

# the worker

FOR A WORKERS' REPUBLIC AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

## PRICE CONTROL

### —who are they trying to kid?

#### LOYALIST GUNMEN AGAINST THE BRITISH ARMY

FOR THE FIRST time in months Loyalist' gunmen have been operating against the British Army on the streets of Belfast. This is no sudden departure from loyalist policies, but merely an extension of them.

For months now the hard-liners in the loyalist camp have been involved in open violence against the Catholic community. After the long spate of sectarian murders there was a series of concerted attacks on Catholic-owned pubs. Bombs with short fuses were planted outside crowded pubs, and exploded without warning. The aim was clearly to cause maximum deaths and destruction on a purely sectarian basis.



Tommy Herron

#### Defection

The attacks on the British Army followed yet another defection from the UDA. The defector gave a great deal of information on the activities of the UDA and details on their involvement in the assassinations. Militant UDA men who had been responsible for many of the deaths felt they were in danger of arrest, and were worried at the lack of protection offered by the movement.

Tommy Herron and Tommy Lyttle, two of the leaders, were standing as candidates in the Assembly elections. They wanted to give the U.S.A. a 'respectable' image, which could be destroyed by a confrontation with the army.

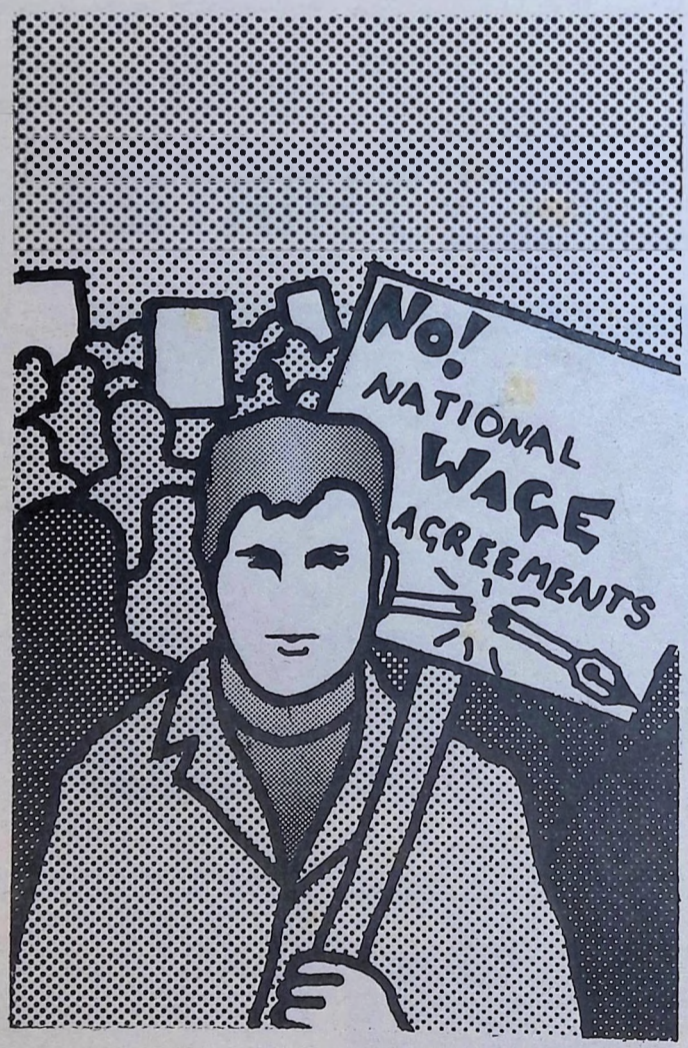
The militants decided on a coup. Then, 22 officers were ousted from power in an attempt to pacify the hard liners. But it appears that they took advantage of their new-found strength to get the guns out and have a go at the army, hoping to convince them that any further attempts at arrests would be met with force.

With the mass movement of anti-unionist workers in great confusion, the British can afford to be less lenient with the loyalists, whom they have tolerated up to now, even though they have known them to be heavily armed and deeply involved in the killings of innocent Catholics and of Protestants who befriended them.

#### Work or else

The British government's insistence that the Assembly must work 'or else' means that there could well be more clashes between the Army and the loyalists. The choice for socialists is not one between supporting one side or the other, although some organisations have suggested that we should support the 'Brits' in this confrontation. The British Government cannot beat sectarianism; nor can its army. The divisions in the working class, and the rightward swing of loyalist workers can only be counteracted with a consistent fight for socialist policies throughout Ireland, in the factories and in the unions.

Are prices being controlled? Ask any worn-out housewife that and you're likely to get a shopping basket of uncontrolled goods over your head. But do you remember one of the main promises of the Coalition? It was the 'immediate introduction of strict price control.'



Brendan Corish told the ITGWU Conference that price control was the most important aspect of Government policy at the moment. Now we hear that there may be some sort of 'freeze' for a couple of months while VAT is being taken off food. Some bloody consolation that is, when food prices have gone up 20 per cent in the past year!

The truth of the matter is that—however many civil servants they send running here and there—effective price control is impossible under the present system. The so-called 'freeze' in the North is just undisguised wage restraint.

The things which cause prices to rise are outside the scope of any particular government. Inflation is a world-wide phenomenon and part of the general sickness of the world economy. The Irish economy is weak and 'open', so it is bound to feel that sickness very sharply. No country—and least of all Ireland—is in a position to get outside the system and hold back prices.

A number of trade unions have recently made demands linking the wage agreement to price control. Many delegates to the Workers Union of Ireland, for instance, thought they were really passing a resolution against the National Wage Agreement when they defeated the platform and voted not to accept another agreement unless there was price control. But the danger of that is that it suggests price control is possible. The government's vague promises of control are a means to get a new National Wage Agreement.

Should wages be tied to prices then? The trouble with 'sliding scales', 'escalator clauses', 'threshold agreements', and so on, is that they only take effect after the prices rises have taken place. So, the best you can do is just barely keep up with the pace.

We need more than a device to give us this minimum defence. We need to go on to the attack against the system which constantly tries to cut our living standards. We have the power to do this—to smash the national wage agreement and Heath's 'freeze', to go all out for large flat-rate increases to put us well ahead of the rate of price increases, and to get a national minimum wage of £30 for 35 hours.

More on the National Wage Agreement: see page 4.

THE WORKER is published monthly by the Socialist Workers Movement at 30 Strandville Avenue, Dublin 3.  
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## EVICTIION!



Mr. JULIUS LIPSCHITZ, the rich landlord of old properties in working class areas of Dublin, is trying to make a quick kill. For five years he did not collect rents. Now he wants all the back money. The tenants are already paying off some of the arrears but Lipschitz wants more.

Sixty tenants in Eblana Villas, Grand Canal St., and 17 tenants in Caledon Road, East Wall, are threatened with eviction. Lipschitz must not succeed. All his tenants must combine to resist this threat — physically if necessary. They must get the support of others in both areas. This is what can beat his plans — polite dealings in the courts of law may not be enough.

# STALINISM AND FASCISM

Part 8 in a series on the History of Socialism

*THE FIRST WORLD WAR* marked the end of an era for the international socialist movement. The various social-democratic parties chose to support their respective governments in this clash between the great imperialist powers. An attempted reunion in 1919 failed when left and right split over how the International should react to the invasion of the new Soviet Russia by the western states.

The Third International was set up in opposition to the reformist remains of the second. This new International, known as the Comintern, was a centralised organisation from the start, but internally it was vigorously democratic, with no one national communist party dominant. Stalin's coming to power in Russia changed all that.

Abusing the natural respect of the European communists for the first workers' state, he turned the Comintern into an instrument of Russian foreign policy, destroying its internal democracy and driving out any opposition. The class struggle abroad was in effect to be sacrificed for the sake of 'socialism in one country' — the futile attempt to build socialism in one isolated, backward country.

## New Economic Policy

Comintern policy came to be determined by the power struggle in Russia rather than the class struggle around the world. 1921 to 1928 was the period of the New

Economic Policy (N.E.P.) in Russia. It was introduced by Lenin in the interests of class harmony between workers and peasants and included an attitude of tolerance towards the peasantry's individualist aspirations. Stalin saw Trotsky as the main threat to his increasing personal dictatorship, and much of Stalin's policy was determined according to how well it served as propaganda against Trotsky. Thus the policy of 'socialism in one country', accompanied by moderate Comintern policies abroad could be used to 'expose' Trotsky's internationalism as treacherous. A period of stability was forecast in which the revolutionary left could do no more than form united fronts with the reformist parties in pursuit of minor demands, and great opportunities such as the British General Strike 1926 were let slip by.

In the Chinese revolution of 1925-27 this Comintern policy brought disastrous results. Both town and countryside were aflame with revolt. Yet the Chinese communists were ordered to co-operate 'from within' with the Kuomintang — the party of the Chinese national capitalists — in the anti-imperialist struggle. The only revolution to be fought for in China, according to Stalin, was a bourgeois

revolution establishing an independent Chinese capitalist state. 1917 had taught him nothing, apparently, The Kuomintang turned upon the communists who had given up their strength along with their independence. The Chinese workers' movement was smashed.

Late 1927 saw an abrupt switch in Comintern policy, again reflecting Russian developments. Trotsky and his supporters had been expelled from the party. Now Stalin turned against the right wing, notably Bukharin, and he ordered impossibly rapid industrialisation, along with enforced collectivisation of agriculture which was to involve wiping out the Kulaks, the richer peasants, as a class.

