

# W THE WORKER

Paper of the Socialist Workers Movement

**INSIDE:**  
The lessons  
of 1913

pages 4 & 5

After the amendment—

# BISHOPS RAMPAGE

THE AMENDMENT is over. But not since the fifties has the power of the bishops so nakedly been shown in the South.

On the Sunday before the vote, Archbishop Ryan demanded that his call to vote 'yes' be read at every mass in Dublin. Even young children were asked to take up literature from Church-run schools to tell their parents how to vote. It was the most naked use of the pulpit to reinforce clerical power.

But it should not come as a surprise. Archbishop Ryan

and the rest of the Church hierarchy have often used their religious positions to attack the slightest sign of revolt. The pulpit has often been used to denounce the 'greed' of strikers or the 'violence' and 'callousness' of those who fight the British state.

If there is one thing the abortion referendum has taught many people it is that the hierarchy stands fully for reaction.

For the last decade they grudgingly accepted the limited gains that women

won—such as contraception. But as Southern capitalism has gone into a cul de sac they judged it timely to mount an offensive. Their target was abortion—but the right wing forces they gathered for this battle won't just disappear.

## REACTION

They will stick around to demand that contraception will not be provided freely at health centres for working class women; that no money is provided for nursery

facilities; that divorce is kept out of 'holy Ireland'.

There will be on popular myth after this referendum. That is that the mass of Irish Catholics will always be led by their clerical masters. It is pure rubbish. Workers have often ignored the diatribes from the pulpit when they were told to get back to work. Those who fight from the Catholic ghettos of the North have repeatedly demonstrated their contempt for clerical advice.

*continued on page 2*

# Chad — France's "socialist" colony?

THE CLIMATE of world affairs has recently assumed something of a 'throwback air' to the days of colonialism in existence prior to the First World War, with the outbreak of conflict in Chad.

These were the days when the great ruling powers of the world could sit back in comfort, look at the map and follow the march of their armies around the globe while the rewards in terms of trade were seen in abundance at the ports.

Relations between the empires were conducted in a dialogue which included terms such as 'spheres of influence'. So it is strange to hear such an outdated phrase in vogue with world leaders Reagan and Mitterrand. Or is it?

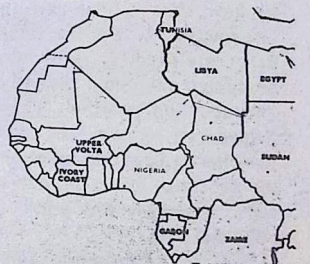
What is happening in Chad is essentially no different than what is happening in other parts of the world.

What Reagan is saying to Mitterrand is quite simple—Chad is your patch, keep an eye on it; we'll look after Central America and you see to Gaddafi in Africa.

The weaponry and mechanics of war may be different but nothing much has changed. The 'socialist' leader Mitterrand is hamstrung by the unchanged character of France in world affairs.

black population many of whom have been converted to Christianity by the colonists—the remainder holding animist beliefs.

After a civil war in 1978 the northern chief Goukouni emerged as president, supported by the French and Hissène Habré was appointed Defence Minister. Trouble soon re-erupted but by December 1980 Habré had been defeated by other forces in the Transitional Government of National Unity. However in June of last year, Habré again gained control of N'Ojamena, backed by the French this time, and the present situation developed as Goukouni's now Libyan-backed forces made inroads in the North.



The stage was set for Mitterrand to get tangled up in the legacy of French imperialism. And well embroiled in the mess he is, having sent thousands of paratroops and playing second fiddle to Reagan's manoeuvring.

Mitterrand and the Socialist/Communist government are playing true to form. Both parties supported the French Army in Algeria. Both parties have defended the existence of France's independent nuclear force. Only recently, the former ex-admirer of guerrilla warfare, Régis Debray, was sent to Australia to explain why the French were determined to blow the hell out of the local fish while testing nuclear weapons.

Once the forces of reformism move closer to government they move further to the right. But the spectacle of an old fashioned colonialist regime in Paris calling itself a communist/socialist alliance is getting a bit much.

by KEVIN CALLINAN

## EXPORTS

Chad itself is one of the poorest countries in the world. Its population compares with that of the 32 counties but in 1978 southern Ireland's GNP per capita was over 27 times that of Chad, whose exports are less than half of imports (37 percent of which come from France).

It first became a French protectorate in 1900, not achieving full independence until 1960.

The present conflict has been going on for some years and stems largely from the social composition of the country. Chad is in many ways divided in half. The north is mainly Moslem and politics there are based on several different factions, themselves mainly based on the old nomadic clan structure.

The south, location of the capital N'Ojamena, has a mainly



'Vote Yes' posters in Dublin church just before referendum vote and inset Archbishop Ryan (photos: Derek Spiers—Report)

# News & analysis

## Abortion: which side the WP?

THE RECENT amendment saw much of the left lacking on how to respond. Sinn Fein almost ignored the issue, having taken the view that their only interest was in the constitution of an Aire Nua and therefore did not need to take a stance on this nasty real amendment. The Labour Party was badly split with some its TDs leading the SPUC campaign in rural areas. Those that did manage to oppose the amendment did so in the weakest manner possible. 'Stop the Confusion...If you are confused, vote No' pleaded the Labour Party. Here EAMONN McCANN looks at how the 'serious' party of the left, the Workers Party, responded.

Bishops rampage—  
continued from page 1

The key is struggle. When workers fight together, the ideas of the bishops that women should be at home breeding kids, can be easily challenged. When workers face defeat after defeat, when there is a general acceptance of the need for 'sacrifice', the reactionary ideas flourish.

There is something else involved. There were many who opposed the amendment—but the public face of the opposition was the liberal and modern managers of Irish capitalism. They detest the country's backwardness. They believe that they can survive without the crude ideas of SPUC. But their economy is in chaos. They cannot offer jobs to all. Their ideas, their liberalism are no longer credible. When Alan Dukes, Minister of PAYE and Hardship was telling everyone to vote 'No' for all sorts of technical reasons, there were few working people who were prepared to listen.

The tragedy of the referendum is the pretence that it had nothing to do with abortion. 'I am a Catholic,' proclaimed Adrian Hardiman, a spokesperson for the Anti-Amendment Campaign, 'and if abortion was legalised I would be fighting alongside PLAC.'

When the Anti-Amendment Campaign first began it opened the way for a fight for the right to choose. From a situation where only a tiny handful accepted a woman's right to choose, but things were progressing to where ordinary working people were willing to accept that women do have that right in certain circumstances. But in their desperate need for votes, the campaign adopted a violently anti-abortion position. They helped to create the atmosphere where any mention of abortion or a woman's right to choose was put beyond the pale.

But the situation in this country is that the right to choose is for those women who have the money to pay for it. Whether it is the choice of contraceptives or even abortion, Irish law has seldom inhibited wealthy women who can pay for private clinics or Harley Street doctors in London.

Working class women don't have that choice. They don't even have family planning clinics in their areas, never mind a free contraceptive service. Those issues have now to be taken up inside the working class movement. The liberals who led the Anti-Amendment campaign will not be fighting around those issues. Socialists will because our demands aren't limited to what capitalism can give.

HANDS UP everybody who's against 'democracy' and 'tolerance'. Thought so...

Democracy and tolerance are like sunshine, apple pie and Eamonn Coughlan winning the 5,000 metres in Helsinki. Everybody's in favour.

Which is why the big wheels of the Workers' Party must have patted themselves on the back when they came up with their slogan for the amendment campaign.

'For democracy and tolerance, VOTE NO', shouted the leaflets and posters.

You didn't have to be a socialist to agree with a slogan like that. You didn't even have to be a liberal. It wasn't important whether you support women's rights. You could even be the most piggish male chauvinist in the land.

Because the slogan didn't mean anything.

To that extent, it's entirely typical of the political approach of the Workers' Party. The party describes itself as 'Marxist' or 'revolutionary' or even 'communist'. That's the type of language it uses in its inner councils or in situations where everybody 'knows the score'.

But on an issue like the amendment, when it pokes its head out into the big wide world where there are voters listening, the line is an awful lot looser. In that situation, it doesn't argue for a Marxist or revolutionary point of view, or even put forward a vaguely socialist position.

It just becomes another soggy lump in the easy-oozy drift of liberal sludge which includes the 'progressive' wing of Fine Gael, 'radical' clergymen, soft-left Labour candidates and people who write letters to the Irish Times.

It's the same on other 'difficult' issues, where the party's real beliefs would bring it sharply into conflict with 'traditional' attitudes.

On the North, for example, the Workers' Party campaigns for 'Peace, jobs and progress'. It's probably only

an oversight that they didn't include motherhood as well. There isn't a sinner in the land—Catholic, Protestant, right, left, rich, poor, whatever—who wouldn't say yes to peace and jobs and progress.

Again, it's the type of slogan which is flung out when a party is afraid to present its real ideas to the people and to argue for them openly. It's designed to match a prevailing mood rather than to challenge ingrained ideas. And as far as it goes, it probably works.

