

the worker

FOR A WORKERS' REPUBLIC AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

GENERAL ELECTION

no choice, no change



Jack Lynch . . . his government could not count on maintaining support

Only once in every few years do the people get a chance to make a political decision. But even then we know the elections get us nowhere and never have done. The people we vote for we hardly ever see again, until the next election. Politicians do not represent our interests and many of them are self seekers. No matter who is voted in—Fianna Fail, Fine Gael or Labour, we will still be slogging away on building sites, in factories, on farms and at kitchen sinks. And, despite their problems are caused by the system, and Fine Gael and Labour will not interfere with capitalism.

Jack Lynch has decided that a General Election is essential 'if a protracted period of political uncertainty and instability is to be avoided'. We could be forgiven for asking how Mr Lynch would describe the last three years. But everyone agrees that from his point of view there are very good reasons why he should not wait any longer. During the coming months Fianna Fail is going to have to face the results of its own policies. In March we have the Border Poll and the British White Paper on the future of the North. Already the results of EEC membership are making themselves felt with soaring prices and mounting redundancies. Each week more workers are challenging the National Wage Agreement, and it is becoming obvious that people are not willing to put up with things the way they are. Jack Lynch has obviously decided that his government could not count on maintaining support in the face of growing working class militancy and discontent—neither does he want to face the people after he declares his position on the British government's proposals for the future of the North.

Fianna Fail has been trying to build up an atmosphere where not only republicans, but any person who dissents is seen as a 'subversive', and from its statements it is clear that it will not stop with the repression of republicans. The legislation it has pushed through the Dail poses a threat to everyone's rights, including trade unionists and all those who have helped to defend the rights of the working class. In this election it is asking us to give them a clear majority to go ahead and extend repression wherever they see fit.

Fine Gael or Labour?

And so we are being given a choice. Or are we? What about Fine Gael and Labour as our 'peoples coalition'? Both these parties have seen fit to complain that Fianna Fail were not being efficient in their repression. Fine Gael wants to root out the 'mongrel foxes', Labour voted for trial without jury. Republicans and other militants obviously have nothing to gain from a change to a different party. We do not think that workers have anything to gain either.

As we go to press it is not possible to be aware of all the candidates standing. During the campaigning the Socialist Workers Movement will issue other statements and leaflets.

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This issue includes:

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- SECTARIAN KILLINGS — 'moderates' isolated in UDA (page 3).
- ELECTIONS IN FRANCE — Gaullists could lose (page 7).

Aer Lingus to sack 400 workers?

AER LINGUS DOESN'T WANT A GOVERNMENT SUBSIDY — so said Michael Dargan. They think they should be able to manage without one and make a profit. They have just opened the Royal Tara Hotel in London and promised a chain of them in the USA and elsewhere. They are investing £30 million in this, together with a playground in Surrey and holiday camps in Spain and Portugal. They own shares in Sunbound, Blueskies, Ryans Tourist Holdings. . . but they can't pay their 'wage bill', so they want to sack 400 of their workers!

Not that Aer Lingus workers would be entirely surprised by this news. During the negotiations of their last agreement (now ending) they learned what to expect from the company — one prominent shop steward described it as "company policy" rather than an "agreement" between workers and management. During these negotiations workers also learned that they couldn't trust their union officials to fight the battle for them.

MEETINGS

Meetings were dragged out over 20 months, with the membership getting gradually less and less involved. Finally, Jim Larkin (later remembered for his sprint across the tarmac to avoid angry union members) of the Workers' Union of Ireland and James Somers of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union dangled the carrot of 20 months' back pay in

front of the workers so as to get the agreement they had made passed. Only about 1/3 of the membership voted, and even when irregularities were discovered, the officials decided to accept the results in favour.

It wasn't until weeks later that the majority of the workers realised there was more to the agreement than back pay. Productivity deals, lower wage bill, a more disciplined work force, had all been agreed to. To cap it all, they discovered that if they went on "unofficial" strike, they would lose one year's superannuation for every day on strike. It was beginning to sound like an agreement between management and unions to keep workers in their place.

Aer Lingus workers should not let themselves be conned this time. Management has only whispered its new plan to its friends (the union officials) so far. No National Wage Agreement increase unless they accept 400 re-

dundancies. Using the "evidence" of the balance sheet, they have declared they cannot pay the increases due unless the wage bill is reduced — not the way Patrick Lynch said last year — but by sackings.

PLAYGROUND

Mr. Dargan says "we are doing no moaning about our problems, but undertaking something positive instead". He means that while they are going to invest one third of their capital in becoming property tycoons — chains of hotels, a few luxury-type "Butlins", jet-set playgrounds, etc. — they are going to demand that workers pay for all this with their very livelihoods. Why should the Dargans and the Lynchs "moan" — they are not going to be joining the queue looking for new jobs. They get their "salary" whether Aer Lingus makes a profit or a loss.

It should be clear to the workers in Aer Lingus that if the Company can speculate in skyscraper hotels it can pay a decent wage. What is 400 workers compared to £30 million?

Workers should organise immediately and work out their demands. They should confront their union officials before the old alliance of union/management gets going again. The con-trick that they must reject is that workers must pay for management's problems.

FIGHT FOR —

- No Redundancies
- Full National Wage Agreement Increases
- Government Intervention
- AND DEMAND THAT UNION OFFICIALS FIGHT FOR THE MEMBERS' INTERESTS.

RISE OF REFORMISM

Following the defeat of the Paris Commune, the First International broke up, and the working class movement was in retreat. In the 1880's, however, the Second International was formed, enjoying even wider support than the first. It soon degenerated, as working-class leaders sought the crumbs which imperialist expansion could afford them. In Connolly's opinion the gigantic betrayal of internationalism by these social democrats at the time of World War I was "primarily due to the divorce between the industrial and political movements of labour". In Part Five of this series, we will examine that industrial movement - syndicalism and industrial unionism.

Just as the working class has begun building national trade unions in the period before this, they now set about building their own political parties. In many countries, they saw the need to force the ruling class into making various reforms. They organised steadily to defeat the numerous repressive laws against them.

In Germany in 1880 after a successful miners' strike, the Social Democratic Party was allowed to operate openly. In the same year, the Federation of Socialist Workers was set up in France. Four years later, the ban on it was removed. There was no socialist party in Italy until 1892; even when the party was formed it still had to continually mobilise masses of workers to defend it against repression. Following the unionisation of thousands of unskilled workers, the working class in Britain was also to have its own mass party based on the trade unions, the Labour Party.

INTERNATIONALISM

The socialist parties of the period aimed at building mass organisations of the working class to overthrow capitalism. They saw the existing governments as the governments of bosses. They used different means, both parliament and mass demonstrations to force them to grant various demands, the 9-hour day, unemployment benefit, the right of all citizens to vote etc.

The First International, the International Working Mens' Association, had broken up a couple of years after the Paris Commune. Major differences had developed between Marx and Bakunin, the Swiss Anarchist. In 1884, the major working class parties along with British trade unionists, formed the Second International. A spirit of internationalism remained strong in the working class until the rise of imperialism.

The Second International decided that in the following year demonstrations and strikes would be organised in all countries simultaneously on the 1st of May to press the demand for an 8-hour day.

May last, 1890, saw massive demonstrations and strikes. In France, Italy and Spain they led to clashes with the police and troops. On May Day in following years, workers demanded peace in answer to the increasing military build-up by the big powers.

The Second International represented a high-point of working class consciousness in a very low period. However, both Marx and Engels wrote detailed criticisms of the German Social Democrats' programme, claiming they had an unclear idea of how to oppose the capitalist state. Successive Congresses of the Second International did declare, nevertheless, that the move towards war was the result of the different capitalist countries looking for markets in Asia, Africa, and elsewhere.

The 1907 Congress in Stuttgart declared that if war broke out, the International would rouse the masses to strike action and demonstrations in order to overthrow capitalism itself. They demanded the abolition of the standing army and its replacement by an armed civilian force.

The International also declared that working class parties could never support, or enter coalition with, bourgeois, parties. Parliament was only to be used as a means of building up towards the final overthrow. Reforms which might be won from the bosses and their state were seen only as a means of strengthening the working class movement.

IMPERIALISM

However, beneath the surface the reality was increasingly difficult from the words. The reforms which the working class did win in the period, 1890 to 1914, were won for two reasons: the massive strikes, and mobilisation of the workers, on the one hand, and the enormous gains which the capitalists had made from imperialism which meant they could afford reforms.

The last part of the century was the hey-day of imperialism. The economic crises of the 1870's had

Part Four in a series on the History of Socialism

led the capitalist class to seek new markets abroad, both to sell their products, and to get cheap labour. The capitalist economies expanded, and there were no serious slumps in the 1890's. This expansion of imperialism had an effect, too, on the consciousness of the working class. One example of this was the hostility of British trade unionists to the Irish struggle for freedom. The hostility was especially strong among the leaders - those who gained marginally from the rise of imperialism.

REVISIONISM

It was in response to this new situation that Eduard Bernstein, a German socialist, developed a new theory and strategy for the working class movement. He was the founder of 'revisionism'. He believed that capitalism would not collapse and that therefore the task of the labour movement was to work merely for reforms. He proclaimed that the capitalist class could be made to play the game according to the rules of the 'socialist' state. Bernstein went so far as to defend the 'civilisation' of Africa and other parts of the world conquered by imperialism. He had abandoned the very internationalism on which the pioneers of the 'International' had aimed to base the working class movement. He had counterparts, pro-imperialist reformists, in other countries.

