

the worker

FOR A WORKERS' REPUBLIC AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

LYNCH LAW AND BRITISH ORDER

1972 was the Year of Repression. Long Kesh was filled to overflowing, and the concentration camp at the Curragh was opened. Trial by jury was done away with in the South with the introduction of Special Courts, and the Diplock Commission recommended legal harassment in the North.

O'Malley's Amendment means that you are guilty until proven innocent; any chief superintendent can say you are in an 'illegal' organisation, and you have to prove you are not. The lead which O'Malley gave to the Diplock Commission has already been publicly acknowledged.

The Lynch regime ended the year with the arrest of three leading Provisionals, to add to an already large number. The Northern authorities started the New Year with the detention of a young woman as a 'terrorist'.

If proof was needed, Lynch has proven it: he is Heath's man. The British government wants the republicans smashed North and South. Lynch would have helped out earlier, except that he feared the tens of thousands on the streets; he feared the crowd that burned the British Embassy.

But now that opposition is weakened. In the North, the repression, and the confusion after direct rule, have eaten into the support for militant struggle. In the South, the republicans offered no way of fighting Lynch, and they are now seeing the result in waning support.

The stage is being set for yet another solution to the 'Irish Question'. It will be a solution in the interests of the boss class, in Ireland, North and South, and in Britain. There will be something for everybody of that class — seats on a new council, new economic projects — and more of the familiar treatment for workers and for opponents of the system. If the Lynchs and the Heaths have their way, republicans will continue to be jailed without trial, unemployment will continue at the 10% mark, prices, redundancies, and emigration will rise.

'NEW IRELAND'

That is the 'New Ireland' of Fianna Fail: a people delivered to imperialism, to continuing exploitation and repression, a working class beaten politically and economically. But they will only succeed if we let them. And we can stop them. The repressive laws must be smashed — a campaign to force their repeal is needed. Massive protests must be mounted if the Amendment is used.

To wage this struggle we must be clear as to who will fight. The middle class supports Fianna Fail and Fine Gael. Some of them may feel Lynch is being a bit hard. They get worried about legality and about the constitution, but they will never fight to get rid of him and his kind. They have too much to lose.

The Irish Civil Rights Association, supported by the Provos, has so far looked for middle-class and 'respectable' support. This is a mistake. If there are any liberals left — and that's doubtful — they do not have the stomach to fight. The I.C.R.A. finds itself in the grotesque position of proposing Kevin Boland as a champion of civil liberties.

Only the working class have the power to smash Lynch's regime. Workers in many industries went on strike against the Amendment. There were big marches for the release of Sean MacStiofain. Imagine what would have happened if all the strikes had been at the same time. What if there had been a series of one-day stoppages? Under the threat of a general strike, the government would have been forced to move. That is how the English workers freed the five dockers who were jailed in London last summer.

APPARATUS

Many workers may feel that jailed dockers and MacStiofain or O'Bradaigh are very different things. Indeed they are. In defending Provisionals against repression, we are not supporting their politics. But the republican movement is an obstacle to imperialism's plans for the whole of Ireland. If it is beaten, it will be a victory for the capitalist class and a defeat for the workers. Lynch is building up an apparatus of repression which can be used against any opponent of the status quo: republican, socialist, or trade unionist.

Workers have shown, spontaneously, the way to stop him. There must be a joint campaign by working-class and anti-imperialist organisations to mobilise workers against repression. There have been some signs of this happening. In Monaghan a civil rights committee has been set up, including both wings of the republican movement, and local trade union branches.

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The black-grey smog drifts down over East Wall and North Strand in the still of the night. On Sundays you can see the muck belching out of Gouldings chimney. Not only do Gouldings make enormous profits from the labour of the workers there, they also inflict suffering on everybody who lives anywhere within range of their factory.

On a dark night you can see the waste being pumped out of the Gouldings plant in East Wall. It comes down like a heavy mist on the houses in the East Wall area. Besides having a woeful smell, it leaves behind a thick layer of dust which lifts the paint off cars and causes them to rust. Brass door knockers turn green, although they are cleaned twice daily. Washing that has been hung on the line for half-an-hour is dirtier than before it was washed. Not only have Gouldings stepped up productivity in the factory, but the housewives in the area have also had to double their work in order to keep the houses clean.

The East Wall area is not the only place affected. When the wind changes it often carries the smog across the bay. One day in December it fell on Baldoyle, five miles away, as the children were going to school. Although they had only half-a-mile to go, they were forced to turn back because of the density of the smog.

In November, workers in factories near to Gouldings struck work in protest against the 'fall out'. Shipping has been held up on the bay because the smog was in danger of causing a collision. People living in the East Wall and North Strand areas have had their health seriously affected by this pollution. Chest illnesses have deteriorated. Dogs, who are thought to have strong lungs, have been contracting T.B.

One year ago, 'The Worker' reported on the pollution from Gouldings. The winter weather has again aggravated the situation. But in all that time, nothing has been done; no effort has been made to eradicate the problem. Gouldings have been forced, however, to admit that there is some problem. They recently paid out £15 compensation to workers in the factory for damage to clothing.