The Workers' Party believes that it came well out of the referendum campaign. It established itself—although rather late in the day—as part of the vaguely progressive block which was opposing the amendment while at the same time avoiding being branded as pro-abortion or too violently anti-church.

### PRIVATELY

Of course a majority of Workers' Party members, and the entire leadership element, will admit privately that they are 'pro-abortion', in the sense that they support a woman's right to choose whether to have an abortion or not. And, as self-proclaimed 'Marxists', they are for the total separation of Church and State.

Their 'success' in the campaign lies in the fact that they managed to hide these beliefs from the electorate without looking too shifty about it.

At the heart of the Workers' Party there is a secret conspiracy. This is not to refer to the Official IRA, although that exists too and might well be relevant. This conspiracy has counterparts in other parties which want power over the working class but have to get support from the working class in order to fulfil that end.

The conspiracy comes about because such parties have to tell lies to the working class. And these lies have a lasting effect.

For example, the WP may well have recruited a few members in the course of the referendum campaign. These will have been recruited on the basis of 'democracy' and 'tolerance'. If this continues—and there is no reason to suppose that it will

not—then the leadership group at the centre of the Workers' Party will have to become even more manipulative, devious and conspiratorial. They will have to do this in order to keep control over the party membership, not to mention holding sway over their supporters outside.

### PUBLICLY

There is another effect too: a party which consistently denies belief in a particular idea cannot have a genuine commitment to the idea. Workers' Party leaders may well have had a conscious commitment to 'women's rights'—including the right to choose abortion. But when they refuse to campaign publicly for women's rights, it becomes irrelevant what they believe in private—if, indeed, after years of dodging the issue with deft footwork, they can be said to have any belief about it one way or the other.

In this regard, it was notable that the WP leaflet on the referendum didn't mention women. In its own way, that was something of an achievement. Many people will have thought it impossible to write a policy leaflet on this particular subject without referring, even in passing, to women, without hinting gently, just once, that women were rather centrally involved.

But the Stickers did it. And they managed, too, not to mention the working class. Not even once.

No indication that it is working class women who suffer most from the absence of abortion facilities in this State. Or that it is working class women who were and are most threatened by the possible loss of certain types of contraceptives. And who are still most likely to have the largest families and to suffer most in the rearing of them.

With women and the working class ignored, what's left? Democracy and tolerance, that's what. Plus 'moderation' probably. Not to mention sunshine, moonshine, maybe even Brendan Shine...

## Morality: why it is all a question of class

OUR RULERS and their ideological hangers-on are fond of giving us moral lectures on the evil of attacking property, or abortion. Not a day passes without Republicans being condemned for the 'immorality' of the armed struggle. Most of this moral effluvia is plain hypocrisy. Little concern is expressed by the rich and powerful for the misery which capitalist ownership of resources directly causes; the day-to-day violence of official society is passed over in silence or condoned.

But because we live in a class society, the ideas of the ruling class come to predominate and even those who oppose the set-up often express their opposition in moralistic terms—as if accepting the assumptions of capitalism but drawing back from the inevitable conclusions of those assumptions. Much of the public debate on the recent abortion amendment consisted of considerations of the rights of women versus the rights of foetuses, for example.

Can we do without morality?

It is generally supposed that without morality human society would degenerate into a dog-eat-dog savagery. People acting purely from motives of self-

interest would care nothing for others—the strong would flourish, the weak would go to the wall. Morality has the function of inducing people to take a broader view than self-interest, it is argued, and only by recognising the 'rights' of others is any society possible.

Why don't you steal money from your friends? Not because it is a 'sin' or you 'ought not', but because you have a capacity for compassion which is stronger than your desire for their goods—or maybe you feel the risk of being exposed as betraying your friend and losing their friendship stops you. The fact is that Man is a social, not an individual, animal and social emotions like friendship, loyalty and solidarity are every bit as important to people as private gain.

Of course capitalism alienates people and often represses these social feelings in the same way as work for most people is transformed by capitalism into a joyless drudgery. The fault is not a moral lapse for which the remedy is three Hail Marys, but the social effects of class society.

Morality and class oppression are inseparable. If everybody's fundamental interests are the same, then serious, irreconcilable conflict is not possible. It is pointless to morally exhort me to do things that I want to do anyway—that are in my interest. The point of morality is to get people

to do what they do not want to do.

In feudal society everybody's tasks and role were clear and unchanging. The king ruled because God gave him a divine right to, just as He 'called' other men and women to lower stations. What 'rights' you enjoyed and what 'duties' you had drew their authority from God. From the outside the logic is clear: an effective method of inducing people to submit to oppression and exploitation—to do things that were not in their interests—was to claim that they had a moral obligation to do so, that it was the will of God.

Such a moral system was not the most effective for the emerging capitalist class. For them what was needed was the formal equality of people, the removal of arbitrary privilege and the imposition of the law of the market. At the time of the rise of this class in Europe and America, liberal and rationalist theories of justice came to predominate. In works like Paine's *The Rights of Man* the philosophy that underpins modern liberal republics was developed. These doctrines drew their authority not from God but from 'natural justice'. It was a fact of nature that all men and women had certain rights. A just state recognised and protected those rights, a tyranny trod them under foot.

But this morality remained silent on the fact that the majority of people were still exploited and oppressed, because the 'rights' it proclaimed were those that fitted in with the idea

## 18<sup>TH</sup> PRECINCT

15 SUFFOLK STREET DUBLIN 2 TEL 718100

Open for Breakfast  
5 Days a Week from 7.30am

Open till after 12.00 - 7 days

GOOD FOOD  
GOOD SERVICE  
GOOD PRICE  
LUNCH SPECIALS



### An ARRESTING EXPERIENCE

## Food with names that makes you sick

NEW YORK, New York is the city that never sleeps, the city of skateboards and Walkmans, the city of the Statue of Liberty and of the Empire State Building and the city with the material that has inspired that delightful avalanche of Kojaks, Starskys, Hutches, and Hill Street Blues—the wonderful world, not of Disney, but of capitalism in crisis.

Sure, we all know the old game of cops and robbers is sometimes brutal, reflecting the critical mess of our society but *somebody* has to control that lawless mob and anyway the car chases really are exciting stuff. So why not give the boys in blue pretty faces, sun tans and give them equally pretty girls in blue just to add a touch of 'boy meets girl' to the harsh reality of keeping law and order?

Thank goodness for the 18th Precinct Restaurant, in Suffolk Street, Dublin. Now you don't have to invest in a colour telly and evade a colour licence to witness the disgusting glamourisation of this consequence of capitalism. Now all you have to do is to throw a brick through the front window whereby you'll be handcuffed and forced inside to read the menu... (anything you order will be taken down and maybe used as evidence against you).

Your tastebuds will tingle as you scan the menu...mmm...think I'll start with a little blatant sexism, the 1/4lb Hooker with a Precinct Tart for dessert or perhaps I'll go for a little machoism, the New Yorks Finest (men in blue love these) or even the 'hot and aggressive' Baby Face Nelson—the choice is cruel! You probably wish you were ten years younger so as to indulge in the Juvenile Delinquent menu and make a mental note to bring your 12 year old friend for a treat next time.

The 18th Precinct Restaurant is a glaringly sexist, grossly insensitive gimmick that regrettably captures the unsuspecting civvies, but should be avoided at all costs by those who have a socialist constitution!

that people pursuing selfish individual interests would automatically bring about the common good: It ignored the great inequalities of wealth and power among formally equal citizens in a capitalist society. An unemployed worker is as 'free' as a millionaire to dine at Mirabeau's—except for the small matter of not being able to pay the bill.

The rights proclaimed by liberal democracy seldom rise above the ideal, but the duty of the exploited and oppressed mass to abide by the laws enacted in the interests of the rich remains a major prop of capitalism. Liberal moral values serve to get people to imagine that their subjection is fair and to stop them challenging it.

### HEAD-FIXERS

In a class society, the only way to judge social actions is from the standpoint of class. The rich will seek to promote a ruling class view of which morality is a part. From the point of view of the only class that can take society forward—the working class—what promotes the strength, self-confidence, independence and organisation of that class is in the interests of all the dispossessed. What weakens the power of the privileged and the rest, is in the room for morality, it is all a question of class.

Finally an example. A lot of ink has been spilt recently in theo-

logical, constitutional and moral disputation on the question of abortion. All of it is beside the point. That point is that it is in the interests of workers that abortion should be freely available. Why? The 'rights' of foetuses or even of women can only be established if you accept divine authority or 18th century political philosophy—that is to say the ideological excuses for oppression.

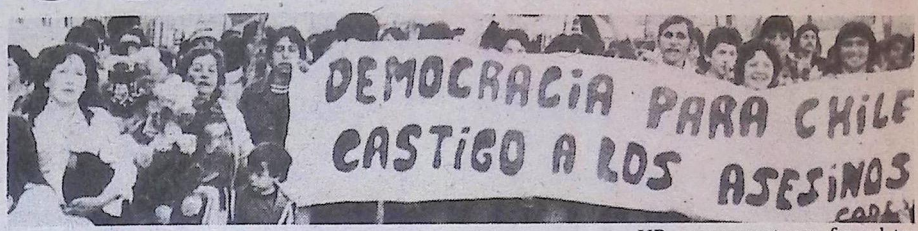
But if every woman who is pregnant is forced willy nilly and regardless of the circumstances to bear the child, then the position of the mass of women and their families—that is working people—is weakened. On the other hand, our moral guardians—priests, bishops and worthy bourgeois moralists—themselves agents of our rulers, are strengthened.

