

# the worker

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NEWSPAPER OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT

Price 3p

Political repression, rents, unemployment

## NOW FIGHT BACK

Justice Minister O'Malley has threatened statutory sentences for political offences. There is a clear indication that repression will increase sharply in the Twenty Six Counties.

One year ago, Lynch announced during the Dail Christmas recess that he was preparing to intern people alleged to be conspiring against the state. He faced a massive response, and had to withdraw the threat.

Then, in August 1971, Faulkner brought in internment in the North, with the backing of the British Army and of the Heath government in London. Again, the pressure was on Lynch to do the same. So far he has insisted to the British Tories that it would be politically impossible to take action against republican militants in the South and to prevent movement across the Border. It was not as if he did not want to; he could not.

Now, there are increasing signs that the Lynch government is prepared to take action. Cardinal Conway has prepared people psychologically for the violence bubbling below the surface in the South. What he is really preparing people for is to accept state violence against militants.

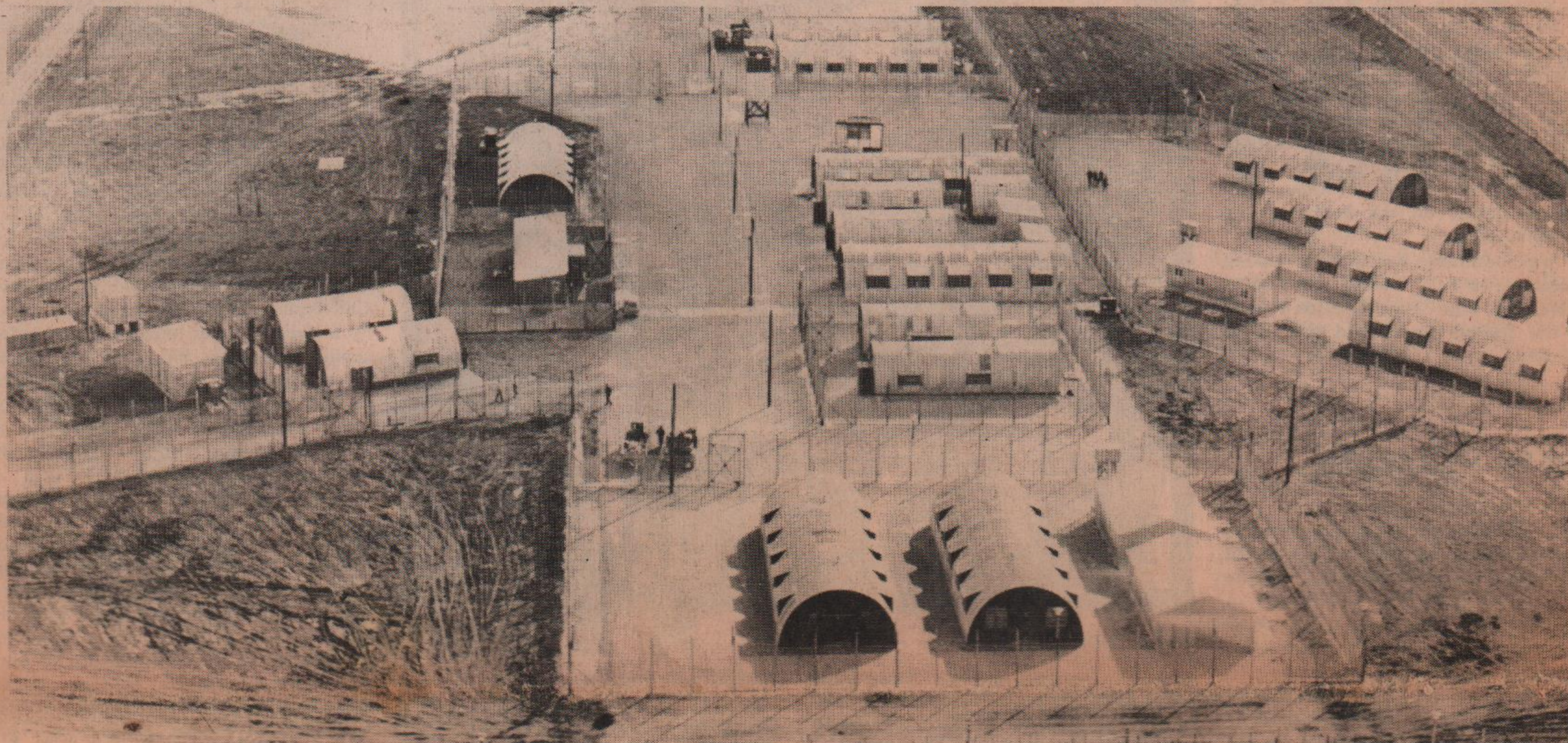
### LYNCH

Lynch need not introduce internment at all. He has a number of choices. Already sentences have been increased for offences under the Firearms Act. The course of 'justice' may become even more summary.

Meanwhile, the British Army is opening another internment camp at Magilligan in Co. Derry. Continuing to use internment as a main instrument of repression, the British government and the Stormont authorities are making more remote the kind of political settlement which they themselves say they want.

Gerry Fitt was last week prepared to concede that talks could open if the internees were brought to trial. When this was leaked, he changed his line! We know what bringing people to trial means in the Six Counties—two months imprisonment for possessing one copy of a republican newspaper.

The grim reality of mass unemployment has struck home to people throughout Ireland. But different people have different reasons for talking about it. What the defenders of the system are worried



Concentration Camps—1972

about is that the fast-rising rate of unemployment, both North and South, will provoke a militant response from the workers. What we see in unemployment is a condemnation of the capitalist system which is unable to satisfy the 'right to work'.

### UNEMPLOYMENT

Unemployment in the 26 Counties is now at its highest since 1959. There are over 80,000 unemployed. Closures have occurred in the past weeks in Dublin, Sligo, Dundalk and Limerick. At Denny's in Waterford the workers have banned overtime in protest against the proposed closure of that factory. It looks like we are moving back to the worst days of the 1950's. And moving fast—5000 jobs lost in a fortnight.

In the North, male unemployment

reaches 50 per cent in some places. Total number unemployed is over 45,000. In the last five years employment has actually fallen by 12,000. That is, there were 12,000 less jobs in 1971 than in 1966. Emigration has been falling steadily in the South—in recent months largely because of mass unemployment in Britain. But it has been rising in the North. It is now proportionally twice as high as in the 26 Counties.

There is one important difference between 1972 and the mid-1950's. The workers—particularly in the South—have become used to relatively higher living standards. They have greater strength and more confidence than 15 years ago.

The industrial working class is now larger than it was 15 years ago. Redundancies in Ireland reflect the crisis in the world system. Unemployment in the

United States is rising; it now stands at 6.1 per cent. Unemployment is even increasing in the 'boom' countries, West Germany and Japan.

We must use our strength, the strength of our class to fight back against unemployment. In this struggle we will challenge directly the 'right' of the bosses and the government to run our lives.

### FIGHT BACK

Immediately, we must mount pressure throughout industry and the services, North and South, to get the trade unions to declare a *ban on overtime*; *selective work-to-rule*; *refuse to negotiate productivity deals*, and withdraw from present productivity schemes. We must base our struggles on the demand for: *Five Days' Work or Five Days' Pay*.

There are obviously more closures to

come. Workers in factories which are threatened with closure should prepare to resist. If the bosses are not prepared to keep the factories open, then the workers will—and no Forcible Entry Act or Industrial Relations Act will stop them.

The fight against unemployment is linked to the fight against Irish entry into the E.E.C. This could only mean more redundancies, and it will not matter whether you are a Protestant worker or a Catholic worker. The system will try to throw you, on the rubbish dump. The trade unions must come off the fence, and come out clearly against entry into the E.E.C.

The only alternative to this situation, and to the E.E.C. is *socialism*. Demands for more protection for industry are totally unrealistic. We must start the campaign now, and make sure that it becomes a struggle for the Workers' Republic.

## A FIGHTING PAPER FOR A WORKERS' REPUBLIC

As a committed Socialist Republican I welcome the appearance of the 'Worker'. 'The Worker' is more than just another paper. It is a pledge on the part of a group of committed Socialists, to do the work necessary to create the Socialist Workers' Republic. The Workers' Republic is not just a dream. It will, however, only become a reality, by patient effort and endless hard work, based on uncompromising principle and the building of a Revolutionary Party.

That work must be done on the factory floor, on the housing estates, wherever workers are involved in the day to day fight to maintain and improve their standards of living to achieve their ultimate victory, the ownership of the wealth they produce.

It is your fight and this is your paper. Read it. Write for it. Use it as a weapon in the struggle for socialism. The struggle for freedom is the struggle for socialism.

It cannot be otherwise in the North or the South, irrespective of religion, only a united working class can win that struggle.

Bernadette Devlin





# LABOUR: THE END OF AN ILLUSION

"Are you a member of the Labour Party?"—"Don't be bloody stupid, I'm a socialist!" Those were the words on a poster. Their aim was to recruit new members into the Republican Club in Trinity College.

The words burned deeply into the heart of a member of the Labour Party. The time was October 1970, but already there was enough truth in the accusation for it to hurt. For already, a lot of the socialist glamour had worn off the Irish Labour Party.

