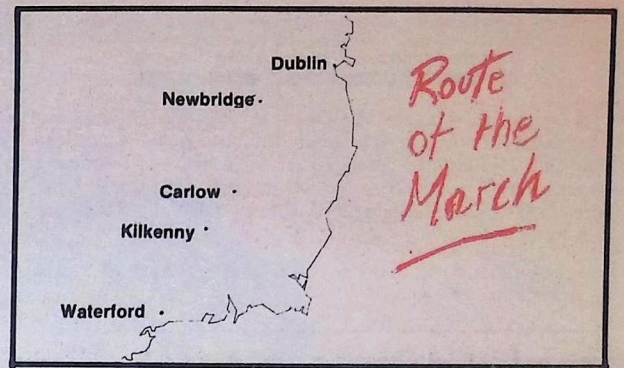


THE WORKER

Paper of the Socialist Workers Movement



UNITE & FIGHT

MARCH FOR THE RIGHT TO WORK

The People's March for Decent jobs is starting out from Waterford on Tuesday June 29th and ends in Dublin on July 3rd.

With the unemployment figures nearing 150,000, it is hoped that every trade unionist will support this march by getting their Trade Union Branch to support and sponsor it.

About 40-50 marchers will start out with workers joining in as it passes through their town.

This march could be the start of a real fightback of unemployed and employed workers to dispel the myth that workers are passive victims of capitalism.

The following have already given their backing to the march:

UNION EXECUTIVES:
 ESB Officers Association
 Irish Graphical Society
 EEPTU (Plumbers Union)
 Irish Municipal Employees Trade Union

UNION BRANCHES/DISTRICTS
 ATGWU Southern Area District Council
 ATGWU 11/5 Branch (Waterford)
 ATGWU 11/64 Branch (Waterford)
 ATGWU 11/7 Branch (Clonmel)
 ATGWU 11/87 Branch (Dungarvan)
 ATGWU 11/114 Branch (Dublin)
 ATGWU 11/19 Branch (Dublin)
 AGEMOU Engineering Branch (Dublin)
 FWUI 17 Branch (Dublin)

TRADES COUNCILS
 Waterford
 Belfast
 Dundalk
 Meath
 Fermanagh
 Bray
 Carrick-on-Suir

OTHER ORGANISATIONS
 Dublin Unemployed Action Group
 Waterford Unemployed Action Group
 Kilkenny Unemployed Workers Committee
 Clondalkin Paper Mills Action Committee
 Womens Campaign for a Social Welfare Code
 Further information from

People's March Committee, c/o ATGWU, 112, Marlboro St, Dublin 1

IF YOU'RE IN WORK OR NOT THE FIGHT FOR JOBS IS CRUCIAL

All the crocodile tears shed for the unemployed by our 'betters' don't change a thing.

While Paddy Gallagher, failed building speculator gets a mere £4,000 a week for going bust, an unemployed worker gets as little as £20 or £30 a week for rotting on the dole.

That's the bosses' system. The skills of thousands of workers waste and their hands are idle while so much remains to be done.

Building workers can't find work while young workers and their families can't find housing.

148,000 on the dole and the numbers are increasing.

It is not for the workers to make sacrifices. Accepting lower wages and lower standards of living is not the answer.

We call for employed and unemployed workers to unite in the fight for work. To ban overtime and demand a 35 hour week with no loss of pay. When firms want to cut jobs and force redundancies, occupy to demand nationalisation without compensation under workers control. The system that ruins people's lives, causes poverty on the dole queues, inflicts lousy living standards on its workers is capitalism and workers are the only agent to change it.



Sean Murphy
£26 a week



Paddy Gallagher
£4,000 a week

MARCH FOR THE RIGHT TO WORK

MARCH FOR THE RIGHT TO WORK

Join the Women's Right to Choose Campaign

The Right to Choose Campaign is affiliated to the Anti Amendment Campaign. It is committed to the fight for free, legal and safe abortion and contraception in Ireland and therefore is committed to the defeat of the Amendment to the Constitution, because it represents a vicious attack on a woman's right to control her own fertility.

For further details about the Campaign contact: PO Box 1076, Dublin 1, or telephone 965 491

A report by Dr Colin Francome has recently been published in Britain showing increased support for Abortion rights. What is interesting about the poll that was carried out by the Abortion Law Reform Association and Doctors for a Woman's Choice on Abortion is that although Catholic voters tended to be more restrictive than other religious voters nevertheless 69% supported the right to choose. It also showed 84% of Catholics supported abortion to protect the women's health, and only 17% against. In general though only 1 in five supported official Church teaching on abortion.

Fight for a basic right

Things are not going quite as planned for Dr Julia Vaughan and the organisers of the anti-abortion amendment.

It looked easy enough at first. A whisper in Charlie's ear, £200,000 for their campaign, the announcement of the referendum. Then, they thought, with a little encouragement, a silent, massive, moral vote for them.

But there have been one or two hiccups—and from quarters that they least expected. The Protestant Churches doubted the virtue of alienating non-catholics from Irish society. The Irish Council for Civil Liberties said that the amendment would do nothing to solve the existing problem of abortion. Women's pages in the newspapers have talked of the legal lunacy of

saying that a foetus has the same full civil rights of an adult person. And, insult of insults, Father O Mahony, Capuchin priest and University Professor, said that the amendment, giving all rights to the foetus and none to the pregnant woman, was legally and morally unacceptable.

Dr Vaughan's neat and glossy band of authoritative lawyers, doc-

tors and theologians began to look rather silly. Challenges, at press conferences, to the protestant churches and Father O Mahony were not really getting the point over and certainly advertised the fact that it was not just a lunatic fringe who the pro-amendment crowd were going to have to contend with.

If it's a slight slap in the face for Julia Vaughan, it's a good start for the Anti-Amendment Campaign. Clearly, broad support can be mobilised around the vicious attack on women and on democratic rights that this amendment represents.

Building the campaign, however,

beyond the columns of newspapers, will be more difficult. The SPUCists have already done some thorough groundwork—patronised by the highest and holiest places. From a pulpit of a Cavan church last Sunday, the priest announced that the 'Pro-Life' group would be meeting after mass in the convent, and it has not only happened in Cavan. Schools around Dublin, with the co-operation of Heads, have been lectured on the 'revulsion' of abortion and leafleted with gruesome SPUC leaflets, which you can be sure, have had quite an impact at home.

The Anti-Amendment Campaign will have to counter this weighty propaganda with its own local meetings and leaflets aimed at explaining exactly what right wing forces are behind the passing of this amendment and why it is an insult to the freedom of women to decide themselves.

The task will not be easy with years of prejudice fed by school, church and society. But it needs to be done, and now; not only to defeat the growing influence of the so-called Pro Life lobbies but also in order to inject the much needed confidence for the fight for basic women's rights. At the end of pens, or in the mouths of 'respectable' people is not enough, and will, alone, do little to build that fighting movement so badly needed. We need to build a campaign in the areas, among the trade unionists, among the women, which will defeat this vicious amendment. The more active that campaign, the greater defeat of those forces that want to push us down.

A defeat of the amendment will also give a fillip to the women's movement as a whole in Ireland. It will further the fight for the winning of access to free, legal, and safe contraception and abortion, which we as socialists see as a basic woman's right. Without that right women remain unable to make decisions about their lives.

The Anti-Amendment Campaign will be holding public meetings around the country. Local groups will be set up in as many areas as possible. Three in Dublin have already been set up. Join them and make sure that this amendment is defeated.