Abortion is unpleasant, but until contraception is 100 per cent safe, effective and controllable—and freely available—people will practise it. The question is one of making life more difficult or not for those who want it. It is in the interests of working people that it should be freely available—it is that which makes it a class demand, no more and no less.

And the working class alone has the power to force our rulers to provide it. That is why those who want to fight for abortion rights have no choice but to build a movement that can take up these and all the other questions of importance to the mass of people in the working class movement.

# International CHILE-FROM COUP TO REVOLT

Ten years ago one of the greatest massacres in working class history took place. The peaceful, parliamentary road to socialism ended in an orgy of blood as the army of Pinochet took over. Now the workers of Chile are fighting back. for the last four months there have been demonstrations and strikes to demand the ending of military rule. A *Chilean revolutionary* who has been in exile in Ireland since 1974 writes about the current situation in Chile while we examine why the parliamentary road had to end in disaster.



IN 1973 the world's media announced the overthrow of the Chilean government. The armed forces—supported by American imperialism, the native capitalists and sections of the middle class—brutally put an end to the elected government headed by Dr Salvador Allende.

Today after ten years Chile is back in the news. The discontent against the military regime has reached a critical point.

At the end of 1982 unemployment reached 25 percent. Wages are frozen. In the last twelve months food prices have risen by 29 percent. Just one example: according to the government's own figures there will be 100 million litres of milk less consumed in Chile than 1982 and in that year there was 170 million litres less consumed than the previous year.

Political parties continue to be banned and trade union leaders and dissidents are either jailed or expelled. There is no right to freedom of expression. The media is totally controlled by the government. In short, since 1973 the repression which was fundamentally directed against the working class has never ceased.

## BED-FELLOW

Pinochet's solution for the economic crisis is that workers should tighten their belts more and more. In this way, according to the 'Chicago boys' (the economists who follow Milton Friedman) inflation will be stopped and the economy will be re-activated.

In other words, workers must bear all the heavy weight of the economic crisis on their shoulders. A crisis for which they bear no responsibility.

Capitalism has no frontiers. Here in Ireland—despite the different government system—we are asked to suffer the same economic model that applies in Chile. The government here asks us to tighten our belts, to accept pay pauses. The difference is that whereas in Chile the bourgeoisie relies on military repression, here they have got a bed-fellow which calls itself a 'Labour' Party.

At all events, the Chilean people's struggle is not just an economic one. It is principally, a struggle for freedom and democracy. But these words have a different meaning for the working class and the bosses. And in Chile the struggle today is becoming more complex.

For one thing, the workers' movement is not as powerful as it was in the early seventies. Similarly, at the political level the left is no longer the same as it was then. The Socialist Party (the biggest group in the Popular Unity coalition of Allende) has been split in several sections. The Communist Party has made no change in calling for an alliance with the Christian Democrats which was seriously implicated in the coup. Even the far left MIR (Revolutionary Movement of the Left) has recently called for: 'a pact with the Christian Democrats and all social and political forces which reject compromise with the financial monopolies and the dictatorship'.

So if the workers' movement is to lead the struggle against the dictatorship and fight for socialism then part of that struggle must be a battle of ideas against reformism and bourgeois influence.

The Christian Democrats and the former allies of Pinochet—the Truck Owners Federation, for example—are now calling for a *social pact*. It will mean for the workers the same swan song as now—tighten your belts. They are saying that workers living standards can be cut without the need for a military dictatorship. The reformist parties have already declared their support for such a pact. Clearly they have not learnt the lesson of the coup.

In the period of the Popular Unity government, the workers were told that there was a 'peaceful way to socialism'. Any measure that might change the bourgeois structures had firstly to be submitted to parliament. That is to say that the bosses own representatives had to be asked if this or that change was permissible. The reformist government had no confidence in the power of workers' own struggles.

You can see the same problem in Ireland. The trade union bureaucrats have no confidence in the power of Irish workers. They set out to frustrate the big tax demonstrations and to ditch the fight of Waterford Glass workers. Instead of supporting and encouraging the struggle the trade union bureaucrats called at the doors of the political parties who were responsible for the problem in order to ask for concessions.

In Chile today, the reformists are trying to sell out the working class through acceptance of a social pact which is another name for the 'peaceful road'.

'THE working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready made state machinery, and wield it for its own purposes.' Marx drew this lesson from the Paris Commune of 1871, but the very same lesson, 100 years later, had not been learnt by the leadership of the working class in Chile. The result? A massacre of staggering numbers and ferocity. Even ten years after the military coup, workers are paying with their lives for not attending to this first lesson.

The major parties of the left in Chile believed they could introduce socialism through passing laws in parliament. But the parliament in any country, whether it is the Dail in Ireland or the Congress in Chile, is not a little island of democracy, where representatives are free to pass any law they wish. It is a debating chamber.

The real power in society lies in the boardrooms of big business; in the general staff of the army. The democracy of parliament is a limited form of capitalist democracy—the representatives are cut off from those they represent; they cannot be recalled if they no

Right: one of Pinochet's 18,000 strong military force takes aim at demonstrators in an office block. Above: marchers in Santiago on their way to bury one of the dead in recent demonstrations



The only way is for the workers to build their own organisations as they did in the early seventies when they established the 'Cordones Industriales' which linked together workers from different factories in one area. Those organisations can carry the struggle on in a determined fashion and elect their own leaders democratically.

However, the working class is not the only actor in the Chilean events. General Gustavo Leigh, a former commander of the airforces and member of the military junta until dismissed by Pinochet in 1978 has come out publicly in support of the protests. He said: 'I am a Chilean who is suffering like many others from the present situation and I am very worried about the future of my country. I believe that I have the moral authority to say it because I was one of the founders of the government.

longer reflect the mood of their electors; they have no power to enforce their decisions once they threaten the interests of capital.

The various institutions in capitalist society are designed in order to cater to the interests of the bosses, the capitalist class. The positions of power in all the institutions of capitalist domination—parliament, the judiciary, the army, the police, the mass media, educational bodies, religious organisations, the civil service—are manned by people who, because of their class background, upbringing, education, training and standard of living, have a stake in defending the capitalist nature of society.

Since these institutions are designed to manage the capitalist state, putting a socialist in a leading position would only result in her (or him) carrying out the job of capitalist guardian. Replacing the silver tongued chauffeur of a Rolls Royce by an overall-clad prole does not make the Rolls a People's Bus no matter how sincere the new driver. In order to remake society in its own

image, the working class must create its own institutions and organisations (strike committees, soviets, communes) and at the same time *destroy* the organisations of the capitalist class, with whom it has engaged in a life or death struggle.

The evidence of history in general, and Chile in particular, bears out this Marxist analysis. When the Popular Unity (UP) presidential candidate, Salvadore Allende, received the largest share of the vote (36 percent) in 1970, the parliament refused to support him until he signed a Statute of Guarantees in which he 'promised not to interfere with the army, special armed police, educational system, press and the Church. Yet during his term of office the judges refused to endorse presidential decisions, and Congress rejected UP legislation.

When workers began taking over factories the UP government firstly responded with condemnation or outright repression. But because the workers themselves were determined to hold the factories, the

UP government was forced to bring into the social property sector more than twice the number of factories than they had intended. When the workers set up 'cordones' (inter factory committees) and 'commandos comunales' (local bodies organising production, distribution and defence) the UP government failed completely to give a lead. In trying to make the capitalist system work, the UP government ignored the arrest, beating and torture of sailors who had been 'infected' by the ideas of workers. Near the end of its rule they were forced to allow the military into the Cabinet.

Despite the clear evidence of the impending coup d'etat the UP leadership continued to praise the loyalty of the army and left the working class politically and militarily defenceless. When the coup took place, the 'independent' judiciary rejected 'habeas corpus' petitions on behalf of the 'missing UP leaders, stating that the army could do what it liked in time of war. The press printed obviously untrue Junta reports on the extent of the resistance and massacre. Cardinal Henriquez praised the 'democratic and humanitarian nature' of the armed forces.

Recently, the US ambassador to Santiago, James Theberge, said, 'We believe that democracy is the system of government wished by the great majority of Chileans.' (!) In the light of all this, socialists should be clear about their position in relation to the restoration of democracy in Chile. The 'democracy' that sections of the right may wish to restore is one which safeguards the power of capital.

But we should have no illusions whatever about the parliamentary road to socialism. Not only in Chile, but in all other 'democratic' countries, 'The executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie.' (Marx: Communist Manifesto 1848).

Real democratic rights in Chile will only be won by a struggle led by the working class.