That's all it was—glamour. The leaders of the Labour movement had seen that there was a new mood of militancy in the working class. They thought that as "socialists" they could climb to power on the backs of the working class.

It was becoming fashionable among intellectuals to be a "socialist". Thornley, Keating, and Cruise O'Brien rushed into the Labour Party and put up as candidates.

## NEW POLICIES

New "socialist" policies were produced. (They weren't really socialist, if you read them carefully. They would have made Ireland a modern, "welfare state" capitalist country like Britain or West Germany. But then, most people didn't read them carefully. Not even the Labour candidates.)

The result of the 1969 general election was greeted as a disaster. The Labour vote had gone up from 15 per cent to 17 per cent (in Dublin from 18½ per cent to 28 per cent). But the new, ambitious leaders of the Party were not satisfied. They wanted power for themselves, not for the working class.

So they made a great hullabaloo. They said the Labour Party had lost seats—they didn't say this was only because of Boland's gerrymander. (Yes, it was Boland!) They said the Party's policies were too radical—when they had never bothered to explain them to the people. They said Ireland wasn't ready for socialism—they never realised that socialism means the workers taking power into their own hands, it does not mean Brendan Corish sitting at the head of the Cabinet table.

Since then the leaders of the Labour Party have dragged it down into the gutter. And after the decision to go into coalition with Fine Gael, it became clear to all that they were just looking for jobs for the boys, and that they were really afraid of the working class going on the march.

## WHAT KIND OF PARTY?

Why has this change happened? To understand this, we have to understand what sort of party the Labour Party is. It is a social democratic party. That is, it wants to gain reforms in society which will help the working class—more income, better social services, and so on—and it thinks the way to get these things is by fighting elections to the Dáil.

Now, that sort of reform does not challenge the power of the capitalists. The capitalists can often grant these things, while behind the scenes they still stay in power. A social democratic government can act as a front for big businessmen who are ruthlessly trying to reorganise the economy in order to keep themselves afloat. That is what happened in England under Harold Wilson.

During the 1960's, things were going quite well in Ireland for a lot of people. There was a new fighting spirit among the workers. The capitalists were making good profits, and they could afford



Conor Cruise O'Brien

to give a few concessions. They could even use the Labour Party as a means for urging reforms on the government.

Now, however, the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Area is well into its stride. The Common Market is just around the corner. These things mean tens of thousands of workers losing their jobs. They mean an all-out attack on the working class.

Some are supporting the Labour Left Liaison Committee led by Matt Merrigan. This Committee was formed to keep the left wing of the Labour Party together. But the only message it can offer them is: Let's all work harder and next time we'll get a few of our people elected into the leadership. But the possibility of putting pressure from the left on to Brendon Corish has gone. What Corish says in Leinster House doesn't make any difference. The question is now: What is the ordinary worker going to do?

## SOCIALISTS EXPELLED

In this situation, the bosses now have to use the leaders of the Labour movement to hold the working class back. If the Labour Party wasn't going into coalition, its members might push it into becoming too radical. Therefore, the Labour Party must be made to adopt a coalitionist attitude, so as to make sure that workers stop joining it and that the best people that are in it are driven out.

So what has happened to the socialist members of the Labour Party? Some have been illegally thrown out for belonging to the Socialist Labour Alliance. More will be thrown out for the same reason.

Most of the left-wing members of the Labour Party are not available to give votes to left-wing candidates: they have quietly resigned from the Party, or they haven't even bothered to resign but have just quietly dropped out. Many branches of the Party have simply collapsed. Recently, a meeting of all Party members in the Dublin South-East Constituency was held: nine people turned up, and at the end of the meeting only four of them were still in the Party.

The Liaison Committee has failed to hold the left together: they have no

widespread support except in Co. Tipperary. It was inevitable that they should fail, because people have more sense than to waste their energy trying to convert the leaders of the Labour Party to socialism. We are living in a new situation, and the way forward now is to build a revolutionary socialist party.

# THE LABOUR PARTY AND THE EEC

by PAT CARROLL

The Labour Party's International seminar on the E.E.C. was a politely inconsequential affair. The spacious ballroom of the Royal Marine Hotel was all ready to pack in the masses who were to view a real live Commissioner, Spinelli from Italy.

Alas, by 10.30 a.m., 45 minutes after the time the show was to start, party bureaucrats and functionaries were busily arranging the seats in a small reception room for the handful of people who had bothered to come. There were about 80 people there at most, half of them trade union officials from the I.C.T.U., W.U.I. and I.T.G.W.U., 10 more were visitors from abroad, i.e. the speakers and their assistants, another 10 were party officials and A.C. members, with a mere dozen or so rank and file activists, all of whom gave the speakers a hostile reception. Most surprising of all only one T.D. bothered to put in an appearance and he was neither Keating nor O'Brien.

Politically, it was a futile exercise. The loading of the panel with pro-E.E.C. speakers simply meant to most anti-E.E.C. rank and file that the Executive were trying to moderate the National Conference decision to oppose entry. This would not mean a total abandonment of the previously held position, but rather an emphasis on the Wilson line of rejection of the terms negotiated while leaving the options open for a restart to the negotiations by a Coalition.

Clearly it is an approach which has many advantages for the pro-coalition leadership. It can help to neutralise Fine Gael in the Referendum, thus

# TENANTS: NEED FOR SOLIDARITY

The tenants' strike has spread to Dublin and the number of families on rent strike now runs to over 30,000 throughout the country.

In the Shannon Development scheme, Co. Clare, over 600 have been on strike since 1st April, 1971, and in the same County, Newmarket-on-forge tenants have been on strike for the past 18 weeks. In the Cork city area over 5,000 from the south side of the city are on rent strike with a further 4,000 from the north side prepared to join in if any effort is made by the authorities to evict any of the tenants on strike. A pledge to fight to the bitter end was made on 25th October, 1971, when over 200 striking tenants of Cork city who had received eviction notices burned them outside the City Hall. Mr. Bill Collins, Chairman of the Cork Corporation Tenants Association, speaking at this demonstration, said that "the women would bear the brunt of the attack until the men who would probably be working were notified". Everybody on rent strike should take note of Mr. Collins's fear that the Authorities would take advantage of the men being out at work to come and evict women and children.

In order to combat this tactic, Street Committees should be democratically elected and out of this Street Committee a defence system should be set up, where men who are off during the day would be able to patrol the area and help ward off any threat of eviction. Collections should be made, say about 5p a week in order to carry out essential repairs which are bound to be stopped for the duration of the strike. Workers in the community could possibly do these jobs and it would also help to build up good relationships within the community on strike.

When the Fianna Fail Governments were elected both in 1965 and 1969, nobody voted for them to pass such infamous legislation as the 1966 Housing Act, drawn up by the equally infamous Kevin Boland, founder of Aontacht Eireann. The actual number of people who make up the membership of both the above-mentioned political parties fails dismally both numerically and in conviction as against 100,000 men and women who are members of the National Association of Tenants' Organisations, who are to a man and woman dedicated to the rent strike called by the National Executive of N.A.T.O. This dedication and conviction was expressed

by the National Conference of N.A.T.O. held on 18th and 19th September, 1971 in Liberty Hall, Dublin, when a resolution was passed saying that if any members of N.A.T.O. who were arrested, imprisoned or fined under the Forcible Entry and Occupation Act the following action would be taken:

- the immediate launching of a rent and rates withdrawal.
- street collections to ensure that a person or persons affected by the above act should not suffer through loss of wages or otherwise.
- where such collections proved insufficient to meet the demand, money from savings schemes be used for this purpose.
- no negotiations to be entered into with either central or local Government until all charges are dropped.

The members of N.A.T.O. are not prepared to have this resolution shelved like the pious and hypocritical resolutions passed at the various political party and group gatherings that take place every weekend throughout the country. One would think that the Government and the so-called responsible ministers would repeal such atrocious pieces of legislation, i.e., the 1966 Housing Act, 1971 Forcible Entry Bill, Offences against the State Act, etc. After all, when 100,000 men and women who have families to think of and who are known more for caution than action are ready to act, one would think that they would take some sort of action to alter the situation. But then these people do not represent the interests of the workers and their families at large, but the "vested interests" of the small minority (and this is the only minority North, South, East or West in Ireland) who draw the extortionate rents and rates from the workers. And of course as the old saying goes: "A leopard never changes his spots".

The members of N.A.T.O. have proved their willingness to fight by spreading the rent strike to all parts of the country, thus putting it straight on the line for the Government either to meet their demands or attempt to bring down all the repressive measures of this exploitative state on their heads.

We should support every effort of N.A.T.O. in this struggle and ask people to show solidarity. To quote a well-known trade union slogan: "Their fight today could be yours tomorrow".

Ken Quinn

avoiding the grisly spectacle of Garret and Conor actually taking different lines in public. This would be vital especially if Lynch calls an election simultaneously with the Referendum.