Contact SWM for details
Marnie Holborow

Statistics published by the British Office Population Census and Surveys in connection with Abortion performed on Irish women in Great Britain.

1978	2,533
1979	2,790
1980	figures not yet available but believed to be well over 3,000. These are official figures and do not include any women giving false names and addresses.

Breakdown in age group from a sample of 300 women counselled by the Dublin Well Woman Centre.

Under 17	5%
18-21	27%
22-27	31%
28-34	13%
35-39	10%
39 and over	3%
The majority were single—75%; 13% were married; 12% separated, divorced or widowed.	

Breakdown by occupation.	
Professional	11%
Clerical	32%
Manual	20%
Housewives	14%
Occupation not stated	10%

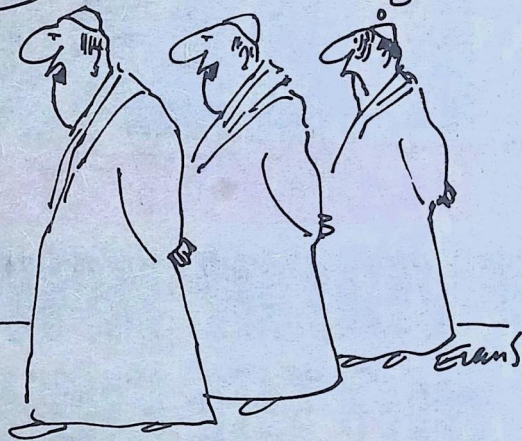
Mary Ryder

No return to murk and mystification

A CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT FORBIDDING ABORTION WOULD VERY MUCH STRENGTHEN OUR ANTI-ABORTION LAWS, AS OF COURSE THE PRESUPPOSITION OF ALLOUR ARGUMENTS IS THAT IF ABORTION IS MORALLY WRONG -

-THEN IT SHOULD BE LEGALLY FORBIDDEN!

THAT'S NOT GOING TO HELP MY SISTER!



Backwardness and bigotry. That's what the campaign for a 'Pro-Life Amendment' to the constitution is all about. It is not about saving life—born, unborn or merely imagined. The screwed up bigots of the 'Pro-Life' movement know that well.

They know their amendment wouldn't stop a single Irish woman making the weary trudge to Liverpool or London, to exercise her right to choose.

What it could do—and it's enough for them—is to copper-fasten Rome rule within the Republic.

And the specific rule involved is that inside the boundaries of this state, any woman who conceives—no matter what the circumstances in which that happens, no matter what her personal situation might be, no matter what her own religious beliefs or conscience tells her she should do—such a woman must go on and give birth... because the Catholic bishops say so.

And it would not be open to the legislature on its own ever to rescind that rule.

It is the most audacious example of open sectarianism in Southern Ireland for a couple of decades. And it's significant that it's supporters have had the nerve to introduce it now and that, to date they have come such a long way to achieving their objective.

Many might have believed that it could hardly happen. The Republic, so the theory went, was changing, if gradually. Beginning to emerge from the murk and mystification of the 20s and 30s. And there's truth in this.

There has been something of a sea-change in social attitudes, particularly among the young, and fuelled particularly by the women's movement.

Such a sectarian jamboree, it appeared, couldn't happen here and now. But it has and with a deliberate vengeance. And it's happened partly because of the modest

advances which have been made. Reactionaries after all, tend to react.

The genteel rabble behind SPUC, the Irish Family League and the rest of them have chosen the ground on which to make a stand against the rising tide of rationality and, if they can, to turn the tide back.

If they win this one they will, perhaps, have shifted the axis of the battle between the future and the past. Anybody who doubts that they could do that should consider the case with which the 'Pro-Life' hysterics captured the putative middle ground in Southern politics.

Their first few sorties into action were immediately and marvellously successful.

Prior to last year's general election they collected the scalps of all three main party leaders—Fitzgerald first, then Haughey, then Cluskey—and didn't face much of a fight in doing it.

The support of 95% of the Dail was safely corralled in a single week. That one fact shows just how formidable a force Catholic sectarianism is in Ireland.

It was fear of the church and of the church's influence over the electorate that made the party leader easy meat.

On other similar issues, the Catholic church didn't fight to a finish. The Abolition of Article 44 (which gave the Catholic church a 'special place' in the life of the state) was actually supported by the hierarchy—because it didn't weaken the substance of church power.

Haughey's farcical Family Planning Act was allowed to crawl and stumble through the Oireaschtas: it was composed of the type of subterfuge and hypocrisy which church leaders readily understand and can accept.

Even on divorce, construction of a semantic underpass, to do with 'nullity' is already in hand, on these issues the Church could side-step or back-track or perform

one of its canonical three-card tricks, cobbled together some compromise between its own arrogant, abstract certainties and the needs of real people.

But abortion is different. Church teaching is—given a fudge here, a smudge there—unusually clear and consistently expressed with dogmatic ferocity. And the teaching is absolutely central to its attitude to women. That's why this ground was chosen for a set piece battle, and why the battle is crucial for the future.

The battle isn't just in Ireland. Almost everywhere the rampant right have seized on abortion as the issue on which to counter-attack. The 'Moral Majority' ghouls around Reagan made the repeal of the Abortion legislation one of their key priorities. In France the same battle is under way. And in different ways, in Spain and Portugal. Women in Britain face yet another gathering attack on the 1967 Act. It's no coincidence. The right to abortion is every woman's last ditch guarantee of control over her own body. Without it woman is disadvantaged and 'liberation' is a lie. Which is why the forces of oppression seek determinedly to deny it.

The broad-based campaign against the referendum launched at Liberty Hall on June 9th does not seek abortion on demand.

It has taken the line—and tactically it is the right one—that the first priority is to keep the question open, to defeat the intellectual SPUCnik terrorists who want to close down all debate and put a constitutional impediment in the way of even advocating change.

No people can be free when half its number is not. The Amendment must be defeated and socialists must see to it in the coming months that all available energy is directed to that end.

Eamonn McCann

Israel's new holocaust in the Lebanon

MENACHIM BEGIN, the prime minister of Israel has justified his massive invasion of Lebanon by comparing himself to Margaret Thatcher!

In a letter to President Reagan last weekend Begin says that Israel was exercising its right of self defence in the same way as Britain is defending its rights in the Falkland Islands.

It is an exercise in 'self defence' that has already cost the lives of plenty of innocent civilians in the Lebanon.

Last Sunday the Lebanese authorities said that 210 people had already been killed and 250 injured after persistent

by JOHN ROSE

Israeli air and sea attacks.

The Guardian's correspondent in Beirut, the Lebanese capital, wrote last Monday: 'As usual it is civilians who have taken the brunt of it all. Seventy

five people died in bombing near to the coastal highway. Some 20 children were killed in a bus just south of the international airport.'

The pretext for Israel's aggression was, of course, the attempted assassination of its ambassador in London. Israel claims it has to eliminate military strongholds belonging to the PLO, the Palestine Liberation Organisation, which operate from the

PEOPLE in Beirut are tragically accustomed to Israeli bombing attacks. This picture was taken last July. The International Herald Tribune wrote at the time: 'What the people of Fakhani Street did not know was that premier Begin had decided that population centres would not be spared...'

Lebanon. This is the only way, says Israel, that it can halt further assassination attempts.

But the PLO insist that



they did not carry out the attack in London.

Interestingly the PLO argues that the shooting could only serve the inter-

ests of Israel and not the Palestinians.