**SWM Meetings**  
**Chile 1973-1983**  
*From Coup to revolt*  
**Speaking Tour with Chilean Revolutionary**

**Dundalk Monday 12th Cassidy's Pub, Park St, 8pm**  
 (Organised jointly with Dundalk Republican Labour Committee)

**Waterford Wednesday 14th**

**Cork Thursday 15th Connolly Hall, 8pm**

**Dublin Saturday 17th ATGWU Hall, Marlboro St, 3pm**

# The lessons of 1913

DUBLIN in 1913 was a city like none other in the British Empire. It was a city of the unskilled. Of a total male labour force of 40,000, 23,278 were classified as builders, dockers or general workers. The vast majority were casuals on the railways and the docks.

The young unskilled working class were surrounded by a sea of poverty and squalor. Dublin had the highest rate of TB, of methalated spirit drinkers and prostitution of European cities. Yet it was to produce an example of working class militancy that was unrivalled on these islands.

Syndicalism was a revolutionary doctrine that was opposed to the developing reformism of the socialist parties that geared everything to elections. The syndicalists argued that power was in the workplaces; that workers had to build a massive union that linked craft and general workers. Militant industrial struggle was the key. There was no respect for the bosses' laws or 'collective agreements'. Eventually socialism itself could be achieved by a 'general lock out of the capitalists' in a general

**SEVENTY YEARS ago the streets of Dublin rang loud with the fury of class struggle. The militant union of Connolly and Larkin, the ITGWU, fought for its life against the owner of the Irish Independent, William Martin Murphy. There will be no official celebrations to mark the anniversary, for this was a battle between Irish worker and Irish boss. The leaders of today's Irish Transport may issue an odd statement but the militancy of the period makes them nervous. KIERAN ALLEN looks at the general lock out of 1913 and the lessons for socialists today.**

strike.

Connolly explained how the ITGWU in those days waged the class war. 'Let me emphasise the point that the greatest weapon against capital was the sporadic strike. It was its very sporadic nature, its swiftness and unexpectedness that won.' Alongside the sporadic strike went the blacking of 'tainted goods' and the spreading of solidarity action. Through such tactics the boss class were forced onto the defensive.

One of their spokesmen wrote that many employers conceded to the 'dictatorship of Liberty Hall in the hope rather than ex-

pectation that peace might thereby be bought. If they were dealing with an ordinary trade union of the English type they would almost certainly not have been disappointed.' In 1911 they formed an Employers' Federation and prepared to smash the ITGWU.

There was another reason why the bosses were preparing to strike. Home Rule was on the agenda of the British parliament. The Irish boss class were about to become managers in their own houses. They were determined to teach the labour movement the value of respect and obedience lest they think that life was going

to change under Home Rule.

The strike started quickly. One night in early August William Martin Murphy called some of his employees together in the Ancient Concert Rooms for a cup of Bovril and a talk. He told them he would never accept the ITGWU though he had no objection to a 'respectable union'. By 15 August he walked into the Independent offices and sacked 40 who refused to leave the ITGWU.

## ASSURANCES

The next day the newspaper boys and the Eason's van men were locked out. On the 17th, Murphy sacked 200 tram men for being union members. On the 19th, he visited Dublin Castle to receive assurances that the special reserves of the Royal Irish Constabulary would be sworn in.

The union responded by calling a strike on the trams. During Horse Show week, the drivers simply walked off their trams. Larkin called a mass demonstration in O'Connell Street but it was banned by a judge who was a shareholder in Murphy's company. Larkin announced he would be speaking anyway.

On the morning of the rally, an old man in a frock coat arrived in the Imperial Hotel. At the appointed hour he appeared on the balcony. Suddenly the wig came off to reveal the mighty figure of Larkin. Though whisked away after a few minutes, such gestures were typical of the courage and imagination of Larkin. Later that night a drunken police force went on the rampage leaving two workers dead and 600 injured.

The smaller businesses of Dublin now saw that this was a life and death struggle with a militant union. By 3 September



A striking photograph showing the scene in O'Connell-street during a strike

500 firms had locked out the members of the ITGWU. It is important to remember some of their names in case anyone thinks this breed of capitalists has disappeared. They included Jacobs, Heiton, Patterson matches, Brooks Thomas, Arnotts—in fact the litany of names of the same boss class who scramble around the Dublin Stock Exchange today.

Dublin was now engulfed in the struggle. Mass pickets, stonings of scabs and the queues at the pawn shop became the daily ritual. Each week Larkin's *Irish Worker* appeared. One column named the scabs and gave their address. Like for example: 'Hills: the 5 shilling a week clerk who begs for cigarette every Saturday at the Oxford Saloon.'

## SYMPATHY

Despite the hardship, Dublin workers stood firm. But if the strike was to win, it needed to spread to the heartland of British industry. There was tremendous sympathy among the rank and file. After a visit by Larkin 2,000 dockers in Liverpool came out. The strike spread to Birmingham, Crewe, Derby and South Wales. Twenty five thousand turned up to a meeting in Manchester to hear Larkin speak.

But the British TUC took a very different view. It first ordered an end to the sympathetic strikes. Then it moved against blacking. Instead of supporting the ITGWU the TUC took on the role of mediators between the bosses and the workers.

Nationalists have often argued that they acted as they did because they were from British unions. In fact they sold out because they were union bureaucrats of the same ilk as our own John Carrol and Paddy Cardiff today. They were the same leaders who had opposed the fantastic struggles of miners, dockers and railwaymen in the militant years from 1910 to 1913 in Britain itself

One of the miners' union leaders commented about a strike in Tonypany in Wales: 'Anything is better than the state of anarchy and red riot such as prevails in Tonypany today. I have been a trade union leader for 30 years and have never witnessed anything equal to it.' Out of such moderation could come nothing but betrayal.

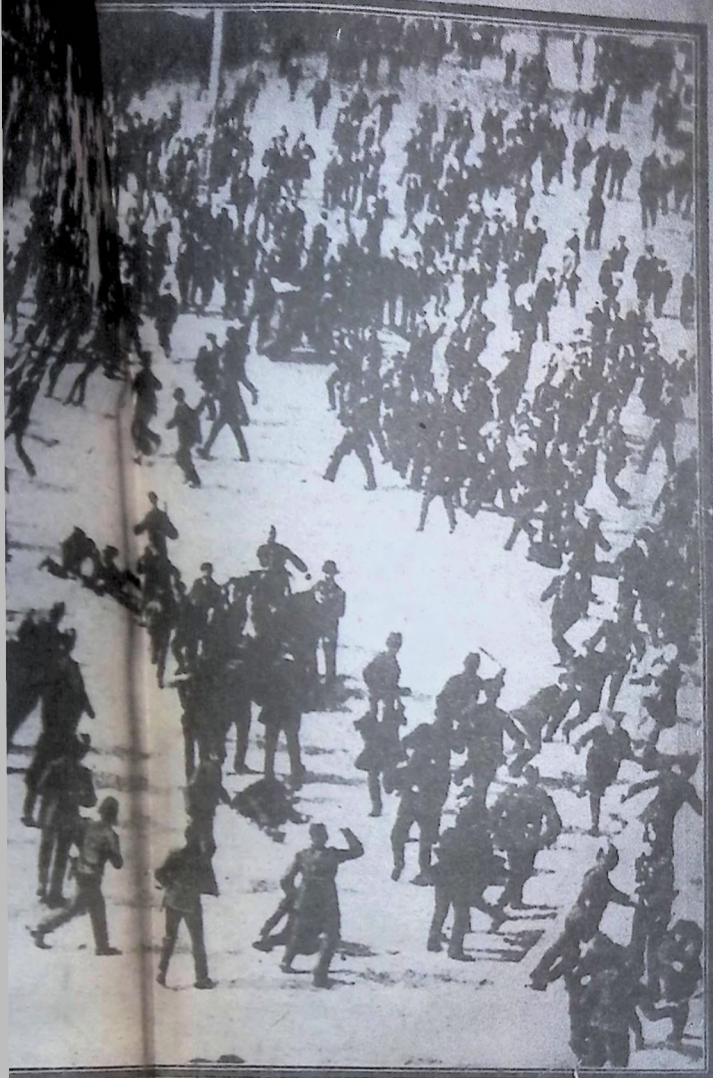
The other major enemy of the strikers was the Catholic Church. Through the Ancient Order of Hibernians it had attempted to set up rival unions to the ITGWU. It failed miserably. But when a scheme was mooted to send the children of strikers to the families of English trade unionists so they would be fed during the strike, the Church moved. The latter day 'pro-lifers' pretended to be concerned more for the children's Catholic souls than their living bodies. Because of riots by clerical mobs the scheme had to be abandoned.