The approach of isolating the terms as the central issue helps too, to cloud any genuine discussion on the alternatives. Keating talks of a trade agreement and others vaguely murmur about associate status, but none ever bring themselves to look at the fundamental anti-socialist structure of the treaties and agreement which set up the E.E.C. To examine such treaties too closely would be to see the extent to which allegedly socialist governments in Europe have abandoned basic policies of state monopoly in major industries and trade. This point emerged vividly in the debates.

## Mr. SPINELLI

Spinelli admitted the scruples his Italian Socialist Party had in the initial period of the E.E.C., but was unable to offer any hope of a common socialist front among various parties to erode such articles from the Rome Treaty. Far from it, as the Dutch speaker brought out, there has been no joint initiatives nor will there be in the near future, by the Labour Parties. So much then for Keating's pathetic posture about grand alliances within the E.E.C. in which the Irish Labour Party would have a major involvement.

The German delegate was scandalous. He flew over on Saturday morning,

spoke for 15 minutes and flew back without waiting for any comments on his absurd plea for support from Irish workers for E.E.C. entry. He could offer a great struggle in the powerless European Parliament for progressive social legislation. Nothing could be done outside, but at least inside socialists could struggle even if their efforts were crippled. His contribution so annoyed the audience that many did not bother to return for the afternoon session.

## I.C.T.U.

The debate on the E.E.C. in the Labour Party has become a non-starter and the real decisions are those to be made at the I.C.T.U. Congress on the subject in late January. Already signs indicate a pro-E.E.C. or neutral attitude by unions like W.U.I., while smaller unions like N.U.V.B. whose members will be directly hit almost instantly are taking a militant position against entry. It is in unions like the latter that rank-and-file committees have been set up to bring home the effects that free trade has already had in many traditional industries like textiles. And it is this realisation of the scale of redundancies, even before entry, that exposes the nonsense of opposing E.E.C. on the current terms only.

On any terms, socialists say NO and look for policies of industrial development under workers' control that alone can give protection against unemployment and a guarantee of social advance.



# Goulding pollutes

by Ken Quinn

Sir Basil Goulding, Chairman of W. & H. M. Goulding Ltd., giving his annual report, disclosed that the profit went up from £581,239 for the previous year to £1,075,727 for the year ending 30th June, 1971, an increase of £494,388. Sir Basil says there is still room "to put on weight"! Now that's what I call flying in God's face.

The whole trend of his report was zippiness, efficiency and an attempt to justify the doubling of his director's fees, which of course he thoroughly deserved. Wage agreements, how are ye?

## EAST WALL

At one of the Dublin factories the turnover for sulphuric acid alone is £324,000. This plant is situated in the densely populated area of East Wall—North Wall—North Strand. The people from these areas are suffering from the polluted "fall-out" from this plant. The signs of this fall-out are clearly visible. Brass door-knobs turn blue and green just hours after they have been cleaned; housewives can't hang out a stitch of clothing for drying, as they come off the line actually dirtier than before she washed them. Motor cars and windows of houses are full of a grit which is directly due to the "fall-out".

The smog got so heavy one night that operations by the Port and Docks Tug Boat had to be suspended, leaving three vessels out in the bay.

All this is most certainly having its effect on the health of the people living in the area, and it won't be long before it reaches dangerous proportions. Even at present when the pollution is heaviest there is a mini-epidemic of sore throats affecting everyone from the very young to the elderly, and for people with bronchial complaints the situation is critical. Medical statistics have shown that the one-time dreaded T.B. is on the increase in the Dublin area and tests show that this is mainly due to pollution in the centre of Dublin. One test with dogs which are known to have sounder and more durable lungs than human beings showed that of 45 taken from the city centre only five had clear lungs. This information comes after only scratching the surface of the problem. "God" preserve us from the horrors if they ever pay anybody to go into it deeply—as if they would be allowed to publish their results.

## WHAT ABOUT THE WORKERS?

But what of the workers who work at the East Wall plant, the same men who made £324,000 for Goulding's? What had the Chairman to say about them? To quote him: "And to the men who made it all possible working in our factories, well, the year's good showing is the best carrier of the Board's thankfulness". Well now, what more could you ask for—a system full of pollution, a shorter life, high cost of living, dearer and dearer houses—and all on £19.00 flat. Sure, it's bloody marvellous!

What the people of East Wall and the workers in Gouldings should do is collaborate with one another in a campaign to get Gouldings to put their enormous profits to the general use of the workers and their families where it came from. Such basic demands as proper machinery and a ceiling chimney to reduce the pollution, a free doctor for the area to look into the effects of pollution, free convalescence for those who have acquired illness from the pollution, a basic wage of £30.00 for the workers plus better work conditions.

These, along with other demands I'm sure the workers and inhabitants of East Wall will make. Due to the extent of pollution that is taking place throughout the country and the way in which workers are being exploited I'm sure that if they did embark on any campaign they would not find themselves standing alone!



# ALL WORK NO PLAY

Members of two major Unions, Workers Union of Ireland and I.N.U.V.G.A.T.A., and also members of R.G.D.A.T.A. are working on average 8 hours overtime a week without pay. They are the hundreds of apprentices and shop assistants employed in retailing who, by agreement with their unions and employers, must attend the College of Distribution, Marlborough St., to further their skills in their jobs. In other areas of employment trainees who attend courses as part of their apprenticeship are paid accordingly. Workers belonging to the above Unions do not have the same rights.

It seems peculiar in this day and age that workers, especially young workers, should tolerate this situation. You might even get the impression that they were unaware of the position, since there has been little activity by them to remedy it. This is not so surprising when you consider the enormous efforts by both employers and unions to convince the apprentices that they receive more benefit from the course than the employers themselves do.

## WHO CONTROLS?

The reality of the whole affair is that the curriculum is laid down by the bosses. The subjects are designed to serve the needs of the employer rather than the needs of the workers themselves. The time table is arranged so that the workers from the different occupations cannot come together, so no spontaneous discontent could ever express itself. It is important to point out that at no stage can the workers express their views on these matters.

The eight Education Advisory Committees within the college, on which sit the union, the employers and the teachers, but not the workers themselves, meet about twice every year. One purpose of these committees is to put workers back a year in their apprenticeship because they may have missed classes—in many cases the fault of the individual employers who have held them back to work the overtime in their jobs. It seems many employers think it is better getting the

direct benefit of cheap labour, rather than waiting for the higher productive worker to be produced by the college.

## A.N.C.O.

Another, more important reason why the E.A.C.s exist is that if or when A.N.C.O. the industrial training authority takes retailing under its umbrella, these boards will give the appearance of being proper training authorities, improving the standard of workmanship and giving workers the chance to promote themselves in various fields of retailing, thus hiding what is the actual fact of the matter, that they are getting workers to train in their own time. The committees are there for the sole purpose of avoiding embarrassment to employers and trade unions. A.N.C.O. may not be the most desirable training authority, but at least when they exploit you they provide the facilities. The rich shopkeepers are too miserable to spend money on training workers, even after receiving eight hours free labour from them.

Workers are told they receive the following benefits from serving four years' apprenticeship at the college (E.A.C. dismissed a recommendation by the teachers to reduce the apprenticeship to three years):

1. they may become employers themselves some day and these courses will help them;
2. all knowledge is good for you;
3. promotion is easier;
4. the course raises the standard of workmanship.

## JUSTIFICATION

But these are merely the ways in which the bosses justify themselves. Hundreds of workers attend the college and not all of them can become employers, indeed many have no desire to do so. All knowledge may be good for you, but that doesn't give them the right to force you to learn what may never benefit you. Promotion by way of the courses in the college is unlikely, because the range of education is very small. And a better standard of workmanship only helps the pride not the pocket.

"It's raining again", said one of the workers from the Tara China factory in Galway, which was a matter for some concern because there was a distinct possibility of the rain coming through the leaks in the roof of the canteen during lunch break and plopping into the workers' tea.

They can wash their hands only in cold water. No hot water is supplied. They wash their hands in the same insanitary water that supplies all the machines in the factory and to add to the discomfort, before they go to lunch; no towels are supplied. The majority of the 54 women and girls have to wipe their hands on the clothes they use for working because no towels are provided.

And what wages do they get for working in these totally unhygienic conditions for 42½ hours a week? In a factory which employs 75 (21 men and boys and 54 women and girls) the trade union has only negotiated one basic wage agreement. There is a basic wage for men over 21 (who have done 4-5 years' work) that they get £19.10 a week, whether married or not. This then stands for 1½ years with an increase of 4 per cent (£1.30), not taking into account the increase in the cost of living.

## SLAVE WAGES

A girl starts off at £5, and her wage could stay like that for six months. After two years her basic wage would be a miserable £12.

Noel Grealy

# IT NEVER RAINS BUT IT POURS

With the prospect of going into the E.E.C. the cost of living will be raised by at least £3.50 per week. £12 is not even enough to live on now. If we go into the E.E.C. pauperism seems imminent in Ireland.

## FIGHT BACK

The only way forward for the workers is:

1. To fight for proper toilet and better canteen facilities;
2. For a basic wage of £20 per week for all the workers—they certainly deserve it, after 20 years of exploitation by "Mr." O'Sullivan who owns the factory;
3. For a basic 40-hour working week without loss of pay.