## Disaster

This rejection of moderate policies may also have been partly prompted by the Chinese fiasco, but Stalin's new instructions only brought further disaster. The weakened Chinese communists were ordered to carry out a rising in Canton. They obeyed, and a new massacre followed. The Chinese labour movement never recovered from these defeats. Future revolutionary activity would be mainly the work of the nationalist petit-bour-



geoisie and the peasantry.

In Germany the Nazi movement was growing rapidly as the crises of the Depression drove home the need for drastic remedies. Instead of urging the whole working class to form a united front against the common danger, as Trotsky did from exile, Stalin denounced the non-communist workers' leaders as 'social-fascists'. The social-democrats were to be treated as the main enemy, not the Nazis. With the workers confused and divided, Hitler came to power in 1933. The communists found themselves heading

for concentration camps. As the historian Isaac Deutscher writes.

*'The surrender of 1933 was the most crushing defeat Marxism ever suffered . . . a defeat from which the German and European Labour movement has not yet recovered. If the German left, and above all the communist party, had had the sense to fight for its life, there might have been a Third Reich and a Second World War . . . and meanwhile Germany might have become a workers' state'*

1934 brought a new change in Soviet foreign policy. Stalin's attempt at 'class stalemate' had ended in a class defeat, and Russia itself was threatened by Hitler's expansionist plans. Stalin turned to diplomacy, seeking alliances with the great Imperialist powers, particularly Britain and France. To impress them with Russia's 'friendliness', he said of world revolution: 'we have never had such plans and intentions'. The European communists were ordered to join with all possible pro-capitalist parties in the defence of bourgeois democracy against fascism. In France and Spain these 'popular fronts' were elected to power. The workers drew encouragement from this, and the French C.P. could only with difficulty prevent them from getting out of hand with their strikes and mass demonstrations.

## Fascism

A section of the ruling classes struck back in the form of fascism, led by Franco, with military aid from Germany and Italy. A bloody civil war was fought, the outcome had to be either a workers' state or fascism. Which did the Comintern fear most? The Spanish workers were sacrificed to the cause of not offending Britain and France. Russia did supply arms to the republican forces, but only on condition that more and more sections of militant workers' representatives were excluded from the coalition government. Meanwhile secret police were imported from Russia to assassinate revolutionaries, and anarchist and left — communist brigades were sent to the most dangerous parts of the front without proper weapons, although plenty were available.

In the end only the Communist Party remained alongside the republican bourgeoisie in the government. The capitalists surrendered their factories to the advancing fascists without a fight and crossed over to take their place in the fascist camp. The communists were savagely suppressed.

*By 1938 the Popular Fronts in Europe were finished. By binding the workers' organisations to bourgeois anti-fascist parties, their effect was to weaken the working class by deflecting its strength into parliamentary methods. The final shocking twist to this series of unnecessary disaster came when Stalin, rebuffed by Britain and France, entered a pact with Hitler. The Soviet government allied itself with Nazism, whose historical function was the attempt to solve the problems of capitalism by destroying all the organisations and power of the working class.*

# THE TURBULENT THIRTIES

The economic depression that hung over Europe in the 1930's had its effects in Ireland too. It helped Fianna Fail to reach office in 1932. It contributed to the swift rise and fall of the Republican Congress in 1934-36. One thing it did not do was to advance the cause of the parliamentary Labour Parties North and South.

In the South the Labour Party had achieved 12% of the votes in the general election of June 1927. By 1933 it was down to 6%. Its leader Tom Johnson had provided a respectable parliamentary opposition to the Cumann na nGaedheal government, thus effectively supporting the Free State. Meanwhile, the trade union leaders were concentrating on cautious, safe, and bureaucratic development of the unions. When Jim Larkin had returned from America in 1923 he failed to regain control of the I.T.G.W.U., and broke away to form the Workers' Union of Ireland. But militancy on the industrial front was not reflected in political action, and this fatal separation continued to dominate the Dublin working class.

Larkin had kept his syndicalist leanings and his Irish Worker League (which absorbed the Communist Party of Ireland) never became a coherent or independent political force. It was replaced by the Revolutionary Workers' Groups. These in turn gave way in 1933 to the second Communist Party of Ireland, which Larkin himself did not join. None of these organizations achieved any considerable size.

In the North, the Labour Party there had won three seats in the general election of 1925. These were not the only Unionist seats lost, and to prevent the increasing fragmentation of the Unionist monolith proportional representation was abolished. At the following general election only Jack Beattie held on to his seat. The Labour Party had an ambiguous attitude to Partition, but Beattie increasingly snuggled closer to the only other opposition in Stormont, the Nationalists.

## Outdoor relief

The Unionist government thought that it had smothered the Labour threat, and became carelessly arrogant. Faced with the depression, in 1932 it reduced outdoor relief rates. A hunger march of the unemployed in Belfast was banned. Crowds



Above: Blueshire Rally

gathered. Police baton-charged the unemployed workers on the Falls. The unemployed of the Shankill rioted in support of their Catholic counterparts. Catholic and Protestant workers found themselves fighting side by side — and fought on. The police opened fire on both. The Trades Council called for a general strike. The government was brought to its knees, and increased the relief money.

Three bus-loads of trade unionists from the Shankill, organised by the Republican Congress, attended the Bodenstown commemoration of 1934. But no substantial socialist organisation was built in Belfast. The government quickly switched on the hate machine. With poverty continuing, and without firm links between the Catholic and Protestant working class, the sectarian riots of 1935 followed.

In the South, the IRA and the radical feeling turning away from Labour combined to put Fianna Fail into office. But the IRA paper, *An Phoblacht*, was already putting forward socialistic arguments; it had backed a hazy attempt at forming a socialist organisation, *Saor Eire*; and the IRA had adopted a socialist programme to be implemented by a future government. The left wing argued for active involvement now in industrial struggles. Peadar O'Donnell organised campaigns against the land annuities. But the IRA leadership

held back, even from vigorous opposition to the rising fascist movement, the Blueshirts.

## Republican Congress

Eventually the left decided to call for a Republican Congress to rally republican opinion. They were joined by many trade unionists and by members of the Labour Party such as Roddy Connolly. However, once the Congress met, a split appeared.

On the one hand, George Gilmore, Frank Ryan, and Peadar O'Donnell wanted the slogan "The Republic", in order to be the inheritors of the Republican tradition, and to expose De Valera as not being a Republican. Although they realised that the middle class had sold out the national struggle, they refused to call for a Workers' Republic, believing that the struggle would be of such a nature that the Republic to be established would automatically be socialist. They were supported by the Communist Party, in line with the Comintern's policy of forming popular fronts.

Michael Price and Roddy Connolly insisted on clarity as to what they were about. Only the slogan "The Workers' Republic" could mobilise the working class to fight without fear of others coming to power by their efforts; only "The Workers' Republic" would attract the Northern Protestants. But "The Republic" won the day. The Republican

Congress involved itself in some industrial and tenants' disputes, but most of the trade unionists dropped out and in a couple of years it was dead.

Michael Price joined the Labour Party, which adopted a new constitution calling for a Workers' Republic. Its leader since 1932, William Norton, had made left-sounding noises, although giving parliamentary support to Fianna Fail when needed. Faced with the fascist threat, he dedicated the Labour Party not to a head-on fight but to the maintenance of parliamentary democracy. He was moving to the right, and when the Catholic Hierarchy objected to the Workers' Republic, Norton obediently persuaded the Party conference to delete it.

However, the radical ferment and the economic hardships of the Second World War had to find an electoral outlet somewhere. In the 1943 general election the Labour Party for the first time in its history put up enough candidates to form a government and won 16% of the vote.

With the 26 Counties neutral and the 6 Counties like the USSR among the Allies, the Communist Party of Ireland was in an awkward situation, and in 1941 dissolved itself; the new Communist Party of Northern Ireland was free to back the War effort.

J. G.

A. C.

# GARAGEMEN BEAT SACKINGS

LATE NEWS: On 22nd June the strike ended. Both men were re-instated.

Workers at the Volkswagen garage in Waterford went on strike against the sacking of two men on 18th May. Management sacked two mechanics claiming 'the outlet was not making money'. Tom O'Neill, the Managing Director of Volkswagen (Ireland) Ltd., justified the sackings by describing them as 'a commercial enterprise on behalf of the company.'

Bosses like using these fancy, technical terms and others like 'rationalisation', 'competitiveness', and so on, in order to confuse workers into accepting redundancies as inevitable. In plain language what Tom O'Neill is saying is that he wants to get bigger profits out of less workers. The workers have rejected the management's arguments, however, and are prepared to fight hard to deny them the 'right' to hire and fire as they please. The Volkswagen workers, who are members of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union, held a meeting as soon as the news of redundancy broke. Their decision to strike was backed by the union, who made it official.

The seeds of the dispute were sown some time ago when two new apprentices were employed with the permission of the union, after a written guarantee had been given that it would not lead to loss

of jobs. Management have broken the agreement, and now see fit to attack the union organisation and use these apprentices as cheap labour. The garage has a long history of intimidation, with managers telling foremen to 'walk on the men' and 'get rid of the troublemakers'. It is no coincidence that one of the sacked workers was also the shop steward on the job.

## Greek Holiday

Just as the strike started, directors and sales managers were setting out for two weeks' holiday to fascist Greece. We can safely assume that they were thinking more about Volkswagen's profits last year than the plight of the workers on strike. Volkswagen (Ireland) Ltd. is owned by the very powerful O'Flaherty family - and with shares worth £4 million.