By February 1914 the Dublin workers were isolated, sold out by the union leaders and attacked by the Church and the forces of the state. Strike pay had run out. Workers were forced to sign the document renouncing the

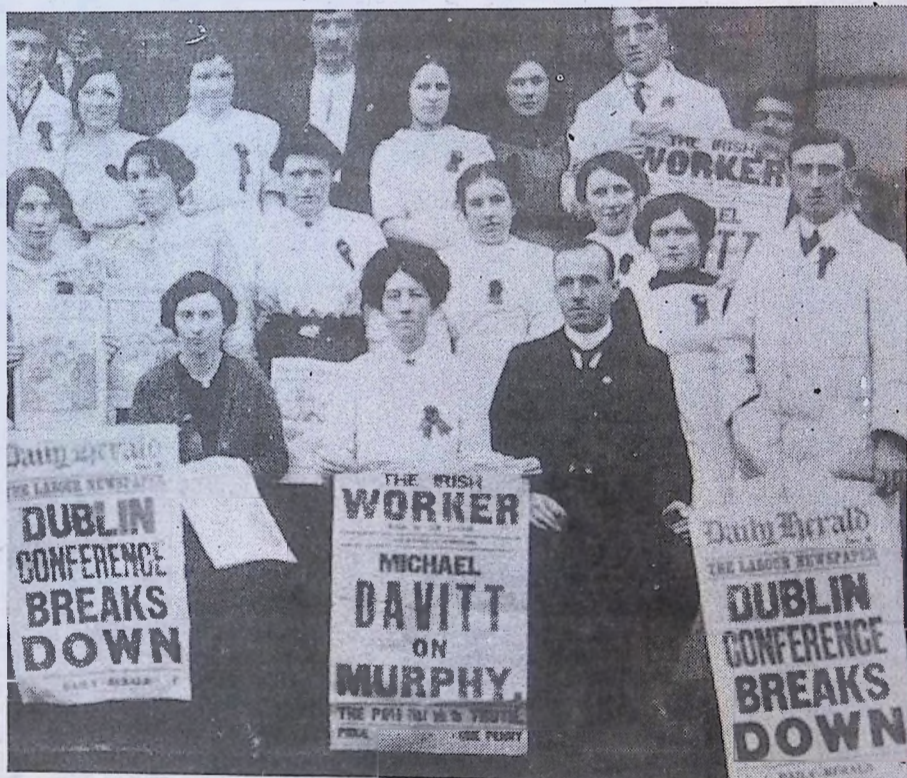


Larkin's arrest outside the Imperial Hotel

### POLICE MAKING BATON CHARGES.



The police baton charge as shown in the *Daily Mirror* of the time. (Above) Larkin addresses a crowd in O'Connell Street ten years after the Dublin lockout. (Right) Workers outside Liberty Hall, Dublin during the strike. (Below) The national executive of the Irish TUC and Labour Party 1914—Conolly far left, Larkin front row second from right.



often argued as they did re from British they sold out union bureau-lik as our own Paddy Cardiff are the same posed the fan- miners, dock- in the militant O to 1913 in ers' union lead- about a strike in les: 'Anything is state of anarchy n as prevails in t. I have been a er for 30 years witnessed any- Out of such d come nothing or enemy of the Catholic Church. icent Order of d attempted to unions to the d miserably. But was mooted to n of strikers to English trade y would be fed ke, the Church er day 'pro-lifers' concerned more 's Catholic souls bodies. Because erical mobs the be abandoned. 1914 the Dublin olated, sold out lers and attacked nd the forces of ay had run out. orced to sign the nouncing the

ITGWU. Wholesale sackings of union members took place. In Jacobs only 100 of the 600 union members were taken back. Yet the union was not completely smashed. It held its base among the dockers and other sections and from there it was to rebuild—though under a very different leadership to that of Connolly and Larkin.

#### WEAKNESS

There are a number of lessons socialists today should learn from the strike. Of foremost importance is the weakness of syndicalism. At the beginning of the strike Connolly wrote: 'Let the boss class declare a lock-out. It will hasten the day when the working class will lock out the capitalist class for good and all.'

Connolly's syndicalist ideas led him to the belief that a general strike would always win 1913 ended in defeat. So too has any workers' movement that confined itself to industrial action

when the stakes were raised. In Poland in 1980, in Britain in 1926, workers found that a general strike raises the general political question of who runs the society. In that situation you cannot sit back and wait for the bosses to collapse. You have to take over the running of daily life through the establishment of workers' councils. You have to prepare for the smashing of the bosses' state through an insurrection. The tradition of syndicalism, by turning its back on politics, leads to passivity in the end. The second problem of 1913 was that it raised the class struggle between Irish bosses and Irish workers to an unprecedented level but left little political trace behind. Lenin, when he wrote about 1913, remarked that it would kill for ever the illusions of Irish workers in nationalist bosses. It didn't. In 1918 Irish workers were dragooned into supporting Arthur Grattan's Sinn Fein in the general elections.

The reason is simple. The class struggle flows from peaks to lows. Implacable hatred of the bosses infects the whole of working class when the struggle is at its highest point. But that same implacable political opposition to the bosses and their allies is confined to a minority of class conscious workers in periods of defeat.

#### INSURRECTION

You need to build a party that serves as a memory of the class, that organises the revolutionary minority. Connolly hadn't built such a party. After his experience in America he came to believe all that was needed was a loose grouping that produced general propaganda and linked reformists and revolutionaries. Irish socialist at the time were organised in such a group. They hadn't even their own paper and often sold the radical nationalist paper, *The Nation*.

Instead of building such a party after 1913, Connolly saw the key as the Irish Citizen Army. He had partially recognised that weakness of syndicalism and set out on the road of insurrection. But instead of training a minority of workers in the lessons of 1913, in the need to maintain complete independence for labour in any future alliance, in the need to link any future general strike to insurrection, Connolly trained them in drilling.

And as the future after 1916 was to show, the brilliant military discipline of the Irish Citizen Army far outstripped its political clarity when it came to dealing with the situation after Connolly's death.

**Socialist Workers Movement**  
**Public meeting**  
**'The 1913 Lock-out'**  
Speakers  
**Ken Quinn (FWUI)**  
**Paul O'Brien (ITGWU)**  
Venue  
**ATGWU Hall**  
Marlborough Street, Dublin  
**Thursday 6 October 8pm**

# Reviews

## The unmanageable revolutionaries

Margaret Ward's book *Unmanageable Revolutionaries* is an account of women's involvement in the Irish nationalist movement from the Ladies Land League of the 1880s through Cumann na mBan in the 1910s and 20s to the present day.

The idea of these women being 'unmanageable revolutionaries' comes mainly from the days of the Ladies Land League when the imprisonment of the male leadership of the land agitation meant that the women had to be relied on to provide an alternative leadership.

Within a year, the Ladies Land League had produced a far more militant, open, mass movement accompanied by a soaring rate of agrarian 'crime'. Michael Davitt commented that the effect of the women's handling of the situation was: 'more anarchy, more illegality, more outrages, until it began to dawn on some of the official minds that the imprisonment of the male leaders had only rendered confusion worse confounded for Dublin Castle, and made the country infinitely more ungovernable under the sway of their lady successors.'

The rejection by the women of constitutionalism, their identification with the peasantry and subsequent militancy led to their suppression by the released Land League leaders who were worried about their own estates and their seats in Parliament.

### QUESTION

The question which the book raised most sharply for me, then, was how unmanageable were these women anyway? Because after their suppression these women who Parnell feared were using the League 'not for the purposes he approved of, but for a real revolutionary end and aim' seemed to disappear from political life.

Their disappearance was echoed in the last few years during the H Block Campaign when women, mainly from the Relatives Action Committees and Women Against Imperialism began the agitation which led to a mass movement for political status for republican prisoners in Northern Ireland's jails.

Once it became obvious that the Campaign had mass appeal, Sinn Fein moved in and took it over. The women were sent off stage again. And in spite of the confidence they had gained in years of struggle, in spite of their militancy—they allowed themselves to be sent.

There's a lot of new information in the book, especially about Cumann na mBan, the women's organisation set up to service the (men only) IRA—providing nurses, cooks and all things that men traditionally have not done.

by GORETTI HORGAN

Much of the information though, doesn't provide any great insight into women revolutionaries and often the ideas and demands of modern-day feminists seem to be brought in as a yardstick with which to

measure these women's worthiness—neither a fair nor historically accurate comparison to make.

This tendency and the view of history expressed in the book—ie that to date all history has been 'male history' made the book get on my nerves from time to time.



The women were sent off stage again

## REAGAN BANDAGES HIS IMAGE

THE AMERICAN Embassy in Dublin is getting worried. It seems their case on Central America is just not getting through. They have now started a regular little newsletter to explain how good Uncle Ronald really is. In the Land of the Free, we are told, there is an organisation called Americares (shucks!) which sends medical aid to El Salvador. Now, Reagan claims that America is sending far more money in medical aid

than in weapons. But life is not so simple.

The newsletter explains: Firstly, 'Americares', which stands for America cares (shucks!) places a small US flag on the supply boxes to identify the source. The next thing is that they will stick in a bottle of Coke to make sure there is absolutely no doubt in the minds of those illiterate peasants of the source.

And it adds, 'the number of airlifts to El Salvador will depend on the need, duration and severity of wartime conditions'. Now we know the basis of Reagan's claim. He is sending lots of aid precisely because his arms shipments to the right wing junta makes for a long, hard and severe war.