This view tends to be supported by the Observer newspaper's correspondent in the Middle East, Patrick Seale. He told Radio 4 listeners on the Today programme on Monday morning that the shooting had given Israel an opportunity it had long been waiting for.

Fascist

This was to install a regime in Lebanon sympathetic to itself and not the rest of the Arab world.

Such a regime would be based upon the minority Christian Maronite community which regards itself as 'European' and has long backed the Christian Falange Militas in South Lebanon—an overtly fascist grouping whose great heroes include Franco and Mussolini.

The Israelis see this as a precondition to a 're-

stabilisation' in the Middle East that would facilitate the final and total integration of the Israel occupied Palestinian West Bank into Israel.

The majority population on the West Bank are Palestinians who have repeatedly demonstrated their overwhelming support for the PLO. It is likely that Israel's next move would then be to drive thousands of Palestinians from the West Bank altogether.

The policy for Lebanon is nothing new. David Ben Gurion, a former Israeli premier and a great hero of the Zionist enterprise recorded in his diaries in 1948—the foundation year of the Israeli state—the following remarks:

'The Achilles Heel of the Arab coalition is the Lebanon. A Christian state ought to be set up there, with its southern frontier on the river Litani. We would sign a treaty with this state.'

Falkland Islands

Haughey's sham neutrality

WHAT do you do when you have run three years as government of a country, thrown three million people on the dole and it's looking dodgy that you'll be re-elected? Simple. Start a war as far away as possible and don't forget to let the national media know about it.

It is as simple as that. When a capitalist crisis hits hard you can be sure there's a war in the offing. Better still if it's 8,000 miles away like the Malvinas. The whole Falkland/Malvinas episode is horrific if only because it shows the immense power of the capitalist media and the insanity of the people who give the orders.

In the space of a week our everyday language changed dramatically. People were talk-

ing about task forces, Harrier jets, Mirage fighters, Exocet missiles. The caricature of the stiff upper lip peddled by the British admiral suddenly came to life on our television screens. Sitting around a model of the islands, these lunatics callously discuss the pros and cons of various war strategies, taking with a grain of salt the inevitable loss of life involved. It's no joke—this is the stuff military advisers are made of.

And then of course the BBC is attacked from all sides for not

being true to the national cause! Those of us who receive BBC saw the news go on for the entire half-hour about the Falklands—the fact that unemployment figures had risen over 3 million again was thrown in as an afterthought as the only other item. They went to so much trouble to maintain the 'national spirit' that they even dug up a couple of tear-stained workers who had helped to build the 'Sheffield'. No industrial news featured in the programme.

But, you say, that's all very true for Britain but it's nothing to do with us. After all, we're neutral. That was the stroke Charlie Haughey tried to pull following De Valera's example during the Second World War. Of course Dev was locking up republicans and letting them die on hunger strike at the same time. The point is that no country is neutral in a world dominated by imperialism and nuclear weaponry. After all, nuclear fallout knows no frontiers.

The fact that the South's trade with Argentina is only about a thousandth of that with Britain shows the irrelevancy of whether it participates in sanctions or not. Basically, the south is economically and politically becoming more and more integrated into the EEC and membership of NATO is only one short step away. The north is of course, officially part of NATO anyway so that makes a mockery of the Republic's neutrality one way or another.

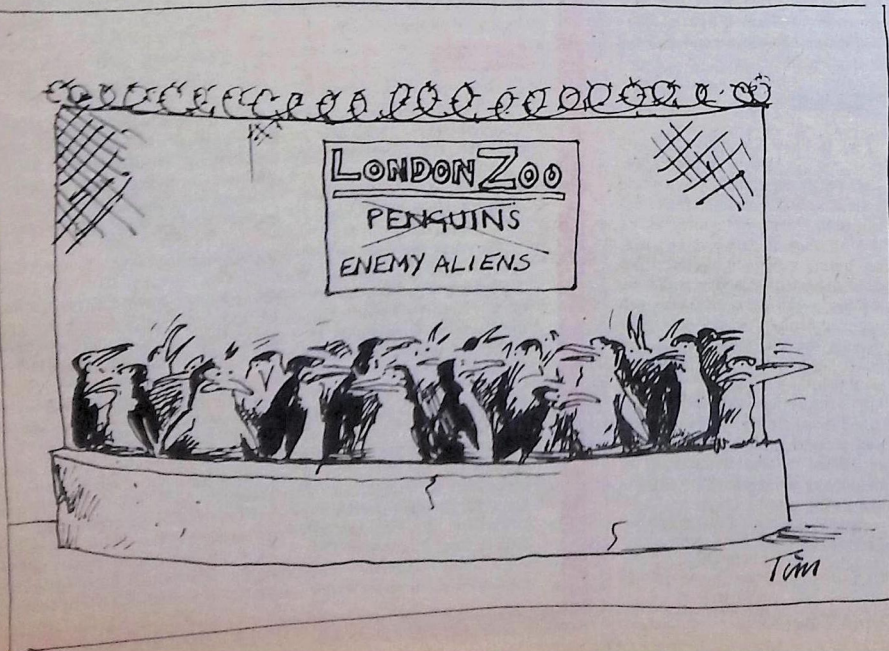
The war 'power game' takes place in the highest ranks of the ruling class worldwide. It makes no difference what ordinary workers think. But, by jingo, when we workers take power... oops, sorry!

Kevin Callinan

START A WAR,
DISTRACT
A NATION



Picture: JOHN STURROCK (Network)



Letters

41 Herberton Pk. Dublin 9

THE WORKER Fight for the Fight for the Work!

PRSI: MAKE THE BOSSES PAY!

THE ATTENTION PAID to the PRSI issue in the current copy of The Worker was in my view mistaken. It was wrong to highlight it at a time when the most crushing problem facing the working class is unemployment. In the Cork Mayday march we managed to maintain the theme of unemployment against the pressure for turning it into an anti-PRSI march.

The PRSI campaign must be part of the whole PAYE issue. In our union branch, Cork ITGWU No 3, we have passed a resolution calling on the National Executive to start one day strikes for this, every month if necessary to start with against unfair systems of taxation.

We must be clear that we do not object to paying our taxes to maintain hospitals, schools, housebuilding, social services etc. What we do object to is the police, army and other repressive forces, living off our backs.

We should be demanding that the businessmen pay more and more taxes to ease the burden of taxation on PAYE workers.

Jim Blake, CORK

DSP: New clothes but old hat

The Irish Labour Party is a failure. It is too small to have an independence in the Dail and is unable to represent itself as the voice of working people. It is not even a credible parliamentary opposition. Because of this a number of groups are struggling to take the place in Irish politics that say the Socialist and Communist Parties hold on the continent or the Labour Party in Britain. The Workers Party put its marker down at the last election. Noel Browne's Socialist Labour Party was a stillborn contender. And around the maverick Limerick Deputy Jim Kemmy, the latest venture, the Democratic Socialist Party, is being floated.

The DSP has issued five policy pamphlets on Taxation, Church and State, Women's Rights, Northern Ireland and Full Employment in addition to the first issue of their paper, *Dispatch*. It is now possible to see what the DSP thinks ought to be done and how it proposes to do it.

