WHO PAYS** see centre pages

# SINN FEIN COPS OUT

THE Government was outraged last month that New York city police marched in a Sinn Fein March in Bundoran. It was "scandalous", Peter Barry moaned, that recognition be given to the "men of violence".

But what outraged many socialists was that Sinn Fein should have marched with New York cops at all.

What price now "Republican News" support for black militants in the States—who are regularly brutalised by precisely the police force to whose music Republicans marched in Bundoran?

Unfortunately the episode was just another zig-zag in the progress of the Republican Movement.

In Republican terms there is no contradiction between support from American cops and support from, say, Ranks workers. Indeed, the Republican Movement would pride itself precisely on having such "broad" support. The cops marching in Bundoran were a clear sign of the limits of the left turn in Sinn Fein.

Two years ago there was considerable euphoria on the left wing fringes of Sinn Fein as Gerry Adams and Danny Morrison took over the leadership. Many saw the road opening up to a genuinely socialist republican organisa-

tion. But since then the left inside Sinn Fein has become marginal.

The slogan in the Euro-elections was "One Ireland, One People, the only alternative". The naked appeal to all classes in Ireland has met with little open opposition inside the movement.

In any other party, those who claim to be on the left would be organising at their annual conference to attack those who put forward such a slogan. But they won't be at the Sinn Fein Ard Fheis. Any movement that aspires to win its support from all classes in society has to operate a rigid internal regime. Left wingers are not only tolerated but

welcomed in Sinn Fein. But a clear, organised distinct left that argues for the party basing itself exclusively on the working class is absolutely taboo.

There is another reason. If anyone was to look seriously at why Sinn Fein marches with the New York Police, if they were to examine seriously why the party chose as its central slogan a return to the Arthur Griffith all-for-Ireland stuff, they would have to look at the whole basis of Irish Republicanism itself.

And there are few inside Sinn Fein who are prepared to look at that question.

— MARNIE HOLBORROW



photo: MARK LYNCH

Socialist Workers Movement members marching against the Criminal Justice Bill in Dublin, last month.

## NEWS FROM THE SWM

Last month, the SWM held two very successful public meetings. Over 150 people packed into the CIE Hall in Dublin to hear Eamonn McCann speak on "15 years is too long—Get the British Army out".

There was a lively debate with supporters from Sinn Fein. One speaker from Sinn Fein admitted that the party was wrong to fight the Euro Elections on the slogan "one Ireland, one people—the only alternative" but still claimed the party was moving in a revolutionary socialist direction. The SWM case was des-

pite the left moves in Sinn Fein the republican tradition was built to free a nation—not to free a class.

Eamonn McCann was again in action in Dundalk. 45 people turned up to hear him speak on "Why you should be a socialist". The meeting has laid the basis for a branch in the town. Regular discussion meetings are being started up for those who are interested in the politics of SWM:

Meanwhile the SWM in Dublin holds a weekly meeting where anyone who is interested in our politics is welcome to attend.

The following is the programme of meetings for October.

Thursday October 4th

"Nicaragua—what sort of Revolution": Speaker Paddy Carroll

Thursday October 11th  
"Trotsky and Permanent Revolution". Speaker David McDonald

Thursday October 18th  
"Palestine and the Middle East". Speaker: Goretti Horgan

Thursday October 25th  
"Why the system is in crisis" Speaker: Eamonn McCann  
To find out details of the meetings, write to SWM, 41 Herberton Park, D8 or telephone 716932.

## Life and death in Dundalk

ON St. Patrick's Day last year Shiela Hodggers gave premature birth to a baby girl in the Lourdes Hospital in Drogheda. The baby died immediately.

Two days later Shiela herself died in great agony. She had cancer. In her husband's words: "Shiela had tumours everywhere, on her neck, her legs, her spine. They had run rampant from lack of treatment".

The pregnancy was the reason for the lack of treatment. Doctors had refused to treat her in case the treatment damaged the foetus. They had even refused to X-ray her to find out the extent of the tumours.

The seven months of Shiela Hodggers' pregnancy coincided with the controversy over the constitutional amendment to prohibit abortion, when the subject of "the right to life" was noisily in the news and religious zealots were stomping the country and putting the fear of god into anybody who suggested that woman had the right to choose abortion if she so wished.

It would be easy to say that the atmosphere created by that campaign had intimidated doctors into refusing this desperately ill woman medical treatment. And there may be a bit of truth in that. But it is also true that what happened to Shiela Hodggers was not exactly unique in Catholic Ireland.

Her case has emerged publicly because her widowed husband has not been content to accept it quietly. During Shiela's pregnancy and illness he had striven desperately to have doctors diagnose her properly and to inform the couple of the extent of the illness and to provide whatever treatment was available and necessary. He was shunted from pillar to post as his stricken wife weakened and, in her weak state, endured unimaginable pain.

It is possible that Shiela's life could have been saved if she had been diagnosed and treated in time. It is certain that her last months could have been made immeasurably more comfortable and less pain-wracked had doctors been willing to give her even pain-killing treatment. No fewer than seven doctors were involved. None was willing to do for her what could be done.

The nub of the case is not that Shiela Hodggers asked for an abortion and was refused. She never asked for an abortion, nor did her husband or anyone else on her behalf. What they wanted was to be told the truth about her condition and informed what the alternatives were and allowed to choose between those alternatives themselves.

During the amendment campaign last year one anti-amendment poster read: "This amendment could kill women!

But polling day in June the amendment—or at least the thinking behind it—already had.

Brendan Hodggers is now taking a legal action in the courts, trying to establish the right of patients and their families to be fully informed of the patient's condition, to be consulted about the treatment and to be given access to alternative treatment if they wish it. A fund has been set up to pay the costs.

The SWM believes that the possibility of such cases will always be there until the right of every woman to choose—to choose abortion if that is what she wants—is acknowledged.

In the meantime, money is urgently needed for the case and donations can be sent to Mick O'Reilly, District Officer, ATGWU, Dundalk.

Cheques should be made payable to Brendan Hodggers Legal Fund.



Bishops's Death March

ON September 1, 75 delegates from all over Ireland attended the Sinn Fein National Youth Conference in Dublin's CIE Hall, Marlborough Street. Most of the debate was taken up discussing the role of youth within Sinn Fein. Nevertheless there were some revealing comments.

A delegate from Sligo, speaking against a motion to re-establish the Party's Youth Department complained that Provo members of Sligo Trades Council got little or no direction from the Trade Union Department. Earlier on a speaker from the platform approvingly told how, in his experience, "members of Ogra Fianna Fail often have a better view on a United Ireland than us." Their stance on other issues apparently didn't matter so much.

An interesting feature of the Conference was that many of the contributions came from older people in the hall, while most of the delegates were content to sit quietly through the whole proceedings without once expressing their point of view.

TONY RIGNEY

## RIGHT, ROYAL AND WRONG

MRS Cecilia King hit the headlines recently in the "Evening Herald" when she lost a claim for unfair dismissal at the Employment Appeals Tribunal.

Mrs King, a widow from Lower Grand Canal Street in Dublin, had worked for 23 years as a cleaner in the Royal Irish Academy of Music. After a six-month absence from work because of pleurisy, she was sacked from her job. The Tribunal admitted that this was a "sad case" but regretted that they were "unable" to do anything about it.

This was little comfort to Mrs King, who after 23 years of scrubbing and cleaning, suddenly found herself unemployed like thousands of others. And she didn't get a penny compensation. The only money she received was the proceeds of a collection taken up by the teachers in the Academy.

Mrs King worked a 30-hour week for £62. Her work was hard and physically demanding and involved pushing and pulling large instruments such as pianos.