Storemen and clerical staff who were not previously union members have now joined the I.T.G.W.U. and are supporting the strike. However, two salesmen and a foreman have continued to pass the pickets despite appeals from the strikers. The foreman is chairman of the Killea branch of the Labour Party in Co. Waterford. 'Worker' readers will, no doubt, remember the pre-election manifesto of the Coalition; it contained many fine promises including one to 'halt redundancies'. The role of this particular gentleman in the strike seems to indicate that the Labour Party would prefer to forget that promise.

Waterford has seen far too many workers thrown on the scrap heap of the unemployed by arrogant bosses. Waterford workers must do everything they can to help the VW strikers by organising factory collections and resolutions of support through union branches. Garage workers in Waterford and Volkswagen workers in Dublin have a particular responsibility. The workers at the Dunlop slipper factory (member of the A.T.G.W.U.) who were on strike against redundancies for three months last year were one of the first to organise collections for the strikers.

All supplies to Waterford and in Waterford of VW spare parts should now be blacked. Other garage workers must now step up the struggle to get all Waterford garages fully unionised.

## Workers Committee

As far back as the closure of Denny's, the local branch of the Socialist Workers Movement called for the formation of a workers committee against redundancy and unemployment. It is still urgently needed. Its demand should be:

1. Full support for all direct action to stop redundancies;
2. a shorter working week, with no loss of pay, to create more jobs;
3. work-sharing, with no loss of pay, to save jobs;
4. if the employers are not prepared to concede these demands, the state must take over the concern and leave the day-to-day running in the hands of the workers;
5. broaden the struggle against redundancy, which is part of the general attack on living standards of workers.

A victory for the VW workers would boost the morale of all workers and help us better to be able to 'Say No to the Sack'. (17/6/73)

# Elitism causes defeat

The dispute at Harland and Wolff's shipyard in Belfast ended in mid June. After an 18-week struggle over the non-payment of productivity bonuses, the 2,300 steelworkers finally accepted management's terms for a return to work. The lockout had begun in April and the steelworkers received no unemployment pay or social security benefit the whole time they were out. As their union, The Boilermakers' Society, refused to make the dispute official, they received no help from that quarter either.

The Management's offer was for an increase of £1 plus 4 per cent on basic rates, the maximum rise allowed under the Tory government's wage freeze, together with a payment of £20.90 per man for accepting 'dilution' (the inclusion of 600 trainees in their section), and weekly payments of 63p until productivity payments exceed this amount. The men were fighting for bonuses which would have increased earnings by up to £3.50 per week. This was NOT a rise in basic rates, but remuneration for greatly increased output. Management, helped by the executive of the steel workers union, sidestepped the issue of the bonuses in the settlement, and forced a return to work on terms the men could have won without a fight.

## Union Attitude

Throughout the dispute the executive of the union has taken sides openly with

management and the Government. They have refused to back the men, and the grovellingly accepted the wages freeze which has cemented shipyard workers' wages in the North at a level of £8-£10 a week below their counterparts in Britain.

There are lessons to be learned from this dispute. The steel workers were isolated from other workers in the yards from the very start of the dispute. They did not try to build links and mobilise solidarity action. Their failure to do so is largely responsible for the length of the struggle, which in turn is one of the main reasons why they were so easily persuaded to accept defeat. In the future these links must be built. Solidarity must replace sectional elitism.

As far as the union is concerned, the men rightly rejected any notion of splitting away. But they must set themselves the goal of winning greater control over their own organisation, turning it away from the path of collaboration with the bosses and Government, and into a real fighting union which puts the interests of its members before 'industrial peace' and 'political stability'. That means a fight for real democracy within the union. It is something that the steel workers will have to take seriously in the coming months if they are ever to win parity with British workers and avoid further tragic defeats.

M. MILLER

The Socialist Workers Movement has published a policy statement on 'Industry and the Trade Unions'. It deals with the main problems facing workers in Ireland - redundancies, rising prices, union bureaucracy - and gives a programme for the formation of factory committees and for rank-and-file factories in the unions.

[Order a copy now from Socialist Workers Movement, 30 Strandville Avenue, Dublin 3. Price 10p including postage.]

## INDUSTRY AND THE TRADE UNIONS

POLICY STATEMENT BY SOCIALIST WORKERS MOVEMENT



Left: Mickie Mullen

# 'Friendly' deal - but union smashed

Senator Michael Mullen, General Secretary of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union, announced the ending of the strike at Lydon's restaurant in Galway saying that it had been an 'amicable settlement'. He apologised to the bosses about leaflets and articles about the strike which were, he said, 'grossly unfair' and 'untrue'.

But what was in this 'amicable settlement'? Not even the seven girls who were on strike for several weeks have seen any written agreement between the union and the management. They don't know if they have won anything, or what are their rights.

Whatever was in the agreement, the management continued in the same old style as soon as the girls returned to work. They began another campaign of intimidation, and it was partly successful.

There are now only three union members working in Lydon's restaurant and shop. They also sacked one boy of 15 who has supported the strike. Management said 'he should be at school'. He does not remember being told this when he was quiet, cheap labour.

ment got in touch with the union about the girls refusing to do extra work. The union official 'informed his members' that they should work normally - that is, accept orders. The girls refused, and were suspended.

The militant talk about organising Galway's catering trade dried up in Mickie Mullen's mouth. The girls had not even received strike pay for the time they were out.

The girls' struggle to get the union started is all the more important because of what happened in Lydon's bakery recently. A worker who had been in the job for twenty years was sacked for 'throwing his weight around'. The man was a member of the bosses' new answer to the problems of industrial relations - the Staff Association. The only thing the Staff Association could get from the bosses with their begging was three months redundancy pay - exactly what he was entitled to under the Redundancy Payments Act.

## Extra work refused

The union officials sat back as this intimidation went on. So the girls themselves took action. They refused to lay tables or wash dishes, claiming that this was not a waitress's work. The manage-

# THE WORKER GETS THE BLAME

THE WORKER GETS THE BLAME - that's the story of an incident on a Galway building site. Early in June an electrician on the U.C.G. site was suspended for two days because he was using a drill that was not properly earthed.

The whole of that site, however, has temporary wiring and bad earthing. The contractors, John Sisk, the foremen, and site agent, have known that perfectly well for a long time. But when the Factory Inspector suddenly turned up on site one day and found this going on, he went to the site agent, only to be passed on to the foreman, and then to the worker in question. On the Inspector's pressure, the contractors suspended him for two days without pay.

The man's union, the Electrical Trades Union (E.T.U.), took up his case, and eventually got the suspension down to one day. But the principle had not been beaten. On building sites throughout the country, contractors are breaking every single safety regulation in the book. They're not worried, because they rarely get caught out, and, if they do, they can load the blame on the workers.

The lesson is very clear: building workers (and, for that matter any other workers) should refuse to work in unsafe conditions. They should demand the right to have their own safety committees which control conditions and take company time to do it.

It's interesting to note that Sisks decided to display a copy of the Acts on Safety after this incident. Is the Factory Act displayed in your place of work? It should be - by law.

# East Wall

60 PEOPLE attended a meeting on 19th June in East Wall, Dublin to discuss some of the urgent issues facing people in the area. The meeting was called by the Socialist Workers Movement which has members living in East Wall. The threatened eviction of 17 tenants in the area by Julius Lipschitz highlighted

the kind of problems people face there.

Several people at the meeting pressed for an Action Group to be set up to fight on the issues of pollution, dangerous traffic, lack of social amenities and so on. Another meeting will be held in July.

# NO JOBS FOR THE BOYS

Capitalism is a chaotic and topsy-turvy system. Look at the situation in North Dublin, for instance. On the one hand, a young unemployed man was told straight out by the National Manpower Service that there were no jobs in shops, vans or factories on the North side for a lad of his age (19). On the other hand, advertisements land through the doors of houses throughout his area looking for girls of the same age to work in Finglas Labora-

tories on the Dublin Industrial Estate.

The young men are looking for jobs. The jobs are there, but the capitalists want young women, and use all kinds of gimmicks to attract them. The jobs could be done by men, but the exploiters want to pay less wages. Until there is real equal pay, that will be the case, and the working class will be more divided and weaker for it.

## I wish to have further details of the Socialist Workers' Movement

Send to Socialist Workers' Movement, 30 Strandville Avenue, North Strand, Dublin 3

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

# FINTAN'S DELIGHT

What a circus! Fintan Kennedy, president of the I.T.G.W.U. jumped up and down with delight when Michael O'Leary, the Minister for Labour, announced at the I.T.G.W.U. Conference that the Government would set up a National Economic Council.

Does anybody really believe that Kennedy and the other bureaucrats did not know that O'Leary would announce this? On the previous days of the conference the leaders of the I.T.G.W.U. had put all their effort into persuading — brow-beating would be a better word — movers of resolutions against the National Wage Agreement to withdraw them. They wanted conference to pass an executive resolution which hinged their strategy on the demand for a National Economic Council!

The demand for a National Economic Council has been raised by several different unions and by Congress over the past few years. Now the government have agreed to set one up. Does that change our attitude to the National Wage Agreement?

## Opposition

Not in the slightest. In fact, it should harden our opposition to the wage agreement. The National Economic Council cannot possibly benefit the working class. It's aim is to get the trade union bureaucracy to take responsibility for solving capitalists' problems.