Bernstein's views were criticised, of course - particularly his formula that the movement (reforms) is everything, the end (workers' control) is nothing. His views were rejected by



French workers on strike in 1890

the German Social Democratic Party, but he was never expelled. In fact, his opponents in the party were only the 'left foot of reformism', in Trotsky's words. The party continually used revolutionary phrases, and looked like a fully fledged socialist party. In the 1912 elections they won 34 per cent of the votes. They controlled the major trade unions. They were the model, too, for all other parties in the International.

In reality, the main concern of its leaders was in building an election machine. They were not building a mass party, but only using the masses as a battering-ram into parliament. The Social Democratic Party refused to act unconstitutionally. It had originally seen parliamentary action as a tactic, but now saw it as an end in itself.

DISASTER

The only people to oppose Bernstein effectively were a small group of revolutionaries led by Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg. They continued

protesting against the military build-up which was leading to war. They saw in the coming clash between imperialist powers the proof that the capitalist system was leading to disaster, and that the slogan of revolution must be raised.

The final betrayal and collapse of the labour movement in that period was coming quick. With the outbreak of the First World War, and the calls to defend the motherland, socialists in all countries voted for war credits to finance the military budget. This was an opportunist move they did not dare risk illegality, and they were afraid of losing popular support. In France and Britain, the 'socialists' joined the government.

Connolly was dismayed by this experience: 'I believe that the socialist proletariat of Europe in all the belligerent countries ought to have refused to march against their brothers across the frontiers, and that such reprisal would have prevented the war and all its horrors even though it might have led to civil war'.

From the Land League to the Trade Unions

"The great appear great because we are on our knees: let us rise." Desmoulins quoted in Irish Republican Party inaugural manifesto.

The last quarter of the 19th century were grim years for the Irish working class. They found their mainly middle-class leaders either adopting the constitutional tactics which had failed in the past or else those leaders were just opportunist. The most prominent politician in Ireland in this period was Parnell. Coming as he did from the landlord class, his interests were in reality opposed to those of his supporters.

Parnell addressed a meeting of over 10,000 people in Mayo in June 1879 and told them: "You must show them that you intend to hold a firm grip of your homesteads and lands."

Frustration

In September of that year, when the House of Lords threw out an Evicted Tenants Compensation Bill the frustration of Irish people could be seen in their actions, crop-burning, cattle-maiming, and rioting. Parnell's subsequent speech at Ennis caught on to the feelings of the masses: "When a man takes a farm from which another has been evicted . . . by leaving him severely alone - putting him into a kind of moral Coventry - isolating him from his land like the leper of old - you must show him your detestation of the crime he has committed." After this came the famous Captain Boycott incident, when tenants 'boycotted' a Mayo landlord.

More repressive laws were introduced and the lack of leadership in the face of these attacks were demonstrated by the return of the Ribbonmen and Captain Moonlight. Eventually, Parnell sold out. In secret negotiations he made the Kilmainham Compact which freed Davitt the land-league leader, but which would hardly have pleased him. The Phoenix Park murders threw public opinion behind Parnell and the Home Rule Party. But as Parnell's public standing increased, his relations with Davitt grew more strained.

Little else would have been expected and Davitt should hardly have been surprised when Parnell said to him: "I don't approve of your labour organisation in the South of Ireland; it will lead to mischief and do no good . . . I thought you were opposed to class movement? What is trade unionism but the landlordism of labour? I would not tolerate, if I were at the head of a government, such bodies as trade unions."

From then on Davitt did most of his work around trade union activity. He sought the support of the British Labour movement for the Irish struggle, something which ran completely against Parnell's ideas.

T.U.C.

In 1894, the Irish Trades Union Congress was formed. It concentrated its energies on day-to-day trade union affairs, ignoring all controversial topics. It wasn't until the founding of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union in 1909 that the Irish TUC began to debate political issues.

With the arrival in Ireland of James Connolly in 1896 as the organiser for the Socialist Club (his pay, a possible £1 a week) the weekly meetings on the steps of the Custom House began to gather support. The reformist Independent Labour Party were on the receiving end of much of Connolly's polemic; he "pulverised them in debate, preached socialism unblushingly to them, shattered their little organisation, and from the fragments he founded a small Irish Socialist Republican Party." (G. O'Connor).

'Workers Republic'

Connolly and the ISRP but new life into the Trade Union through their activities and through the 'Workers' Republic', their paper.

From Arthur Griffith's United Irishmen, the Sinn Fein movement emerged. For a time it produced its own newspaper. The Home Rule Bill and Parliamentary politics dominated the national scene. But whilst the honourable members may have taken up the bulk of the newspaper, yet Larkin was doing the most valuable work of all, he was moulding the rough cast which Connolly had left him and the ITGWU was strengthening its ranks.

Thanks to the efforts of Connolly and Larkin the working class was beginning to organise itself. A real alternative to purely constitutional and reformist type politics was being shown.

F.M.



Land League meeting in Kildare, 3 January 1881

IRISH METAL INDUSTRIES SACK FORTY WORKERS

Irish Metal Industries in Galway has just laid off 22 workers. Another 19 are due to be sacked in the coming month. In spite of the protest raised by some of the workers — and to a large extent due to the part played by their Union in the affair — opposition to the sackings was stifled and the management have had their wishes.

Last May, new machines were installed in I.M.I. The Irish Transport & General Workers' Union entered into negotiations on behalf of the workers, and accepted the redundancy terms offered. The 22 men now being let go are to receive only one week's wages for each year of service. This, we suppose, after the 'long, hard' negotiations. Both the union and the management had threatened that if they were not accepted the alternative was to close the whole factory.

Last month's WORKER reported however, that the factory is making a profit of £44,000 per year. AND, they had received a grant from the

Industrial Development Authority to "expand" the factory by putting in the new machines. Could there be a better example of the hypocrisy of the IDA, or a better example of whose side they are on — State money being used to throw workers out of jobs???

DEFEAT

One point raised by the workers at their union meetings was the fact that while some men were being laid off, others were working over-time. The answer from the ITGWU officials was short and shocking: 'overtime can create jobs — if you work hard enough the company will expand and there will be more jobs'. Even the works manager said that it didn't matter how much overtime was worked, jobs could not be saved. That other stock answer of right-wing trade-union officials was also trotted out — the jobs were being lost because of our entry into the Common Market, and there was nothing anyone could

do about it. Workers are beginning to see that they would be deprived of their jobs in or out of the EEC, and the same excuses would be offered each time.

The fact that the union were not interested in organising any opposition meant a defeat for the whole trade union movement within the factory. Inside the factory the workers were divided — all the redundancies were in the section only — and those workers who supported the Socialist Workers' Movement's call for action, and had intended to speak at a public meeting, were threatened by their own Union, that they would lose their cards, and would be blacked for other jobs in Galway.

UNION

For the 22 workers who have been sacked, it looks like hard times ahead. There is no work in Galway — and even if there was there are 1,700 men looking for it. They feel that their union has betrayed them, that in fact there is not much difference between a union official and a boss. Many are thinking of leaving the union. To them we say — We, the ordinary members, ARE the union. The full time officials are paid for by us and they cannot act without us. They are OUR servants — we are not theirs. We must stay in the unions and fight.

Workers who are opposed to the policies their unions are foisting on them — the National Wage Agreement, accepting redundancies etc. — must organise within their union and fight. The trade union movement is our only weapon — it is time we used it.

COMMITTEE AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT

The Waterford branch of the Socialist Workers' Movement organised a protest meeting against redundancy in the city centre during January. A representative of the Dunlop Strike Committee, shop stewards from Waterford Glass, local and national S.W.M. speakers, as well as a representative from the Official Sinn Fein, spoke at the meeting.

The message which the speakers urged was summed up in the heading of a leaflet distributed by the Socialist Workers' Movement — 'Say No to the Sack'. The meeting ended with a call for the formation of a Workers' Committee against redundancy and unemployment.

In discussions organised since then to set up such a committee members of the Socialist Workers' Movement have argued that the demands and the activities must be aimed at bringing workers into action against the bosses' system. It would not be enough simply to call for new investment, or to blame 'bad management' for redundancies.

The Socialist Workers' Movement proposed the following five demands as the basis for the Workers' Committee against Unemployment and Redundancy:

1. Work or full pay — a decent living wage for the employed and the unemployed;
2. No to productivity deals and all other rationalisation measures leading to redundancy;
3. Nationalisation under workers' control of factories declaring closure;
4. For a 35-hour week, without loss of pay, to create more jobs;
5. For shop-floor control of all negotiations.

Plans are going ahead for further meetings. It is hoped — and it is essential — to bring in as many Waterford workers, employed and unemployed, as possible in order to make the fight against unemployment in the area effective.

Drogheda social worker sacked

Community social worker, Larry Masterson was sacked recently for speaking out about the massive unemployment and bad living conditions in Drogheda. He was employed in May 1971 to run a Community Social Services Centre in Drogheda. His immediate bosses were Father Crowley local curate, and a management committee made up of representatives from local industry, McDonnells of Drogheda, and Oil & Cake Ltd. Money came from B-D Pharmaceuticals and Cement Ltd. They wanted him to quieten down local unrest, set up a few youth clubs and help people draw benefits they were entitled to. He and his colleague, Mary O'Flynn, soon saw that this was not enough: they had to link the problems of ordinary individuals to the larger social problems. They drew up a report showing that local unemployment had reached 20 per cent, and that housing conditions were appalling (the new corporation estate had been jerry-built; badly finished houses, half built of blockboard, were already letting in rain). They also pointed to the serious lack of recreational facilities for local youth.