No doubt Mrs King's health suffered because of this. On one occasion she slipped a disc because of the constant strenuous work.

But what thanks did Mrs King get for her 23 years of dedication? The answer is none. In the end, when her employers felt she was no longer able for the work, she was sacked.

Mrs King is not alone. Her plight highlights the injustice and exploitation which workers generally suffer under this capitalist system. In a system where one class live like parasites on the backs of the other working class people will never receive gratitude or justice.

MONICA MARTIN

# VICTORY TO THE MINERS

The miners' strike in Britain has become the most important industrial struggle in these islands for a long time. In this article MARY SMITH examines the way the strike has been fought so far and argues that if the miners are to win they must make rank and file organisation of picketing the key tactic.

THE MINERS' strike has now lasted eight months and has developed into one of the biggest class battles this century.

Egged on by successes in recent years in getting pit closures in militant areas like South Wales and Scotland, the Thatcher government chose the time. The struggle began with the closure of Gorton Wood and Bullcliffe colliery in Yorkshire, the largest and

strongest section of the coalfield.

While the media screamed for a national ballot and heaped abuse on the miners, it was mass picketing that brought out the rest of the coalfield, bar the scab pits in Nottinghamshire, where the

bonus system, introduced by Tony Benn in '77, had split the miners' union.

Obsessed with constitutional nicety it took six weeks before the NUM called conference to ratify the strike as a national affair, rather than building on the momentum of the picketing of the first few days.

The essential tactic of hitting steel production — which would have brought heavy industry to a virtual halt — was blunted by the area leaderships in granting dispensations to "their" local steel plants. The argument ran that if Ravenscraig in Scotland refused to handle scab coal and risk closure, Llanwern in South Wales would. And of course the reverse argument in South Wales.

## TRAPPED

Scargill, to give him his due, did eventually call for no dispensations, but trapped by the nature of the bureaucracy of which he is part, found himself like the leader of an army whose generals refused to obey. When Scargill in 1972, as a pit-based militant, led the rank and file despite the machinations of a right wing leadership (now Lord Joe Gormley) the strike was won quickly and the government toppled.

## DIFFERENCE

The temptation for many socialists is always to allow a demarcation line inside the bureaucracy between right and left. But they all remain bounded by the official apparatus — the source of both the expertise and weakness of the bureaucrat.

Scargill towers above any trade union leader in Britain today — appears on picket lines, gets beaten up by cops, refuses to condemn picket violence on television — a reflection perhaps of his former days as rank-and-file leader. But nonetheless, because organisation on the ground among the rank-and-file is always the key, he remains trapped by the bureaucratic machine of which he is now part.

political parasites — as I'm sure both Byrnes and Kyne will agree.

Deasy has used the working class people — who he detests — to gain political power. He supports anti-working class legislation including the Criminal Justice Bill which will be responsible for people living in working class areas getting more police harassment.

Deasy, Collins, Byrnes and Kyne have one thing in common. They want to use working class people for personal gain. And until workers see them for what they are — political opportunists — no progress will be made.

Workers should join a revolutionary socialist party and fight for workers control of the state.

And tell those political parasites where to get off.

— JOE MURPHY



TONY BENN marching with miners in Stirling last Saturday. If he's serious he should launch a national campaign

He couldn't build on the magnificent battle of Orgreave for instance, because of the sabotage by the area leaderships who saw mass picketing as a token rather than the essential tactic.

## SUPPORT

The TUC Conference last month pledged itself to "total support" for the miners. What has that support meant so far? The left-led railwaymen's union, post office workers' union and civil service union have backed down from what could have been a fantastic show of solidarity in pursuing their own wage claims in tandem with support for the miners. The dockers' strike collapsed in a confusion created in the most part by the leadership.

With little pressure from the Left or the Right of the TUC to turn words into action, and carry that message to the membership — it looks grim.

## KNOCKER

By calling on the miners who have been passive up to now — by the militants going "on the knocker" and involving more and more of the miners in defending their own areas — rather than being bussed hundreds of miles away to picket, only to be turned back or beaten up — this could see not only an end

The importance of the power workers' union and transport union, as it moves into winter and coal stocks at power stations dwindle, is immense. Action by these two unions could bring a quick victory to the miners.

The strike is now on the defensive. The key is no longer steel, but stopping the scabbing cleverly orchestrated by the government and media and backed by the bloodiest police thuggery we've seen outside of Northern Ireland. Ironically this can help win the strike.

to scabbing but the building of potential for the real mass pickets that will be needed when they try to move coal stocks from the pit heads to the power stations.

## IMPLICATIONS

The magnificent stand of the miners, built upon in this way, can rally more trade unionists in giving them a direct focus not only for the much needed financial support, but also the most crucial area for solidarity — on the picket-line.

And the implications of victory by either side for Irish workers should not be underrated. A "win" for the government of the British ruling class brings comfort to their counterparts here and encourages their attack on Irish workers' rights.

Just as a resounding defeat for Thatcher and her policies can strengthen working class confidence here and show how solidarity can win.

## Only workers' power can smash Apartheid

THE attempt to put a new face lift on the Apartheid system in South Africa has totally backfired. PW Botha, the South African Premier has tried to introduce some slight reforms into the system as a means of winning over the Indian and "coloured" populations to some sort of loyalty to the system. He offered them the vote to a separate parliamentary chamber and representation in the cabinet. Blacks were to be totally excluded.

Only 18 per cent. of the coloureds and Indians bothered to vote. But the exercise has produced a wave of anger in the Black population that has tied in with a burning sense of economic grievance.

In early September public meetings were held around the townships of Johannesburg to protest at the increase in rents imposed by the middle class Black community councils. Joint Rent Action Committees were formed. In Vaal Triangle, the council had imposed a £3 rent increase on top of ground rent charges and water rates.

A march was organised to

the house of the local Black mayor, Caesar Montjane. When he saw the crowds coming he opened fire. Eventually he was overpowered — and executed. Riots followed in the other townships of Sebokeng, Katheleng and Sharpeville, where a huge Black working class is concentrated. Thirty people were murdered by the racist police.

The struggle soon switched to the goldmines. 30,000 gold miners struck in a wage dispute with the bosses' organisation, the Chamber of Mines. Thousands of the workers took to the streets shouting "Free Nelson Mandela" — the jailed African National Congress leader. Their meetings were banned and again miners were murdered by the police.

Every mass upsurge sees the linking together of political and economic demands. The power of the Black working class means that they will move from demanding reductions in rents to raising political demands immediately.