On the North the DSP says:

'If the movement for a united Ireland seemed capable of succeeding and if a system of politics uniting Catholics and Protestants and expanding their freedom and prosperity seemed implicit in its success, the Democratic Socialist Party would be energetically anti-partitionist. We believe, on the contrary, that the limit of possible success for the anti-partitionist movement is an all-Ireland sectarian civil war, followed at most by a re-partition. Ulster Protestant resistance to an all Ireland state could not conceivably be contained or in the foreseeable future exhausted. But we believe that the IRA can be exhausted physically (by the withdrawal of active support in the Northern Catholic community) and morally (by the withdrawal of support of basic

principle in the Republic—the repeal of Articles 2 and 3 in particular).'

The defeat of the anti-unionist movement at the hands of the British Army would clear the way for Catholics and Protestants to unite in UK class politics the DSP believe. To Catholic claims that they have been discriminated against in jobs, housing etc, the DSP echoes the DUP argument that a government is entitled to discriminate against rebels.

Of course the plantation cannot now be undone—there is no possibility of slinging the Protestants into the Atlantic but it is necessary to clearly understand what the effects of it have been. For generations Protestants have been offered a deal—'You support the Union and we'll treat you better than the papists'. A tried and tested ruler's strategy—divide and rule. The issue is not theological but political. For so long as Protestant workers see their interests as bound up with the Protestant bosses in maintaining a Protestant supremacy the development of the idea that ALL workers are at one in facing ALL bosses as enemies is halted.

But there is hope. The Protestant workers could only be bribed with privileges so long as there were profits to spare. In recent times

these privileges have been only marginal and even Protestant workers in Northern Ireland are often worse off than workers in Britain. In short, as the crisis of capitalism deepens, as slump and unemployment continue, there is a levelling down. The conditions which capitalism imposes on workers become harsh for all. Under those conditions more and more Protestant workers will begin to see that their interests lie with their Catholic brothers and sisters against the bosses.

That unity has still to be built. In the meantime the British authorities are enforcing sectarian rule with repression and brutality. You can't turn aside from the struggles of the present because you expect the future to be different. The anti-imperialist movement must be built and strengthened, the leadership of that movement—the republicans—do not see things the way we have pointed out.

But Kemmy's party in chasing electoral popularity turns their back on the North. For them there is no problem, only the legitimate forces of the British state and rebels—and they side with the British state.

If the DSP has a political philosophy, it is opposing capitalism whilst standing on the ground of capitalism. Their pamphlets on women's rights, church and state and taxation contain proposals for reforms that we would welcome. They call for an end to Church domination in public life, for women's rights at work, in the home, and for contraception and abortion under (restricted) conditions. They urge a reform of tax policy. Most of these reforms we would support; indeed we would go further and propose abortion on demand, an end to taxation of workers, etc. But the real question is how are any of these laudable reforms to come about. For the DSP the question is creating a parliamentary force to legislate these reforms.

For us in the SWM we live in a class society where we are dictated to by the boss class. The oppression of low pay, poor housing, high prices, unemployment, inequality and so on all derive from the fact that one section of society is exercising its power over the rest of us, that our lives are only important insofar as they promote the interests of our rulers.

For socialists therefore the task is to overthrow our rulers and institute the rule of the mass of the people—the workers. The bosses' Dail, the bosses' courts, their police and army and their institutions—in short, their state—are instruments for holding us in check. They need to be smashed.

Kemmy's DSP want nothing as red-blooded as that. Brother Kemmy and a few others will persuade the bosses to change their tune, will legislate from the bosses' chamber the liberation of the masses.

A strikingly clear example of DSP reformism is their pamphlet on full employment. And this pamphlet especially sketches their road to socialism.

As the DSP only recruits in the 26 counties their nostrums only cover the South. They see unemployment as resulting from insufficient in-

dustry. Therefore, increase industry and you get more jobs. SFWP believe the multi-nationals will increase industry; Kemmy and Co believe the State can do it. Each takes an aspect of capitalism and calls it progressive. For SFWP the EEC and foreign capital, for DSP State capital.

What the DSP plan exactly is a rerun of capitalism. Bosses invest their own or borrowed money in profitable industry. The profit pays the money lender his interest. If the boss cannot make a profit, he cannot pay his debts, goes bankrupt and jobs are lost. If he can't find a profitable venture, he won't invest in the first place and jobs won't be created. That is why there is unemployment world wide at the moment—falling rates of profits have caused world slump and mass unemployment. The trouble with capitalism is that social needs are not always profitable. And in a world dominated by competition there is no possibility of raising resources to invest unless you are pretty certain of a profit.

And that profit had better be pretty good, because interest rates world-wide are reaching record highs.

There is nothing inherently more progressive about State industry over private industry. These days the State is often the boss and is just as accomplished at creating unemployment and stagnation.

Socialists call for nationalisation of concerns threatening redundancies, in order to make the state responsible for the debts. (Bankruptcy of a state company is not technically possible, which facilitates the political struggle for jobs.)

Politically, the DSP see these planning authorities as built on the model of the National Understandings. They claim that the NUs represented the unions bargaining at national level for the social and political aspirations of workers. In reality they were agreements by TU bosses to hold down their members' pay claims in exchange for pious waffle. In fact DSP political thinking is dominated by the tripartite agreement—they speak of a planned economy being worked out by the participants in the economy—'The Government, Unions and Representatives of Industry'.

We in the SWM believe that no planning of any consequence is possible under capitalism: that a world system with slumps and crises is responsible for unemployment and all the other social ills, not merely bosses falling down on the job. The consequence of this view is that no serious social reconstruction can begin until the workers have overthrown the old relationships and taken social power for themselves both here and abroad.

The spurious 'realism' of so-called socialists who propose to dispense with such 'doctrinaire extremism' is that they end up by supporting the system they profess to hate.

Kemmy supported Fitzgerald for Taoiseach. SFWP supported Haughey. The SWM supports the workers against all bosses, all the time.

Kevin Wingfield



'Break the connection with capitalism—Connolly's message our ideal—On to the Workers' Republic.' In June 1934, forty eight years ago this month, three bus loads of Protestant workers, from the Shankill Road and Ballymacarret areas of Belfast, marched, behind a banner carrying those slogans, on the annual Wolfe Tone Commemoration March to Booterstown. Sean McBride, Chief of Staff of the IRA, ordered his men to take the banner down as no political slogans were to be carried on the march. In the fight that followed the banner was damaged but saved and on the following day they marched again; this time to Connolly's grave at Arbour Hill.

In his oration, Robert McVicker, one of their leaders, stated, 'We do not pretend to speak on behalf of the majority of Belfast Workers. We are a body of Protestant Workers, the Vanguard of the working class', who had come 'from the stronghold of the United Irishmen to pledge our determination at the graveside of Connolly to do all we can to carry out the message of Connolly and Tone, to break all connection with England and to smash Irish Capitalism.'

What had attracted those Belfast workers to Booterstown and to Dublin had been the formation, in April 1934, of the Republican Congress; an attempt to unite the best elements of the republican and labour traditions in a militant fight against Capitalism and for a United Ireland.

The election of the Fianna Fail government in 1932 was generally welcomed by the Republican Movement. For the first few months it was almost a republican honeymoon; Republicans imprisoned under the Cumann na Gaedhael government were released; the stopping of the payment of land annuities to Britain; many of the trappings of British Imperial Power were removed; for many an IRA volunteer it seemed that it was only a matter of time before De Valera declared the Republic. The Republican Movement was being gradually outflanked by Fianna Fail, the options open to it seemed to be futile terrorism or absorption by Fianna Fail. Left Republicans George Gilmore, Peadar O'Donnell, Michael Price and Frank Ryan put forward the idea of an all-Ireland Congress which would unite the struggles of workers and small farmers and would channel them into a fight against imperialism.