Some local people say that Mr. O'Sullivan should be run out of town. But that is not enough. All workers are exploited by their bosses. What must be destroyed is that system—the capitalist system—which allows bosses like O'Sullivan to exploit his workers. It must be replaced by a system which allows people to control their own lives, and to control places where they work and live—a socialist society.

David Lloyd

# ONE - MAN BUSES

Unemployment and redundancies are increasing; Guinness plans to destroy 1,400 jobs etc.; and the recent soundings by C.I.E. about the introduction of one-man operated buses could mean even fewer jobs in the Dublin area.

The pretexts being used are that they cannot get enough workers, that they have a large turnover of staff, about 20 per cent a year, and increasing traffic. The first two points are their own responsibility. If C.I.E. workers were paid a basic living wage, so that men did not have to work a seven-day 50 and 60-hour week in order to give their families a decent living, the workers would be more inclined to stay with them. It is only common sense that with attractive conditions it would be easier to recruit men, and that those men would stay longer.

## TRAFFIC

The problem of increasing traffic could be reduced by building multi-storey car parks outside of, but around the city centre.

I will deal briefly here with the one-man buses offer. I hope to return to it in another issue. C.I.E. have offered 25 per cent extra to drivers of one-man double deckers. This would amount

to about £5.30 extra per week. After tax is deducted, this would amount to about £4, for which one man is supposed to drive a very large vehicle through heavy traffic, collect fares and keep in contact with C.I.E. headquarters by radios which are now being installed in most buses.

## RESIST

With the enormous power C.I.E. has, there will be strong pressure on workers to accept these terms. But they should resist these and fight to the last. The shorter working week of 35 hours should be one of their demands, and better working conditions. A 35-hour week would also create more jobs, something the government are always saying they are trying to do.

Unless the workers fight now, working for C.I.E. in the future could mean just existing and not living a decent and full life, with time to spend with one's family and friends and to do all the things that make life worth living.

Busman



The squabble between the Official Republicans and the I.R.A. on the one hand, and the Provisionals and the P.D. on the other, about who is running the civil resistance campaign, continues to obscure the reality of the Northern situation.

Neither of them is running it. Neither of them has any right to attempt to assume leadership of it.

In December's *United Irishman* the Provisional's P.D.'s "Resistance Committee" was denounced as an attempt to break "the unity generated by the civil disobedience campaign called by N.I.C.R.A. . . . all Republicans and opponents of Unionism should continue to support N.I.C.R.A. . . ."

This is the latest in a number of statements from Official spokesmen urging allegiance to N.I.C.R.A. and suggesting as a justification that N.I.C.R.A. is in receipt of vast popular support. It is questionable whether Gardiner St. itself can really believe this to be the case.

## EMOTIONAL UPSURGE

The civil resistance campaign was not called by N.I.C.R.A. The idea of a rent and rates strike had been mooted from time to time since October '68. In the emotional upsurge after internment it "caught on". The rent and rates strike was off the ground before anyone set about "organising" it.

N.I.C.R.A., ideologically dominated by members of the reformist Communist Party of Ireland, insists that the "next stage in the struggle" is or can be the "democratization" of Stormont. Towards this end they seek to siphon the rent and rates strike into a campaign for a "Bill of Rights" introduced at Westminster. The Gardiner St. leadership, with limited success, is directing its members in the North to throw their weight behind this, to attempt to give N.I.C.R.A. credibility as a mass organisation.

The Officials' problem is that every activist in the North knows that N.I.C.R.A. is not a mass organisation. As one Belfast Republican, morosely contemplating the task of selling the December U.I. said: "It's not only that it makes us look opportunist. It just makes us look stupid".

It is this attempt by the Officials to contain a struggle with obviously revolutionary possibilities within mild reformist limits which has in a sense created the Provisional's/P.D.'s "Resistance Committee". The P.D. and the Provisionals are right when they say that it was necessary to create an organisation which, politically, could go further than N.I.C.R.A. They were right when they said that the reformist N.I.C.R.A. leadership was holding back the anti-imperialist movement. They are right to go further. Where they are disastrously wrong is in the *direction* they went.

N.I.C.R.A. and the Officials are not attempting to hold back the struggle because of any personal timidity on the part of the individuals involved. Nor,

# REFORMISTS TRY TO HOLD BACK NORTHERN STRUGGLE

Harry McDaid

for the most part, are they *consciously* attempting to sap the militancy of the people. They were merely carrying their theory into practice—a theory which holds that we must move stage by stage towards socialism and that until we come to the stage immediately prior to socialism, it is wrong to pose socialist solutions. This is why the *United Irishman* tries to inflate N.I.C.R.A. into something which it isn't, and why it tries to hold the struggle inside N.I.C.R.A.'s limited perspective.

## REFORMIST NONSENSE

To combat this reformist nonsense it is necessary to create an organisation which acknowledges the *fact* that only the working-class can carry the anti-imperialist struggle to a successful conclusion; that the working class will only be mobilised in that struggle, in its own interest, by a socialist programme. That is by an organisation which combines the on-going struggle against imperialism with the class struggle against capitalism, foreign and native.

This the P.D. and the Provisionals are not doing. Mass militancy is, therefore, not being directed into revolutionary channels. This is especially tragic,

as there were individuals in all these movements — P.D. especially — who recognise the need to put forward distinctly socialist demands.

Increasingly, members and supporters of the Officials in the North are becoming frustrated by what they see as the leadership's lack of militancy. What they must do now is to understand that this cannot be countered by wild, undirected supermilitancy. It can only be countered by building a revolutionary working class organisation. If they believe that the Officials can become that organisation they must link up with those others who are moving towards a similar position, those who, at the last Ard-Fheis contributed a significant left "Officialism", and attempt in an organised way to win the movement to revolutionary socialist politics.

## INDEPENDENT MOVEMENT

For our part, we believe that it is necessary to build an independent movement of our class. It is for this reason that the S.W.M. was founded and "The Worker" produced. We will cooperate with those who, although they do not as yet see the need for an independent organisation, are thinking along similar lines.

# NO SOLUTION THEIR FEDERAL SOLUTION

Each further deepening of the crisis in the Six Counties is a crisis in relations between the whole of Ireland and Britain. Ever since Sean Lemass and Terence O'Neill met for tea, the fates of the two Irish states have been inseparable. Of course, partition has in one sense bound them together, by making them both more fully dependent on Britain. But in the last ten years, in particular, British policy towards Ireland — especially economic policy — has treated Ireland consciously and deliberately as a unity.

## 'Political solution'

So, when British Tories and Labourites, and Green and Orange Tories, talk about "a political solution", they are talking about ways and means of reconciling the interests of the rulers in the two Irish states. The formula they have hit upon for all this is: *the federal solution*.

Every now and then some political conjurer in Britain or in Ireland pulls it out of his hat. Harold Wilson went some way towards detailing it recently in his now famous fifteen-point speech. But two things were remarkable about that speech. For the short-term it only proposed more of the same. And the idea that unification would be postponed for a further period every time there was violence is only notable for its lunacy.

Whether or not Harold Wilson has given the blue print for the federal solution we will not know, until the British and Irish ruling classes have come to some arrangement, and have tried to hammer the working class into a shape to receive it. The federal solution is not laid down anywhere. It is simply the name for the common interests of the British and Irish ruling classes in getting rid of the embarrassments of the Northern state, and increasing the effectiveness of their exploitation of the whole Irish working class.

WE'RE HERE BY POPULAR SO BE QUIET GOD



It would certainly involve reforms in the North, the removal of some clauses in the Southern Constitution—the concessions to "democracy". But it would also certainly involve greater curbs on radical and revolutionary movements, and on working-class militancy. The mixture is familiar. We have had the various elements—or talk about them for a number of years.

## Nothing sinister

There is nothing sinister about this. There is no conspiracy involved. It is not—as some would have us believe—a plot to remove the last remains of national sovereignty in the South. Fianna Fail, Fine Gael—and, less obviously, Labour—are not supporting this kind of line because they are "anti-Irish", but because they are politicians dedicated to upholding the capitalist system. It was always an illusion that there could be an independent capitalist Ireland. Today that is even more true than 50 years ago.

This is neither sinister nor a conspiracy because *it is inevitable, given the existence of capitalism in Ireland*. The "federal solution", or some "solution" involving the elements I have mentioned, and integrating the Irish economy as a whole even more into the British and Western European economy, is politically necessary for the ruling class in Britain and in Ireland.

## Accommodation difficult

Time is running out for them, however. Internment has alienated the Catholic community—even the "moderates" within it—from the Stormont regime, and has made their accommodation more difficult. The problem for Britain is that the conflicts caused by its past domination get in the way of the solution that is now necessary. It is only a matter of time before events in the North have more obvious and



Michael Farrell Peoples Democracy



# THE RIGHT TO FIGHT

by Eamann McCann

## Support in Britain

On 31st October last, London saw the largest demonstration in support of the Irish struggle for decades. 20,000 people marched behind the banners of the Anti-Internment League, demanding the immediate release of the Internees, and the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland.

It seems as if internment has at last brought it home to Irish people in Britain, and to the socialist movement there, that the crisis in Ireland is relevant to their struggles. More recent events have demonstrated that the British establishment live in fear that some organisation might link effectively the fight against Stormont and against the British Army to the growing resentment of the British working class movement against the Tory government.