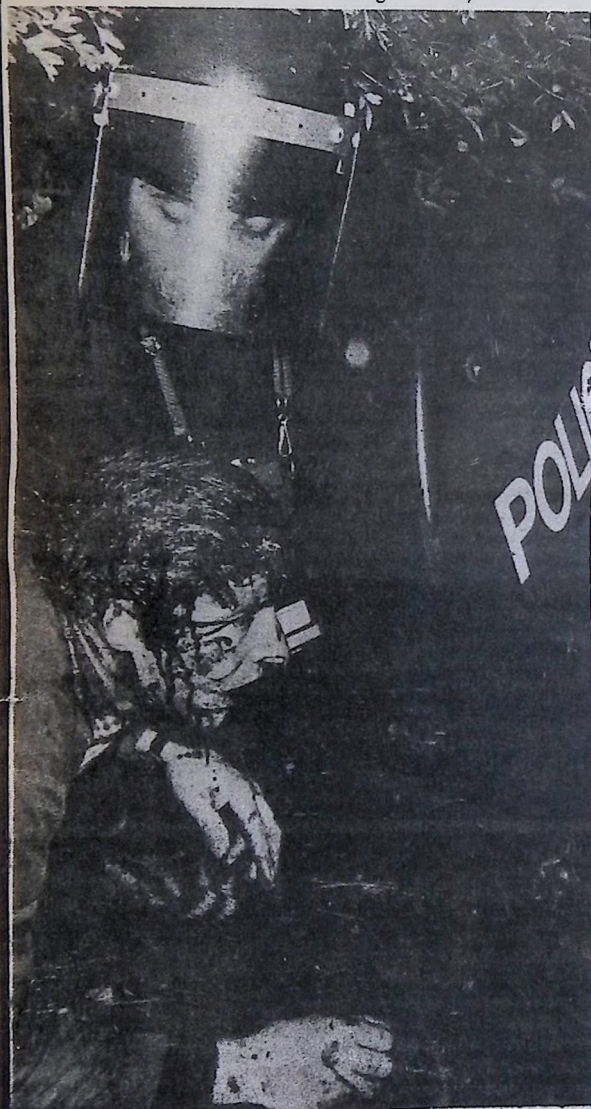
It is ironic that this new wave of struggle occurs at a

time when the guerrilla strategy of the ANC has received its biggest blow from the leaders of the neighbouring black "anti-imperialist" states. Six months ago the Mozambique regime signed a deal with Botha to prevent ANC guerrillas organising from within its boundaries. Already sixty ANC guerrillas who left Mozambique have fallen into the hands of the South African police.

Recent events in South Africa prove that the Black working class is the only force that can smash Apartheid. The linking of economic and political demands is a clear sign that this class will not simply smash Apartheid without attacking the system that gave it birth — capitalism.

Any guerrilla strategy that seeks to base itself on the "anti-imperialist" regimes can be broken. But the power that is concentrated in the goldmines, in the Black townships of the country will finally conquer.

KIERAN ALLEN



EYE witnesses saw this man being kicked and truncheoned by four police thugs—having already fallen to the ground

## Dungarvan's political parasites

Dungarvan Labour Councilors Jimmy Byrnes and Billy Kyne decided to make a political attack on Ministers Deasy and Collins, saying it is time the Dungarvan Ministers delivered for Dungarvan.

All very commendable if you were into parochial socialism. But both Byrnes and Kyne are not into socialism of any kind. Byrnes in his spare time is chairman of the 1187 Branch of the ATGWU and Kyne is son of former TD Tom Kyne.

A few months ago when an ATGWU Branch Committee member called for the Committee to support the Ranks workers and the release of Harry Fleming, Byrnes ruled the discussion out of order. He said Fleming had

broken the law and the Ranks workers should take their medicine like anyone else who loses their job.

So if you are fortunate enough to have a job and you lose it you will receive little sympathy from Chairman Byrnes.

Kyne's father Tom was a Labour TD on and off — mostly on from 1948 until 1973. Tom was the type of a man who if your house was falling down got your back door mended at election time. He would mention it on his leaflet — I mean he would mention that he got your back door mended.

Well, Son Billy is a chip off the old block — and his natural successor. But along came Blueshirt Deasy and upset poor Billy's apple-cart.

Both Collins and Deasy are

# What we stand for

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

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

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

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

## REVOLUTION NOT REFORM

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

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

## NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR MOSCOW

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

## A SOCIALIST ANSWER TO THE NATIONAL QUESTION

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

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

We stand for: Immediate withdrawal of the British Army.  
Political Status now.  
The disbandment of the RUC and the UDR.

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

## WOMEN'S LIBERATION

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

## FOR A RANK AND FILE MOVEMENT

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

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

## FOR A REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY

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

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

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

I would like more information about the SWM

Name.....

Address.....

# LET THE CAP

"Dollar rise puts pressure on pound". "Higher interest rates threaten Coalition strategy".

These are two headlines from daily papers this year. They are fairly typical - particularly in that the stuff written underneath them was incomprehensible gobbledegook which nobody but "experts" could understand.

But one thing emerged with crystal clarity from the gobbledegook - that we are in the middle of a crisis, and that this crisis is some sort of natural calamity, like an earthquake or a drought, and that everybody will have to pitch in and suffer in silence until we get over it.

But in fact the economic crisis isn't a natural phenomenon at all. It's caused by people, by a particular class of people. By capitalists.

The crisis is caused by the way capitalism works. It's "natural" in that sense. It's a natural part of capitalism.

The workings of capitalism might seem complicated at times, but basically it's simple enough. Under capitalism, things aren't produced because people need them. Things are

produced because they can be sold at a profit.

When profit rates fall, capitalists stop investing in new factories and equipment. Production slows down, workers are thrown on the dole and every effort is made to reduce the wages of workers still in employment. The theory is that this will cause profits to rise back up which in turn would make it worthwhile for capitalists to invest money in production again.

And, in theory, this could go on forever, every slump creating the conditions for the next boom. But the theory doesn't work out anymore.

In the last century it didn't matter much if, say, a run-down mill or small factory went bust in a slump. All that happened was that some more efficient capitalist either took over the business directly or took over its production and then—with a longer production run and more competitive costs—started up production again.

The stronger capitalists went from strength to stren-

gth, the weaker went to the wall, the slump-boom cycle was a "weeding out" process.

The problem now is that the weeding out has gone so far that the units of capitalist production are absolutely massive. Some of them dominate entire national economies.

Many have annual turnovers greater than that of dozens of "third-world" countries. If any of these go bust it isn't a matter of some other capitalist firm snapping up the assets and business getting in to gear again. On the contrary, such a collapse could cause the machinery of business to grind towards a halt.

## INTERNATIONAL

And this effect wouldn't be limited to one country. Capitalism is an international system, with the world-wide links now so important to the working of the system that what happens in one country has an immediate effect on the economies of others. All the big corporations are now multi-national. And even "national" firms - including state owned ones - depend

for markets, raw materials and sources of finance on the international system.

On top of all this, the ability of capitalism to recover from slump and go back into boom depends on the working class paying the price of the recovery. It depends on workers accepting the dole, wage cuts, lower social services and all the rest of it so that the money "saved" in this way can be channelled by whatever route into higher profits. There is no slump so deep that capitalists couldn't recover from it if workers were willing to starve quietly.

But workers aren't always willing. And that's where the economic crisis becomes political.

The international money system which has been so much in the news in recent months merely reflects all this. The banking system - organised on a world-wide basis through the International Monetary Fund - is the mechanism through which world capitalism distributes resources between one national economy and another. When the economies are generally healthy this is a fairly straightforward affair, just a matter of regulating things from day to day. But when profit rates are falling right across the western world - as they have been since the late seventies - the banking system begins to seize up.