At a conference, in April 1934, in Athlone a weekly paper 'Republican Congress' was founded with Peadar O'Donnell as its editor and a manifesto calling for a Republican Congress was issued. 'We believe that a Republic of a United Ireland will never be achieved except through a struggle which uproots Capitalism on the way...' The activity, during the next few months, of the Congress supporters groups was to show what that struggle could have consisted of.

Since the Civil War the Irish economy had been in a bad state. The effects of the War of Independence, the Civil War and the general world economic depression meant that most workers struggles, during that period, had been of a defensive nature and even those struggles had been generally unsuccessful. However by 1934 the tide had turned; as profits began to rise in the new industries established behind the protectionist tariff barriers the working class went on the offensive.

There were major strikes in clothing and shoe firms in Dublin and Drogheda. In the Galway road workers strike there were many arrests after clashes between strikers and blacklegs. In Arigua and Castlecomer the miners were out for a pay rise. Dublin was without papers for ten weeks because of the strike by 4,000 print workers. Republican Congress supporters were involved in all these struggles. But for the Republican Congress groups there were three strikes which were of particular interest.

The first of these was a strike by seventy workers, mainly women, at the Somax shirt Factory in Dublin over the dismissal of a colleague. They approached Congress supporters for assistance. Mass pickets were organised. Assurances were got from other workers regarding the blacking



The Republican Congress

of Somax goods. The homes of scabs were marked out with the words 'Somax Scabs' and their names and addresses were printed in 'Republican Congress'. In Belfast a subsidiary of Somax was leafletted looking for solidarity action. There were clashes with the police on the picket lines and two Congress supporters were jailed. After ten weeks the sacked worker was reinstated.

In July and August a strike at the De Selby Quarry in Co Dublin followed very much the same pattern, with picketers being arrested and several of them jailed. Charlie Donnelly, later to die fighting fascism in Spain, remarked as he was being sentenced for his activities on a picket line, 'A picket becomes too large for legality as soon as it becomes large enough to be effective'.

In Waterford, in August, 1,200 building workers came out on strike. Local Republican Congress supporters were invited onto the strike committee. Solidarity strikes were organised in Kilkenny, Bray and Carrick on Suir. Mass meetings and marches were organised in support of the strike, culminating in prolonged rioting between police and strikers. Unfortunately the Transport Union took fright and called off the strike. However the efforts of Congress supporters were not in vain, as there were many Waterford delegates at the Republican Congress in September.

Congress supporters were active in other areas as well. In Dublin, Tenants' leagues were organised to fight against the unsanitary conditions of much of the old housing. A rent strike was organised by the McGee Court Tenant League. They announced that they would pay no more rent until they had homes fit to live in. Other streets followed suit and the landlords started to evict. Congress groups supplied garrisons to houses threatened with eviction, and, as they were largely drawn from IRA units, they were sometimes very effective and victories were won. The Unemployed Workers Movement organised a conference in Belfast with the support of twenty union branches. A Hunger March from Cork to Dublin took place from the 28th May to June 2nd. In the local elections two Republican Congress supporters and a member of the unemployed movement were elected.

On the strength of all this activity support flowed in for the Republican Congress. In Belfast Peadar O'Donnell, capitalising on the remnants of the radicalism brought about by the unemployed movement in 1932 Outdoor Relief struggle, was organising the James Connolly Workers Republican Clubs which won the support of both Catholic and Protestant workers. The Northern Irish Socialist Party, later to organise the first Irish contingent to fight against Franco, pledged its support for the Congress. Messages of support came also from trade union branches, trades councils and prominent trades unionists from all over the country. When the Republican Congress finally assembled in Rathmines Town Hall, Dublin, in September 1934, there were 186 delegates representing the trade unions, the trades councils, the NISP, the Communist Party, the Republican Labour Party, the Irish Citizen Army, the Unemployed movement and many other organisations.

However as the debate at the congress progressed it soon became clear that there was a major difference as to the form the Republican Congress ought to take and the objective it ought to pursue. This difference was encapsulated in four resolutions presented by the Organising Bureau; two of them supported by the majority of the Organising Bureau and two by the minority. The majority resolutions, supported by Price, Roddy Connolly and Nora Connolly-O'Brien called for the formation of a 'Workers Republican Party and stated that their fight should be for a 'Workers Republic'; the minority resolution, supported by O'Donnell, Gilmore, Ryan and the Communist Party called for the establishment of a United Front organisation and that its aim should be the achievement of 'the Republic'.

In support of the majority resolution it was argued that it was important to state clearly the objective of the struggle and used the example of how Protestant workers had been drawn into support for that struggle. O'Donnell proposing the minority resolution argued, 'We dare not jump through a stage in the fight, raising now the slogan 'Workers Republic', and leaving Fianna Fail to escape, saying that they are standing for one kind of Republic, but that we stand for a different one'.

When the minority resolution was 99-84 the supporters of the majority resolution refused to stand for election to the executive committee. Within a

couple of months the Republican Congress groups had ceased to be active and the paper closed down; the radical potential of those early days was lost.

Looking back on debate we can see that a fantastic opportunity was lost by the defeat of the majority resolution. A revolutionary workers organisation organising around the day to day struggles of the working class and fighting for a Workers Republic could have drawn in the support of militant workers North and South and would have been in a position to seize the opportunities presented by the major struggles that were to take place in the future.

However the experience of the Republican Congress was a major step forward for the Republican and labour traditions in Ireland. Up to that time Republicans had intervened in working class struggles in a military, elitist fashion.

In the railway strike of 1932 they fired on scab lorries and bombed the railway stations; with the Republican Congress intervention changed to open agitation, organising marches, pickets, blacking and solidarity action. The other major gain was those workers from the Shankill Road who marched to Booterstown in June 1934. It has never happened since, but it did show that it was possible by linking the day to day struggles of the working class with the fight against imperialism and for a Workers Republic it was possible to break down the barriers of Sectarianism.

As the editorial in 'Republican Congress' commented after the march, 'Sectarianism dies slowly when the fight against it is one of words—sectarianism burns out quickly where there is team work in common struggle. Those who see in Partition just a reflex of sectarian strife see no way forward except in foolish talk about toleration, charity, real religion etc. Those who see in Partition the link between Irish Capitalism and Imperialist finance, however, see in the common struggle for the Workers Republic the solution of Partition, and in the destruction of exploitation the withering away of sectarian strife'.

This article was based on a pamphlet, The Irish Republican Congress by George Gilmore, published by the Cork Workers Club, and a thesis, soon to be published by Gill & McMillan, on the Communist Party 1916-1945 by Mike Milotte.

Muck-raking is not enough

IN THE FILM *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*, Butch and the Sundance keep looking behind them at a posse which they have been trying to shake off for days without success. 'Who are these guys' they keep asking each other. Of course the reason they cannot shake off the posse is because they are experts hired to hunt them down.

The past two 'exposé' articles on Sinn Fein The Workers Party (now re-named The Workers Party) leave me with that uneasy feeling, 'who are these guys' Vincent Browne and the Magill team of writers. Are they 'exposing' Sinn Fein The Workers Party in the interest of the working class? Hard to believe somehow. Vincent Browne, formerly of the Sunday Independent and now editor and founder of Magill is an unlikely defender of working class interests.

There is nothing wrong factually with the Magill articles. It is true that SFWP have over the past ten years or so adopted an increasingly reactionary position on The National Question, culminating in their condemnation of the Hunger Strikers as 'criminals' and 'murderers'. The invective used by them against Socialists who call for a British Withdrawal, has been of the lowest order, Crypto Trotskyist/Fascist/Provo lovers is about par for the course.