The fight against the National Wage Agreement must be stepped up. At the various union conferences over the past weeks the rank-and-file opposition to a new agreement has been obvious. Some of the resolutions passed are certainly weak — placing certain conditions on accepting a new agreement — but many trade unionists seem to think that because the conditions cannot be met, this is a subtle way of opposing the Agreement itself.

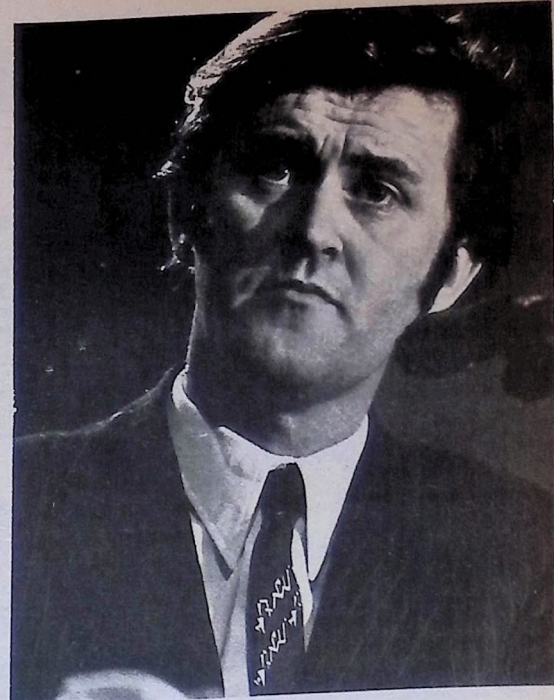
## Pious Hopes

The Coalition government is placing all its pious hopes for the economy on getting a new National Wage Agreement. Richie Ryan's budget was mainly designed — as he said — to get a favourable atmosphere for a new agreement. At the same time, the union bureaucrats, particularly in the I.T.G.W.U. have been canvassing hard for a new agreement. John Carroll, the man who loves to make militant-sounding speeches about everything under the sun so long as it doesn't tie him down to anything — told the delegates to the I.T.G.W.U. Conference that the Wage Agreement had helped reduce

the price increases and stabilise industrial relations. Some bloody help with prices soaring the way they are at the moment! As for 'stability in industrial relations', John Carroll will have to eat his words. The number of strikes has gone up sharply in the last few weeks — precisely because workers are frustrated by two and a half years of the Wage Agreement.

## Differential

One of the tricks which the leaders of Congress are prepared to use to get the new agreement through is to make some concessions to the craftsmen who are well known to be against the Agreement, for all their talk about helping on the lower-paid the union bureaucrats are ready to agree to a new deal which will widen the gap between craft and general



## MICHAEL SPOKE, FINTAN DANCED

workers — just to get the thing accepted! What hypocrisy!

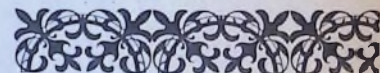
Of course the union leaders speak with forked tongues. At the I.T.G.W.U. Conference Mickie Mullen remarked that "the idea of social partnership (between employers and workers) is a very odd one". At the same time, he, along with the other I.T.G.W.U. leaders pushed a resolution in favour of collaboration in economic planning between bosses unions, farmers, and government, which referred to all these interests as 'partners'. Are they deliberately trying to confuse people?

## No common interest

Workers have no common interests with bosses; we are not partners in this society. In the weeks and months ahead the pressure for a new Wage Agreement will be more intense.

Our answer must be loud and clear — **NO NATIONAL WAGE AGREEMENT!** The divisions between weak and strong in the working class will not be overcome by holding down everybody's wages but only by organising on the job and in the union to let the successes of the stronger sections benefit the whole class.

Militants must call for an end to union participation in the Employer-Labour Conference and for no dealings with the National Economic Council. There must be an all-out fight for a national minimum wage of £30, a working week of 35 hours, and equal pay now!



# SOCIAL CENTRE GREW A SPIRE!

You hear a lot these days about the 'Church in action'. A typical example of what it means took place recently in Shantalla, a working class area of Galway. It shows that what it is all about is church control (of schools and recreation centres), not anything involving the democratic participation of people the church claims to be helping.

For some years, the people of Shantalla have been contributing £1 or 50 pence a week for the building of 1) a social centre, 2) a school, and 3) a church. The mistake from the beginning was to mix up the first two with the last. For the people of Shantalla, the first priority was the social centre. Local priests and businessmen regularly denounced young boys as 'wreckers' and 'hoolligans'. Pious complain'ts were made about teenagers drinking cider and causing 'agro'. None of these people thought that it might have anything to do with lack of facilities in the area — at least, they didn't say it.

The parish priest set up a committee to collect the funds. The project was launched at a "community" dinner with the local bishop up front and the people of the area down below waiting to hear the good news about their new social centre.

Of course, the ordinary people could not be trusted to elect the committee themselves — they had to be appointed by higher religious authorities. There was a

fair sprinkling of 'prominent people' on the committee — professors, businessmen and professional people from other parts of the parish.

## Changed priorities

But even the selected committee had no real say in what was going on. Without consulting anybody, the parish priest had the priorities changed. Another church was needed, he thought — in a city with more than enough churches already. No one was consulted about the design of the social centre, or about who was going to run it, and what entertainment it would provide. Gradually, the proposed building began to grow a spire and the whole thing looked more and more like a church.

To cap it all, the people of Shantalla have recently learned that some of the rooms are to be let out to the Western Health Board. There again, the people who paid for the building had no say in

what was to happen to it. The tenants' association sat back and watched developments, afraid to say anything unless horns would start to grow from their heads.

Most people had imagined they were going to get a club, where old and young, men and women could come together. They certainly did not hope for a place which would close at 11 o'clock on Saturday night in order to prepare the tabernacle for the mass on Sunday! Of course, there will be no bar, and little more than the few folding table tennis tables which are in it now. The religious atmosphere of the place will hardly attract the local young people.

The control of the use of the building is not in the people's hands. Because the site was church property, and some of the money came from government grants, it becomes yet another part of church property. The people of Shantalla will be 'guests' in a place which was supposedly built for them.

It is up to the Tenants' Association to take back what belongs to the people of Shantalla. They must make sure that the building is 'secularised', and controlled by the local people. Otherwise it will be run like the Catholic church — undemocratically.

## the chief?

Thomas Kenneth Whittaker, the Governor of the Central Bank, and the man whose signature appears on those rarer-and-rarer bank notes, is a hot tip of the job of keeping the new National Economic Council in order. This throws us back to the time of another coalition government — 1956 — when the ultra-conservative Gerard Sweetman, the Fine Gael Minister for Finance, brought Whittaker into the limelight from the darkness of the civil service.

Whittaker, more than any one other person, has been the architect of Irish economic 'development' over the past 15 years. His first 'Programme for Economic Expansion', presented in November 1958, said optimistically: 'On the basis of existing policies, the capital programme of public authorities will fall in the coming years, mainly because social needs such as houses and hospitals, will soon be overtaken in most of the country.' Nothing could have been wider of the mark. There are still many areas of concentrated, chronic over-crowding in our towns.

The priorities of Whittaker's programme were clear — it was not solving unemployment, housing problems, or any of the other supposed concerns of the present government, it was encouraging 'productive capital expenditure' by private exploiters.

## Accepting Standards

No programme of economic development will be successful unless the people have the will to work and are prepared to accept the living standards to which their efforts entitle them. This means, in particular, that wage standards must be realistic . . . A nice way of telling workers that they must tie themselves to wage agreements, and good preparation for the role Whittaker would be playing on the National Economic Council.

In his second 'Programme for Economic Expansion' Whittaker wrote that better industrial relations depend 'primarily on the willingness of both labour and management to discuss and settle their mutual problems in an enlightened and progressive spirit of co-operation with full regard to the national interest.'

Here again Whittaker has laid the basis of work in the National Economic Council, surely our experience of all these bodies and the policies of people like Whittaker teach us that when they talk about 'national interest', they mean the interest of a section of the international capitalist class: that is, Irish bosses and bankers.

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# ELECTIONS IN THE NORTH

by M Miller

THE LOCAL council and Assembly elections in the North mark the high point in the British government's attempts to get 'normal' political life going again among the anti-unionist population after the years of mass agitation.

Getting the anti-unionists to support 'responsible' middle class parties like SDLP and Alliance, has been one of Whitelaw's main aims since he took over. He has been using the 'carrot-and-stick' method; the Army wields the stick and the SDLP wields the carrot

War-weariness and the promise of fairer treatment in the future, have had some of the desired effect among anti-unionist workers.

The SDLP openly admitted that they are attempting to win total control over the Catholic vote, so that they can help produce a 'stable' society in the North. Their 'commitment' to Irish unity is a commitment to unity under imperialism. They see it in terms of the political and economic unity of Europe - an amalgamation of capitalist states which gives the bosses greater powers to exploit the working class. They have consciously set out to transform the anti-unionist mass movement into election support for their own kind.

The SDLP wants to run the show along with other capitalist and imperialist parties. Helped by Britain, and the failure of those 'socialists' in the mass movement to fight for genuine working class politics, the Catholic middle class has made headway in 'pacifying' anti-unionist workers. The SDLP has risen on the backs of the mass movement with hardly a word of criticism from those who sought to maintain 'maximum unity'. The Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association has only very recently dared to criticise the SDLP,

even then only for 'betraying the internees' not explaining their class role.