SYMPATHY

The management committee continually pressured them to suppress their report and to cease their activities. Finally Masterson was sacked after refusing to resign quietly. His colleague resigned in sympathy. The social workers have support from the

new youth council, from the Drogheda Unemployed Workers' Committee (which recently staged a 24 hour picket outside Dail Eireann: see last issue of the Worker), the Young Socialists and the Widows Association.

Backed by these organisations they have set up an alternative centre, Drogheda Citizens Advice Bureau, which will continue to represent and pressure for the needs of local people, employed and unemployed. This will be free from the financial control and white-washing tactics of local bosses. For this they need money and help. (Write to Larry Masterson: Drogheda Citizens Advice Bureau, 19, The Back Strand, Drogheda).

Social Workers, however well-intentioned, are employed as peace-keepers. They are expected to solve individual problems and so break up the solidarity that is the only defence of working class people. If social workers have the courage to show that the problems they deal with are caused by unemployment, low pay and poor social conditions they usually get fired.

The Association of Irish Social Workers, along with Drogheda people, must call for the reinstatement of these social workers and in the meantime black their jobs. They must demand that social workers should be responsible to the people whose problems they are paid to solve. They must fight against the religious orders and business men who have a vested interest in covering up the real cause of these problems.

RUTH TORODE

N.A.T.O. RALLY

42,000 families in the 26 Counties are on rent strike. 200 tenants of Drogheda Corporation have been on rent strike for two years and recently refused a new offer for settlement from the County Manager. That was why the tenants' organisations (N.A.T.O.) held a demonstration in Drogheda on Sunday, 28th January. 300 members of N.A.T.O. marched through the town.

At the meeting held afterwards, a representative of the Drogheda Tenants, Donnacha MacRaghnaill warned Dessie O'Malley that this time he wasn't dealing with the property owners: 'We are the people of no property and we have nothing to lose'. Several speakers felt that some government ministers were personally responsible for tenants' problems. But they only act in the interests of property owners.

Most of the platform stressed the need to put pressure on T.D.'s to make them fight rent increases and evictions. Yet it was trade union and tenants' action which defeated the Criminal Justice Amendment Bill. Had it been passed it would be a crime to advocate rent strike action. It will only be tenants' action that will prevent rent increases now.

The government has used acts such as the Housing Act, the Conspiracy Against Property Act, and the 1920 Enforcement Act against tenants. But still N.A.T.O. speakers claimed they were a non-political organisation.

A Dublin speaker said: 'We are the people who run this country'. Working people certainly do make the country run, but they don't, in fact, control it. This can be seen from the way working people and their representatives are treated by the state machinery.

N.A.T.O. cannot avoid being a political organisation whether it wants to or not. Only the united action of tenants and workers can hold on to past gains and fight for a decent society run and controlled by the working people.

S.D., P.M.



Clover Meats' Limerick factory narrowly missed closure—but the run-down continues in the meat trade. Some factories in Kildare and two branches of Denny's have threatened to close or lay off workers.

Clover meats slice off seventeen more jobs

Clover Meats, Waterford, has sacked another 17 workers. This brings the total of jobs lost since the beginning of the year to 35 and there are no indications that it will stop at that. In the last edition of 'THE WORKER', we reported on the protest action the workers took when the news of the previous 18 redundancies came. This time there were no protests or stoppages and it seems that the tactics by management of slicing jobs bit by bit is having the effect of demoralising the workers into action.

Management have insisted that the reason for the redundancies is the export of live cattle which has caused a scarcity on the home market. A joint delegation of the workers' union (I.T.G.W.U.) and the management met the Minister for Agriculture, James Gibbons, to discuss the matter and to press for government action but nothing of benefit to the workers came from the meeting. Redundant workers in Waterford have learned the hard way that they cannot achieve anything

by putting pressure on the government and the employers through joint committees etc. Many delegations in the past of T.D.s and workers threatened with redundancy to Government Ministers failed to solve anything.

Redundancy and unemployment can only be combated by the workers themselves with direct action against the bosses. Clover Meat workers must build strong links with other meat workers. They must be prepared to use industrial action including occupations and sit ins in order to be able to say "No to the sack". All workers threatened with the sack should demand a policy of work sharing with no loss of pay and a 35-hour week to create more jobs.

A resolution from the Waterford No. 2 Branch to the next Annual Conference of the I.T.G.W.U. calls for "A national campaign for a reduced working week with no loss of pay, to create more jobs." The demand for a 35-hour week should be pressed by all trade unionists.

Belfast - UDA gives sectarian killers a free hand

The assassins have returned again to the streets of Belfast. The UDA has withdrawn its threat to deal with the killers, giving a free hand to their extremists to re-open their murder campaign.

Some hard-liners had wanted to split from Herron's 'moderate' leadership, who first issued the UDA threat. Harding Smith, the joint chairman, and a consciously conservative bigot, is firmly in control again. We can expect a lot less of the 'working class' phraseology that was coming from Herron. His future career in the UDA will depend on his loyalty to Smith and the right wing.

Most of the UDA are ordinary workers who do not approve of the sectarian killings, but who will do nothing to stop them either. They are not out to consciously uphold the Protestant ascendancy, but simply to defend their areas against attack. But the organisation is controlled by men who are prepared to use the ordinary Protestant workers for their own advancement. The trade unionised workers from the shipyards and big factories seem to be less involved in the killings than UDA members, many of whom are unemployed or on non-union jobs.

This is important in understanding how to overcome the killings. The aim of the Provos to deal with the UDA themselves, without actually offering anything to those workers who oppose the murders, is futile. They can only continue to alienate the whole of the loyalist workers, and make it easier for the right wing to retain control over them. The Officials have tended to idealise the UDA, seeing it as a genuine loyalist working class force which could be persuaded by rational discussion. Their appeals to the leadership of the UDA are both naive and dangerous, for the leadership contains men who are consciously fascist.

The most immediate need for beating sectarian murders is to strengthen the defences in the ghettos. The



Tommy Herron, vice-chairman of the UDA

policy of continual harassment by the British army makes this more difficult, and they will give no protection against the killers. They have already been involved themselves in the killings.

The idea of a neutral trade union defence force is, in the present circumstances, totally utopian. A great deal of ground work has to be done before that could ever become a possibility, and that is going to be a long, slow process. It will not end the killings overnight, but then neither will anything else. It is the only hope we have of ending sectarianism once and for all; it is the only way of offering a viable alternative to the loyalist workers and giving them the means of dealing with the right wing bigots in their midst. The anti-imperialist movement must push working class demands to the forefront of the struggle and develop a strategy against redundancies and unemployment, for better wages and conditions and working-class unity.

EMIGRATION:

Emigration has been a fact of Irish life for too long. It has scarred whole areas of the country. It has led many young people to think that ambitions can only be realised away from home. It has been a means of dividing workers, and a source of cheap labour for capitalism.

Too often, we tend to think of emigration as something peculiar to Ireland. Certainly, Ireland is the only European country to have seen its population fall in the past century

and a half, but emigration has affected many other parts of the world. While we are being told that the emigration problem has been 'solved' in Ireland (with 60,000 emigrating in the last five years!), 75,000 people are leaving Calabria, in Southern Italy, every year. There are two million 'guest-workers' in Western Germany, all of whom have entered the country since World War II. They have come from the 'peripheral' areas of Europe, from Yugoslavia, Turkey, Greece, Spain and Portugal.

Alexander Carlyle (1835) — 'Ireland is our market for labour, the supplies of which are regulated on the same principles which regulate the supplies of articles of consumption and commerce.'

EXODUS FOR 200 YEARS

Irish emigration goes back well before the Famine. There were two main exoduses before then: the Catholic Irish, Wild Geese, who were beaten at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690, and later, in the 18th century, Northern Protestants.

Between 1780 and 1840 the population of Ireland doubled however. This was due to rising corn prices in England, which meant that Irish people could marry early and exist by growing corn and potatoes, the corn for rent, and the potatoes to keep them alive. English control over Ireland had prevented the development of industry in Ireland; there was not enough work to absorb the growing population, and emigration was offered as a solution to unemployment.

In 1818, the Encyclopaedia Britannica summed up some contemporary thinking on the subject: 'Where wages are low, and general distress prevails, emigration is precisely the most effectual remedy for the evil.'

By this time cattle had become more profitable than corn. So the land was cleared. The failure of the potato crop in 1845-47 gave the landlords a welcome opportunity to speed up the process; one million died, another million emigrated. This continued until 1880 when the population of Ireland had been halved again.

By 1926 about 5 million Irish

had gone to the USA. The establishment of the Free State made little difference. Emigration slowed down with the depression and slump of 1929-33. By 1938 the numbers leaving had risen again. Dev's attempts at building Irish industry had no effect.

The Second World War increased the demand for Irish labour in England. About 100,000 went to England in the period 1946-51. This flow turned to a flood in the 1950's when massive unemployment and depression in Ireland were coupled with a boom in England. Over 400,000 emigrated between 1956 and 1961, mainly to Britain. The development of industry in the 1960's did slow down emigration. The numbers employed in industry increased by one third in the last fifteen years. But still 160,000 more people left Ireland in the 1960's. While the rate of emigration has gone down very noticeably in Leinster, it has changed much less in Connacht.

The total number of emigrants since 1926 is just over 1 million. This fact more than any other shows the nature of the Irish Republic. There are less people working in the 26 Counties today than there were at the foundation of the state. The flags have been changed. The rich stayed rich and the poor got the boat.

DID YOU KNOW?