### DAILY MIRROR

On 17th December the *Daily Mirror* carried an "Exclusive" about a supposed campaign among British workers under the slogan "Kill a British Soldier". The Anti-Internment League was said to be responsible for this, while the I.R.A. was claimed to be organising collections in trade unions and in factories. When challenged the *Daily Mirror* tried to back up these claims with a lying and distorting report of two meetings which had taken place in London during the previous weeks. However, nowhere did they claim to have heard a spokesman for the Anti-Internment League urge British workers to "kill a British soldier".

### MOBILISE

What the A.I.L. is trying to do is to mobilise a section of the working-class movement behind the two demands mentioned above. The reason for the hysteria of the *Daily Mirror* is that it has a chance of success.

### GROWING

From "ad hoc" beginnings in the week following the introduction of internment, the A.I.L. now has thirty organisations affiliated to it, six district committees in London, and a dozen local committees in different parts of Britain. It has brought together both sections of the republican movement, N.I.C.R.A., P.D., and several British socialist organisations.

### TRADE UNIONS

But even this strength will ultimately be of little account if it cannot be used to win the support of trade union branches, trades councils, shop stewards' committees, etc. This is the main task which the A.I.L. has set itself. A number of trade union groups have now "adopted" internees, and are in regular contact with them, sending books, letters and cigarettes. Others have passed resolutions in line with the demands of the A.I.L. But they are still in a minority. The militants who do understand that Britain has no right to be in Ireland, and that it is important to say so in Britain, have to prove themselves daily against the screaming chauvinist rubbish which the British Press pours out.

This chauvinism was echoed in *Labour Weekly*, the weekly paper of the British Labour Party, which recently published a cartoon depicting the "typical" I.R.A. man.

The Catholic workers in N. Ireland are justified in fighting with guns, nail-bombs, petrol-bombs and anything else which they can lay their hands on against British soldiers. It does not matter whether it be Officials, Provisionals or a splinter group which carries out a particular action: it is a legitimate activity. This needs to be said in simple terms.

Some of the actions commonly attributed to the Provisionals are shocking in the ordinary sense of the word—that to most of them who see photographs of their repercussions induces a sense of shock. People have not reached the stage where a shot of a pub in ruins is accepted as calmly as a shot of an agricultural show.

Because such things are shocking, and because one can question the tactical wisdom of such actions, it is tempting to react by decrying or attacking the organisation responsible, its lack of politics, its intermittently anti-socialist effusions—and to leave it at that.

But it cannot be left at that. There is a struggle against British Imperialism going on. In some of its forms—e.g. in the Civil Resistance Campaign—it involves tens of thousands of people.

We may believe that the struggle is not being conducted in an ideal way. In the best of all possible worlds what we would like to see is all the workers in the country, conscious of and clear about their own class interest, united against all the capitalists in a struggle for power.

In that stark, simple situation, socialists would not have to think for a moment, or at all, before declaring on what side they stood.

But the situation is not as stark and simple as that. The situation is messy and confusing. Some capitalist individuals are mixed up in the anti-imperialist movement. Some workers are violently in favour of British imperialism.

### Confused situation

But messy and confusing as the general situation is, the crucial issue is clear. We are for the fight against imperialism, however it is being carried on, no matter by whom it is being carried on. Any criticism of the way the struggle is being conducted must be premised by that commitment.

Indeed: if one does not have a better way of fighting imperialism to suggest, one has no right to criticise any of those involved. In other words, if one does



The racist caricature cartoon in *Labour Weekly*

This only makes more clear what revolutionaries have known for a long time: that the struggle to win the support of British workers for the fight against British imperialism is part of the struggle for socialist leadership of the working class movement. In that struggle socialists and Irish militants in the British trade union movement, and the Anti-Internment League, have an essential role to play.



not have an alternative to offer, one has no right to criticise the Provisionals for blowing up pubs.

To attack the Provos without explaining how better they could go about the task of defeating imperialism is to land oneself in the same camp as Cruise O'Brien and Cardinal Conway, despite any subjective intentions to the contrary. And what O'Brien and Conway are saying is not: "Here is a better way to fight imperialism". They are saying: "Stop fighting imperialism".

### A better way

We believe that there is a better way to fight imperialism. We believe, in fact, that those leading the physical struggle at the moment, the Provision-

als, cannot ever defeat the imperial power—because they lack a class base they do not see the necessity for one and they are, as a result, thrown into alliances with people who will inevitably sell them and the struggle out.

That is why we are setting out to help to build a working class movement which will not sink its politics into an alliance with any bourgeois elements.

In building that movement our attitude to workers involved in non-socialist anti-imperialist alliances is that, while supporting their struggle and disassociating ourselves from the fulminations of the establishment against them we believe that they cannot be successful unless they come to understand the advance of and need for class politics. And we believe that this will become increasingly clear in 1972.

## WAGES, NOT ADDS

According to its 1970 financial report, the Irish Permanent Building Society spends more money on advertising than it does on wages. Some of the workers who went on strike in November were, after 4 years' service, still only getting a basic wage of £12 a week. A common complaint of the management when someone is unlucky enough to be looking for a house loan is that they cannot handle all the business.

It seems a simple short-term answer to pay the workers a decent basic wage and cut down on advertising spending.

## CAPITALISM IN IRELAND

In the latest issue of *Trade Union Information*\*, there are some interesting details of grants from the Industrial Development Authority made in the year ending March 1971.

Of the 21 projects for which grants in excess of £½ million have been approved, 9 are American, 4 are British, 1 each are Italian, Austrian, German, Dutch, Swiss and mixed British/Indian/Bahaman. Only 2 of their 21 projects

were without international participation. Such is the way of "Irish" capitalism.

Biggest grant of all (£5,868,000) went to the American company Pfizer Chemical Corporation.

Way down at the end of the list is a very interesting company.

## IN BRIEF

The PACLENE CO. LTD., received a grant of £194,000 for a polythene film plant in Ennis, Co. Clare. The factory is wholly owned by its parent firm in South Africa, a country not renowned for its treatment of workers, black or white. The Fianna Fail (Employers) government talks at length about the human rights of those interned in the Six Counties, but is still prepared to give grants and tax free profits to a firm which supports such a super exploitative system as apartheid in South Africa.

By having a factory in Ireland, Paclene can freely export to any part of the world without worry of trade embargoes, etc.

The I.D.A. grant, financed by government taxation of Irish workers, is turned into profits at Ennis and then goes to exploit and repress workers in South Africa.

This must stop.

\* Published by the I.C.T.U. at 19 Raglan Road, Dublin 4. At 5p per month issue, this is a very useful source of information.

AR REQUEST —  
DAMN YOU!



# ON — IN ERAL ON

violent repercussions in the South. That, too, would postpone the "federal solution".

The question facing us is: how do we fight the federal solution? How do we ensure that capitalism is not stabilised in Ireland for another period? The demands for the end of Stormont and for the withdrawal of the British troops obviously have their very important place. But the key thing is to recognise that the "federal solution" is the nice name for the offensive of the ruling class against the working class. The Trade Union Bill, 1971, in the South, and the extension of the Industrial Relations Act to the Six Counties are a part of it. In order to improve the economic situation, and keep profits up, workers, both North and South, will be threatened with a cut in wages. Unemployment will be used as an instrument of policy.

### Socialist opposition

The only possible opposition to all this is a socialist opposition, one which states clearly that the answer for the working class is to defeat all the ruling class policies and to overthrow that class. In present-day conditions there are no half-way measures. The fight must be engaged with the end-goal clearly in sight.

In spite of all their difficulties, the ruling classes in Britain and Ireland are working out a total strategy for this country. They have called it the federal solution. We should not be deceived by any apparent concessions it may contain. We need a total strategy which ties the fight for the "right to work" in the Six Counties to that in the Twenty-Six, which links the struggle against repression in both states and which opposes imperialism in all its forms. Any meaningful strategy must place the working class at the centre; it must be directed towards socialist solutions.



# CLASS AND EDUCATION

by Dermot Quish

According to government propaganda we have at last arrived at the stage in education where all the children of the nation are cherished equally, what with "free" education, school buses, modern equipment and now "community" schools.

It is obvious that the only people left with something to crib about are a handful of communists, troublemakers and agitators — and sure the likes of them will always be with us.

## FUNDAMENTALLY UNEQUAL

The hard fact of the matter is only a fool could expect equal educational opportunities in a class structured society that is fundamentally unequal. Mr. M. T. Roseingrave, National Director of Muintir Na Tíre recently published the finding of a report on 14-year-old school drop outs and he discovered the vast majority come from the working class. A survey of the class background of university students in Dublin showed over 90 per cent were middle class. Every concerned teacher knows the pupil's background can be a key factor in the pupil's performance. A private investigation in a north Dublin city school uncovered at Leaving Certificate level 80 per cent of the middle class students were in Group A (honours) and approximately 80 per cent of working class students were in Group C (weak pass). Of course some parents, namely the "solid" citizens and "well established" members of the community can exert pressure on the school management to ensure that their child is put in an honours class which after all, they reason, is only in keeping with their superior role in society. "Free" education solves nothing essentially. It does not adequately cover books, uniforms, school expenses and most important of all, to a working class family,

the cost of keeping a child at school until he or she is 17 or 18 years of age.