### No Revolutionary Strategy

The Republican Clubs' entry into the elections has done little to advance revolutionary awareness in the working class. They have fought on social issues but they nowhere offered a revolutionary strategy for achieving the goals they set down. There was no hint in their campaign, that the working class, organised in its own revolutionary party would have to wage a militant fight, and eventually take state power itself, if unemployment, sium housing, and all the other evils of the capitalist system were ever to be overcome. They raised demands in isolation from any notion of working class struggle in the factories and the unions.

The support for extreme loyalist organisations must be the most worrying feature of the elections for the British rulers. They had hoped that the old sectarian Unionist party would be replaced by something closer to the 'centre', such as Alliance. However many of those elected on the Unionist ticket do not support the British White Paper. The Unionist Party is no less split today than it was when Craig was still in its ranks.



ALLIANCE PARTY MEMBERS CANVASSING IN CATHOLIC AREA OF BELFAST

Craig's Vanguard Party represents a section of the capitalist class who will not go along with the British Government's plans for 'normalising' the Six Counties. Such plans, which mean the coming together of the Catholic and Protestant middle-class, would put bigots like Craig out of business. He represents the interest of small capitalists who are threatened by those economic developments which have made the middle class 'non-sectarianism' necessary.

The absence of a revolutionary working class alternative is, in part at least, responsible for the rightward swing of 'loyalist' workers, and the building of such an alternative remains the only hope of winning them away from such sectarianism in the future. It is also the only answer to the successes of the SDLP among Catholic workers. It is wrong to believe that the

mass movement can be re-constructed in unity with the so-called progressive middle class. Working class issues must come into their own, with revolutionary answers not the reformist solutions put forward by the Officials and others.

The struggle must be seen in an all-Ireland context. There can be no victory in the Six Counties alone. The Tory Government is now talking of possible re-unification in 10 years, and this talk is having a big effect on 'loyalist' workers. It makes deeper sectarian divisions in the working class quite probable. Therefore, the rule of capitalism and imperialism in the South be challenged with a strong socialist alternative. An Ireland united by British imperialism, and over the bodies of hundreds of 'loyalist' workers would not bring socialism any closer.



above: Derry demo

Many people will have been glad to hear of the united action by Derry Officials and Provisionals campaigning against internment. Not so some of the leading members of the Official Republican Movement, however - nor, indeed, some Derry Provisionals who complained that the decision had been taken at a badly attended meeting.

Kevin McCorry, a leading member of the Officials, was in Derry on the day of the most recent joint demonstration against internment. He was not there for the

demo, however. He was wearing his other hat - as organiser of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association. He had called a meeting of Derry supporters of NICRA to re-launch the campaign against internment! About 20 people turned up to the meeting; there were no rank-and-file Officials there, although the 'line' of the Officials is still full support for NICRA.

Asked afterwards about the demonstration, McCorry replied that he welcomed all 'non-political action against internment' 'Socialist' Officials, how are you!

## Review

BY G BELL

# U.V.F.

## Boulton's book

TO BEGIN with the title is deceptive. The book is not so much about the U.V.F. itself as about a number of Protestant right-wing groups that have emerged in the last four or five years. The U.V.F. is certainly given a wide coverage in David Boulton's study but as Boulton himself says no deep or detailed study is possible at this time because of the reluctance of members of the U.V.F. to talk freely about their activities.

There are two reasons for this. In the first place the U.V.F. as an organisation has been given an importance out of all hearing with its activities. It has, however, been little more than a fringe organisation. Its initials are painted on walls in the Shankill Road in the same way I.R.A. was on the Falls Road in 1966.

## BLACK

Secondly, and more importantly, the role of the U.V.F. in particular and loyalist extremist groups in general has always involved an element of black propaganda, and the men who carried them out are less liable to admit to so doing. Many of the right wing extra-parliamentary activities (and this must include actions of the British military) have been designed to discredit the I.R.A.

David Boulton does do a useful job in compiling all the available information concerning the U.V.F., U.P.V., U.D.A. and so on. He adds some fresh information. He performs a useful task in reminding us of just how shady the past of Paisley is - now hailed by the "moderate" bourgeoisie of the Irish media and English Tories as the white hope of the new Ireland.

The major disappointment in the book is that Boulton sticks to mere reportage; there is no real attempt to explore deeply why Protestant workers have behaved as they have. It is understandable that the author should wish to set down as many facts as he can and to "put the record straight". But it contributes little to a Marxist understanding of the Protestants in Northern Ireland. His main criticism, however, is kept for the leaders who have manipulated the Protestant working class, rather than the Protestant workers themselves. But you cannot explain it all by exposing the manoeuvres and dishonesty of Unionist Party hacks.

## TRUTH

Certainly the divide and rule policy pursued for years by the Unionist Party has contributed greatly to Protestant sectarianism; but it must also be recognised that the Protestant working class, as a unified group, have quite consciously been hostile to Catholic workers, in hoping to maintain their economic and social privileges. The ugly truth is that the Protestant workers have applauded the repression and discrimination of Catholics because such a policy has been in their material interest. That is, when jobs or houses are in the offing it has been invariably the Protestant who have come off better.

To recognise this also helps explain more clearly than anything else, why the only solution to sectarianism is a socialist one. While there are crumbs from the capitalists table to share out Protestants and Catholics will fight each other for them - but when slices of the cake, rather than crumbs can be shared out equally the reason for inter-class rivalry will disappear.

# KEEPING 'ULSTER' IN BUSINESS

THE BRITISH government recently announced that the ceiling on government grants to industrialists setting up business in 'Ulster' will be removed. This is part of a total scheme which ensures the continuing domination of the North by British big business. The ceiling had been set at £400,000 per firm per year - not much when you consider the amount of capital necessary to create one job now adays.

Take Courtaulds, for example. They are building a new plant in Derry. It will cost £25,000,000 and provide 1,000 jobs. That works out at £25,000 per job. At that rate, £400,000 would provide only 16 jobs!

Among the other handouts to the rich to safeguard and increase their control over our lives are: grants for security guards; grants to keep the shopping centres of big towns going in spite of lost trade; incentives to firms already established here to expand. The Northern Ireland Finance Corporation, with a budget of £50 million to cover 'emergency' assistance, and to plan the long-term exploitation of the working class.

In all, it amounts to a fair few million pounds every year going into the hands, pockets, mouths, homes, flashy cars, holidays, yacht clubs, golf clubs, dinners-at-the-Europa, and what have you of the 2% of the population who rule us. The man on the dole queue is 'lucky' (?) if he ends up after it all with a miserable £20 a week job turning screws into a car he'll never drive or a ship he'll never sail in.

State grants to capitalists are no answer to our problems. Capitalism itself is our biggest problem!

# HUME

DID YOU KNOW that one of John Hume's, first remarks, after learning that the SDLP had won 10 seats on Derry Council, was that the creation of an 'efficient' police force was a first priority? To arrest all those who dared to criticise the SDLP in the election campaign?

# BLEAKLEY



AND did you know that David Bleakely, member of the NILP and one-time member of the Unionist cabinet said after the trouncing of his party in the local elections, that 'the negative vote for Labour candidates is a wreckless insult to men and women who have given a lifetime of service to the community regardless of class or creed'?

We'd always thought a LABOUR party was supposed to look after the interests of those who labour - the working class. It's nice to hear it from the horse's mouth that our suspicions that the NILP never was such a party, were correct!

# WALL STREET JOURNAL:

"Ireland is offering 15 years of no taxes on the profits of export sales... nonrepayable capital grants are given... one American drug company earned a fantastic \$18 million on sales of \$25 million from its Irish subsidiary thanks to its tax-free status."

IDA ad

# APOLOGY

Two issues ago we promised the second part of an article on the Magazine Fort raid in 1939. Readers will remember that this article suspected that people in high places may have been connected with it. Several readers have asked us when the next part will be printed. It is only pressure on space which stops us printing it now. We will do our best to have it next time.

# Snooping about

A RECENT article in the Belfast News Letter's supplement 'Ulster Businessman' offered advice on how to increase office output. It reads like something out of Playboy magazine.

It talks about 'the proper handling of girls by men', and goes on, 'given sensitive contact, girl clerks can be made to give their all in the name of the organisation... if you know how to switch them on, girls can be quickly persuaded to embrace the corporation.' It mentions one astute businessman who 'went to town on a pretty fair looking, but neglected number in his office with a view to increasing her output... the workline went up as the neckline went down.'

The article ends, 'girls can be made to shed their outer defences in the cause of the company, and... in the pursuit of profits they will gladly surrender, body and soul.'

Anybody who sees the 'Late Late Show' will probably be well aware that everybody's favourite priest, Michael Cleary, the one they call the 'singing priest' is a declared opponent of the official Republicans, Sinn Fein, the IRA, and all that.

Well how about this then? Father Cleary was recently appointed a "free lance social worker" in the Ballyfermot area of Dublin. The local paper of the Officials, the 'Ballyfermot Republican', greeted the appointment with an article headed 'WELCOME FR. CLEARY'.

In it Sinn Fein promised to stand by Fr. Cleary, 'no matter what the odds or how heavy the consequences are'. Work that one out if you can.

Not a lot of people know about one of Cosgrave's choices for the senate. We wonder does the arch-reactionary Cosgrave himself know. For Senator M. D. Higgins is commonly known around University Coll-

ege, Galway, as THE RADICAL. Unfortunately a lot of students have not developed that working-class scepticism of the academic radicals. Hundreds of them throng to his ever frequent speeches about the 'Evils of private property', and 'Alienation of the working class'.