Five million Irish emigrated to USA between 1841 and 1926

One million Irish emigrated to Britain between 1926 and 1971

The labour force in the 26 Counties declined by 17 per cent between 1926 and 1971

In 1841 the population of Ireland was 8.1 million, that of Britain was 17 million. The population of Ireland was 56 per cent of the British population.

In 1961 the population of Ireland was 3.4 million, that of Britain was 55 million. The population of Ireland was 6 per cent of the British population.

Splitting the working class

There are parts of Algeria where 80 per cent of family income comes from money sent back by emigrants. 70,000 people leave Portugal every year. 50,000 Puerto Ricans go to the United States every year.

Are the people in these areas just fond of moving about? Obviously not. Industry develops unevenly. Its development has always involved a movement of population from country to town. If industry had developed evenly in every country at the same time, we might expect little emigration.

Many of the most advanced countries were able to industrialise at the expense of colonies. Today, the concentration of industry and capital continues. The Common Market is designed to aid this

SCARS OF THE SYSTEM



A poster published by French revolutionaries calls for unity of French and immigrant workers.

development. If European firms are to compete with those in USA or USSR, they have to be enormous.

Workers for these massive industries are drawn from the less developed regions. Generally, immigrants get the worst jobs. They are often forbidden to take their families and when they are no longer needed they are shipped home. In the West German recession of 1966-67 the foreign labour force was cut by 400,000 in 6 months, but only 29,000 could stay in the country to draw dole.

Immigrants are used to split the working class. In Fords of Cologne the assembly workers are mainly Turks, but the supervisors are German. In the Renault factory in Paris, immigrant workers from different countries are put next to each other in

order to prevent them talking! Racism is encouraged with talk of 'wogs', 'paddles' and 'eyeties'.

Workers from regions or countries that are less developed are used as cheap, disposable labour. This helps boost profits, and distorts the development of these regions even more. Workers are used like toothpaste tubes to be thrown away when they have been sucked dry.

The effects of emigration are terrible. Communities are destroyed, and their active members extracted. Children are brought up to expect to emigrate. Differences in language, culture and colour are used to encourage racism and split the working class. The cost in human suffering is incalculable. The profits only go to the bosses.

HOW TO BEAT UNDERDEVELOPMENT

Some countries have attempted to overcome their imposed underdevelopment by industrialising and competing with the more developed countries. De Valera tried this in the 1930's with the economic war and the development of Irish industry protected by tariffs. The problem with this is that the working class is made to suffer in the building up of a country that is owned and run by the bosses. In any case, it is practically impossible for an undeveloped country to compete with powerful neighbours who will put down any threats to their power.

De Valera did one thing: he proved a merely nationalist solution to be impossible. Today, neither wing of the republican movement appears to have learned the lesson: socialism is the only way forward.

Socialists are not opposed to big industry, in fact, we are in favour of it; it increases enormously the potential for better living standards all round. But if that potential is to be realised, industry must be controlled by the workers. Then production would be for social needs, and not

for lining the pockets of a few parasites.

The problems arising out of capitalism and its uneven development emigration, redundancies, poverty, — can only be solved by the working class on an international scale. Any solution must promote that awareness among workers. Redundancies must be fought with direct workers' action, the take-over of firms declaring closure, work-sharing without loss of pay where there are partial redundancies. Unemployment must be fought by imposing a shorter working week with no loss of pay. The run down of agriculture as it is taking place now can be opposed

only with a perspective for changing the whole system, supporting the division of large estates among small farmers, and co-operatives.

Internationally, emigrants must be encouraged to join fellow workers from other countries. Instead of being used as cheap labour, emigrants must be encouraged to join unions and fight for better pay and conditions. In this way, capitalists could be prevented from splitting workers against one another.

The workers of the world have nothing to lose but their chains. And it is emigrant workers who are most heavily chained to this mad system.

Italy has lost 25 million people through emigration.

There are now five million Italian workers living abroad.

There are 11 million immigrant workers in Europe.

One quarter of Catholic priests in England and Wales are Irish

Two thirds of the 21-year-old men in Drogheda interviewed in a survey expected to leave Drogheda, half of them for employment reasons.



The friendly reception given to Jack Lynch by American dignitaries was not matched by the 'welcome' from Irish people in the US

Jack Lynch's America

Jack Lynch's recent visit to the US turned into a nightmare for him. He came to America to persuade more US companies to invest in Ireland. Also, the purpose of the tour, as everybody knows was to persuade Irish-Americans to stop contributing money to the republican movement. Apparently he thought the Irish-American community would greet him warmly and listen respectfully to his instructions. Instead they organized large demonstrations against his repression in Ireland, pelted him with eggs, and drove him to take tranquilizers before the visit was over.

A crowd of nearly 500 protested at Lynch's first public appearance in the US, the taping of a TV program on Sunday afternoon, 7 January. The protestors jeered and booed as Lynch entered the building to do the

recording. Many shouted "Traitor Lynch", "Union Jack Lynch", or "Yellow Jack Lynch". Others yelled "Why don't you bring British troops to protect you?" When Lynch left he was greeted with a barrage of eggs thrown from the crowd. This time he escaped actually being hit although some of the US Secret Service men guarding him weren't so lucky. The police had to use horses and barricades to stop the protestors from rushing Lynch's car as he was driven away. This demonstration united, for the first time in New York, supporters of the Officials, the Provisionals, and the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association. This unity continued throughout the Lynch tour.

The next morning at 6.30 a.m. Jack Lynch showed up to tape another TV show. The demonstrators

also showed up and once again he was the target for rotten eggs. When he attended a dinner in his honour on Wednesday night 50 people from the Irish support groups were picketing outside. As he left the dinner by a side entrance Lynch got several eggs in the face and on top of his balding head. Three members of the Irish Republican Clubs (the Officials' support group) were arrested and charged with disorderly conduct and harassment for allegedly throwing eggs at him. They have also been threatened with being summoned before a federal grand jury.

TRANQUILISERS

After Wednesday night Lynch did not risk public appearances in New York where he might attract more

HEALTH SERVICES ON

THE CHEAP

Mr. Hillery has the responsibility for Social Affairs on the EEC Commission, and the Fianna Fail deputies to the European Parliament have been wondering how close to the social democrats they ought to sit. What an irony! The briefest look at the operation of the health services in the 26 Countries ought to give the lie to any Fianna Fail claims to be 'progressive'.

In the areas of health, housing, and family allowances, one would expect social democrats to soften the blows of the market economy — not to do away with it, of course. That's the job of revolutionary socialists.

Any analysis of the health service in this state will show that the minimum is spent on the social needs of the poor, despite the Constitution talking of all the children being 'cherished equally'. In fact, the state expenditure on health services in the Six Counties is — relatively — twice as much as in the South. Expenditure per head of the population is £30, as compared with £16 in the 26 Counties.

There are only four countries, Finland, Turkey, Portugal, and Luxemburg, in the OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development), which have less doctors, compared to the total population.

ADMINISTRATION

The Health Services, such as they are, are not run by the people most directly affected, but by the government and the local authorities, whose main concern is administration and finance, not the needs of the most deprived people. Many who do receive their entitled rights under the Health Act complain of the arrogant attitude of the officials who 'process their claims'. A 1967 survey showed how residents of a working class estate are hostile to these officials, and resent their attitude to the claimants: 'There is a fellow now inside the dispensary, and we walk in there and we are supposed to get 19/6 or something relief. And he has to find out why. And a woman might come in and say that the husband has gone off and this fellow will shout out in front of them all, "So you couldn't keep him couldn't you". And he abuses everyone in public.' (see: A Law for the Poor)

ATTITUDE

Not all assistance officers are the same. I approached one when preparing this article. When I asked him about the operation of the new health scheme, he said it was very difficult for people to find out about it. He thought the attitude of the Department was to keep as many people in the dark as possible. He showed me replies to queries sent to the Department about whether a certain person was entitled to benefits under the Act. The reply from the Department was a photostat copy of the Act which he had had difficulty interpreting in the first place!

The assistance officers often — especially in country areas — carry the responsibility of making the scheme run smoothly. Whatever their personal attitude, they all have one thing in common, lack of training.

The Assistance Officers' Association has stated: 'No consideration whatever appears to have been taken to the training of social welfare personnel. Recruitment has been at most haphazard and officers have simply grown into the service.' Six years after that statement was sent to the government the position as regards training is still the same.

The number of persons entitled to the 'benefits' of the Health Act in September 1972 represented 17.5 per cent of the population. In the Eastern Area, which includes Dublin, only 15.6 per cent of the population are covered. The government says it does not have the money to cover any more, but they do have it to spend more and more on the Gardai and the army (25 per cent more than is spent on health services).

The authorities are even trying to cut down the number of applicants and beneficiaries. A document sent to local officers recently says: 'The system for reviewing individual cases has not kept pace with changes in peoples' circumstances and I am satisfied that if reviews are more frequent and effective, the register will be freed of a number of people who are no longer entitled to full eligibility.' In other words, 27 per cent is too much, so more spying will have to be done on this disadvantaged group.

The new system — since the scrapping of the dispensaries — is supposed to give medical card holders a choice of doctor. In most country areas there is no choice at all.

The doctors have a choice, however. They can either operate the new scheme on a salary basis, or on a payment for the number of patients on his list. This has led older doctors



Nurses also suffer under the present regime

opting for the salary and wanting as few clients as possible, and younger doctors going for the 'per capita' payment. Some of these doctors have so many on their lists, they can't give any proper examinations.