It is also true that SFWP members have been appointed to many of the full time positions in the Trade Union movement, in particular the ITGWU. However to use terms like 'infiltration' smacks of red baiting and McCarthysm. This may not be the intention, but that is not the point. The only people who stand to gain from this form of 'exposé' are the right wing.

The only important question for Socialists is the claim by SFWP to be a revolutionary Socialist Party whose objective is the over-

The South: No longer a neo-colony

Ever since its formation in the late sixties the revolutionary left has tended to characterise the South as Britain's neo-colony—and the North as a direct colony. The argument can be put simply. 'Southern Ireland is an underdeveloped society without any real ruling class. Its rulers are only puppets of imperialist interests—chief among which is Britain. It is British imperialism which dictates the political and economic direction of this country. Where it does not influence events on its own behalf, it acts as a 'caretaker' for other imperialist interests. It has to do so because the Irish capitalist class is so weak'.

It is a characterisation of the South that is increasingly leading to nationalist panaceas. It is British imperialism rather than the dictates of capitalism which is held responsible for unemployment and poverty. Conversely a united Ireland under an anti-imperialist government which is willing to adopt protectionist measures is seen as the solution. It is a theory which is used to underline the stagist approach to the Irish revolution—first get rid of imperialism and then fight for your workers' republic.

More seriously, it makes little sense in analysing the developments in the Southern economy over the last 20 years.

British imperialism is a declining power—the Falklands fiasco notwithstanding. The effects of that decline were partially hidden when the South opened up to the multinational in the late 50s. In 1965 when over 234 industrial projects started up in the South, over half of them were British. Since then there has been a dramatic change. It is principally American capital which has used the abundance of cheap labour and state handouts to establish a trading base to get around the EEC tariff.

Haughey himself claimed recently that every second American company going to Europe was coming to Ireland. In the annual IDA investment projections, the share of British capital is less than a fifth. More than that the dynamic of the South's economy is no longer dictated by Britain. It used to be a truism that 'When Britain caught the 'flu, Ireland got pneumonia'. In fact when Britain caught pneumonia Southern Ireland was in its full bloom of health.

In 1977/78 Southern Ireland was showing the highest rates of productivity and rises in fixed investment in

the OECB countries. Its swing from a boom to its current slump has been dictated by the general slump in the world economy rather than the specific long term decline of Britain. The split from Britain's currency is a symbolic recognition of the 'new realities'.

The most dynamic sections of native Irish capital have been strengthened rather than weakened by these developments. The introduction of surplus capital has provided them with many more opportunities for expansion.

Take Smurfit and Cement Roadstone. They were established under de Valera's protectionism in the 1930s and simply clung on after the initial period of growth. It has only been since their alliance with foreign capital in the 60s and 70s that they have expanded dramatically.

Certainly the textile and shoe industries have gone to the wall but the capitalist class have a habit of jettisoning its weaker brothers and sisters—particularly when they can offer no viable alternative road of capitalist development.

The strengthening of native capital through its alliance and the integration into the world economy means that the South should more properly be regarded as a junior partner in the international capitalist club. A junior partner that has been marked by all the hallmarks of its historic underdevelopment, but a junior partner nonetheless.

It is the Irish capitalist class and their political representatives who manage their own patch on behalf of the international club. It is pointless then regarding Britain as a 'caretaker'. There is no need for a 'caretaker' when the owner and lodger have come home.

The argument is important. Those who view the South as a neo-colony ignore both the increased strength of the boss class and its working class and therefore the depth of the class struggle. They fail to see that the Southern state is perfectly reliable form a capitalist point of view. They will initiate repression and wage cuts because their own interests dictate rather than because of the whisperings of British civil servants. It should never be a question of calling upon them 'to stand up to Britain' or regarding them as traitors. They are never on our side and never will be. It makes about as much sense to expect them to ever do anything on issues like H Blocks as it does to expect the multi-nationals to organise.

Kieran Allen

throw of capitalism and the creation of Workers State. It is on this basis that their activities within the organised trade union movement should be examined. The ABC of Socialism is that it is the self activity of the working classes that creates change and lays the basis for the transformation of society from capitalism to socialism. Socialism is an extension of democracy, not a contraction. To take fulltime non elected bureaucratic positions within the trade union movement is to limit the democratic right of trade union members to elect their representatives. Socialism is not something handed down from on high, it starts from the bottom from the self activity of the working classes. This is the contradiction within SFWP and it is on this basis that they should be opposed by socialists within the trade union movement.

SFWP may consider that they are more 'left' wing than the bureaucrats whom they have replaced, but that is neither here nor there. The House of Lords in England is littered with former 'left' wing bureaucrats. Any 'exposé' of SFWP should be done in the only place where it counts, among the organised working class, and not in a magazine such as Magill whose only objective, at best, is to increase its sales.

Finally, Vincent Browne and Magill have the opportunity to prove these criticisms wrong in their next issue. Quite simply, they have shown that SFWP are a reformist party. Will future issues concern themselves with the need to build a revolutionary socialist alternative to SFWP? If not why print the 'exposé' of them in the first place

Martin McGovern

What we stand for

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

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

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

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

REVOLUTION NOT REFORM

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

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

NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR MOSCOW

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

A SOCIALIST ANSWER TO THE NATIONAL QUESTION

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

The slow task of building working class unity against imperialism must be begun.

However imperialism must be fought in the here and now and we support all forces engaged in that struggle regardless of our difference of programme.

We stand for: Immediate withdrawal of the British Army. Political Status Now.

The Disbandment of the RUC and the UDR.

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

WOMEN'S LIBERATION

We support feminism as being the legitimate progressive and necessary struggle by women against their oppression as women and believe that the self-emancipation of women as a sex is central to the meaning of socialism.

Only through socialism can women achieve full emancipation and therefore the women's struggle must be led by working class women as part of the struggle of the whole working class for socialism.

FOR A RANK AND FILE MOVEMENT

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

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

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY

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

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

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THE BOSSES

Roche and their hidden millions

Very little is known to the public about the Roche family and their relatives. Unlike the Gallaghers they shun personal publicity and hide their investments behind private companies which do not need to file accounts for public inspection.

Any estimate of their wealth therefore is difficult. The main interest is Cement-Roadstone Ltd. of which Thomas Roche is vice Chairman and Dernal Roche an

Executive Director. The family own or control about 3 million shares (current value 72p each) and are the largest private shareholders in the Company. Cement-Roadstone

controls about 60% of the market for building supplies in Ireland, and has extensive investments and subsidiaries in Britain, USA and Holland.

Not content with this fortune, they hold many directorships and investments in other companies. See table below.

They also own with brother-in-law Michael Wymes, Bula Ltd which owns Bula Mines out of which they have made vast profits without mining a ton of ore. Bula Ltd owns half the land on which Tara Mines discovered ore in the late 1960s. By issuing over-inflated claims about the mines' prospects they have sold off shares including 50% to the State in Bula Ltd, which has given them a profit of £10 million on their original investment.

During the 70s the mining industry went into decline due to the world depression so they turned their attention to the new rising star of the stock exchange, oil company shares.

By creating or investing in a Paul O'Brien

string of companies they created demand for their shares and as the price rose based on rumour and false information, they sold off their interest in these companies. As in Bula mines, not one of these companies has brought ashore one barrel of ore.