He even accuses students occasionally of being 'verbal radicals', about not doing anything. Now who do you think is being fooled? Has Mr. Cosgrave got a loyal Labour Party hack man, or is there still a real live Radical under the opportunist skin? You've got to be careful about how you guess, because one might begin using such rotten clichés as 'opportunist' about one who is, after all, very radical.

Some evil-minded and subversive people have been heard to say that those riots in Dublin after the Provos' Bodenstown commemoration were provoked deliberate-

ly in order to discredit the republicans. How nasty-minded can people get? But then, did you notice that although one story from the police was that 'skinheads' had attacked the Northerners, the courts were crammed with young lads from the North next day?

Mattie Merrigan, Dublin District Secretary of the Amalgamated Transport and General Workers Union, got hauled over the coals at a meeting of the Monaghan Trades Council some time ago. Delegates to the Trades Council who had been involved in a couple of disputes in the area criticised Brother Merrigan for going straight to the management when he arrived at the factory where the dispute was going on.

Most readers will know that this is a favourite practice of union officials - but it hardly benefits one who is so loud about his radical and 'socialist' ideas.

A friend of ours who recently started his apprenticeship as a barman in Dublin got a letter from the Irish National Union of Vintners, Grocers and Allied Trades Assistants (Banba Hall Union for short) when he applied to join.

The first interesting thing was that the letter was dated 2nd April, but was not sent out until 1st May - which gives you an idea of how keen they are to get people organised.

The second, much more obvious thing was what was written in bold, heavy type in the letter:

**WARNING:** - any apprentice who breaks his contract with the employer to whom he contracts to serve his apprenticeship will be deprived of membership of this organisation.

The union officials are saying loud and clear that they will give no support to apprentices who take action to improve their scandalous wages and conditions.

## WRITE NOW! LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Dear Editor,

The headline in the May-June issue of *The Worker* which said "North - vote Republican!" was rather misleading. It gave the impression of uncritical support for the candidates of the Republic Clubs and for their campaign. The article itself pointed out quite rightly the failure of the Republican Clubs to challenge the new system of local government and their failure to go beyond the idea of reforms within the present framework to establish full democracy - as if a fully democratic Northern Ireland is possible. The Officials accompany this by military measures not clearly tied to any popular struggle.

It was right for socialists to vote for the only candidates offering themselves as believing in some sort of socialist, anti-imperialist ideas. But the task remains of building a socialist organisation which will be free from the restraints of limiting itself to the struggle for a will-of-the-wisp democracy, and able to offer a clear socialist alternative based on the unity of the working class, Catholic and Protestant.

John Goodwillie,  
Dublin.

## UNIONS

Dear Comrade,

The title of an article in your March issue, 'Revolutionary Trade Unionism' tends to obscure the fact that the only revolutionary unionism is Industrial Unionism as expounded in Ireland by James Connolly. This is based upon the logical proposition that all industry is inter-related to such a degree that there is really only one industry the production of goods and services. This can be subdivided into six major departments and the workers therein employed organised into industrial unions. This form of industrial organisation provides us in Connolly's words with "the most effective form of combination for industrial warfare today" and also for "Social Administration of the Co-operative Commonwealth of the future".

Interestingly enough, in the above passage, Connolly reiterates the syndicalist principle that all union delegates be elected subject to immediate recall and the SWM appears to be the only left-wing group in Ireland to include this principle in their statement of aims. This is the most effective method of curbing the growth of union Bureaucracy. It remains (rule 4) as a principle of the I.W.W. ('Wobblies') to this day. Shortage of space prevents me covering other aspects of Industrial Unionism but I think that syndicalist advocacy of the General Strike is well enough known. The I.W.W. booklet "One Big Union" is at present being printed in America, and will be on sale in Belfast later this year.

A knowledge of the real, revolutionary industrial unionism is important today because of the growth of sham industrial

unionism. Connolly warned that if "we allow officialism of the old narrow sectarian kind to infuse its spirit into the new organisations and to strangle them with rules suited only to a somnolent working class, then the greater unionism will but serve to lead us with great fetters." With the continuing mergers of many unions into sham industrial unions, that danger is increasing and it is up to those of us who advocate revolutionary unionism as an integral part of revolutionary socialism to oppose it with something more than slogans. The alternative form of union organisation we ought to advocate is that which has been perfected by the IWW and by Connolly; it is industrial unionism.

In doing this we will be helping to carry one of the unfinished tasks of James Connolly referred to in *Forward*, Feb. 2, 1914:

"This is to my mind the lesson of Dublin, Industrial Unionism; the Amalgamation of all forces of labour into one union, capable of concentrating all forces upon any one issue or in any one fight, can alone fight industrially as the present development and organisation of capital requires that labour should fight. This will not be accomplished in a day, nor in a year, but should be definitely aimed at, no matter how long may be the period of its accomplishment".

Best wishes to "The Worker" and its readers.

Yours for the One Big Union

Henry Bell,  
Belfast.

## REPLY

WE DO NOT believe that trade unions can become revolutionary organisations. What we meant by 'Revolutionary Trade Unionism' was revolutionary activity in the trade unions.

The most important parts of that are organising to win rank-and-file control of the unions, to get militant policies adopted by the unions, and to bring the most class conscious trade unionists into a revolutionary political organisation. The area the unions cover is not as important as who controls them, and in whose interest. We have spelt out our strategy on this in a policy statement on 'Industry and the Trade Unions'.

Why are the big industrial unions in West Germany, or such British industrial unions as the Miners and Railwaymen not revolutionary? Are they what comrade Bell calls 'sham industrial unions'? Or is it that like general unions and craft unions in this society, they are more or less tied to the state and committed to go no further than reformist policies.

The Industrial Workers of the World 'Wobblies' today are a small confused group who live on the past glories of the Wobblies. They have nothing to offer the U.S. working class in its present struggles. Importing their policies - or, more exactly, their rhetoric - is not going to help solve the problems of Irish trade unionists either.

EDITOR

# WHAT WE STAND FOR SOCIALIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT

The SOCIALISTS WORKERS' MOVEMENT is a revolutionary workers' movement, whose aim is the organisation of the working class in the struggle for power and the transformation of the existing social order. All its activities, its methods and its internal organisation are subordinated to this and are designed to serve this purpose.

Capitalism is a system based on production for profit, not for human need. This system is driven by the necessity to accumulate profit, which means that capitalists compete with one another, both nationally and internationally.

The capitalist class is a ruling class whose ownership and control of the means of production is based on the exploitation of the working class. Thus, a small minority rules society. In Ireland, 9 per cent of the population owns 90 per cent of the wealth.

The contradictions between competing capitalists, produce war, poverty and crisis. The struggle between the classes will produce the overthrow of capitalist society.

Capitalism needs the working class; the working class does not need capitalism. Present day capitalism is entering a period of stagnation and crisis; it attempts to solve its problems at the expense of working-class living standards and democratic rights.

This system is international: in the drive to expand it must extend its power over the whole world. 250 companies dominate the international economy. The search for markets and materials has led to imperialism - the brutal oppression of the peoples of two-thirds of the world and the effective strangling of those peoples' attempts to develop their societies.

## Imperialism

International capitalism operates in Ireland through British imperialism's military, economic and political domination of the whole country. Britain maintains a standing army in the North. British imperialism has divided the working class on sectarian lines. British investments throughout Ireland equal 50 per cent of all investment in manufacturing and commerce. The Dublin and Stormont governments are subservient to the dictates of the international system and thus to its agent, Westminster.

Imperialism dominates Ireland as a whole: it treats Ireland as a unity. The struggle to defeat imperialism, therefore, must be fought in a united way throughout the 32 counties. This involves the overthrow of the Orange-Unionist state in the North and of the Green-Tory state in the South.

Irish capitalism, Green and Orange, is wholly integrated into the world system. Because of this, the mere unification of Ireland, or the removal of British troops, cannot in themselves mean the defeat of imperialism in Ireland. There is no independent republic this side of the Workers' Republic. Only by the uniting of the

working class can power be taken from the Orange and Green ruling class minorities and victory be won over imperialism.

It is the Irish working class and small farmers who bear the load of this imperialist domination. The contrast between Ireland, a neo-colony, and the Western capitalist countries is especially glaring:

- North and South:
  - 120,000 unemployed—the highest rate of unemployment in Europe;
  - 60,000 redundancies expected in the next four years;
  - 100,000 unfit houses and the worst housing record in Europe;
  - £9 per week net average income per rural household—the third lowest in Europe;
  - 1,000 political prisoners.

The working class has the capacity to end exploitation and oppression. In Ireland North and South the working class is now the predominant social class numerically and in terms of potential strength. The class has achieved a new self-confidence and militancy; this needs political co-ordination. Independent working class action can create a society based on production for human need, democratically controlled by the majority. By organising at the point of production and in the localities the workers can lead a struggle to the Workers' Republic. This would not mean merely a State takeover of the means of production, but workers' control of all aspects of society, local and national. Such a society does not exist in any country today.

The Socialist Workers' Movement stands for the nationalisation of banks and industry under workers' control and without compensation. To this end we actively engage in the day-to-day struggles of workers and small farmers and seek to build a mass working-class party which can lead the struggle to build socialism in Ireland as part of the struggle for international socialism. A Workers' Republic cannot survive without the aid of the British and Continental working classes and the international extension of the revolutionary fight.

The Socialist Workers' Movement opposes the E.E.C. to which the only alternative is socialism in Ireland, as part of a socialist Europe. The Socialist Workers' Movement opposes N.A.T.O. and all other international military alliances. We are independent of Washington, Moscow and Peking. We support all anti-imperialist struggles throughout the world.