One young doctor told me that to make money he had to spend all his day writing prescriptions. To give proper examinations would mean a loss of time, and time equals money. He sees medicine as a commercial service, 'conveyor belt medicine', he called it.

GREED

People earning over £1,600 a year are obliged to become members of the Voluntary Health Insurance, as hospital fees are well beyond what most people can afford. Here again, however, they fall victims to the greed of the medical profession. The first question a private patient is asked is: 'Are you a member of the VHI?' If you are, the price of treatment is inflated. The VHI passes the high charges on to their clients in increased monthly premiums.

More and more doctors have found another way of pushing up their takings — they have shares in chemists' shops and drug companies. This would seem to contravene even accep-

ted medical ethics. If you are wondering why your doctor sends you to the same chemist with each prescription, you can safely assume that he owns the place.

The public clinic appears to be a place designed to make the patient feel he is being granted a favour when the surgeon sees him. It's not unusual to be kept waiting up to two hours before the great man finally has time to see the sick. Even then the patients are treated reluctantly, as he'd prefer to see private or VHI patients.

For some, the health services give an opportunity to make money out of the sickness of others. For others, it gives a chance to bully and spy on the most deprived. To the sick, it gives no comfort at a time when they need them most. While the health service remains the preserve of one class, the working class will always be made the sufferers. The system favours the rich, and leaves the poor with the crumbs.

Socialists must make the demand for the immediate end to the means test and to other limitations in the scope of the services. We must demand full access for all to the health services, and the control of those services by those who use them. MICHAEL SHEEHY

SMURFIT'S VIEWS

Working people are demanding a greater share in the decisions which affect their working lives. Mr. Michael Smurfit, of the Jefferson Smurfit group of companies suggested ways of "tackling this problem" at the recent conference of the Confederation of Irish industry.

"One of the ways of tackling this problem of satisfying human needs is by improving training processes and adapting education to serve the demands of the changing environment... It seems to me to be a terrible waste of human effort that some 2/3 of our children are educated academically, yet 75% are destined for jobs that require technical skill."

"I believe that one method of getting to grips with latent social militancy would be to introduce some form of compulsory training for all school leavers entering employment. This should be a mandatory course, organised by some such bodies as the Confederation of Irish Industry, AnCo or the Irish Management Institute and financed jointly by the government and industry."

CRITICAL

Mr. Smurfit's ways of 'satisfying human needs' is to "mould our youth" to satisfy the needs of our capitalist economy which is, as he puts it, "going through a very critical period".

That the education course would be nothing but blatant anti-working class indoctrination is shown by Mr. Smurfit's other suggestions for surviving in the



EEC. A company's costs, including wages of course, must be kept at the lowest possible level. The 'intransigence' of some workers and unions must be overcome. The acceptance of the National Wages Agreement by the I.C.T.U. is "consoling" though the wage settlements are too high, he says. "There is however a growing realisation by many trade unionists of the necessity to keep costs under control. This realisation must be translated into positive co-operation by the trade unions, because their members are our work-people, and our work-people in the end determine our ability to control costs and achieve growth. The company... must motivate its people towards greater effort and results."

Here is one fact to include in the suggested education course — 9% of the population own 90% of the wealth of this class-divided society. And Mr Smurfit blames the 91% of the population for intransigence in fighting to keep what little they have. Increased exploitation is his only answer to the problems of Irish capitalism. We have another.

OFFICIAL SECRETS

Under the Official Secrets Act, the government can prevent the contents of an incriminating document which somebody is accused of possessing or handing on from being revealed. So, just in case you don't want us to know what the Cork Garda passed on to the local government official whose trial comes up on 15 February, here it is:

The document, found on Garda files, was a record kept by the RUC of movements, cars used, pubs and houses frequented, by known or suspected republicans in the North.

SAME AGAIN

During the hearing of evidence at the Special Court in the case against Finbar O'Doherty, the Army Director of Intelligence, Colonel Heffernon (remember him?) asked that evidence be given in camera. There were details, he said, concerning the lay-out of Ballincollig military camp which ought not to be published.

Perhaps Colonel Heffernon doesn't know that the camp is used as a meeting place by many local people — girls who go to dances there, people who play billiards and drink after hours. They know the camp and its lay-out well. What does Heffernon propose to do with them?

IN CAMERA

Very few court cases, other than divorce cases, are ever heard in camera in Britain — and even then only for the 'protection of public morals'. Yet the hearing of evidence against the Littlejohn Brothers, who are charged with the big bank robbery in Grafton Street, Dublin, was held in camera during January. As the Littlejohns had revealed, they were working in Ireland for the British secret service, attempting to infiltrate the IRA.

One of the people required to give evidence at the hearing was Lord Carrington, the Tory Minister of Defence.

No details of all this have appeared in the Irish papers, never mind the British Tory press. The authorities on both sides are being embarrassed by it. They would love to find a way of pretending it all never happened.

UDA/UDR

The London 'Times' reported the following discussion in the House of Commons on 25 January 1973:

MR. GOODHART (Beckenham, Con.) — The strain on the Army is still great, and the quickest way of relieving the strain is to build up the local defence force. Will he put fresh vigour into the recruiting drive for the UDA and, as far as he can for the RUC?

MR. GILMOUR — We attach considerable importance to the UDR and we are giving great urgency to recruiting.

Gremlin or no gremlin, the point is well taken.

RESOLUTION

The following resolution was passed by Waterford No.2 Branch of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union during January:

'This branch welcomes the condemnation by the General Secretary, Michael Mullen, of the Amendment to the Offences Against the State Act. We see in this repressive legislation a threat to all working class organisations, e.g. trade unions, tenants' associations, and political organisations. We call on the National Executive to organise protest action whenever the Amendment is used.'

We call for a united campaign by the Trade Unions and other working class organisations for the repeal of repressive legislation, and against the political censorship of RTE.'

EXPANSION

Several promised articles have had to be held over for lack of space. These include features on 'Worker participation', the Free State Army, and Dublin's rag trade. We will try to publish these next month.

In order to fit in all the material which we regularly get, we will have to expand the paper. We can only do this with your help — that is, cash. Before we ask you to send us donations, why not start by taking out a subscription?

TAKE OUT A SUBSCRIPTION NOW.

S.W.M. MEETING ON WOMEN

Contraception could be the first step to a better deal for women. Speakers at a public meeting organised by the Socialist Workers Movement in Dublin on 'Women Contraception, and the Family' last month stressed the need to build women's action groups to agitate against rising rents and prices, and to fight for equal pay, contraception and nurseries.

They argued that women must organise within their unions and fight alongside male trade unionists for better pay and conditions. Many employers prefer to give jobs to women because they can pay them less, and women generally have less time to give to trade union activity.

Women are unpaid in the home and often earn half-pay in jobs outside the home. There are virtually no re-training facilities for married women to go back to work when their families are grown up.

Unmarried mothers and deserted wives are shunned and receive little or no state benefits. S.W.M. speakers argued that, as socialists, we must fight all aspects of women's oppression and oppose ideas that a woman's place is in the church, bedroom, and kitchen.

The fight for women's freedom is part of the fight for a better society. Women must organise NOW.

an Nightmare

eggs. In fact the radio news reported that Lynch was on tranquilisers before he left for Ireland on Friday night 13th January.

Meanwhile, the US government is trying to intimidate American supporters of Irish freedom. The US Supreme Court has denied an appeal by the Fort Worth Five from their contempt of Court conviction and sent them back to prison.

These are five Irishborn men from New York City who have refused to testify before a federal grand jury in Fort Worth Texas investigating alleged arms smuggling for the IRA. Although none of the five had ever been in Texas the government summoned them before a grand jury there because there was no Irish American community in Texas to stage protests. The five refused to testify even

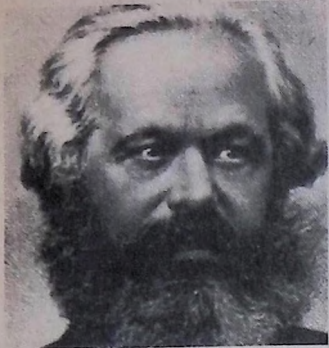
after they had been granted immunity from prosecution in America because they can still be extradited to Northern Ireland and prosecuted there.

At the same time, the government is examining the books of the Irish Northern Aid Committee (the Provisional support group) to try to link them to arms smuggling. They are trying to force the Official support group, the Irish Republican Clubs, to register as the agent of a foreign power so that they can get at their books as well. The US government is trying to do by intimidation what Lynch couldn't do by persuasion, cut off the American financial support for the republican movement. They will have about the same success.

SANDY BROWN, NEW YORK

Review: Starting at the beginning

J. Maguire: Marx's Early Writings
Gill & MacMillan, £3.25, 1972.



To-day Marxism is all the news. Not just among politically organized socialists, but also in the universities, Marx's ideas are being seriously discussed. Maguire's book is the latest in a welcome flood of serious

commentaries on Marx, one which concentrates on the works that Marx wrote in his youth while in exile in Paris.

All too often socialists see "theory" as a luxury, something that can be left to the "intellectuals" while the humble "workers" content themselves with a few slogans and get on with the real job. If the events of the last few years in Ireland have shown anything, they have shown how bankrupt this approach is. For Marxists, theory is a way of understanding the world and of acting in it.

Without theory, the socialist is a blind man, even if he does have a machine-gun: he ends up getting shot from behind! On the other hand, without action, theory becomes an irrelevant debate, since there is no way of connecting it to the real world and no way of testing it.