We do not know how much they made on these transactions but at one stage the Roche family holdings in Bula Oil Ltd was valued at £6.5 million.

Roche Family Holdings
Chesterfield Investment Co.
Conor Holdings Ltd.
Flogas Ltd
National Exploration Ltd.
Cement-Roadstone Ltd.
Roadstone Ltd.
Glen Abbey Ltd.
Jury's Hotel
Rockhill Investment Ltd.
Tegeal Metal Formings Ltd.
John S Wood Ltd.
Bula Ltd.
Bula Resources Ltd.
Ola Ltd.
Aran Energy Ltd.
Gaelic Oil Ltd.
Eglington Resources Ltd.

Wage Table '82

Since the National Wage Understanding expired on December 1st 1981 there have been long delays in concluding new wage agreements. In the private sector the average rise is about 17% over a 15 month period from December 1st 1981. 17% over 15 months works out at 14% per year and when Tax and PRSI is taken off this falls to 8%.

With inflation at about 18% per year, this means a cut in living standards of 10% during 1982. Below we list some recent settlements.

Wage settlements during May

Name	%	Length (months)	Number of Workers
Beeline Products, Dublin	15.7	15	150
R Usher, Drogheda	16.1	15	170
Waterford Carpets	16.8	12	37
Twinings Tea, Dublin	17.8	?	30
Crest Foods, Dublin	17.0	15	54
Fanning & Co, Waterford	18.9	15	18
Tanco Ltd, Carlow	19.0	15	40
Interon Electronics, Clare	16.2	15	144
Toysta, Dublin	17.7	15	150
Studio Eyewear Ltd, Clare	16.5	15	175
Irish Dunlop, Cork	15.1	15	700
Midland International	19.6	15	185

ESB = Cut offs

Unemployed workers in Tallaght have shown a real example of what militancy and determination can

achieve. In the Jobstown area the ESB arrived one morning with a list of 150 electricity cut offs. The unemployed in the area simply couldn't pay their bills.

But they weren't taking it lying down. As soon as the vans appeared they blocked the streets. The vans couldn't move. They followed it up with a march on the ESB headquarters.

The ESB official could only offer the famous savings scheme. Pay a little but pay longer. The situation is presently at a stalemate but the ESBOA, one of the principal unions in the ESB, is taking up the issue with management.

Unity between employed and unemployed is what counts. After the protest, the Jobstown's Action Committee was formed.

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Contents: Duncan Hallas, Revolutionaries and the Labour Party; Chris Harman, World Economy in Crisis; Alex Calinicos, Permanent Revolution; Ian Birchall, Terry Eagleton; Chris Bambery, Ireland since the Hunger Strike.



SWM Discussion meeting 'The Republican Congress' Thursday July 8th ATGWU Hall 112 Marlboro St, Dublin 1 8 o'clock All Worker readers welcome

Clondalkin Paper Mill workers sit it out

The courage and determination of the Clondalkin Paper Mill workers in sitting in to defend their jobs must be an example to all workers.

Back in November 1980, the company introduced a policy of rationalisation with 103 redundancies in the Paper Mills and a closing of the pulp mills.

When approached, the Coalition government refused to subsidise the high energy cost of the mills.

To some extent this decision diverted the workers' grievance from their real enemies. (The Company and the government) to foreign competitors who are getting hidden and open subsidies.

give the state 45%, Clondalkin 45% and the workers 10% control of the mills.

But still jobs had to go. Foir teo rescue agency recommended a reduction of man power from 458 to 300 approximately. Wage increases were to be restricted over 2 years following 8 months freeze. But the company would not even accept this package and walked out of the talks.

It was at this point the men occupied. They lost all faith in the Coalition government who wanted less jobs with less pay. All the company wanted was to get out with as much profit for their share-holders as possible.

The workers have also become sick of Fianna Fail playing power politics with their jobs. They were fighting not for redundancy money but for the right to work. In January the government fell and Clondalkin mills became a national issue. Again they

had the promises like the Gregory deal which would have the mills reopen in three months. But the men are becoming more aware that it's their own power that can win their struggle. They have placed pickets on Swistbrook in Saggart, who are members of the Clondalkin group.

Swistbrook are non-union and are distributing imported paper from Brazil, Spain and Germany. Also the liquidator's paper which has been dispatched during December and January is being held in the warehouse.

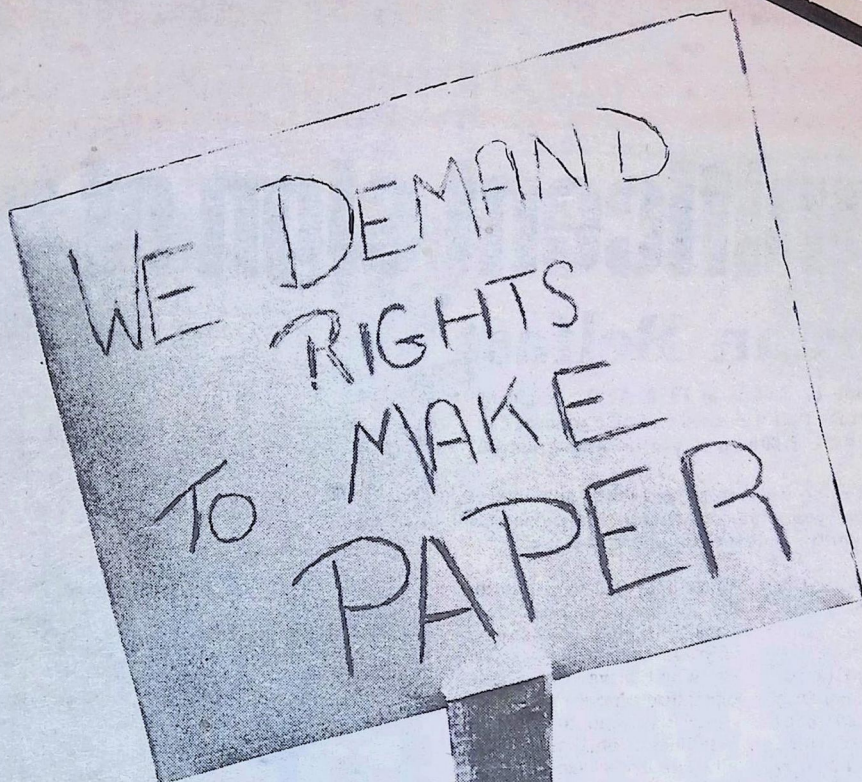
The workers have come up against the law. There is a court order out to give paper release from the warehouse. There's also an injunction against picketing Swistbrook. At a recent hearing, the Judge ruled that because the pickets were against imports they were breaking the 1906 Act. The men are fighting this decision and there's a full court hearing on June 18th.

But the picketing of the rest of the group goes on

with official backing from TASS FUI. There has been no support from ITGWU. Pickets have been placed on CB Packings, Cahill Printers and Bailey Gibson. The ITGWU instructed hauliers to cross picket lines.

With the bye-election over and Fianna Fail just holding on the power, many of the workers believe their struggle can be won through the Dail. Victory will only come if the forthcoming talks with the Government result in the mills opening on the 9th June with a full workforce, no cuts in wages, and a carrying over of service and conditions. If this does not happen they must involve as many workers as possible both inside and outside the factory.