An immediate demand of the socialist workers' movement is that every working class by capitalism which causes bad istic maintenance allowance. Due to the deprivation and oppression of the working class by capitalism which causes bad housing (hence poor studying facilities) low wages, ignorance and an acceptance by many of us that we must not expect too much out of life — our children are less culturally stimulated and less ambitious than their middle class counterparts. The word "ambitious" indicates the distortion of true education by careerism.

## PRIVILEGES

In a socialist republic the present stratification of jobs would not exist, for example being a doctor would not entitle one to financial or other privileges over one's fellow worker. Education, as a truly social, intellectual, manual, emotional, aesthetical and physical training is almost non-existent in the present school system which has more of an elitist concern with exam results than the genuine education of the child and is more interested in feeding the needs of capitalism than serving the real interests of the community.

The education system still plays a

role in dividing the "blue" and "white" collar worker. Technical students are given very little, if any, education in academic/artistic subjects whereas secondary school students were "uncontaminated" by manual subjects. But the great enlightenment has arrived and as Ireland merits greater attention from the international robber barons more technology is needed. Our educational resources must be rationalised, so the comprehensive system is being introduced to improve the status of technical training. The school system is a middle class institution. Two subjects included to explain man and society — religion and civics — justify the system and discourage radical alternatives. Charity seems to be the best they can offer the victims of capitalism. Most teachers are slavishly bourgeois minded, although they are impoverished enough workers. The conservative clerical management can be relied upon to inculcate into the students a sound respect for authority and "reasonable" action.

## EXTREMES

One must avoid all extremes (extreme exploitation excluded) they preach, the ideal must be "The Golden Mean" otherwise all that is decent and refined will be subverted, i.e. capitalism overthrown, and that would not be polite.



# WORKING CLASS STUDENTS FIGHT FEES FRAUD

Twenty-six out of every hundred students at U.C.D. receive grants, and of these only five come from a working-class background. When the College authorities increased the fees, and the government refused to increase grants, it was this small group of students who were most effected. For some of them it meant no university education, for others it meant greater hardship, since the fee increase must come from their meagre living allowance. For the greater majority of students, whose parents can afford to pay their fees and to keep them, it made little difference. So it was this small group (20 per cent or so) who forced their representative council to fight the increase in fees and to demand a fully comprehensive grants scheme.

By occupying part of the University they got the national publicity that the grant scheme needed. This group, who numbered about 2,000, tried to involve the majority of students in the campaign, and called a one-day strike involving a boycott of lectures. Only the original group of students, those who held grants, or came from working-class backgrounds, supported the strike,

which gave the newspapers and the College authorities the opportunity to attack these students as a bunch of troublemakers. The Student Representative Council were forced to hold a referendum, which again showed that only the same number of students who were affected by the fees increase were prepared to fight it. What does this all show?

## NEED FOR TECHNICIANS

Well, a few years ago, when there was great need for highly trained technicians and graduates, the Fianna Fail Government — at the behest of the employers and large farm owners (who benefit so much from industrial and agricultural research) — started the so-called free education scheme. Now things are different. Day by day we hear of factories closing and large numbers of people leaving the land. This year's redundancy figures are double last year's. So already, fewer highly trained workers are needed — and there will be even less need if we enter the E.E.C.

It would seem that when the Minister for Finance, in his last budget, announced a cut-back of £70 million in Government spending, he had our so-called free-education system in mind. Besides the obvious cut-back in the school building programme, secondary school managers have been instructed not to employ any new teachers this year and universities have been refused any help with their increased costs.

The universities exist to benefit the capitalists — the owners of the factories and large land owners — who hope to employ the students when they finish their studies. The universities teach and train as these people dictate.

We must fight for university colleges geared to the needs of the workers of all Ireland! We must fight for the right of all our people to attend university (and this means giving a living allowance in case of family hardship). We must support the students who are fighting for the right of all workers, young and old, to education to whatever level they wish.

Denis Kane

# Socialism, Freedom Religion and Man

first article in a series

"Who then is our Saviour and Redeemer? God or Love? Love; for God as God has not saved us, but Love, which transcends the difference between the divine and human personality. As God has renounced himself out of Love, so we, out of Love, should renounce God; for if we do not sacrifice God to Love, we sacrifice Love to God — the evil being — of religious fanaticism".

This is a quote from Ludwig Feuerbach's *Essence of Christianity*. It is of tremendous relevance in Ireland today.

Ireland has been subdued in religious superstition for nearly 2,000 years. Many Irishmen and women who have emigrated look back on Ireland's shores and see it as a priest-ridden country, a country which is today reverberating in violence from the hypocrisy and religious fanaticism which has been drummed into the heads of Irish men and women irrespective of the religious denomination they belong to.

Hundreds of thousands of Irish men and women have died in the name of God, urged on by the God-loving, God-fearing clerics, again of all denominations. The history books are full of various incidents, and these books are on the curriculum of national and religious order schools who are very proud of their denominations' participation in such conflicts.

## NO ABOLITION

However, in the event of a workers Republic, Christians need have nothing to fear from the Workers' State. Religion will not be "abolished", God will not be "dethroned", religion will not be "torn out of the hearts of the people"; such absurdities we leave to bourgeois ideologists, who in the French Revolution of the 18th century resorted to such methods and, naturally, with a pathetic fiasco. Religious organizations and with them the churches will gradually disappear without any violent assault or any suppression of beliefs.

Religion is the transcendental reflection of prevailing social conditions. As society is transformed and human development makes progress, religion is transformed along with it. To quote Marx "Religion is the striving after an illusory happiness for the people that stems from the social conditions, necessitating such an illusion, and it will begin to disappear as soon as the masses understand what genuine

happiness is and see the possibility of its realisation". The capitalists, i.e. the bosses and their state, try to preserve religion in order to hold on to their dominant position, hence the statement "Religion must be preserved for the people". In a society based on class domination this becomes an important official function. A caste forms which assumes this function and devotes all its ingenuity to preserving and enlarging this edifice, since it thereby enhances its own power and prestige.

## ETHICS THROUGH THE AGES

It is said that ethics and morality cannot exist without religion, but looking back upon the ethics and morality of man, it is obvious that this is only the opinion of the simple minded or hypocrites. Ethics and morality are the expression of concepts which govern both relations between men and their actions. Cannibals regarded man-eating as highly moral, the Greeks and Romans considered slavery moral. The feudal lord of the Middle Ages considered serfdom moral. Early day capitalists, as with modern ones, consider wage-labour relations, the exploitation of women and the demoralisation of youth by industrial labour all to be moral; and of course religion considers the subservience of men, women and children to the capitalists as highly moral.

The natural sciences have reduced the dogma of the creation of the earth in 6 days to a myth; astronomy and mathematics have made heaven into a mere structure of air, and the stars in the firmament, on which the angels are enthroned, into planets and fixed stars, the nature of which excludes all angel life.

To reiterate what was written earlier and to quote Antonio Gramsci, who was an Italian Marxist, "the workers' state will not persecute religion; the Workers' State will ask its Christian workers for the loyalty that every state asks of its citizens, that is, allowing opposition which is constitutional and not revolutionary, the latter being the prerogative of an oppressed class only"

In the Middle Ages it was man's genealogical tree that determined everything, now it is his property; in the future Man will be respected because he is a man. And the future belongs to Socialism.

by Ken Quinn

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

Send to Socialist Workers' Movement, 30 Strandville Avenue, North Strand, Dublin 2

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_



# CHILE - IS IT SOCIALIST?

from Socialist Worker

## International News

by JOSE MARTINEZ

Fourteen months ago the presidential election in Chile was won by a "left winger", Salvador Allende. Immediately all manner of people claimed that we would be able to prove wrong the classical teachings of marxism and introduce socialism "peacefully", by parliamentary means.

Communist Parties, including the Irish one, greeted his victory as confirmation of their own doctrine that talk of "violent revolution" is out of date. And the professional parliamentarians of the labour variety reacted in the same way.

At first glance it might seem that the last year has borne out these optimistic predictions. For all sorts of reforms of immediate benefit to the mass of Chilean people have been granted. Wages have been increased by about 30 per cent (although to some extent this is to compensate for price rises of 30 per cent in 1970). House building plans have been stepped up enormously.

Every child gets a minimum of one pint of milk a day. So far 100,000 peasants have been given land that previously belonged to Chile's 600 big landowning families. And revolutionaries imprisoned under the previous government have been freed.

### REFORMS

For the workers and peasants of Chile such reforms are to be welcomed. But they do not mean that the Chilean ruling class's power has been quietly done away with. Throughout history ruling classes have been prepared to grant reforms to the masses—particularly when faced with movements that might threaten their own power.

For example in Britain during and immediately after the last war a whole number of concessions were made to workers through the health service and welfare benefits. But this did not mean that the power of the ruling class was broken. It has been using its power since to cut down on the reforms it once felt compelled to grant.