## Workers struggles

- The Socialist Workers' Movement fights for:—
- full support for workers and small farmers in struggle;
  - defence of the living standards of workers and small farmers;
  - rank-and-file control and socialist leadership of the trade unions;
  - the election of all trade union

- officials, subject to recall;
- all strikes to be declared official if supported by the majority of the workers concerned;
- a minimum wage of at least £30 for a 35-hour week;
- equal pay for women;
- 100 per cent trade unionism;
- opposition to all anti-trade union legislation;
- opposition to all incomes policies under capitalism;
- against unemployment, redundancy and lay offs. We support the demand: Five days' work or five days' pay;
- repeal of all repressive legislation—e.g. Special Powers Act and Offences Against the State Act;
- extension of the Civil Resistance Campaign in the Six Counties;
- release of all political prisoners;
- evacuation of British troops from Ireland;
- defence of working class areas against military and sectarian attacks;
- freedom of worship for all religious groupings;
- total separation of Church and State;
- an end to clerical control of education;
- a secular and comprehensive education system controlled by teachers, pupils and parents;
- raising of school-leaving age to 18;
- free education to the highest level;
- adult wages and adult rights for workers at 18;
- free 2nd comprehensive health service;
- end to means-tested benefits;
- minimum wage for the unemployed and pensioners;
- one family—one house;
- emergency housing programme and expropriation of all building land;
- tenants' control of estates, including rents;
- full social equality for women;
- free contraceptive facilities with full medical services;
- 24-hour nurseries;
- income for small farmers and agricultural labourers on parity with industrial rates;
- division of large estates under control of local farmers;
- the building of a genuine co-operative movement among farmers and fishermen;
- nationalisation of hunting and fishing rights.

The SOCIALIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT is a democratic organisation open to all those who accept its principles and objectives, who work in one of the units of the movement, agree to recognise its discipline and pay dues.

"Internationalism; to some people this is the great bug-aboo which frightens them off from socialism" (James Connolly). The struggle for a Workers' Republic in Ireland is inseparable from the international struggle against capitalism. The Socialist Workers' Movement fights to build a mass party of the working class as part of a revolutionary international of working class parties.

## PERON'S RETURN

"Hegel remarked somewhere that 'All great events in history occur, as it were, twice. What he forgot to mention is that the first time they occur as tragedy, and the second, as farce'. (Karl Marx)

In 1946, a year after he first assumed power in Argentina, Juan Peron told military critics of his welfare reforms: "It is a fact the army must accept. If we do not bring about a pacific revolution the people will initiate a violent one".

The tragedy was that Peron was able to capitalize on the historic weakness of the working class movements in Argentina - divided on ethnic and urban/rural lines - to install his right-wing populist rule by a combination of coercion and conciliation.

The tragic farce of his return to Argentina on June 20th in the role of counsellor-in-chief to his puppet Campora, is that there still remains such a generalised belief in the Argentinian labour movement of the ability of the old leader solve its problems. That he was seen off from Madrid by Franco makes the scenario all the more grisly.

Since Peron's overthrow in 1955 none of a variety of regimes has been able to achieve bourgeois stability in the country. The army was in the background during the period up to 1966, when they openly moved in to take over the government. But the traditional balance-of-payments crisis and the problem of inflation persisted, and over the last four years a combination of working class militancy and guerilla activity has added to the problems faced by the ruling class. It became necessary, if the people were not 'to initiate a violent revolution', to return to a 'popular' government which would stimulate the economy, "contain" the working class, and isolate, the better to smash, the guerillas. Thus the military started dis-

cussions with "old rag and bones" Peron in Madrid, leading to elections in March, which secured a majority for the Justicialist party, Peronism resurrected.

### Campora in Power

Since gaining power Campora has announced a series of radical-sounding measures. Recognition of Cuba, North Korea, China, and North Vietnam, has been combined with a certain demagogic anti-americanism. Besides this, there was an amnesty for about 1000 political prisoners, most of them alleged guerillas.

Further points in the programme include nationalisation of banks, steel and power, state control of the export trade, along with a search for international capital in Europe and Japan. The Argentine economy is already dominated by international capital, and to get more of it coming into the country will depend on ensuring a 'stable' environment.

The demagoguery can be tolerated as long as this basic condition is met. But that is by no means guaranteed, although the new regime has the initiative at the moment. The economic boom during and after the Second World War paid for Peron's original welfare reforms. There are no such funds available today.

The working class is now much more mature than it was twenty-five years ago. There is no longer the immense pool of migrant workers from the interior - the 'descamisados' or 'shirtless ones' - in Buenos Aires, who originally provided Peron with an ideal audience. Further although still heavily controlled by Peronist bureaucrats, the trade unions are most



Peronist guard goes for gun during riots in which 20 were killed

unlikely to accept being incorporated again into the state machine. Under Peron the last time round the working class was stripped of its independent power, including the right to strike.

Lessons have been learnt from the repression of recent years, which has led to occupations of factories, and to a short lived workers' uprising in Cordoba in 1970.

But on the Left, there is serious confusion. Over the last couple of weeks, many young Peronists and some workers have occupied offices, factories, hospitals, and radio stations, demanding that Peronist administrators be installed, but not that

workers themselves should run the country.

### Factions

The guerilla Left is split into a multitude of factions, defined by their attitude to Peronism. Some of them have obeyed Peron's orders to down arms. The so-called "Trotskyist" People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) have refused to do this, saying that they will continue to kidnap foreign industrialists and attack the multi-national companies. But they have failed to produce a coherent analysis and strategy for the workers which would expose the myths of Peronism, and they have no significant

base amongst the industrial workers. Robin Hood heroism will be an inadequate substitute for the kind of organisation needed in the months ahead.

So as Peron returns, there is nothing stable in the country. The economic situation will dictate that the regime makes demands on, rather than concessions to, the workers. Whether this can be resisted depends essentially on the workers being able to organise their own independent organisation, thus breaking from the traditional ideology of Peronism.

P. GILLESPIE

## BELGIAN STRIKE ENDS

SEVERAL THOUSAND dockers who had been on unofficial strike, since early April agreed to return to work. Dockers at Ghent had taken a similar decision the previous week.

The strikers, who had not been supported by their trade unions, had been demanding a pay increase of £1 a day, annual payment of a "13th month", increased unemployment pay, and establishment of regular work teams. The strike started when 950 dockers at Ghent walked out on 6th April; on April 9th they were joined by 9,000 of the 12,000 workers at Antwerp, only the foremen opposing the strike.

The stoppage was the first major unofficial strike in Belgium since the 1969 miners' strike. Under the Belgian system of collective contracts between the trade unions and managements, strikes are forbidden during the life of the contracts. The dockers received financial support from workers in Germany, the Netherlands, France and Italy during the stoppage.

The vote on 4th June showed a 51% majority for continuing the strike, but it had been agreed that the stoppage would only continue if it was supported by at least 65% of those voting. Only those dockers who had not been receiving unemployment payments were allowed to vote.

## ACCIDENTS

Among the dockers' grievances are a high accident rate in the port (between 1963 and 1971, 34,461 accidents and 63 deaths, and 15 deaths in 1972 alone);

increased tempo of work as sections of the port are transferred from public to private ownership; and the threat of unemployment due to the introduction of containers. The city of Antwerp is using public money to subsidise industrial firms which are constructing giant quays in the port.

## BITTERNESS

Out of 19 strikes in the port since 1945, totalling 180 working days, only five strikes totalling 30 days have been recognized by the trade unions. The Paris newspaper Le Monde commented that the dockers returned to work this week with "bitterness", and that none of their claims had been settled.

On Friday, 1st June, 500 policemen and firemen, some in uniform, demonstrated in Antwerp in support of a demand for a 13th month and for payment for 16 hours of overtime worked during the dock strike. Fifty dockers took part in the demonstration. (PNS)

LATE NEWS: Police tried to bar some dockers from returning to work because they did not have a 'labour document'. On 6th June, a group of dockers' wives, waving flags, and accompanied by a band, tried to break through the police cordon.

Meanwhile, some of the dockers are still operating a go-slow; they are still bitter at failing to get their demands.

## Review

### CAMILLO TORRES

Camillo Torres is commonly known as the revolutionary priest who quit his job and joined the guerillas in the hills of his native Colombia. Few people know much more about him, so the appearance of his writings in paperback is welcome.

Torres came from an upper middle class background and apparently decided to join the priesthood after an unsuccessful love affair. He became a sociologist and much of his earlier writing is concerned with analysing Colombian society, which is controlled effectively by twenty four families and ravaged by poverty.

From studying these problems he moved towards politics in an attempt to find solutions. In 1964 Torres was condemning capitalism. In 1965 he advocated a 'united front of popular movements' with the aim of creating a mass movement which would seize power.

The local cardinal condemned Torres and said his position could not be reconciled with the doctrine of the Church. Torres replied that he was now a dedicated revolutionary and that Church property should be expropriated. He asked to be made a layman, and the cardinal agreed. So, in June 1965 Torres started touring the country to build this 'united front'. To Colombian Catholics, the vast majority of the population, his message was direct: 'The Catholic who is not a revolutionary is living in mortal sin.'

Although Torres was immensely popular, the 'united front' was politically confused, and deteriorated rapidly. Torres had earlier argued that in the event of setbacks, they should not fight in the city but should retreat to the country. With the failure of the 'united front' he joined the guerilla group, the 'Army of National Liberation'.