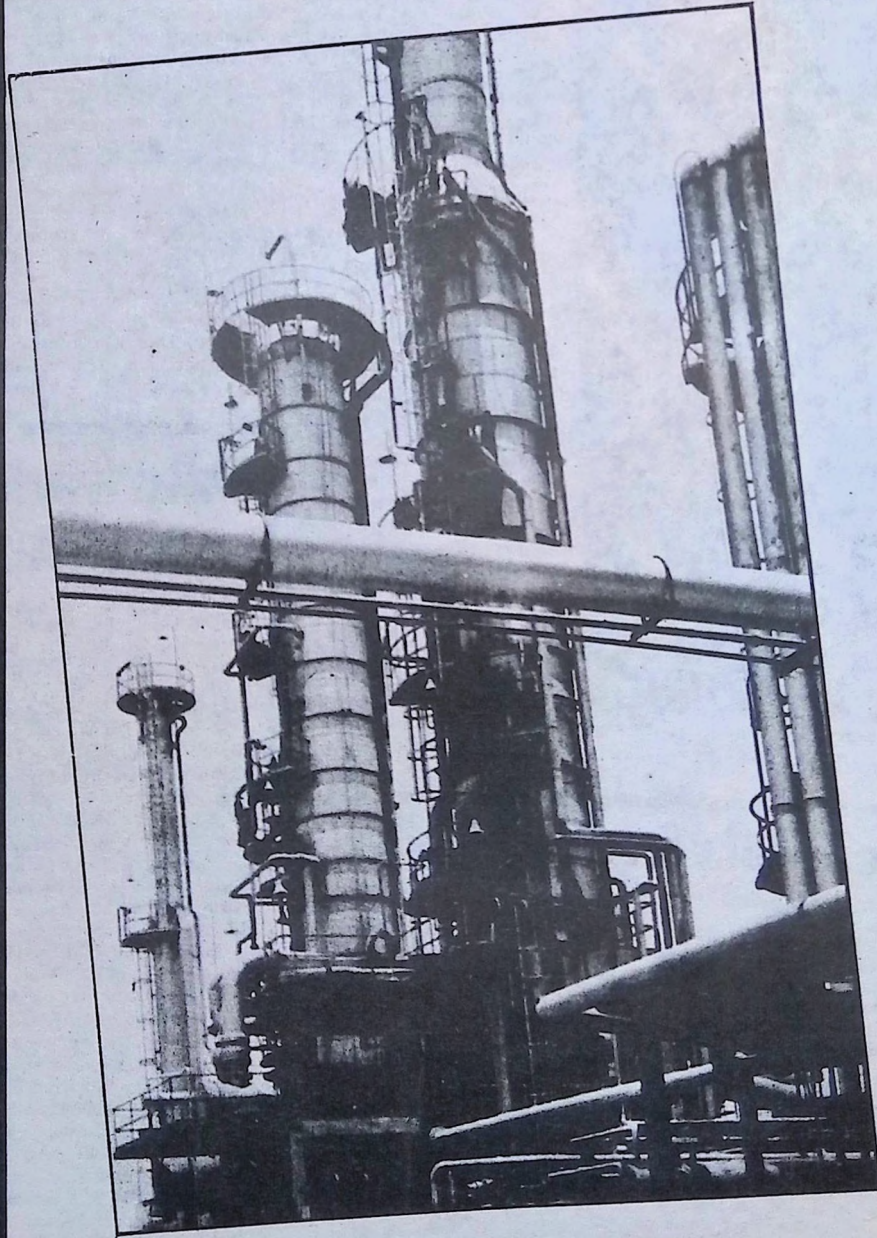
## INVESTMENT

In the 60s and early 70s countries right across the world borrowed heavily from the IMF in order to finance investment. The widespread assumption was that the increased production would keep demand high - because of the wages paid to people brought into employment and so forth - and as a result profits would hold up. And if profits held up capitalism would have an incentive to keep on investing and the higher production could be maintained and the borrowed money paid back from the proceeds.

That is to say that the assumption was that the "boom" would be self-perpetuating. But this hasn't happened. And, indeed, as Marxists have been patiently arguing all along, it couldn't happen. Capitalism's crazy drive for higher profits inevitably leads to over-production - at which point the entire caboodle collapses.

Production has fallen almost everywhere and the countries heavily in debt are now in bad shape for paying back the money. The 26 Counties is an obvious example.

The IMF, acting as agent for the world capitalist system generally, has been putting pressure on the rulers of the countries in debt to push down wages and reduce spending on social services even further to make money available for repayments. That's putting



Units of capitalist production are much more massive today. Some of them dominate entire national economies.

# CAPITALIST SYSTEM ROT

Capitalism is in crisis everywhere. And everywhere the working class is under pressure to shoulder the burden of solving the crisis.

If workers everywhere refused point blank to bear this burden capitalism would collapse. That's what the crisis is about. Any other interpretation of it is either ignorant nonsense or deliberate lies.

Most of what we get from the media is deliberate lies, designed to fool workers into believing that it's in the interests of everybody that capitalism should survive. If workers can be conned into thinking this, capitalism is CERTAIN to survive.

But it is the job of socialists to point out that, far from capitalism being eternal or inevitable, it is the cause of the crisis. And that the only thing inevitable about it is the misery it needlessly visits on millions. And that this misery can only be ended by ending the capitalist system itself.

In this article Goretta Horgan and Eamonn McCann look at the roots of the present crisis and ask what can workers do to defend themselves against its effects.

it a bit crudely but in essence it's what's been happening.

For example, that's what the Dublin Government and newspaper editorials mean when they say "we" will have to tighten our belts in order to "restore international confidence in the Irish economy".

For some countries this pressure from the IMF has created serious political problems. This is especially true in Latin America, but also the case in countries as far apart and seemingly different as Nigeria, the Philippines, Poland, Rumania, Pakistan - and the 26 Counties.

Argentina is the best example of all the political implications of this. It owes the international bankers 43,000 million dollars and hasn't a hope of meeting its repayments. The IMF has agreed to accept just the interest repayments and to forget about the debt itself in the meantime if the new civilian government of "moderate" President Alfonsin takes measures to make the Argentine economy "healthy" again.

What the IMF wants Alfonsin to do is to cut wages savagely,

raise taxes (including on food) to slash back on health, education and welfare spending and even to bring down the defence budget (an unusual request). If Alfonsin did this, Argentina might be able to pay at least the interest. And in the longer term the slimmed down, more efficient economy could start to expand again and the debt itself be paid off.

There's no doubt Alfonsin would do this as readily as Alan Dukes is doing the milder equivalent if he thought he could get away with it. However, the Argentine working class has already suffered years of austerity under military regimes and is in no mood now - with "democracy" so recently restored - to suffer even more. Alfonsin might be swept out of power if he tried it. So he's paralysed.

The story is something similar in Brazil, Mexico, Bolivia, Columbia, the Dominican Republic, etc. In each of these countries there are governments which are only too willing to do what the IMF wants but which fear the result might be revolution. They have been begging the IMF to hold off and argue

that temporarily reneging on the debt is better in the long term than risking the end of capitalism in any of the countries concerned.

The alternative view - held by extreme right-wingers in these countries - is that if "democratic" governments can't deliver the goods, a military regime should be installed to impose the IMF terms.

Of course living under a military dictatorship is very different from living under a democratic regime - as millions of Argentine workers would testify. But it is necessary to point out that the aim of the Alfonsin government is the same as the aim of the right-wing militarists. They want - using different tactics admittedly - to save the system which has created the crisis in the first place and which, if it is saved, is certain to create other and even deeper crises in the future.

There is no way out through capitalism. Socialism is the only answer and only the working class, organised and led by a revolutionary party, can bring socialism about.

IT USED to be said about Irish economic problems that "when Britain catches a cold, Ireland gets pneumonia"

This is still the case in the Six Counties, dominated as it is by British imperialism. But these days the aches and pains of the Southern economy tend to be the result of serious illness in the world economy.

The 26 counties has problems similar to those of other developing economies which borrowed massively from world banks in an attempt to expand their industrial base.

In the late 60s and early 70s, when capitalism was booming, the Irish ruling class wanted to get in on the act. So the Southern State borrowed as much as it could to fuel investment programmes which would encourage "our own" native capitalists and attract the multinationals.

It seemed like a great idea at the time and indeed would have been had the world economy kept on booming. But under capitalism it couldn't. The frantic borrowing and investment of the early seventies was going on not just in Ireland, but in all the other countries which today are "in trouble" - Mexico, Poland, Brazil, Argentina...