Marxist theory is not a series of dogmas but something that has to be worked out. (For example, you can't just go and read what Lenin wrote on Imperialism and somehow squeeze Ireland into his analysis). Nonetheless, it does start from certain basic positions, and if these aren't grasped, "theory" becomes simply a sort

of economic determinism in which people repeat university economists' analysis of forthcoming problems for the economy and write at the end: "and therefore the working class will revolt." Equally, without these basic starting points, "analysis" becomes just finding out the latest dastardly deeds of the evil capitalists — digging up who owns what and who swindled whom.

Religion

Obviously this kind of work can be useful, but it's got little to do with theory and thus little to do with really understanding our situation. Some of these basic points on which Marxist theory is built are worked out for the first time by Marx in his youthful writings. This is why they're important, even if they are also very difficult to read. The great merit of Maguire's book is that while he doesn't attempt to dodge the difficulties, he doesn't make them worse with a mass of obscurities. He shows how Marx moves from his analysis of religion to an analysis of the state, seeing both as ways in which men

create objects which have power over them. For example, man creates religion and invents God because his real life is so unsatisfactory, but then this strange creation 'God' starts telling him what to do — God must be obeyed and man sees his whole life as being in the service of this thing that he himself has created.

In the Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts, the key work of this period of his life, Marx worked out how much the same thing happens with man's work in capitalism. Man works and creates things, but these "commodities" have a strange life and power of their own: we are dominated by the "laws of the market", "the needs of the economy" and all the rest.

At first, this sounds much like traditional philosophy, but Marx's whole point is that this is all a real situation and one which can be overcome in reality. Reading these early works helps us to see that capitalism is not just a matter of greedy speculators, but a whole system which reaches into the very pores of our existence. As Marx says, even when we are making love the world of commodities

comes between us and what we are really doing.

It is only by overthrowing the system as a system that all its obscenities can be removed. For this reason there is for Marxists no such thing as the natural man beloved of priests and liberals alike. For us what is natural about man is simply that he is continually changing himself: mankind under feudalism was different to what he is now under capitalism and different again to what he can be in socialism.

For anybody who wants to get into Marxist theory, Marx's early writings are essential, and Maguire's book is the best introduction there is.

Two criticisms: in the last chapter Maguire makes the fashionable attempt to reconcile Marxism and Christianity. This is a bit sick, since he spends a lot of time explaining very clearly why Marx saw the criticism and overcoming of religion as the beginning of all the criticism and overcoming of religion as the beginning of all the criticism and overcoming of the real world of capitalism. For me at least Maguire here becomes literally incomprehensible, which perhaps isn't surprising. Secondly, how can anybody publish a book of 170 pages for £3.25 and expect anyone to buy it? Hopefully there'll soon be a paperback edition, meanwhile make sure it's in your local library.

JAMES WICKHAM

HEATH'S FREEZE



Civil servants at British Museum vote for strike action

The threat of court action now hangs over British workers who take action to push their wages above levels set by the government. The Tory government has added to the shackles already placed on the working class movement by the Industrial Relations Act. 'Phase Two' of their 'anti-inflation' policy sets maximum levels for wage increases until the Autumn. This will be followed by 'Phase 3'.

Paragraph 12 of Heath's order states that it is illegal to call, organise, procure or finance an industrial action to make an employer pay more than the £1 plus 4% norm. Along with this kind of restriction on wage rises, there is no control on rent, fresh food, and land, and, as the business papers readily admit, the profit controls can be evaded.

DISCONTENT

The Tories have introduced this new freeze against a background of rising discontent among workers and housewives and a serious economic crisis which their latest measures can do little to solve. 'Phase 2' is likely to produce even more bitter and prolonged confrontations between the labour movement and Heath's government. The Trade Union Congress has stated that it will not co-operate with the 'freeze'. The present mood of rank-and-file trade unionists may force them to put real power behind that statement.

In early January, gasworkers went on a go-slow throughout the country in protest against the first, 90-day freeze. Now that go-slow has turned into strike in some areas. Hospital workers, who held a one-day protest against the freeze in December are planning further action. A majority of members of the National Union of Public Employees have voted for a strike. Similarly, civil servants who held a one-day stoppage in January, have announced that they intend to take further action.

The pressure is building up particularly in the public sector. This is where the government can intervene most directly, and where the workers feel the impact of the measures most strongly. Things are building to a head in another nationalised industry, coal-mining.

But the most immediate — and perhaps decisive — clash is coming up at the Ford Motor works. There, the men have put a

claim in for a £10 increase all-round, as well as for a cut in the working week, longer holidays, better pensions, etc. They can point to the £60 million profit which the Ford company made internationally last year. Heath's freeze would only allow them a tiny portion of what they are looking for.

Writing in the 'Irish Times', the head of the Federated Union of Employers in this country commented that the second phase of the 14th round in Ireland was 'likely to prove more generous to employees than anything Mr. Heath will approve in his present mood.' Of course, Mr. Heath learned a little from the Employer-Labour Conference here; he has tried to present Phase Two as bringing special benefit to the lower-paid. Remember how they sold us the 14th round? Yet the British experience shows even more clearly than the Irish experience that it is the higher-paid, the better organised, and the more militant, who help the lower-paid and weaker workers. They set the pace, and the success of their struggles usually gives a level for increases lower down the scale.

PRODUCTIVITY

One reason that the head of the Federated Union of Employers had to welcome Heath's 'freeze' was that it might give Irish industry a chance to improve its competitive position. What this means in plain language is that Irish bosses are going to do everything in their power to benefit from the Tory attacks on British workers by screwing down the hatches more firmly in this country. McAuley, head of the F.U.E. writes that the 'freeze' makes it imperative for Irish industry to increase its productivity quickly.

We should be grateful to Mr. McAuley for making one thing very clear: that the struggle of Irish and British workers against the bosses' system is intimately linked. Nothing which we are told about the needs of 'Irish Industry' should deter us from supporting all efforts by British workers to smash the freeze and from launching an all-out attack on rising prices and the National Wage Agreement in this country.

BRIAN TRENCH

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;
- full adult rights at 18—e.g. the right to vote;
- adult wages and adult rights for workers at 18;
- free and 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;
- 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.

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

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

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FRANCE: GUALLISTS MAY LOSE

by
John Goodwillie

A general election takes place in France on 4th and 11th March. Public opinion polls show that it is possible that it will be won by the newly-formed "Popular Union" composed of the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, and the "Left Radicals".

Some high-up people are frightened at the prospect of Communist ministers in a western European country. But others who have studied the French Communist Party are not too worried. For the French Communist Party, once faithful servants of Stalin, have made great efforts to become respectable.

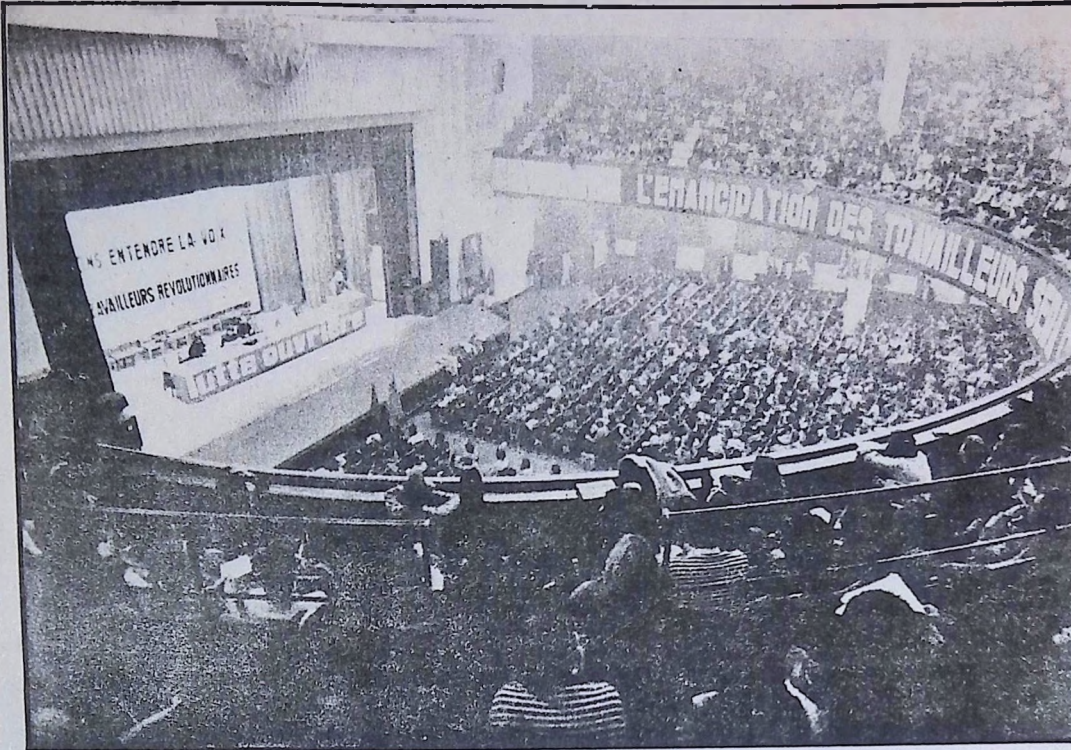
They showed this during the events of May and June 1968. Students occupied their universities. Following police brutality, a general strike was called. 10 million workers - a majority of the French labour force - went on strike and occupied their factories in a great movement to seek a better society.

DIVERTED

The Communist Party, which has long had the support of the most militant French workers, held the movement in check and diverted revolutionary fervour into a struggle for wage increases, which were soon swallowed up by inflation. It would be too dangerous to have the workers fighting for themselves. Better to put General de Gaulle back into power than to allow the workers to move outside the influence of the Communist Party.