After his detachment had ambushed and killed several government soldiers in early 1966, Torres went forward to pick up the enemy's rifles. Government reinforcements arrived on the scene, and he was shot and killed.

Clearly the writings of such a man are important to Irish socialists. Most of his earlier writings, which fill most of the book, are fairly difficult and academic analyses of Colombian society. Yet his line of development is clear. He wrote: 'My analysis of Colombian society made me realise that revolution is necessary to feed the hungry, give drink to the

thirsty, clothe the naked and procure a life of well being for the needy majority of our people'.

Taking Christian love as his starting point, he tried to start a dialogue with the bosses. When this failed he decided that Colombian bosses were stupid and had to go. But the question of how to get rid of the capitalists and build socialism was never answered. When the inevitable defeats took place, Torres retreated to the countryside. The peasants, however - although they were about one half of the population - did not have the economic power to make the revolution. Only the urban working class could halt production, smash the bosses' system and build socialism.

### Blinded

Torres' emphasis on Christian love seems to have blinded him to the need for an urban working class leadership. To stress Christian love is to stress each individual

equally, ignoring the crucial differences between peasants and workers. This also explains Torres' exaggerated hopes for the 'united popular front'. Torres was certainly not all wrong, but his analysis was very weak from a socialist point of view.

Camillo Torres was a committed revolutionary. He sacrificed his position and then his life in the fight for a better society. His messages and appeals to the workers, women, prisoners and others, are stirring calls to revolutionary action. How many Christian messages could you say that about?

J. RAFTERY

Camillo Torres: Complete Writings, ed. John Gerassi, Pelican, 70p

## FREE SEAN HOSEY



John Hosey (above) Dublin-born trade unionist, has been sentenced to five years in prison in South Africa. He is accused of 'terrorist' activities. John Hosey is just one of tens of thousands of victims of the brutal apartheid regime. Trade unionists should demand his immediate release along with that of other political prisoners of the South African regime.

## GALWAY:

# GARDAI CAME TO TAKE US AWAY

by Marion Cunningham

TWO FRIENDS and I recently applied for weekend jobs as waitresses in the Hotel Rio, Salthill. Mr. McGurk, the owner, assured us we would have two tables per person to serve or three if we were capable, and we would receive £5 whether we worked two or three days for this amount of work. This seemed fair enough. But as time went on, the promises vanished.

It turned out that we were short-staffed. Mr. McGurk admitted that he should have had nine waitresses for the 80 guests in the hotel, instead of the actual four he had. Instead of serving two or three tables per person we had to serve five or six at a time. He told us we were doing double work so naturally enough we asked for more than £5. He replied: "Who said you were only getting five pounds, you don't even know what pay you're getting yet." He said he'd "see us all right" after lunch on Monday, so we naturally enough expected £10.

When all our work was done Mr. McGurk handed us £5 each and shouted at us to "get out"! But we stood our ground and insisted on the £10 for our 30 hours' work (4 hours Friday, 8 hours Saturday, 11 hours Sunday, and 7 hours Monday). We had received the insulting sum of 16p per hour. McGurk's reply was:



"If you were nice to me this weekend I would have given you £10 each!"

Admitting we deserved £10, but because in his eyes our complaints were not "nice", he wasn't going to give us our well-earned money. As we would not leave the premises without our pay McGurk called the Gardaí in to evict us from the premises! After 1½ hours of argument we had to leave without our pay and with the help of the Gardaí.

### Musty Smell

Three of us had shared a room in the staff house in Lenaboy Park. It was freezing and there was a continual musty smell — especially from the blankets; we found it difficult to sleep at night with the smell. There was no water to wash with when we awoke on Saturday morning and we had to go home that afternoon in order to take a bath. The toilet would

only flush once a day when we eventually did get water on Sunday. Newspaper was supplied as toilet paper.

Breakfast and tea consisted of bread, butter and tea. 'Elevenses' consisted of cold toast left over from the guests' breakfast and a cup of tea. We weren't allowed sit at 'elevenses' although we had been on our feet all morning. On Saturday night McGurk gave us one plate of chips for tea between ten of us. We were all so hungry we ate from this one plate.

When we asked for more food, we were refused.

Our lunch included some of the guests' leftovers. My proof? When going to clear a plate after a guest had eaten Mrs. McGurk took it from me saying "Don't waste good food." At the same time I threw a half potato in the waste and Mrs. McGurk immediately picked it up out of the waste saying: "Don't throw

away potatoes, and the price of them!" It's not hard to guess on whose plates this food was put! Mrs. McGurk was deaf to all protests.

During my two-hour break on Sunday afternoon after eight hours work without a break since 8 a.m., I was very ill. When I felt a little better I decided to try working for a while so that my friends would not have to do my work also. When I returned and told Mr. McGurk I was feeling very sick, his only reply was: "All I want to know is whether you're working or whether you're not!"

This is just some of our experience, but all this combined with the abusive language McGurk used in reference to us shows his complete disrespect for his staff. It is hard to believe that these conditions still exist in the twentieth century and yet they exist all round us and go unnoticed. Hoteliers must be made to stop treating their staff like animals.

## DUBLIN:

## BAD CONDITIONS LEAD TO DISPUTE

60 workers walked out of Bush Murphy at Santry, Dublin, on 19th June 1973, over a lunch hour dispute. They were suspended and the management passed round threatening notices about redundancies.

Union representatives in the factory—from the ITGWU—called Bush Murphy 'our life-line' and urged workers to be reasonable and hang on to their jobs. The main shop steward in the dispute refused, initially, to represent his workers and later resigned (only to be re-elected again because there was no opposition).

This strike took place against a background of very unsatisfactory conditions. The factory, which is part of the giant Jefferson Smurfit group, makes televisions and employs 500 workers—the majority are women. The women workers rely on a productivity bonus to make up their pay. One woman who takes home £13 a week told 'the Worker', "some girls even put off going to the loo in case they can't make up their quota."

In winter the heating is so bad that workers have to leave their coats on. There is sometimes smoke in the factory; the windows are kept closed in the summer.

It isn't just the new lunch scheme that needs changing at Bush Murphy. Better pay and conditions—and shop stewards prepared to support and lead those they are elected to represent—are also necessary.

## UCATT

The Union of Construction and Allied Trade Technicians (U.C.A.T.) claims to be one of the more active and progressive of the craft unions. Its claimed membership in the 26 Counties puts it in the top six.

However, the union is so bureaucratic and the officials are such a dead weight on any attempts to liven it up, that there were only five — repeat 5 — resolutions to this year's conference of the 26-County region. Very few of the members had an idea the conference was even taking place.

## CAMPAIGN

The I.T.G.W.U. is now committed to a united campaign with other unions against repressive laws in the 26 counties. A resolution calling for such a campaign was passed at the recent annual conference. A member of the Socialist Workers Movement had originally made it at his branch. All I.T.G.W.U. members must make sure it is acted on.

## HARRIS

The strike at Harris Ltd., the assemblers of Hino trucks, which we mentioned very briefly in our last issue had a good ending. The company caved in and recognised the union. The main thing which won this victory for the men was the threat by car workers in other Dublin plants to come out in support.

## ONIONS

A group of Dublin housewives are trying one way of beating rising prices. They buy vegetables in bulk direct from the wholesale markets, and distribute them among themselves. This means they can buy a pound of onions for 5½ pence. That should give you an idea of what kind of profits the retailers are making!



## BREZHNEV TO NIXON:

'We just shoot the buggers!'

Can you think of another caption? No prizes for the best one sent to us.

## HOMBURG LTD. NETHERLANDS

Homburg Ltd., is a leading Meat Industry in the Netherlands with 6 factories. We are looking for capable men, willing to learn a job either in one of our slaughter houses or in one of our processing lines—for hams. Ages between 18 and 40.

## BACON FACTORIES CLOSE

We pay your journey from and to Ireland. For more information about wages, social security, etc., please contact the National Manpower Service (Dept. of Labour), 112, O'Connell St., Limerick.

National Manpower Service will find you a job—ABROAD!  
The ad above was taken from the 'Limerick Leader'.

## DUBLIN:

## DAIRY MEN AMBUSHED

On a Wednesday evening about two months ago a combined force of Gardaí, security men and management were stationed on the hills around Premier Dairies in Finglas, Dublin. They swooped on two workers who were arrested and taken to Finglas garda station, where they were charged on four counts: stealing, receiving cream, stealing petrol, and driving a company vehicle unlawfully. The men, two painters, were dismissed.

Some weeks later the two painters were brought to court and all charges against them were dismissed. They were under the Road Traffic Act for a driving offence. (The management had charged the men with driving a company vehicle without a docket. But this is a common practice and was being done all the time). The men were found completely innocent of all the criminal charges.

Management refused to take the men back.

There is a definite reason behind the company's actions — they have been dying to get rid of Paddy McCarthy one of the accused painters, for ten years. He is a shop steward and one prepared to stand up for the men. Management tried to put him on a redundancy list, but that failed. So they took this opportunity to try and get him out. They sent a letter to each worker in the Finglas Plant stating that the men had a criminal record, hiring a public relations agency to do the job.

The company refused the request of the union (A.T.G.W.U.) to take the case to a Rights Commissioner. The union has been anxious not to antagonise members of the other unions by involving them in strike. But the truth may be that without wider support the case could be lost. All Premier workers should support the demand for immediate and full re-instatement of the two men.

D. DERWIN