These countries each contributed in their own small way to the world-wide crisis of over-production and inflation which choked the boom they were hoping to cash in on.

And the slump, which under capitalism follows the boom as inevitably as breathing in is followed by breathing out, has left them no way of paying back the thousands of millions they borrowed.

No way, that is, except to make the working class pay. In the North, the price of the bosses' greed is being extracted from the workers by the vicious cuts in public spending. Thatcher's government has become quite expert at cutting the health service, doing away completely with pay-related unemployment benefit, increasing rates. You name it, they'll cut it.

The Southern ruling class don't have Thatcher's confidence. They're frightened of a working class fightback against the viciousness of the cuts they would have to impose. So they're trying to be less obvious about it - getting the working class to bail them out of the crisis through the

tax system, PRSI, PAYE, VAT, excise duties on alcohol and petrol. You name it, they'll tax it.

It's three years now since the then Minister for Finance John Bruton made it clear that workers would be forced to don the hairshirt, tighten their belt and pay off the Government's £3.2 billion foreign debt.

In those three years of belt-tightening:-

- The worker's PRSI contribution has almost doubled from 4.75% to 8.5%.
- The so-called low rate of VAT went from 10% to 23% and it's now on clothes and shoes as well as on many food items.
- In 1984 the average worker loses more than £40 a week in PAYE as opposed to £21.80 in 1980.
- Ten years ago, only one in every hundred taxpayers paid more than 35% tax. Today one out of every

four workers are paying 45% or more. When you add 8% PRSI, that means that forty per cent of workers are handing 53p in the pound over to the Government!

- Once a worker's taxable income exceeds £10,000 a year (about £200 a week) he/she has to pay 65% tax. By comparison, a worker in the North is taxed at the basic 30% until they earn £14,600 - and would have to earn over £36,000 a year before going into the 60% top bracket.

## LIVING STANDARDS

Irish workers have been screwed so badly that even the Confederation of Irish Industry, a bosses' organisation, admits that in the last four years the purchasing power of a worker earning the average industrial wage with two children has fallen by 19 per cent!

In spite of all this, the Government's foreign debt has gone from £3.2 billion in 1981 to £7.4 billion in 1984. Just paying the interest on their loans this year will eat up over £2,000 million of the total public spending budget of £7,000 million.

As long as the low rate of profit deters capitalists from investing, the Southern government faces a difficult choice. Either they make an all-out assault on the already low living standards of the working class or they continue to borrow wherever they can.

The continued borrowing is an attempt to "ride out" the slump. It allows them to give huge grants to any capitalist who is willing to provide a few jobs, to keep Social Welfare payments above starvation level, to maintain the illusion that they have some control over the economy.

Unfortunately for the Southern government - and, unless we're willing to fight, unfortunately for the working class - the world banks have decided that the borrowing will have to stop.

To make matters even worse over £3,400 million of the 26 County foreign debt is owed in dollars. So the rise in the American interest rates and the value of the dollar against the punt is adding millions of pounds to the interest bill for the debt. Thus the £1,900 million which the government had put aside at the last budget for interest payments will fall far short.

It sounds like the sort of stuff gloom and doom is made of. No doubt the "experts" will be muttering about the IMF having to intervene, the need for drastic measures, sacrifice in the "national interest".

## WORKING CLASS

But despite what the bosses would have us believe, the IMF does not have to be blindly obeyed. It tried to do its "cut everything no matter who starves" act earlier this year in the tiny Dominican Republic which owed 12 billion dollars. The Government obeyed. In April, food and medicine prices doubled. By May, days of rioting had changed the Government's mind. They just said "Sorry, it can't be done" to the IMF.

A similar situation arose in Bolivia - a country whose working class is traditionally militant, spearheaded by the tin miners. In May the Government there was forced to announce a "temporary" suspension of all payments on its foreign debt. It was forced into this action by three months of protest and strikes including a 3-day general strike which brought the entire country to a halt.

This is where the real possibility of ending the debt crisis lies - the power of the working class. All it takes is for the working class in the debtor countries to decide that they simply will not pay the price needed to keep the system going.

And if that happens the implications for capitalism generally are enormous. It would open up the possibility or at least give a glimpse of the possibility of ending the system for ever and replacing it with one based on planned production for need, and not unplanned production for profit.

But of course this won't just happen spontaneously. Workers are bombarded day in and day out with propaganda intended to make them feel that any fight-back is futile.

That's why it's vital that the minority of workers who do see the need for a fight-back organise together in a socialist revolutionary party.

Building a party based on these ideas is what the Socialist Workers Movement is about.

SOCIALISM WILL NEVER WORK  
AS WELL AS  
CAPITALISM ...



# Lazy, hazy, crazy days of summer

YOU may not have noticed but the Dail has been out since June. This is not because our public representatives have been trying an "ignore them and they might go away" approach to our multiple problems. It's because of the Summer recess.

The fact that the summer recess doesn't end until October is not because our TDs are lazy. It is because our weather is very unpredictable, and they have to be sure that summer is actually over before they end the summer recess and go back to work.

When our leaders talk about "work incentive" they certainly know what they are on about. TDs get £16 a day (£1392 annually) "attendance" money, just for showing up for work. Their £16,413 salary is topped up to £34,170 with

expenses such as writing to tell us how happy they are that we voted for them.

Fitzgerald costs us more than that in salary alone (£44,350) and with £50,000 to keep the wheels of his state car under him and those other expenses, such as subsidising what he eats, we pay him at least £146,698 a year. True to form, Spring is not far behind (with £120,000). Haughey as an old age pensioner is doing nicely out of us too.

If, as they are fond of saying, "we're all in this together", then we are all owed quite a backlog of "attendance money" not to mention a 19% increase of pay backdated to last year. However, before you file any claims, it is important to realise that when they say "we're all in this together" they are usually referring to other members of the Dail.

It's when they make such

utterances as "Pay increases in low single figures will have to be accepted" that they are referring to us.

Truth is that the politicians of this country have a "let them eat cake" attitude to the people making the sacrifices they are so fond of calling for. Their only interests are those of their affluent friends, they stand squarely on the side of exploitation and accumulation of wealth and are happy to be dictated to by an economic system they have no influence on, never mind control over.

Moaning about the squander of the wealth we produce and engaging in the odd bit of politician bashing will change nothing. While the various parties may haggle over the wording of the Referendum, when it comes to repressing potential opposition to their collective mismanagement they manage to find enough

common ground to bring in the Criminal Justice Bill.

Actually the only way to get rid of these political blood-suckers is to destroy the system that produces them and replace it with one where public representatives expect to be, and are, paid and treated like ordinary workers, and by means of recall, subject to the needs of those they represent.

Such is socialism . . .

## 'TEETH' REVIEWED

"Oul Delf and False Teeth" by the Charabanc Company from Belfast at the Everyman Theatre, Cork. THE Charabanc Theatre Company of Belfast have set themselves the task of producing plays which have some relevance to working class life. They do this extremely well.

In "Oul Delf and False Teeth" they focus on the election in Northern Ireland of 1949 when Sir Basil Brooke Prime Minister set out to smash the small but growing Northern Ireland Labour Party.

There are six well drawn and interesting characters. Sam the son of an old Orangeman who once "shook the hon" of Sir Basil Brooke ("an educated man, son - the kind of man we need") has been to the war and has returned fired with the possibilities of the Labour Party and the Welfare State for building a better non-sectarian future.