## THE SILENT DEATH SENTENCE

THE NATIONAL press this week carried the story of the closure of the auxiliary kidney unit at St Mary's, Phoenix Park. This closure means the indefinite postponement of all further transplants, including six which had been arranged over the next two months.

At a time when talk of the sanctity of life has reached a hysterical pitch, surely what amounts to the passing of the death sentence on the people now on dialysis—the only way to come off a kidney machine is a transplant—is barbaric and inhuman.

As an active member of the Anti-Amendment Campaign and someone who had a transplant three years ago, I cannot adequately express my feelings of disgust and horror at this decision. Life on a kidney machine is one of constant sickness, severe restrictions both of time and of diet, and the hope that one day a suitable kidney will release one from this slavery to a machine. I speak from my own experience of two years on dialysis.

This government is now in the process of spending £1 million plus on a referendum that will ultimately do

The history we get at school and in books hasn't been 'male history'—it's been ruling class history. Since the dominant ideology of any society is the ideology of the ruling class, so the events that are seen to need recording are filtered through the ruling class ideological sieve.

Thus we learn as little in school about all but the most revolutionary of working class struggles as we do about the role of women in Irish society. I did a University degree in history but it wasn't until I started reading socialist history that I heard about the role that workers played in the War of Independence—refusing to drive trains carrying the army or to handle military goods in the docks.

In spite of this, Margaret Ward's book is worth reading; we must read history to learn from the successes and mistakes of the militants and revolutionaries who went before us. The lessons coming from this book are that nationalists have no commitment to women's liberation and that the struggle for women's liberation can only succeed if it is part of the struggle for workers' control and socialism.

Margaret Ward, *Unmanageable Revolutionaries*, Brandon Press & Pluto Press, 1983 £6.95.

## An education for the rich

AS THE country's third level students return to their studies, recent fee increases and changes in the grants scheme will ensure that fewer first year students come from working class backgrounds.

Fees for courses in the Universities are set to rise by about 30 percent while provisions for staffing, library facilities and class material have been cut back. The brunt of the cuts, however, is to be borne by the VEC sector with some course fees in colleges like Bolton St and Kevin St rising by a massive 125 percent.

The VEC system has gone a small way towards correcting the injustices in education, with a higher percentage of working class students attending the technical colleges than you would find in a University. This trend however is being reversed by massive fee hikes in the absence of a fair grants scheme. The decision to raise the minimum requirement for a VEC grant from five Leaving Cert passes to two honours is unfair since you may only need five passes to get into your course.

nothing for anyone—not for the ten women going daily to England for abortions, not for the single parents bringing up their kids in an atmosphere of discrimination and intolerance. £1 million spent on the re-opening of the unit at St Mary's would save many of the 150 people who every year suffer from kidney failure, and renew hope for hundreds of others.

Many of these people are parents. Many are young children who are alive now, but are condemned to certain death if they have to spend years on dialysis.

Isn't it time we got our priorities right?

Anne O'Leary

# What the handbook leaves out

by PAUL O'BRIEN

THE Irish Transport and General Workers Union have published a shop stewards' manual which is to be issued to every shop steward in the Union.

As far as I know this is the first manual to be issued by an Irish based Union. For anyone who is acting as a steward for the first time it is useful. It explains exactly what a steward is supposed to do, negotiating procedures, how to deal with grievances and even procedures at Union meetings.

John Carroll in his introduction claims that 'it is based on the experiences of stewards and officials over a long period of time'. But the manual is written with the assumption that all you have to do is follow the rules and procedures as laid down by the Union. Anyone who has been active in the Trade Unions over the last ten years knows that this

is not the case. The two-tier picket, by which members of another Union can pass the picket, unless sanction has been given by the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, has weakened the effect of picketing and made it harder to win.

The ITGWU has brought this one stage further by which one branch may pass the picket of another branch. During a one day stoppage at Roadstone, one section of the clerical branch passed the pickets of another section in the same branch. The idea of the One Big Union seems to have got lost along the way.

The rules are now being used to contain the militancy of the members and ensure that control remains firmly in the hands of the full-time officials. The traditions built up during the years of National Wage Agreements have weakened the power of the membership. Official sanction can take up to five or six weeks to obtain. Another six weeks is necessary before an all-out picket is sanctioned, if at all. The rules and regulations imposed by Trade Union officials have made it more difficult to take the sort of action that most workers took for granted ten or twenty years ago.

### UNOFFICIAL

The result is that workers now have to ignore the rules if they are to win. Many strikes today are necessarily unofficial, with workers taking immediate action as the only way to win. Militant picket is the heart and soul of a strike—hard, consistent and well directed. It doesn't matter how good everything else is, if the picket is weak and disorganised the strike will fall apart.

From there it is possible to organise everything else: blacking of goods and services, collections to sustain the strike, visits to other factories for solidarity and most important of all to ensure the involvement of everyone in the strike. Workers have learned from experience that in order to win it is necessary to close down production completely.

These are the sort of ideas that are contained in a very useful pamphlet called 'Going On Strike' produced by a group of rank and file activists in Britain. They are not the sort of stewards that John Carroll would be likely to talk to. But their experiences are far more relevant than that produced by the ITGWU.

On a lighter note, it is great to see that both pamphlets use cartoons as a way of emphasising the ideas. Copies of both of them can be obtained from: ITGWU Shop Stewards Manual, ITGWU, 10 Palmerston Park, Dublin 6. *Going On Strike*, c/o The Worker, 41 Herberton Park, Dublin 8. 50p (incl p&p).

## The Worker Bookservice

The Socialist Workers Movement distributes a number of books and pamphlets outlining our politics.

Here are a few of them.  
 ABBIE BAKAN - *The Great Lie* £1.00  
 CHRIS HARMAN - *The Lost Revolution, Germany 1918-23*, £5.00  
 NIGEL HARRIS - *Of Bread and Guns. The world economy in crisis*, £3.50  
 COLIN BARKER & KARA WEBER - *Solidarnosc. From Gdansk to Military Repression*, £2.50

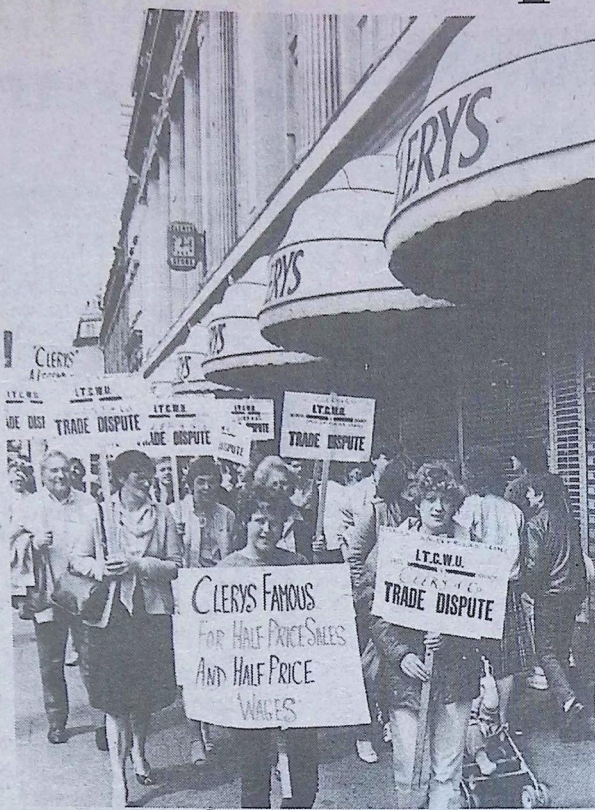
add 10% for p&p (maximum charge 1.50)  
 Cheque to SWM 41, Herberton Park, Dublin 8.

# Industrial round-up

## Cork jobless fight back

The Cork Unemployed Action Group undertook an occupation in August of the Manpower office to protest against the means testing of dole applicants. The sum of £28.90 is already too low to maintain an acceptable standard of living for a single person. But this miserable allowance can be further cut down if the person concerned has any relations in their house who are working. A number of unemployed occupied the office while others gave leaflets outside to explain their case. The occupation lasted for three hours and later the groups went into the city centre to hold an open air meeting. Garda were aware of the occupation but decided not to move against the group.

The CUAG produces its own paper 'The National Crumb' which sells very well on the labour exchange. However the separate unemployed group around the country need to forge links with each other to build a fighting organisation. They also need to make the links with rank and file trade unionists because it is only through that link that we can effectively fight the scourge of the dole.



Clery's workers striking for pay and conditions (photo: Derek Spiers—Report)

## Clery's workers still out

AS RAIN dampened the spirits of most people in O'Connell Street last Saturday there was no sign of it affecting striking workers at Clery's Department Store. Pat Quigley, shop steward, left me in no doubt that his members were determined to see it through. 'After 10 weeks the pickets are well maintained and morale is high. It's up to Clery's to start talking, the months between September and Christmas are the best trading months of the year. If the dispute isn't settled soon they're going to lose a fortune. The central issues are wages and full recognition by Clery's of our union, the Irish Transport and General Workers Union.'