The decisive question about Allende is not whether he has been able, temporarily, to improve living standards, but whether he has done anything to end the power of the old rulers and to strengthen the power of the workers.

### TAKE OVERS

Some of Allende's actions may seem to have been in this direction. He has, after all, nationalised considerable chunks of industry. The American owned copper mines have been taken over by the state and Allende has refused to pay compensation on the grounds that for decades massive profits have been taken out of the country by these concerns.

The major banks have been taken over—in this case by the government buying up shares. And when textile firms tried to close down because they were not making a profit, the government took them over after workers had seized control of the plant to keep it running.

But experiences from all parts of the world—from Egypt and Syria to our own C.I.E. show that nationalisation is by no means the same thing as socialism. Nationalisation means only a take over by the state.

The key question is: who runs the state? If it is merely run by the old controllers of industry, now acting in unison instead of in competition with one another, nothing has changed from the point of view of those who actually labour to create the wealth.

Central to Allende's strategy of "peaceful change" in Chile is the idea that nothing needs to be done to alter the basis of control of the state.

Both Chile's 40,000-strong army and its 20,000-strong heavily armed police force have a long and bitter record of viciousness against the mass of the



Salvador Allende

population. For instance, when there were strikes in 1967 six people were shot dead and dozens wounded by the police. Yet those responsible for such actions remain in control of the forces.

The only change introduced by Allende in this area was to disband the 1,000-strong special riot police—a mere twentieth of the total police. The courts, too, are stacked with representatives of the old order.

### THE ELITE

Instead of attacking the power of the generals, Allende has sought to persuade them that he is acting in their interests.

While easing the fears of the representatives of the traditional ruling elite, Allende has done nothing to increase the real power of the working class in Chile. He had steadfastly resisted all demands that the workers be given arms. Workers are allowed to "participate" in the management of nationalised concerns—but only as a minority, with majority control firmly in the hands of the old state officials.

He has also made it clear that the period of reforms that favour the workers is past. At a rally to commemorate his first year in office he called upon the workers to show "discipline" and to "limit wage claims", and he criticised workers who have been occupying the premises of a U.S.-owned bank.

Over the coming months there is likely to be growing conflict between Allende's government and the people who voted for it a year ago.

A situation is being created in which Allende can no longer hope to satisfy the owners of industry (including those middle-class elements who exercise their ownership collectively through their control over the state) and the working class. He will have to choose to side with one or the other.

But one side is armed, the other not. And Allende shows no inclination at all to break his pledges to the middle class of a year ago not to "interfere" with the state machine.

### POWER

Instead he will probably use his influence, and that of the bureaucrats within Chile's working-class based parties and trade unions, to persuade workers to put up with harsh conditions and an erosion of last year's reforms.

There is only one way in which that sequence of events can be prevented in Chile. A strong, genuinely revolutionary force has to be built up among the workers that is prepared to fight to smash the state machine and to overthrow Allende from the left.

The revolutionary groups in Chile—in particular the largest, the M.I.R.—

are beginning to see this. The leader of the M.I.R., Miguel Enriquez, has spoken out publicly in support of such a perspective.

The trouble is that in the past Chile's revolutionary groups have directed their work towards the poor peasants, the students and the unemployed slum dwellers, while leaving the organised working class in the factories to the almost exclusive control of the parties that support Allende.

But in a country like Chile where 60 per cent of the population live in towns, it is the organised working class that can hold the key to the future.

## The struggle for Okinawa

There have been huge strikes and demonstrations in Japan protesting against the new treaty with the U.S. Under this, Okinawa, previously a U.S. colony, will revert to Japan, but the U.S. forces will stay and continue to store atomic weapons there. Previously they have not stored atomic weapons anywhere in Japan, but now by extension they can do so.

All these changes are because of the economic strain on U.S. capitalism, which shows itself in the present balance of payments crisis. It is a way of slowing down Japan's growth by unloading extra defence costs on to her. The logic is the nuclear armament of Japan, and as a concession to her ruling class, the return of Taiwan, South Korea, the Philippines, and perhaps Indonesia and Malaya, to the Japanese "sphere of influence".

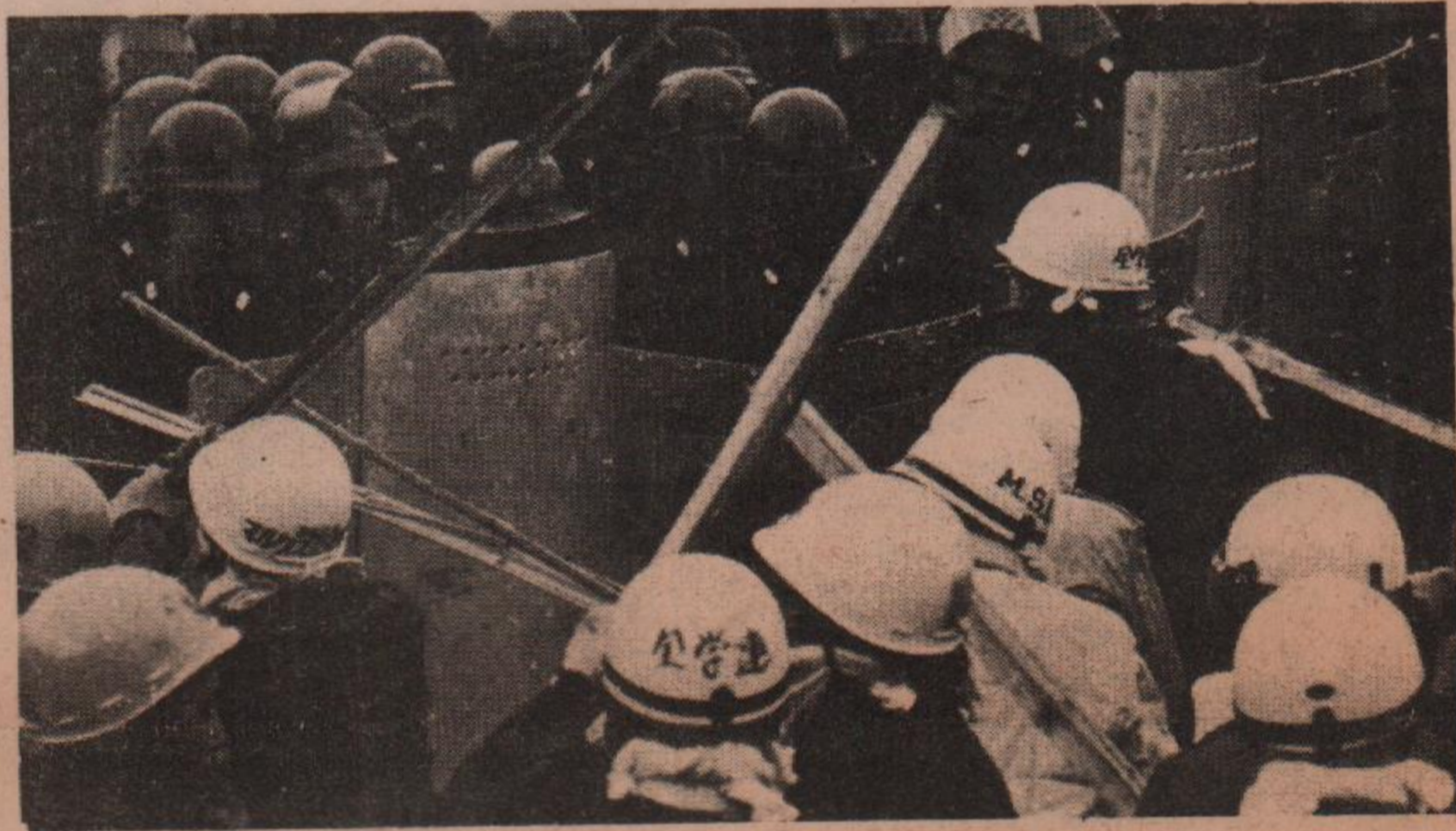
So much for Pearl Harbour! The struggle in Japan has become so widespread because of the general support of the left, the Socialist and Com-

munist parties. However, the really violent and militant demonstrations have been carried out by the leftist groups, of which by far the largest is the anti-Stalinist Revolutionary Communist League (Kakumaru faction)—which holds that Russia and China are state capitalist societies.

In the course of the protest many railwaymen struck. The Kakumaru have considerable influence here, and there were many attempts to prevent scab trains running. The police responded brutally, and nearly two thousand people were arrested, often after severe beatings.

Japan is in for a violent sharpening of class tensions, brought on by a gathering economic crisis. Already her steel plants have cut production and laid off workers for the first time since 1949. As usual the capitalists will try to unload the costs of their adjustments on to the working class.

(“Socialist Worker”)



# SPANISH WORKERS FIGHT POLICE

The wave of strikes and sit-ins which swept Spain recently has again revealed the slow decay of the Franco regime's power, and given the outside world a brief glimpse of the new confident spirit of the Spanish masses.

A massive miners' strike in Asturias closed down most of the important pits and set the whole region seething with unrest. The management of the S.E.A.T. car plant in Barcelona declared a one-week lockout of 24,000 workers after 11 days of strikes, sit-ins and pitched battles with the police, in which one worker was shot and seriously wounded.