The Party resumed its task of re-entering the mainstream of French political life. For it, the road to socialism lay through parliamentary elections. Nothing must be done that might frighten the middle class. In this way the Communist Party has become little different from a social democratic party. It still wants socialism from above: by acts of parliament, not by the mass action of the working class.

If it came to the crunch, it is not possible to say whether it would act in the interests of the rulers of Russia, or in the interests of French capitalism. We can be sure that it will not be in the interests of the French workers.



A pre-election meeting called by the revolutionary organisation, Lutte Ouvriere, to explain their strategy

Last July, the Communist Party agreed on a common programme with the place-seeking politicians of the Socialist Party - veterans of many coalition governments - who usually get less votes than the Communists. They have been joined by the Left Radicals, who are about as Left as Garret FitzGerald.

REFORMS

The Common Programme consists of a series of vague and moderate reforms. It promises a minimum wage of 1000 francs a month. But the present government have promised that too. It promises to enforce the 40-hour week, which was legally gained by the workers 35 years ago. It promises to undertake the nationalisation of nine companies. When asked how he could support this, one of the Left Radical leaders replied: "But that's fewer than General de Gaulle carried out."

Even if all the Common Programme was put into effect - and

what election promises are ever kept in full? - it would leave French capitalism still in control. Even the Communist leader, Georges Marchais, admits: "It is only necessary to read the common programme to ascertain that its applications would not be equivalent to the establishment of socialism, still less of communism." Yet for this they are willing to betray the hopes of French workers - 20 per cent of the voters at the last election - who have supported them in the belief that they were against capitalism and wanted to change the whole of society.

Has the left coalition appealed to the workers? A recent public opinion poll showed that the number of manual workers who intended to vote for the Government was 31% - the same as in the last general election. The extra support that the Socialists are getting comes from the liberal professions, business executives, white collar workers, and even from employers. These people are not starting to vote Socialist because they want to overthrow the capitalist sys-

tem, but because they think a government which talks mildly about reforming the system and which has working-class support, is the best way of keeping the capitalist system intact.

POSSIBILITY

A victory for the "Left" is only a possibility and not a certainty. The Government parties (Gaullists and Republican Independents) are fighting hard. They no longer have the mystical leadership of De Gaulle, so they are prophesying doom if the Left wins: France will become a Russian satellite, they say. It is the old Red Scare we are so familiar with. As always it is a smokescreen to hide the desire of politicians to stay in office by saying how bad everybody else is, and hoping people won't notice how bad they are themselves.

If the Left doesn't get a majority, it may work out an agreement with some deputies belonging to the small centre parties. The Gaullists will certainly lose seats but they too might

Victory for the Vietnamese?

The Vietnam Cease Fire Agreement in Paris is hardly a victory for the Vietnamese against American Imperialism. The US will keep a major political role in South Vietnam both by maintaining Thieu in power and as one of the countries "guaranteeing" the end of the war and "safeguarding" the peace. U.S. bombers will still be on aircraft carriers off the coast of Vietnam and at bases in Thailand. They will be there ready to resume the bombing if Nixon decides that is necessary to keep Thieu in power.

In fact the whole settlement is designed to give Thieu the best possible chance to stay in power and maintain American domination in South Vietnam. A stand still cease fire will leave Thieu's army in control of a very large majority of the population. The terms of the agreement allow the South Vietnamese army to replace any weapons, ammunition, or war material which are destroyed, damaged, or used up. The North Vietnamese have agreed to respect the Demilitarized Zone which would prevent their troops or the NLF from being re-supplied

from the North.

The provision in the settlement that Thieu, the NLF, and some unnamed neutralists are going to set up free and democratic elections in South Vietnam is simply a hoax. Thieu has already announced that he won't agree to any elections until all North Vietnamese troops are withdrawn from the South - in other words until he controls the entire country. Meanwhile he has issued orders to shoot anyone who urges anyone to go to an NLF-controlled zone, or even uses NLF banknotes. The North Vietnamese and NLF are no more likely to permit free elections in the areas they control. They have, after all, never permitted them in North Vietnam.

Obstacles

The North Vietnamese have been forced to accept this settlement not just by the US bombing which they have endured for years, but even more by the pressure from their "allies" - Russia and China. They have been threatening to cut back supplies unless the Vietnamese reach a settlement with Nixon. Both Russia and China have increasingly found Vietnam an obstacle to negotiating the agreements with the US on trade, arms reduction, recognition, etc. they badly want.

The Vietnamese cannot be blamed for signing this agreement when confronted by overwhelming force and a lack of support from their so-called allies. Socialists cannot demand that

they fight to the last Vietnamese man, woman and child.

But the North Vietnamese and NLF have not merely signed a bad agreement under great pressure. They have announced that it is a great victory. This deludes the Vietnamese people into thinking that they have defeated American imperialism and there are no more battles to fight. Instead they will need to prepare for the struggle ahead to get rid of the Thieu regime and US imperialism once and for all.

Socialists in other countries must continue to support the Vietnamese in their fight against imperialism. We will have to combat the wide-spread belief that this settlement represents a victory for the Vietnamese. We must keep the pressure on the US government to finally get completely out of Vietnam and the whole of South East Asia.

S. BOYER

be able to patch up a coalition with the Centre. They also have the support of the President, who in France has a lot of power and is not just a figurehead. Because of vagueness in the Constitution, no-one is sure what will happen if the President and the left coalition have to fight it out.

REVOLUTIONARIES

In this situation a Trotskyist organisation, Lutte Ouvriere (Workers' Struggle) is putting up 176 revolutionary socialist candidates, and calling for support for the 133 candidates of the Communist League. Thus in 309 out of 487 constituencies there will be a revolutionary candidate.

Lutte Ouvriere believes that the coming of socialism will not be through making speeches in parliament, but through the struggle of the workers on the shop floor, relying on their own strength and not on any deputies. In any case, it points out, the constituencies are gerrymandered against militant working-class areas, the towns are under-represented, the millions of young workers and immigrant workers have no votes. It is a small organisation. It does not expect to win any seats, for there is no proportional representation in France.

Why, then, is it fighting the elections? To do so provides a platform to explain its views to still greater numbers of the working class. It allows workers to say with their votes that they want a change of the system, not a change of politicians. It allows workers to express their lack of confidence in the leaders of the Left Union.

But because it values the unity of the working class, Lutte Ouvriere has promised not to oppose the Left Union candidates on the second ballot (this is the equivalent of giving them their second preferences). By this means the workers can put the Communists and the Socialists in the government without giving them a free hand.

YUGOSLAVIA

In January the Secretary of the Yugoslav Communist Party announced that the party wanted workers to return the money which they had received as a bonus in December. The reason for the bonus was that the government was about to introduce a freeze on wages!

ITALY

The fight against repression in Italy again centered on Milan last month. Police shot 2 students on a university campus following a sit-in protest, killing one and wounding another seriously. Thousands of workers struck work to protest against the action.

Valpreda, the anarchist whose three-year detention without trial was the issue of demonstrations reports in last month's 'Worker', has now been released. But as the Milan events show, there has been no real change of attitude on the part of the government and state forces.

GREECE

Further to our article on Greece last month, the trial of 17 communists opened in the last week of January. The accused are on trial for 'aiming at the violent overthrow of the established regime and social order'. That might indeed be an understandable aim, but the main defendants in fact believe in the 'parliamentary road' - which must be hard to believe when there are no elections and parliament is without power.



Saigon women tear at a barrier put up by government troops. The Thieu regime remains intact, supported by the Americans

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The North: WHITE PAPER - little to look forward to

In spite of the almost total lack of political activity from the British regime in the Six Counties lately, they are certainly using their army to prepare the ground for the publication of their White Paper on the future of Northern Ireland. It now seems likely that the Paper will appear after the Border Poll (March 8th), and before the expiry of the Act with which they suspended Stormont (March 30th).

It seems certain that control over security will remain in the hands of Westminster, and that there will be no move towards a United Ireland. The first of these will ensure the support of the Catholic middle class, as represented by the SDLP, but it will make no difference to the anti Unionist workers who have borne the brunt of military repression over the last three years. It will also anger the extreme loyalists of Vanguard and the UDA, who believe that if they do not control security themselves, they will not be able to prevent the eventual re-unification of Ireland.

SHARE

The fact that Ireland is to remain divided will please loyalists of all shades, but will also ensure the continuing wrath of the IRA. Messrs. Hume, Fitt, Cooper and Co. will be given a greater share in organising our exploitation.

These 'concessions' to the Catholic middle class on the question of security and power sharing, have spurred Lynch into attacking the Provos in the South. They have also encouraged the SDLP to take a more conciliatory attitude towards the



U.D.A.: certain to be angered by White Paper

Whitelaw dictatorship. They negotiated with him before internment has ended, thus betraying the cause which has mobilised thousands of anti Unionist workers for the last 18 months.

They will be satisfied if some of the power now monopolised by the Orange middle class is redistributed in their favour. They have no interest in seeing any power pass to the hands of the working-class — be they Protestant or Catholic.

The continuing massive repression of the anti-Unionist workers and unemployed in the ghettos of Belfast and elsewhere, is aimed at destroying their will, and physical ability to resist when the Tories try to

impose a solution against their wishes. It is also designed to convince the loyalists that the British have no intention of selling out the Six Counties to the Republic, and thus to reduce to a minimum the number who are prepared to fight if full control over security is not returned to a local parliament dominated by Orange Unionists.