Pat Quigley, along with more than 80 percent of the workers in Clery's transferred over from the Irish Union of Distributive Workers and Clerks (IUDWC) to the Irish Transport Union last year. Membership of the IUDWC was once the fourth largest in

Congress. It's slipping fast. Its leadership policy of maintaining a cosy relationship with management has meant a 20 year period free of industrial action by its members. Pat Quigley is in no doubt about what those years have cost his members. 'There are staff here with 25 years service who have seen their standard of living, once on a par with bank clerks and some civil service grades, fall way below even average wage levels. Even if our 20 percent wage claim is met in full our basic wages will still only be £120 per week.'

Pat Quigley isn't unaware of the power struggle which is taking place at the higher levels of the union bureaucracy as a result of their transfer and strike, causing John Mitchell, General Secretary of the IUDWC to demand the expulsion of the Irish Transport from Congress for invading their industrial territory, and to threaten strike action by his members if Clery's Management settle with the Irish Transport. It will be action taken to undermine the efforts of workers to maintain their wages

and conditions and nothing to do with the trade unionism that Pat Quigley believes in or why workers at Clery's are determined to continue after 10 weeks.

'We tried to avoid this strike for 18 months. The members know that. But with price rises eating into the real value of wages with every day that passes they also know that there's just no alternative but to fight.'

## CIE—unity key to victory

Over 500 engineering operatives in CIE have been out on strike over the restoration of a differential with craftsmen. Different grades of workers received very different levels of increases in return for extra productivity. Foremen received £20 per week, craftworkers received £15 a week but the engineering operatives received the paltry sum of £1.78.

The strike has been made official by only one union, the AGEMOU. But the workers have shown their determination to fight. Up to recently most of the services from Clontarf were stopped as craftsmen respected the picket. The strikers have also extended the picket to the freight depots.

Unfortunately, in most depots the craftsmen are passing the pickets. This is the result of the tradition of the two tier picket which has been built up over the last few years. The problem has been added to through the failure to maintain a joint shop stewards' committee in the depots. In one depot the joint committee collapsed in 1976 and has not been revived ever since.

A clear call from the strikers to the craftsmen should be issued to ask them to support the picket. There has been some ambiguity on this to date. The CIE management, who have the coalition breathing down their backs, will be determined to stick this one out. An absolutely united workforce is the key to victory.

## "Your report got it wrong!" writes EETPU official

Dear Editor,

Having read your article in issue 25 and dated June/July, headed 'Corpo Workers Defend Relativity', I wish in the interest of accuracy and the good name of our union here, and the members mentioned, to make some corrections.

First, might I say that I object to the general tone of the article which carelessly throws out such slanderous terms as 'Union Sell-Out' without seeking foundation for same.

Secondly, in the interest of accuracy you might wish to point out that when the union officials first moved the idea of a list of analogues as a solution to the dispute in 1979 it was opposed by the unofficial body which your article wishes to cast in the role of defending hero in opposition to the villain trade union officials. Since then the trade union officials with the democratic support of their members have consistently defended the analogues agreement and continue to do so. Sell-out is not our nature or intent.

However, the section of your article which causes most concern to this union, is that part which refers to the alleged behaviour of our member Bro. John Montgomery which was discussed by the Dublin Branch Committee of this Union. This Committee (which contains a person who is a member of your own organisation) unanimously

agreed that the allegations about Bro. Montgomery were totally wrong and should be retracted.

For the record here are the facts as verified by the Committee. Bro. Montgomery did not tour the depots to encourage strike breaking as stated in your article. He visited one depot in Ballyfermont in his capacity of this union's official shop steward and in response to a request from one of our members to come and explain this union's policy in relation to wage negotiations and supportive action in pursuit of same.

Regarding Bro. Montgomery's activities as one of our union's delegates to the Dublin Council of Trade Unions (DCTU), it is hard to understand the source of your information. Bro. Montgomery has never attacked the supporters of the Waterford Glass Company at this or any other body. In fact earlier this year he proposed to our Dublin Branch a motion calling for support for these workers, which was duly passed. Also, as Secretary of the ICTU—Dublin Corporation Craft Group of Unions, he wrote to the Waterford Glass workers congratulating them on their campaign and wishing them success.

The only criticism he offered of the campaign was at a recent meeting of the DCTU when he reprimanded a union official's criticism of Dublin workers for

not downing tools and 'flooding on to the streets in support'. Bro. Montgomery on that occasion defended the Dublin workers saying that they had not been asked to act thus and when they were he did not think they would be found lacking.

Furthermore Bro. Montgomery is not opposed to unofficial action merely because it is unofficial and has constantly stated to meetings of our union and elsewhere that it is his opinion that in some circumstances unofficial action is preferable and more effective than official action.

Finally, may I say that I can understand your opposing Bro. Montgomery's philosophy as I do so myself. Nevertheless I must ask that when you attack his actions that you do so truthfully and have checked the veracity of any secondhand reports you have received. Also, Bro. Montgomery may not behave as you or I want him to, but I must say that dishonesty is not a part of his make-up and for that reason I must request that you print a retraction and an apology for the article mentioned which is completely incorrect.

Yours sincerely,  
Michael Brennan,  
Area Secretary,  
Electrical, Electronic, Telecommunication and Plumbing Union,  
Dublin 7.

## -and the "Worker" replies

Mick Brennan does protest too much. He claims that **The Worker** accused a prominent Communist Party member, John Montgomery of 'dishonesty'. We made no such claim. **The Worker** does not indulge in personal attacks. Our criticism was of his politics.

Craftsmen in Dublin Corporation have a battle on their hands to maintain an analogue agreement they achieved in 1979. The official ICTU—Dublin Craft Group of Unions failed to call an aggregate meeting of all its members to discuss what action was to be taken. In its place the rank and file craft group called a meeting of its supporters and decided to embark on strike action.

John Montgomery is secretary of the official group. In that capacity he spoke in his own depot and in one other against the strike and stressed that it was unofficial. Nowhere in his letter does Mick Brennan deny that.

We believe that this failure to support such action stems from his politics. The politics of the Communist Party and other reformist groups lead them to place their faith in the official union machine rather than the willingness and ability of the rank and file to fight.

That same reluctance was evident in the Waterford Glass

tax campaign. There were two phases to that campaign. Firstly, the Glass workers attempted to block the payment of PRSI returns to the government. They found that this form of action was difficult to spread and therefore embarked on the second phase of their campaign. They initiated a move to draw workers from all over the country into a one day a week strike.

**The Worker** supported them fully and SWM shop stewards participated on a support committee in Dublin. The Glass workers toured the country visiting workplaces to win support. Their chief opponent was the union bureaucracy who detested any such action that represented a serious threat to the government.

It is absurd to claim that 'Dublin workers were not asked to support this action.' The point is that they were never asked by the union leaders or indeed the Dublin Trades Council to give their backing. But despite the official silence and sabotage workers in many factories in Dublin came out on 17 May to support the glass workers.

At no stage did Communist Party member John Montgomery support such action. But as Michael Brennan states he confined himself to 'reprimanding a union official's criticism of Dublin workers for

downing tools'. That particular criticism was not directed at 'Dublin workers' but at the misleadership from the top.

The controversy over our article arose because there are two very different views on how those who call themselves socialists should operate in the unions. Those like John Montgomery or Michael Brennan believe in winning official positions at the top of the unions and in passing fine sounding left wing resolutions. They are opposed to 'unofficial' rank and file groups.

### SOLIDARITY

This paper takes a very different view. We believe that any gain for the working class depends on their own ability to organise and to spread the struggle. Solidarity is the key—not just in Poland but in Ireland as well. Once workers are prepared to rely on their own strength; to engage in the type of militant struggle that for example disregards the two-tier picket or the recommendations of the Labour Court they face the inevitable hostility of the trade union officials. The official whether he speaks with a left or 'moderate' tongue, believes in procedure, in maintaining his negotiating relationship with the boss.

In practice the union bureaucrat will balance between the workers and the bosses when the struggle gets hot. For that reason we believe in the need for rank and file organisation that is linked to socialist politics. The basis for rank and file organisation stems from the motto that: 'we will support the official just so long as they rightly represent the workers, but we will act independently immediately they misrepresent them.'

Michael Brennan tells us that 'Sell-out is not our nature or intent'. Unfortunately, whether it is of his 'nature or intent' the objective role of the full-timer leads inevitably in the direction of sell-out. That is why there is a need for rank and file organisation which has as its basis the organised distrust of full-timers. That is why this paper will support such organisations where they will appear and criticise the socialist or 'communist' pretensions of those who oppose them. There will be no apology for that.

—THE EDITOR

## Dunlop job losses

WE LIVE in a crazy upside down world of competing capitals where more productivity is constantly demanded from workers. Church and state continually rant on 'more production' if we are to get ourselves out of the crisis. In the chaotic system called capitalism, however, the crisis is caused by too much being produced. There are too many goods on the shelves and the workers do not have the income to buy the same goods.