A wave of solidarity strikes throughout Catalonia affected scores of factories, including the Matabas and the big Fipalsa engineering works and the big Siemens plant at Cornella. The workers' commissions' call for a general strike was not generally supported, but the fact that thousands of workers did strike "in solidarity with the S.E.A.T. workers, for a general amnesty, and against the dictatorship" is of great importance. It indicates the new confidence felt by Spanish workers. Although the right to strike in pursuit of economic ends was "legally" restored in 1965, sympathetic strikes are still illegal, and "political" strikers are still liable to summary trial by military courts.

Neither the Asturian miners nor the S.E.A.T. carworkers would agree to negotiate through the state-supervised

sindicatos—the only legal "trade unions" in Spain. They insisted on the government recognising the illegal comisiones obreras (workers' commissions), democratic bodies created by the workers themselves. While many private employers have been forced in recent years to negotiate with the outlawed commissions, this is the first time the workers' movement has felt strong enough to directly challenge the sindicatos' right to exist.

If the government is forced to back down and deal directly with the real

workers' representatives, the sindicatos would be completely discredited and the prestige of the workers' commissions would be raised, strengthening the Spanish labour movement.

### CIVIL WAR

Thirty-five years ago the Spanish capitalists defeated and crushed the workers who threatened to overthrow their corrupt and inefficient system. Today the Spanish workers are struggling to their feet again and are the most consistent opponents of oppression and dictatorship. They are the only class able to go beyond mere demands for democracy and "liberalisation", pointing the way to a new society in which the very basis of oppression is destroyed.

A generation after the Civil War, the reformists and the Communist Party, who have learnt nothing from the tragic defeat of the 1930s, are still at the head of the workers' movement: they control the vast majority of the workers' commissions. These "leaders" are still peddling the old idea of a Popular Front—the notion that the task is simply to get rid of Franco's hirers, because unless this is done they will produce another Franco when fascism becomes the only path to salvation for their profit machine.

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## 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

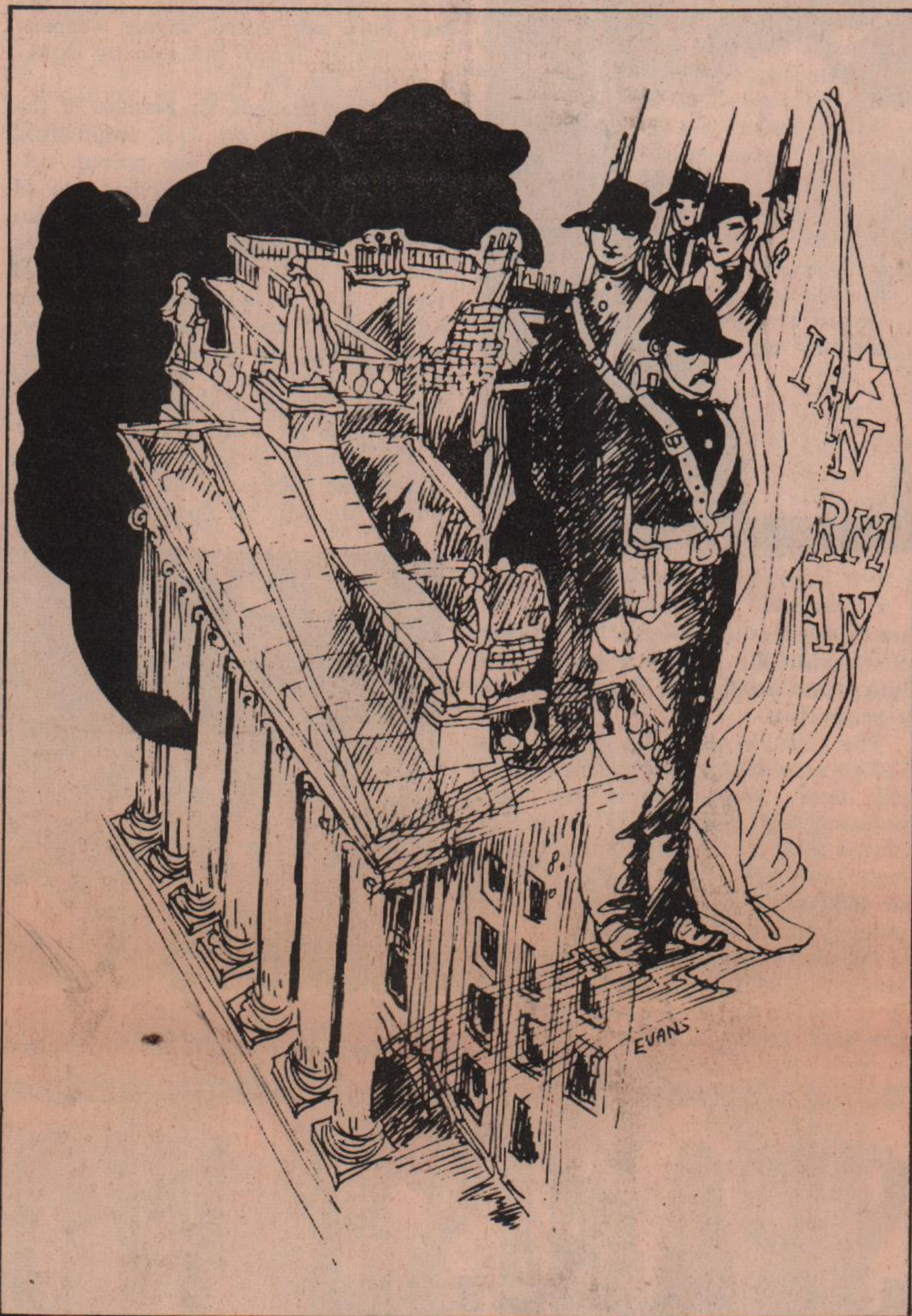
International capitalism operates in Ireland through British imperialism's military, economic and political domination of the whole country. Britain maintains a standing army in the North. British imperialism has divided the working class on sectarian lines. British investments throughout Ireland equal 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;

by Jim Smith

All capitalist countries show a blatantly unequal distribution of wealth with a concentration of property, valuable possessions and stocks and shares in the hands of a select few. Ireland is no exception to this rule except that the division of wealth in Ireland would seem to be even more unequal than in most European countries.

The Irish government has a policy of trying to attract the rich to settle in Ireland with the promise of low taxation, comparatively low land prices and other inducements. If you are rich, and coming to settle in Ireland you even qualify for a removal grant to defray your costs. If you happen to be a returning emigrant you need not expect to qualify for anything—not even a job in present conditions.

Thus many rich people from England, America and other places have come to join the native Irish upper class in a country which Bord Failte likes to portray as a playground. It is, unfortunately, only a playground for the rich as they travel from Monte Carlo to their country houses in Meath. Meanwhile the mass of the Irish population tries to escape from overcrowded living conditions by spending a Sunday afternoon on the polluted shores of Dublin bay.

But who are the Irish rich?

There are those who have been rich for generations, with large estates in Ireland, a house in London and investments all over the place. Some of these are members of titled families and the style of life of some of them is expressed by this advert from the London Times:

*"Wanted for highly intelligent six-year-old boy. Governess capable of full instruction up to Preparatory or Public School standards. Large staff kept and some months of year spent on family estates in Scotland and France. Please reply to the Hon. Mrs. Norman Butler, Kilboy Castle, Kilboy, near Oulla, Co. Tipperary or care of Barclays Bank, Monte Carlo."*

Not all the titled families in Ireland are rich, but there are 700 listed in "Burkes Landed Gentry of Ireland" and a considerable number of these are very wealthy indeed.

Probably more important, at least for the everyday life of the country, are those who have got rich in the last decade at the expense of the working class. One only needs to think of land and building speculators, and those who have managed because of the high level of unemployment, to keep wages at a minimum and profits at a maximum.

- 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;

# It's nice to be rich in Ireland

It has been said, that the same period of economic expansion in the sixties which made a small section of the population rich also had an effect on the rest of the population putting more money into their hands. This may be true in that more people got work, but it did not make them any richer or give them a larger share in the distribution of wealth.

Figures show that the distribution of wealth changed very little in the first 40 years after independence. An investigation of the estate duty statistics reveals that since 1923 the proportion of the total sum left which was made up of estates over £20,000 has remained constant at about 40 per cent. It is difficult to estimate the movement of wealth in the sixties, since the money accumulated then will not appear in statistics for some time to come.

However the following information can be extracted from official statistics: 90 per cent of the people dying in 1969 died almost penniless leaving an estate of less than £100. On the other hand 10 per cent of those dying left over £40 million between them. This 10 per cent came to about 3,000 people who possessed 97 per cent of the total wealth left.

These figures, although based on the estate duty statistics, give a fairly accurate picture of the distribution of wealth in Ireland, and the picture is not a pretty one.

The figure of 10 per cent possessing 97 per cent of the wealth of the country points to a tiny group of people (smaller than the equivalent group in England where 10 per cent possess a "mere" 80 per cent of the wealth), who effectively, through their economic power, wield an influence far out of proportion to their numbers.

- 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.

by Pat Carrol

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