He is inevitably disappointed because he, like all the other characters, find themselves up against the bitter, frightening and divisive ideology of the Unionist-controlled sectarian state. The milk-and-water socialism of the NILP was easily dealt with once it was smeared with "Fenianism".

Sam finds himself deserted by his Catholic party workers when he lets it slip in doorstep discussion that "he too is 'British'".

His wife, a market trader, aspires to a middle class lifestyle which he knows that he as a worker can never aspire to.

By producing an historical play the company have skirted round the present day situation.

It is clear from the play, though, that sectarianism in Northern Ireland cannot be ended until the state itself, the source of sectarianism, is smashed. — JIM BLAKE



## Dredging up half-forgotten facts

"Have the Trade Unions Failed the North". By Andrew Boyd. Mercier Press, IRE4.50.

DID you know that the Irish Congress of Trade Unions is in the pay of the Dublin Government?

And that the Northern Committee of the ICTU is in the pay of the British Government?

This is literally true. Andrew Boyd describes the various grants, subsidies and direct payments made by the two governments to trade union bureaucrats. The amounts are enough to pay the wages of every ICTU full-timer in the 32 counties. Put bluntly, these people, who are forever in the papers and on television "representing" the working class, are in the pockets of the governments they should be leading the working class against.

Moreover, the governments seem to reckon they are getting value for money. The Thatcher regime has increased its payments to the ICTU Northern Committee by 300 per cent since coming into office.

That, in its own way, tells us more about the role of the ICTU than any academic study of its history and constitution. And this book makes very clear why the governments pay out these sums. It shows how the trade union leaderships have at every turn backed

off from confronting Northern problems. They have never taken a firm stand against sectarianism and anti-Catholic discrimination. In the shipyard and engineering factories in Belfast, not only have they refused to stand up to the bigots, they have allowed the union machinery itself to be involved in the operation of the discrimination, to the extent of checking on workers religion before sanctioning a job application to a closed shop.

In the South the union bosses have stood aloof from every upsurge of opposition to the sectarian Northern state, doing their best to dampen down protest and maintain "stability" for the government of the day. In the North, their abiding interest has been in maintaining the "unity of the workforce". Which has meant doing nothing to annoy or alienate right wing Loyalists determined to keep Catholics as second class citizens. They have refused to fight sectarianism in case they alienate sectarians!

And since the ICTU in Dublin has taken its line from its Northern Committee the result has been paralysis at best, downright reaction at worst.

Andrew Boyd gives a detailed and very readable account of how this situation came about, dredging up many



Mr Donal Nevin

half-forgotten facts about the collusion between union leaderships - including those holding membership of the Communist Party! - and the most right-wing cabinets in the North. And he gives a devastating list of various state bodies, committees, commissions and development councils on which top union leaders sit. For the most part these people aren't even involved in the working class movement any more. They have become part of the machinery of the government of the ruling class, with a specific mandate to keep the working class in check and prevent any challenge to the existing set-up emerging.

This book draws very few political conclusions, but it is extremely informative, explosive in its implications and, incidentally, very easy to read. Every trade unionist would benefit from getting his or her hands on a copy.

# LETTERS

## Tesco's cut-price exploitation

Dear Socialist Worker, I am sick to the teeth of finding teenagers being exploited in their workplaces. Nowadays in Ireland it is quite commonplace to find teenagers working longer hours for less and less pay. They find themselves in the position of having to do extra work or being thrown out on their ears.

Quite often too, they find themselves without the correct amount of pay at the end of the week. They can be called in any hour, any day and told to work regardless of other plans they may have made. It has gotten so bad that workers find it hard to get time off for weddings and even funerals. Tesco's of Portlaoise is one such company guilty of exploiting its youth.

Unemployment is such that competition for jobs is enormous and the capitalists know this. Thus they treat teenagers like dirt, and pay themselves more and the teenagers peanuts. They know that within

a few hours after the sacking of a youth, some other "victim" will be only too willing to work for them.

This kind of exploitation of workers, young or otherwise, would not be tolerated in a socialist society. They have no-one to turn to and for most of them the only alternative is to pack the whole lot in. Depression can often set in and sometimes the teenagers turn to drugs or even commit suicide. The drug problem in Ireland is outrageous and it is solely because of the capitalists.

Socialism prevents all kinds of discrimination, whether it's the bosses at work, racist, sexist or religious. We need a socialist society and we will have one. The time is long overdue.

We must have equality in our workplaces and elsewhere. In order to obtain this, we must all rally behind the Socialist Workers Movement and overthrow the capitalist pigs. Stephen Colbert

## 'Elitist socialists sensationalise'

Women's Community Press, 48 Fleet Street Dublin 2.

Dear Socialist Worker,

In the last issue you had an article on drugs and the Concerned Parents movement entitled "Pure Murder!" Part of this title comes from a recently published book by Womens Community Press, co-edited by the undersigned.

We wish to make it clear to anyone who may have read the article that we had nothing to do with it.

We took great care to explain, both in the book and on the jacket why we used the words Pure Murder. You did not even do this. It would appear that whoever wrote the article read our book, it should therefore have been clear that one of the primary aims of the book was to counteract the sensationalising of the subject in the way that most of the media have done over the past two years. To find this

happening in a socialist paper is extremely offensive. To sensationalise is to trivialise.

For the writer of the article to say that there should be link-ups between the Concerned Parents Movement and workers is further displaying his/her ignorance of the situation. Many people involved in the CPM are workers and are trade union members. Your letter betrays the same elitist attitude to people of the drug-hit areas of the city as all the non-socialist media manipulators of Fianna Fail, Fine Gael, Labour etc. i.e. that they are all mindless idiots who know nothing about anything. We feel that your paper like all the others has simply used the appalling situation of drug-use in Dublin to put forward your own propaganda.

Yours sincerely, Sue Richardson and Noreen O'Donohue

### WE REPLY

We readily confirm that neither Sue Richardson nor Noreen O'Donohue had anything to do with the article on drugs in last month's SW.

The article was not about their book but did use the title in the headline and mentioned the book in passing.

Nothing in the article sensationalised or trivialised the drugs problem. This is just nonsense.

There was nothing "elitist" in the article.

The point of the article was that, while we recognise the Concerned Parents' Movement as one of the best things to happen in Dublin for a long time, in the absence of socialist politics and a link-up with the organised working class, the CPM COULD drift towards the right. We stand by that 100 per cent.

We note, for example, that since the article was published the former New York policeman and Dun Laoghaire CPM spokesman Pat

O'Reilly has publicly called for anti-drugs activists to operate under the "control and supervision" of the gardai! This is EXACTLY the type of scheme being mooted in London by former RUC boss "Sir" Kenneth Newman. And it's exactly the type of thing we were talking about.

As for members of the CPM being workers and members of trade unions, we know this as well and probably better than the two writers. But to confuse this with a political link between the CPM and organised working class politics is to display an appalling lack of understanding of basic politics.

As for our "using" the drugs situation to "put forward your own propaganda": the purpose of this paper is to express the Marxist politics of the SWM in relation to any of the things we cover and are involved in. We thought this was obvious and have no apology to make for it.

## Boland 'mills' public service

THE on-again, off-again public service strike over the appointment of a chairman of the arbitration board shows what a pathetic bunch the public sector union leaders really are.

It was clear what the Coalition was up to in delaying the appointment. Without an arbitrator, the conciliation and arbitration machinery couldn't work. So no pay award could finally be decided.

The delay meant in effect that the Government was getting a wage freeze on the sly. This is what the minister John Boland had said openly he wanted earlier this year. The union leaders had, naturally, objected. The only "official" way of resolving this disagreement was via the conciliation and arbitration scheme.