These contradictions in the system are becoming apparent in Dunlops, where 680 workers are set to lose their jobs for effectively working too hard and producing too much. The factory constantly met its target of 25,000 tyres per week. At one stage workers there offered a productivity of 30,000 tyres a week but it was refused. This was turned down by the Dunlop management who are faced with a drop in car sales internationally and also the greatly extended life of steel ply tyres which can do treble the mileage.

Workers are demanding something of the massive profits they have created for Dunlops over its 47 years of production in Cork by way of compensation for their loss of jobs. Most of the workforce are over 40 with an average service of twenty years. They are seeking £1,200 for every year they worked. Dunlops claim that they cannot afford it. But they can afford to pay their managing director a salary of close on £100,000 a year.

The Cork Examiner has warned that militant action is self-defeating. But the experience of Ranks and Clondalkin shows that it is only such action which works. Otherwise companies walk away and leave governments to pick up the tabs.

There has already been a sit-in by Dunlop stewards after they were offered the paltry sum of two weeks for every year worked. The Dunlops workers have nothing to lose by fighting. There are no jobs available in Cork with an unemployment rate of 17 percent.

—JIM BLAKE

## AnCO trainees organise

RECENT grievances in AnCO have given rise to an 'AnCO Trainees Movement'. The trainees are determined to build their own organisation to fight the lousy conditions under which they work. The demands of the group are:

- 1) A 10 percent rise that is due to AnCO trainees to be paid immediately and back dated to when it was due: 30 June 1983.
- 2) The basis on which allowances are calculated should be reviewed with a view to paying trainees 60 percent of the average industrial wage.
- 3) Meals should be provided free of charge in the centres. Trainees outside centres should be paid a £3 allowance per day.

- 4) Travel allowance should be based on the cost of the journey—not the distance.
- 5) There should be regular reviews of all courses by representatives of AnCO, the AnCO Trainees Movement and the unions. Reviews should cover length, course content and conditions.
- 6) Adequate canteen and toilet facilities should be provided in all training centres and external training sites.

Over the next few months the AnCO Trainees Movement will be holding meetings and socials to build support. If you are interested in the group, contact the **Worker** and we will pass your name onto the relevant sources.

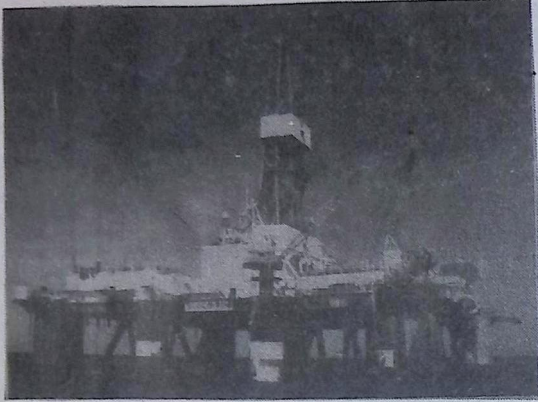
—DAVID BYRNE

# THE WORKER

FOR WORKERS POWER AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

## CONCERN AT USE OF SUPERGRASSES

### It's the bosses oil!



THE LOCAL press in Waterford has gone euphoric. 'Waterford oil is reviving the flagging morale of the business classes. The only worry is that their shifty Cork neighbours may muscle in. 'The Black Gold' may be snatched away and be sent to Cork', claims 'The Waterford Post'.

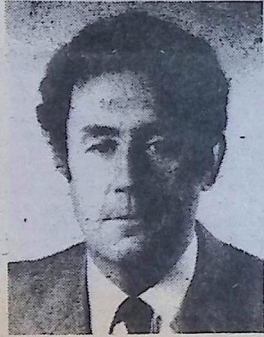
The Irish boss class loves the quick buck. The discovery of oil has opened up new possibilities. In the town itself two organisations have been quick to move in. The Chamber of Commerce, which represents the large industrialists and the harbour authorities, have already appointed a full time consultant to make sure they get in on the quick profits.

He is Peter Halligan, a former FUE official who no doubt will prove his usefulness in establishing a blacklist. Not to be outdone, the smaller fry have set up the 'Oil for Waterford Committee'. This gommeen outfit org-

anised a public meeting with over two hundred in attendance and even appointed a token unemployed worker to the committee.

The bosses euphoria has already begun to affect sections of the trade union movement. Michael O'Brien, the Trades Council president has called for a 'unified campaign embracing all public bodies and trade unions' to ensure that Waterford gets the benefits.

Before O'Brien gets carried away he might like to look at the supposed benefits that a town



Mr. Halligan

like Aberdeen got from the oil. It didn't cut the dole queues but in fact made life harder for the unemployed as house prices shot up along with the cost of living.

The local council cut back on house building as more building contractors started building private houses. The housing list grew. The gap between the haves and the have-nots grew.

Or he might like to look at the conditions of work of the oil workers. Recently 2,000 of the Nigg, Rosshire, oil platform workers were forced to take a wage cut of £20 a week. Management rewarded their moderation by removing the showers while the workers were on holiday.

#### JOBLESS

The unemployed of Waterford will welcome any jobs. But that doesn't mean that the unions should be offering the slightest concession or compromise or promises of harmony to the oil sharks. Both the native Irish shareholders and the multi-nationals are in for a quick killing.

It will demand the highest degree of union organisation and militancy to wrest anything from their greedy paws.

The truth is there is no 'Waterford Oil'. There is Gulf Oil and a few native speculators. The like of Tom Reilly is O'Reilly Hyland, managing director of Burmah Oil who have spent a lifetime chasing the quick buck on the Dublin stock exchange.

This time they struck gold when Atlantic Resources increased its value by five times. They also ensured that most of the quick profits were tax free; by buying and selling shares within a two week period they avoided registering for ownership and escaped the tax net.

### Who are Gulf Oil?

GULF Oil is one of the seven sisters which have carved out a world wide cartel in oil production; they control 80 percent of oil production outside the US and Russia and 90 percent of Middle East production.

From 1978 to 1980 the oil companies shared profits of 9,000 million dollars of Middle East production.

In order to pursue their interests they will go to any lengths. They worked hand in glove with the CIA in 1950 to depose the nationalist government of Mosadeq. Much of their oil is extracted from tiny statelets such as Bahrain or Abu Dhabi which are totally dependent on Western 'protection'. During the Second World War, Esso supplied both the Americans and the Nazis.

These are the sharks we may have to deal with. Let not 'moderation' stand in our way.

## SPARKS PROTESTS

GROWING concern over the use of supergrasses has led to the formation of a relatives for justice campaign. At a conference held in Belfast in late August they decided to embark on a campaign of street protests and pickets.

The emergence of the Supergrass has led to new fears in the nationalist community. In Derry alone 70 families, involving 2,000 relatives, wait fearfully on the evidence of four informers. The informers can implicate people in 'crimes' that have been committed far back in the early seventies.

One of the first supergrasses was Christopher Black. He was reputedly paid between £40,000 and £100,000 for his evidence which convicted 35 people.

#### HYPOCRISY

But like all subsequent trials, it was a case of sham justice. The only evidence on offer was from the informer himself. No other witnesses were brought forward.

There was no jury to decide who was guilty and who was not. The decision—as in all political trials in the North—was taken by a Unionist judge—one Basil Kelly.

Kelly was a Unionist MP in Stormont for eight years. He was the attorney general responsible for the introduction of internment in 1971. Today he receives a salary of £44,000 a year from the British government.

A new trend in the supergrass trials has been to do away with a preliminary hearing. This is to prevent relatives putting any pressure on the informer.

#### LESSON

Even where the supergrass retracts he has still served the British government well. For his evidence is used to lock up republican militants for months at a time. Internment by remand has become another weapon in the armory of repression.

The use of the supergrass is just another suspension of the fiction of legal justice in the North.

Not only does the state rely on juryless courts—but it has also had to continually resort to exceptional measures. In 1971 they had internment; in the mid seventies they had torture and beatings until the scandal led to the Bennett report of 1981. Now they have the supergrass.

The supergrasses emerged after the demoralisation that followed the defeat of the H Block movement. The IRA itself began to talk of a 20 year war of attrition. Suspects faced with long prison sen-

## What we stand for

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

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

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

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

#### REVOLUTION NOT REFORM

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

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

#### NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR MOSCOW

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

#### A SOCIALIST ANSWER TO THE NATIONAL QUESTION

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

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

We stand for:

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

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

#### WOMEN'S LIBERATION

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

#### FOR A RANK AND FILE MOVEMENT

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

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

#### FOR A REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY

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

tences were more open to being turned into touts.

Nevertheless despite the media euphoria every time a new supergrass appears, the activities of the likes of Black, Kirkpatrick or McGrady are not going to defeat a military campaign. The fact that the British state has to rely on exceptional measures to rule the North, the fact that its soldiers kick your door down ensures that

the resistance continues.

The other side of the coin is that the military strategy of the IRA is not leading anywhere. Neither is the addition of electoral victories. The British army is no nearer getting out.

The defeat suffered on H Block has had its impact on the mass movement. It is in the climate of passivity that the supergrass is most likely to breed.

the worker

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

I want to join.  I want a subscription and enclose £3.50.  
 I would like more information about the SWM

Name .....

Address .....

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