That a centre grouping has not emerged to date, must be one of the Tories' greatest worries at present. The Alliance Party has failed to galvanise the moderates in the middle class. It has offered nothing to those workers who are not prepared to die on the one hand for an imaginary

heritage, and on the other, for a United Ireland tomorrow.

Whatever the White Paper may hold for the middle class, it certainly will have nothing at all for the workers, of whatever religion. It will not solve the problems of unemployment, standing at a constant ten per cent; it will not end redundancies, which continue to rise every month; it will not do away with the slum housing where a third of the urban population 'live'; it will not raise workers' wages which are still twenty per cent below wages in Britain. So long as all these problems exist in the North, there will be resistance to British and Unionist rule from those who suffer most.

EXPLOITATION

For the working class as a whole, the Tory White Paper can only mean continuing exploitation and repression. This time round the Catholic middle class will play a greater part than before in that process. Has the fight over the last four years simply been for the benefit of Gerry Fitt and John Hume, to secure them lucrative jobs in running our lives?

The Border Poll which will precede the White Paper offers nothing to the working class either. The choice is simply one between repression, unemployment, poverty and misery, in a Green Tory Ireland, or in an Orange Tory Six Counties. Anti-Unionist workers must show their abhorrence of the whole meaningless farce by boycotting the poll en masse. Lynch offers no alternative for them. Loyalist workers, if they see their interests clearly, should also refuse to vote. If they vote for retention of British domination, they will be playing right into the hands of Whitelaw, and all he stands for — continuing low wages, unemployment etc. They will be giving him a blank cheque to deal with them as he deems fit.

Whether or not the Tories succeed in their plans to smash the republican opposition, and finally cut off the extreme loyalists from their more passive supporters, depends largely on the activities of the republicans themselves in the coming period. The Provos, by continuing their civilian bombing campaign, and by adopting the single issue Civil Rights strategy for work in the South, have shown that they still do not understand the political needs of the moment. The



Repression in Belfast

Officials say they are for socialism but rarely put it to the test in working class struggle. Lynch must be challenged by the organised working class. The struggle against repression must be taken to the trade unions and the links between it and the miserable conditions of the working class shown clearly. In the North the defence of the areas must be maintained, but those activities which help to re-unite the loyalist workers with their middle class leaders, must end. All those who are determined to see repression and exploitation ended must be fully involved in every working class struggle, ensuring that the working class is itself in the leadership of the struggle. No other class can take the fight to a successful conclusion.

Cork:

For almost three years now, tenants in Ballyphehane, The Glen, Curranabraher, Mayfield, Churchfield, Toger, Farranree, and throughout Cork City have been engaged in a militant rent and rates strike against the Local Government Housing Act 1966, and in particular in opposition to the present differential rents system which is causing great hardship to working-class families throughout the whole of Ireland.

In recent months there has been a split in the former Cork Corporation Tenants Association, owing to the fact that a minority who were on an elected committee set up to negotiate with City Hall were in favour of a settlement. Eight out of the body of eleven disagreed and established the Joint Council of Corporation Tenants Organisations and have since acted as the democratically elected vanguard of the militant strikers.

To date, City Hall is owed almost £200,000 and recent weeks have seen the issuing of civil bills to hundreds of families. Three tenant leaders have been instructed by the District Court to pay off their arrears at the sum of £25 per month, or else face a committal order refused to bend to this latest attempt at intimidation

TENANTS STRUGGLE ON

(from a statement issued on behalf of the Joint Council of Corporation Tenants)

and are determined to go to jail if need be so as to bring public attention to bear on their just demands.

A fighting fund has been established to care for their dependants, legal expenses and propaganda and over twenty thousand leaflets are being distributed to explain the future tactics of the organisation. Public meetings are being held and a call has gone out to all tenants to strengthen the rent and rates strike in all areas. Trade unionist have been asked to pass resolutions against any jailings and in support of the demands of the tenants. They are demanding:

1. Rent to be assessed on a net basic wage of the tenant only.
2. A ten year remission of rates as applicable to private dwellings.
3. That rents should not be assessed on increases in wages awarded to compensate for rises in the cost of living.
4. That all houses be put into a proper state of repair.

5. That no rent increases take place with a change of tenancy.

The leaflet calls on the tenants and their families to resist all forms of repression, evictions, intimidation in the courts, and jailings and calls on them to mobilise immediately in the following ways:

1. With the first arrest and jailing to extend the rent strike.
2. That every family donate 5 pence per week to the fighting fund.
3. That all tenant trade-unionists raise the matter of arrests in their branch meetings and seek I.C.T.U. support against the differential rents system.
4. That full support be given to all protest activities.
5. That every adult will write or phone their national and local public representative to protest and raise the demands of the joint Council.

Cork tenants are rebellious. They can win their struggle if they get the necessary local and national support.

Waterford:

STRIKE AT DOUGLAS ENGINEERING

Behind the modern exterior of the Douglas Engineering factory on Waterford's Industrial Estate some not-so-modern practices were going on. Now they have led to strike action by 16 young workers there.

The managing director and owner — along with his four sons, wife and daughter — of the factory is Frank Douglas, a self-made man, and previously a foreman at Waterford Iron foundry. The factory's main product is aluminium pulleys.

Some weeks ago, the RTE programme, 'Enterprise' did a feature on Mr. Douglas. It was intended to show that small native industries could succeed. Douglas told proudly of his booming business, and 'Enterprise' lapped it up. What the viewers did not hear or see was anything about the workers in the factory whose sweated labour has helped Douglas increase his share capital by 1000% in just over ten years!

'Never smiled'

Douglas rules the factory personally, hiring and firing workers when he likes. He employs mainly workers aged about 18 or 19 many of them from the country, and with no union traditions: He either sacks them when they are 21, or gives them the 'option' of staying on — but without adult rates. Douglas has sacked workers just because he did not like the look of them. Just before Christmas, one sixteen-year-old lad was dismissed, because he 'never smiled'.

There is no canteen in the Factory. The heating is entirely inadequate — indeed, Douglas recently took the burner out of a heater for use in a furnace! There are no overalls for the workers — never mind proper safety clothing. The lads work a 42½-hour week, and get only two weeks' holiday in the year.

AND THE I.D.A. IS SUPPORTING DOUGLAS IN ALL THIS WITH GRANTS!

Sonny boy

Some weeks ago, the workers decided to join a union, the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. Some of them had to fill out the application forms in the lavatory for fear of being seen by Douglas of his sons. As soon as he did find out that the union was representing 'his' workers, Douglas immediately started victimising one of them. He breathed down his neck, pushed him

around from job to job, put him on a machine he knew he hadn't worked before, and then complained about his work. All the time he referred to the worker as 'Sonny Boy'.

The bullying went on for some time, and the worker called over the newly appointed shop steward. He was immediately told to get back to his machine. The steward then asked to use the phone to get in touch with the branch Secretary, and was again told to get back to work. The worker who had been bullied by Douglas walked out in disgust — with a sht of 'stay out' after him. At the tea-break, the steward ran down the road to phone, and was promptly sacked when he returned.

A meeting was called with the Branch Secretary, and the workers voted for strike action. The two were then reinstated. But the victimisation began again two days later. The worker was given a week's notice, which was then withdrawn. Later again, he was kept out of the factory. The immediate response of the other workers was to strike, and the Union quickly made the strike official.

Douglas and his four sons are still working the factory, along with four scabs who had refused to join the union. On one day soon after the strike started, they worked a 17-hour day! But the strikers decided to keep a 24-hour watch on the place to stop anything being moved out. Although most of them have little experience of unions (one of the young workers was two weeks in the job when the strike started) they are determined that Douglas will never be allowed to go back to his old ways.

Lesson

The Douglas workers must get the full support of all Waterford workers. Dockers have agreed not to handle any Douglas goods if they should get out of the factory. Workers in a non-union firm next door have even refused to work with pulleys which had come from Douglas before the strike. Arrangements have been made for collections in local factories, but there is a need for more publicity for the strikers.

Douglas must be forced to recognise full union rights for the workers — or else close. He has taught the young workers an important lesson in the attitudes of the employing class. They are now about to teach him a different lesson.

T.H., B.T.

Derry:

GIRLS WORK IN FOUL CONDITIONS

The Union in the Essex International factory in Creggan, Derry, ceased to function when the Free Derry barricades went up. With the restoration of "Normality" after Motorman, an attempt was made to restart it. That was some four months ago; approximately half the workers have still not been given Union cards.

Working conditions are deplorable; during January three girls fainted at their machines because of inadequate ventilation. There are virtually no canteen facilities, and the toilets are filthy; more often than not, most of them are out of use.

For over two months one of the shop stewards has been receiving complaints about the heat. She went to the chief shop steward and complained; he lifted a phone and asked for the boilers to be turned down. He then said nothing more could be done. The most drastic solution to the problem of excessive heat, taken only after several complaints in one

day, was to open the doors. A piercing draught blew in, and naturally, the workers nearest the doors asked for them to be closed.

Still, after all this time, the plant manager refuses to recognise the problem; he will not consider the installation of a proper ventilation system. The chief shop steward's attitude is defeatist. He feels that

nothing can be achieved by approaching the affiliated union in England, the AUEW. He recognises that wages are 25% lower than in England and that working conditions are so bad, that if the factory were in England the union would have long since taken action.

But this factory is in Derry, the backwater of the Six Counties, which are themselves the neglected colony of Britain. The necessity of building up strong Trade Unions in Derry is made more urgent by the constant collaboration between English and American Imperialists, which ensures the future exploitation of the workers in Ulster.

ESSEX WORKER

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