So Boland's refusal to reappoint a chairman was the equivalent of imposing a wage freeze without even consulting the top union bosses. And this raised suspicions that he might want to scrap the scheme altogether.

Boland's refusal to play ball put the union leaders in a quandary. They knew there was pressure building up on the pay front from the rank and file. And not a bit wonder.

The previous wage agreement had been a measly eight per cent. over 15 months, starting with a six month pay pause from March to August '83, followed by 4.75 per cent. in September '83 and 3.25 per cent. in February '84. The agreement ran out last May and a new rise has been due since then.

But it wasn't just the pressure from below that bothered the bureaucrats. Even since the conciliation and arbitration scheme started in the civil service it has suited the union leaders to a tee. They have never had to lead their members in a fight.

Small wonder that when the whole process was threatened they took their most decisive action in years by calling for a one day strike on October 3rd.

And even smaller wonder that when Boland buckled and re-appointed top lawyer Hugh Geoghegan the strike was called off within two hours.

Where does this leave the public sector workers — civil servants, teachers, local

government officials and so on? Worse off than ever! An effective six-months pay freeze has already taken place and little or nothing is likely to be on offer for the next year.

The Conciliation and Arbitration Service has been in operation for the past five years, a period which has seen the whittling away of public service pay and, under the "embargo", a drastic drop in numbers employed.

The machinery is based on the notion that a "community of interest" exists between the employers and workers. If there is a disagreement on a claim it can be referred to the arbitrator, whose decision is binding on both sides. The Government can only override a decision by an Act of the Dail — but it can delay implementation for three months.

What it really amounts to is huge delays in all claims and a handy number for full-time officials.

It is a handy number both for dictatorial bureaucrats like Billy Lynch of the CPSSA on the one hand and for leaders of unions with militant policies on pay on the other — as they never have to DO anything about these policies.

The LGPSU, for example, rejected the last pay agreement by ballot, but resolutions for industrial action were rejected at meetings. The officials had failed to provide any leadership or organisation to give members confidence to take action.

This year the LGPSU passed a resolution rejecting any Government-imposed pay freeze. In order to achieve this goal for all public sector workers what is needed is the building of a shop-stewards' organisation which would be capable of co-ordinating action at rank and file level.

At least the threat of the one-day strike gave a glimmer of hope. What's required now is action on the real issue — not the appointment of a so-called "independent" arbitrator but on the issue of pay restraint itself.



photo: MARK LYNCH

## Dunnes fight on!

by Mark Lynch

THINGS have been getting nasty on the Dunnes Stores picket-line.

When the strike reached its third month, the police arrived in force harassing the strikers. On the first day the cops arrived, the couple of picketers were outnumbered by 6 gardai and two Special Branch! They were there to protect the profits of everybody's favourite capitalist Eon Dunne. The police presence is proof that the strike has been slashing profits at the store.

The strikers have been pushed, obstructed and dragged by the cops. Their collection buckets have been confiscated and £15 taken. One woman was pushed off a wall into the back of a lorry. A manager from Bolands, who was scabbing knocked a striker unconscious. Clothes have been torn and another striker has been kicked in the back by a manager. After three months, the strikers are cut and bruised, but even more determined.

In the meantime, union officials have been sedately sending letters to each other,

while the union solicitor has been debating the finer points of the law with the boys in blue. Eleven weeks into the strike, the officials had still not brought the workers around to other branches and hauliers' depots to spread blacking and strike action.

Yet again it has proved that the union bureaucrats cannot be relied on to organise an effective strike.

Meanwhile, an article in the current "Inner City Magazine" lists just some of the bye-laws planning laws, standards and guidelines that the Dunnes Empire has infringed and

broken over the years.

The Dunnes of course have never suffered police harassment or seen the inside of a police station. As the cops at Dunnes have shown painfully clearly, the laws of all capitalist states are designed to protect vultures like Dunne and their precious profits. Eon Dunne has a police-force working for him; workers don't have one. That's why the strikers urgently need your support. We're living in a Bosses' State, all right, and they haven't even started they haven't even started using the Criminal Justice Bill yet.

## Reports

### BITTER SWEETS IN CORK

MUCH of the chat in the saloon bar these days still centres on "unions being too powerful", "outlived their usefulness" etc. etc.

The reality is of course that unions are much too weak which is why workers resistance against the attacks of the capitalist class is not what it could be.

Dickensian conditions, low wages recognised by the new Family Income Supplement, are still a marked feature of industrial life in Ireland.

At Joyce Sweets in Cork 29 women, many with 20 years service, have been locked out by Mr "Gradgrind" Joyce, who refuses now to discuss with anyone, his decision to close the factory.

The factory is housed in an ancient building near the river where rats were common and heating was deplorable in winter. One young woman on the picket line told me she tripped on poor flooring, fell and had to have two front

teeth removed. She got no compensation.

Another woman on picket duty showed me her finger, the tip of which had been sliced off in one of the machines. She got no compensation. One woman Ms Ann O Reilly said her take home pay after 24 years was £63 a week, for producing endless bullseyes.

Mr Joyce is insisting that only statutory redundancy will be paid but refuses to disclose any of the finances of the company which was of course a family firm.

The 29 women are on 24 hour picket duty and need your support and solidarity.

Donations and messages of support to: Ann Egar ITGWU Connolly Hall, Cork.

### GALWAY

#### CLOSURE

THE TOKEN occupation of Information Services Ltd, (ISL) Galway, has fizzled out. It had started at the end of August when the company closed for the second time in two years.

In March there were 120 workers in ISL. By the time it closed there were only 40. Most of the workers had seen

the writing on the wall and got out while the going was good.

The union — the FWUI — didn't exactly inspire confidence. Their official, John Flannery, showed his true colours recently when he became Personnel Manager with Lydon House.

ISL produced abstracts of best selling journals and magazines for sale on microfilm to libraries in the United States. The boss had never promised more than a pie-in-the-sky to the workers. In fact they weren't even paying over the PRSI and tax they had collected.

### BUNCRANA

#### FRAUD

THE Auto Manton jeep-making factory in Buncrana has just been closed.

When it first opened in 1981, the IDA were talking about 1,000 jobs there. 250 jobs were definite within the first year and £6 million of taxpayers money was to be invested.

In fact, there were never more than 80 people working there. Although there's now just a handful of maintenance workers kept on, the IDA are still trying to justify the £6 million by saying that the factory could yet be saved.



photo: MARK LYNCH

Craft workers on the Dublin docks are out on strike to win a travel allowance. They are demanding an extra hours pay each day. Other workers in Dublin Corporation and the Eastern Health Board have already won their claim.

The bosses at the Dublin Port and Docks Board are demanding that the craft workers concede a productivity deal fast.

The manual and craft workers have stayed out with the craftsmen. But more needs to be done to win. The oil supplies and the B&I container traffic are still coming through as one of the conditions for the ICTU granting the all-out. By plugging these holes, the craftworkers can really turn on the pressure.

# Socialist Worker

## BORDERING ON CRISIS

THE COALITION is putting the word about: a new British initiative is on the cards for the North. It will be given its first public showing at the Anglo-Irish summit in November. Then, the press handlers claim, constitutional nationalism will finally prove that it can work.

Much of it is just that: press handling. For the one thing Thatcher and Fitzgerald will not be discussing is partition. Twenty years ago, the British ruling class looked on a united Ireland as the most rational solution for the "Irish problem". The sixties had seen the opening up of the Southern economy and British investment poured in. Forty per cent. of all new overseas projects were British. "One Ireland for One People" looked then like the best solution to keep the island safe for big business.