Report by
John Byrne



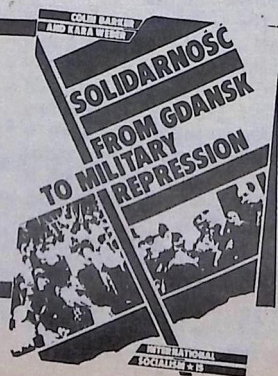
In November 1981 the liquidator moved in and the unions were informed of the decision to close unless a rescue package could be got from the Coalition government. And so talks commenced.

The workers, having little faith in the talks, started an action committee and were ready to step in if talks failed. After rejecting proposals on the grounds of non-profitability, the government then agreed to new proposals which would

Solidarnosc: From Gdansk to Military Repression is the first full-length analysis of Solidarnosc to be written since the imposition of military rule. Drawing on a variety of original Polish sources Colin Barker and Kara Weber trace the unfolding crisis in Poland and the debates it provoked within Solidarnosc. They argue that Solidarnosc was too deeply rooted in the factories to be co-opted, that real revolutionary possibilities existed, but tragically this was only grasped by the radical wing of Solidarnosc too late.

The book also includes a major section on the underlying causes of the Polish economic crisis.

160 pages. £2.50 plus 50p postage from 41, Herberton Park, Rialto, Dublin 8



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FOR WORKERS POWER AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

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Magnificent sign of resistance

De Lorean Belfast

John De Lorean came to Belfast in 1978. At the height of production in the factory that was sited just off Twinbrook in West Belfast, there were 2,500 employed in turning out 40 luxury cars a day.

Another thousand or so were employed in the subsidiary industries. A bare four years later the factory has closed to throw its workforce onto the desperate unemployment spot that is West Belfast.

Already over 50% of the population are without jobs there.

The chaos that is capitalism runs riot in the car industry. It's a dog eat dog world of multinational giants. But there are also very specific reasons why the De Lorean Car company closed.

Brian Mackin, a TASS steward, takes up the story:

'The factory was undercapitalised from the start. You take British Leyland. They will spend £500 million on planning, developing and manufacturing a new model like the Metro. Or Fords. They spent £200 to get the Escort out. But we were expected to start up from scratch on the green fields of West Belfast for £90 million.

Of that £90 million, De Lorean put up a bare half million. The rest came from the British government. De Lorean got his original sum back in consultancy fees alone. He also made sure that there was a separation between his American holding company and the Belfast

factory. In fact very little of the money from sales went back to Belfast. They stayed with De Lorean in America. He won't come out of the operation a poor man.

So why was the factory established on that basis at all? The British Government and its then Northern Ireland overlord, Roy Mason, were trying to isolate the militants in the anti unionist community through a combination of the carrot and the stick at the time. The stick came in the form of torture in Castlereagh and the removal of political status.

But alongside that there was an attempt to push the RUC to the fore as a more normal police force. They also tried to undercut the base of republican support by doing something about unemployment in West Belfast. If they had jobs, Mason foolishly thought, they would be more moderate in their politics. De Lorean was the result



and Mason wasn't too interested in the capitalist base of the firm.

But jobs are jobs, particularly in West Belfast. Capitalist viability or non viability should be only of secondary concern to the workers' movement. If the whole system is crazy then the only thing is to defend our livelihood.

The sit-in at De Lorean was a magnificent sign of resistance. Eighty percent of the workforce voted to occupy the factory. Malachy Higgins the T&G steward explained why:

'We have no choice. There is no place left even to emigrate. You haven't a hope in

hell of getting a job around here. That's why we're sitting in to defend our jobs.'

Malachy is absolutely right. On the same week that De Lorean closed, 200 workers were laid off from the shipyards and another 200 from Mackies engineering works. The devastation to the North's traditional industries by the Tories' policies has been catastrophic. The scale of unemployment and redundancies has at last prompted the official trade union movement to organise for industrial action. On Tuesday June the 1st, the Federation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions

organised a half day stoppage. Even the traditionally loyalist dominated workplaces like the shipyards are beginning to realise that they can no longer depend on special favours and that some element of class unity is demanded.

The situation in West Belfast is simply atrocious. Unemployment has become accepted as a condition of sectarianism and discrimination. For many nothing can be done about it, until the Northern state is itself removed. But the fight for jobs cannot be put off

Brian Mackin again: 'We have been conditioned to accept unem-

ployment. In De Lorean itself we have been on a one day week for the past thirteen weeks. They were softening us up getting us ready for the dole queues again. But we're not having it.'

The sit in was enthusiastically received by the rank and file and the workforce. Unfortunately due to lack of experience a proper rota system was not organised.

It often fell down to a minority of the workforce to keep the occupation going. There is also an ambiguity about whether the sit-in is for compensation or to defend the jobs. With the reputation of a white elephant and facing the most hard-nosed Tory government, it seems impractical to demand that De Lorean be nationalised.

But then again it is not very practical to expect to find another job in West Belfast.

The workers have some bargaining tools. The luxury cars will need spare parts. There are four or five hundred cars inside the gate, all valued at £16,000 each. But the biggest weapon of all is working class solidarity. The sit in should be used as a base for organising to send delegations around the country. De Lorean is a well-known factory. Its name must be used to build practical solidarity through donations, collections and blacking.

the worker

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

The Criminal Law Act TURN OF THE SCREW

In 1976, under the Coalition government of Liam Cosgrave, the Criminal Law Jurisdiction Act became law. It was both as an alternative to extradition and a means of increasing police powers. Suspects could be tried for offences committed in Northern Ireland. The maximum prison sentences were increased significantly to horrific lengths.

The Criminal Law Act was part of the Sunningdale package. Today, it is the only part of the plan that still exists. For over the last few months, there has been a concerted effort to implement it—after years of it lying idle on the shelves of the law library.

In December 1981, prisoners who escaped from the Crumlin Road were hauled before the Special Criminal Court. The Criminal Law Act specifies that anyone who

escapes or helps anyone to escape—even if it is only from remand custody—is liable to seven years imprisonment in the South. Peter Ryan and Robert Cambell were sentenced to ten years imprisonment for escaping and other offences. Subsequently four more of the original escapees from Crumlin Road have been tried under the Criminal Law Jurisdiction Act.

Gerard Tuite has been arrested and remanded without bail under another section of the Criminal Law Act. Any Irish citizen who 'causes an explosion anywhere in the world—no matter what the cause, can be imprisoned for up to 20 years. There is a catch. If the explosion is 'lawfully' caused, then it is OK. The logic is fantastic. An Irish citizen who is a member of the British army helps blow

the bits out of the Falklands can walk around scot free. But woe betide him or her, who is taking part in an armed struggle against the state—whether it's in El Salvador, South Africa or Northern Ireland.

No other government has such laws which can hold its citizens responsible for actions abroad.

During the murder trial, the Criminal Law Act was again invoked to enable witnesses to be heard in the South for a Northern trial.

Gardai are increasingly using another section of the act to enable them to search houses without a warrant. Instead of even going to the bother of getting a District Justice or a Police commissioner to sign a warrant, they may now enter ('if need be by

force') on foot of an order from their superintendent.

The Criminal Law Jurisdiction Act is a thoroughly vicious piece of legislation. It for example, allows for 'life imprisonment' for burglary with an imitation firearm. Hijacking a vehicle can land you with a sentence of fifteen years. Theoretically, this could apply to any young kid who does this during a riot against the British Army in Belfast. The whole basis of the act is to bring the repressive machinery of the South in to full support for the British Army and the RUC.

There are many who believe that Fianna Fail goes a bit softer on republicans and socialists than the Coalition. As their slow implementation of this Act proves, that is a very dangerous and disarming illusion.

Kieran Allen