But no ruling class has total freedom to manoeuvre. Before any fundamental restructuring of capitalist relationships was undertaken, the British set out to break the militancy of Northern Catholics. But that militancy was never broken. And on the other side, the resistance of loyalism proved deeper and more intransigent than they expected.

### RECESSION

The recession of the 70s and 80s cut back still further on their room to manoeuvre. And experience was proving that the partition arrangement could work quite adequately for imperialism. A stronger



of it. And this bo clear why a navy...  
FitzGerald

ruling class had emerged in the South. As long as the excesses of loyalism were contained and there was at least the appearance of reform in the North, the "old hostilities" could be confined within the border.

That's the strategy now. Today the British and Irish ruling classes have no fundamental quarrel. As far as the Southern bosses are concerned, the national question has been solved. They now operate a quasi-independent state that is geared to producing for a world economy. They have far more in common with British imperialism than all the minor disputes which erupt between them would suggest. Both desire "stability". The problem is that they come under different pressures as they try to attain that stability.

### INITIATIVES

The Southern bosses are increasingly worried about the future. A mountain of foreign debt stands in the way of any sustained recovery. Massive attacks on working class living standards are required. Yet three years ago they witnessed the involvement of tens of thousands of Southern workers in unofficial strike action over the H Block hunger strikes. Thus, the first break in Southern isolation from the Northern struggle occurred at precisely the time when the boom of the Seventies had run out of steam. And they knew that as long as the resistance of Catholic workers continues in the North it will stand as a symbol and an example to workers throughout the 32 counties.

It is for these reasons that they have adopted a more public posture in "demanding" a new initiative from Britain. The frontiers of constitutionalism are being pushed outwards as the like of Peter Barry condemns "forcefully" the use of plastic bullets and Justice Minister Noonan evokes the memory of Fine Gael's own "terrorist" Michael Collins. A deliberate effort is being made to win back ground from the Provos. The problem is that they have to balance between their own rhetorical, nationalist gestures and the reality of their acceptance of partition.

The British ruling class shares their concern. But they are determined to win the war to defend the Orange state, for the moment at least. The

main focus of their concern is the continued drift in Northern Catholic support to the IRA. They may have no interest now in dismantling partition - but they do need an additional prop for the SDLP

How do Thatcher and Fitzgerald resolve the issue? We are not pundits and are not privy to their confidences. The only thing we can safely say is that at the core of any possible initiative is increased repression and a greater "harmonisation" of security North and South. An Anglo-Irish Parliamentary Council may be produced as a show piece, but extradition and joint policing will be the solid reality.

A recent editorial in the Guardian newspaper advised Thatcher to give the South "a rightful oversight into the well-being of the Catholic population". This puts the finger on the limit of the Southern ruling class's ambitions. All Fitzgerald wants is to win some institutional acceptance - no matter how feeble - of the South's role of "guarantor" of the Catholic population inside the Orange state.

That would enable him to play the three-card trick. It would both ensure that the Catholic working class are locked safely into the structures of partition and give the likes of Fitzgerald a brighter "nationalist" image. The name of the game is to present an image of nationalist rhetoric the more you are involved in smashing the active resistance to sectarianism and bigotry. In this, Fine Gael have only borrowed a few history lessons from Dev and Fianna Fail.

We can be certain about one other thing. Initiative or not, the key to smashing partition lies in the Southern working class. This paper has held that position for a long time. More recently, it has become, more or less, the estab-



Justice Minister Noonan

## DEAD END IN CABRA



Nights of rioting have led to increased police presence in Cabra

THE recent riots in Cabra have produced column after column of comment and analysis in the bourgeois press. But what do young people who live in Cabra think?

Here Karl Walsh gives his view.

ON hearing Cabra's local TD and other so-called men of the people comment on the recent events in Cabra, I felt that if they can feel their pathetic analysis is worthwhile then mine cannot in any way be inferior, since I'm one of the young generation of Cabra people they claim to care for.

### ENTERTAINMENT

Firstly I'll lay down some basic facts. These are: For young people in Cabra between the ages of 12-20 there is very little to do once night falls (although with the recent opening of the well-received Drop-In Centre, things may change as it develops). Therefore you get clusters of young people at various corners. During the summer the stolen cars, which until recently had hit the streets only at weekends and usually after 10pm, began appearing on Faussagh Avenue in daylight throughout the week.

No one, I hope, will be stupid enough to say that a high speed car chase does not attract attention, because it does and it did. This wasn't a TV serial set in the Bronx, it was on their own streets and it was free to watch!

### RIOTING

Because these chases were occurring regularly, you had an ever-increasing crowd turning up to watch. I turn now to the pursuers—the gardai, the same people that I have never seen give a gesture of recognition other than suspicion when I or any other young person have passed them; the same people who usually cruise by in blue Avengers that seem to be stuck in a speed of 8 mph; the same people who through their own deeds have alienated themselves from a majority of young Cabra people, for ever;

the same people who on Sunday September 9 let their frustration out with batons on people in a chip shop and lounge bar on Faussagh Ave; people who, because they couldn't catch the media, were tagged "Cabra Cowboys".

The next night which was Monday 10 saw droves of youths emerge on Faussagh Ave to, as some people said, "seek revenge". A car was burned and a garda car was pelted with missiles. Generally riotous behaviour was the order of the night until after midnight when the gardai finally managed to gain control of the situation.

Of course the media had a hayday exploiting the situation to the fullest. It even gave us the dates for the next riot!

But what I think has and should be learnt from the recent events are two major points. First the behaviour of the gardai on September 9 has made some members of the community wonder if underneath it all that is what they really think of the area and the people. The gardai and the majority of young Cabra people are now as far apart as I am from Mars and will probably never recover again.

### POLICE POWERS

Second, even though the riots did spring from the Sunday events, the rioters have fallen into their own trap. Because even though firing stones at police cars may keep them away for a short time, they'll return, twice as many as before, with a more suspicious mind. And it seems as more proof that they need the Criminal Justice Bill to be passed.

We in the Socialist Workers Movement would call for this energy to be channelled into a more positive approach.

In the short term this means active opposition to the Criminal Justice Bill.

In the longer term, the only thing which offers any real alternative to the young people of Cabra is the smashing of the present system. Because only when capitalism is overthrown and replaced by socialism will young people be able to have a decent life.

lished position of Sinn Fein. But because of that organisation's republican tradition, there will always be a big gap between the instinctive recognition of the power of Southern workers and their ability to translate it into concrete strategy.

Take a number of recent examples. When Sean Downes was murdered by plastic bullets there were big demonstrations throughout the North and even in London, England. But in the South the response was pathetic. Tiny black flag vigils there was aplenty - but not the slightest attempt to mobilise. In that situation, hypocrites like Peter Barry could get away with condemning plastic bullets while keeping a good stockpile of them handy in case there were any demonstrations to the British embassy.



Thatcher

Or look at the question of extradition. Government commentators are continually complaining about the delays in bringing Dominic McGlinchey to trial in case these delays produce a wave of opposition in the South to extradition itself. But where is the opposition? No major mass campaign has been built.

The only organisation that had the resources to organise was Sinn Fein. But their emphasis on the armed struggle as the only way to win and their lack of class base and class politics, means that they have had a miserable record in mobilising in the South.

The result has been once-off ad-hoc campaigns that are devised in party head office and dropped soon afterwards. At no stage has there been a clear strategy for bringing the issues into the workplaces and connecting them up with the economic attacks on Southern workers.

Unfortunately, Sinn Fein doesn't do it because it cannot put the workplaces or class politics at the centre of its traditions.

— KIERAN ALLEN