If it does that kind of damage inside the factory, what is it likely to do where the smog actually falls? If Sir 'weasel' Goulding is so concerned about environment to clean up the Grand Canal beside the company head-quarters, to make the view from his office more pleasant, he can afford to do something about the stink from his factory.

It is reported that the Gouldings factory — or one on a similar design — was refused planning permission in England and Scotland. Are the planning authorities placing no restrictions here? They must be forced to take action, and to ensure that Gouldings pay out whatever is necessary, first, to treat the smoke belching out of their chimney, and, second, to compensate the people in the area for damage to persons and to property.

The Socialist Workers Movement will be holding meetings in the area to give people in East Wall a chance to plan action which will put a stop to oppression of workers in their homes, as well as at work.

VIETNAMESE FIGHT ON AGAINST THE BOMBS



B-52 downed by North Vietnamese gunners

In the last twelve days of 1972, American bombers rained 100,000 tons of bombs on towns in North Vietnam. In that same period, 1318 people died in Hanoi alone as a result of the bombing.

The precise numbers are not going to worry Nixon, of course. The calculation he is making is how much can be forced

out of the Vietnamese at the talks through this terror.

Nor has the campaign ceased. A further 2000 tons of bombs were dropped on 6 January. This campaign of 'carpet-pattern bombing' has provoked opposition throughout the world. More importantly than that, it has failed utterly to crush the Vietnamese people's resistance.

The North Vietnamese have shot down well over £100 million worth of the giant B-52 bombers (34 of them) in just over a week. The American authorities have been shocked by the extent of their losses. Nixon may have bombed himself and his government into an even more impossible situation at home and in Vietnam itself.

The Socialist Workers Movement has written to 60 political organisations and trade unions calling for a 'united front of working class and anti-imperialist organisations' against repression. We have put forward a programme of demands for joint action. If the leaders of some of these organisations will not fight, then we urge the rank-and-file to force them with resolutions from their own branches.

Such a united front could completely change the struggle. The issues could be brought clearly to tens of thousands. Co-ordinated strike action could be organised. The repressive could be smashed and a real challenge given to the plans of Lynch and Heath. This is the way forward.

The Socialist Workers Movement will continue its campaign for these policies. We have differences with other organisations, but now is the time for joint action. We are for a principled front which respects the differences that do exist. We urge our readers to campaign for a united front in their unions and political organisations. This is the only way to:

**FREE THE POLITICAL PRISONERS.
ABOLISH THE SPECIAL COURTS.
REPEAL THE REPRESSIVE LAWS.
END POLITICAL CENSORSHIP OF RTE.**

'DIRTY DUBLIN' -thanks to Gouldings

THE PRICE OF PRINCIPLE

Seven young workers at a Dublin clothing factory, Dubtex, got their reward for political principle. When they returned to the factory from a demonstration against the 'IRA Bill' they were promptly sacked — no notice given, just told to leave.

They picketed the factory, and later handed out leaflets to their fellow-workers urging support, but the workers who had not joined them on this their second demonstration in two days were intimidated into staying at work. The factory manager, Peter White, threatened they would all lose their jobs, and the factory would close.

The Irish Transport and General Workers Union promised support, but when the Branch Secretary arrived at the factory he went straight past the picket, spoke to the manager, then to the completely un-representative Works Committee, and told the picketers that they had no case. He urged them to sign an apology to the management. Six of the seven were persuaded individually to do this. Many of them did not know what they were signing.

The seventh worker, George Dempsey, refused to sign, and was left out on his own. George had been a shop steward, and one of those most responsible for getting the union properly organised. He was replaced immediately by someone appointed by the Works Committee, not elected from the shop floor.

The management was eventually able to force the workers into working some time unpaid, to make up for hours lost on the first demonstration when the whole factory went out. The fact that the management could push workers around in this way, mainly by intimidating the young girls, shows the problems of organisation in the rag trade. In our next issue we will carry an article on the primitive conditions in that trade.

'WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!'

In the last article in this series we described the emergence of the first mass, working class movements on to the political stage. In this one we see revolutionary and socialist ideas taking shape in national and international organisations. The potential of these ideas, and the potential of the working class, was seen in the Paris Commune. In the next article we see how leaders of the workers' movement rejected the lessons of that experience, preferring to believe in the possibility of gradual change through political reform.

The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. WORKING MEN OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

The Communist Manifesto's vigorous statement of the need for working class revolution was issued on the eve of great political upheavals in various parts of Europe. But it had little impact on the 1848 struggles. The organised revolutionary, working-class forces were tiny. The Communist League, for whom Marx had written the Manifesto was a small group of German exiles. It was dissolved in 1852, four years after the first appearance of the Communist Manifesto.

The wave of reaction which followed 1848 brought the suppression of workers' political organisations. 'All party organisations and party journals of the working class were, on the Continent, crushed by the iron hand of force,' wrote Marx.

In the economic boom of the 1850s the capitalists could also afford some concessions. The more rapid pace of industrial expansion made it necessary to improve some welfare and educational facilities. The ten-hour day was made law in England in 1850. Industrial capitalism penetrated further into France, Germany and Belgium.

Among the better organised workers in England, the boom generated demands for higher wages and shorter hours. Textile workers in Lancashire struck on several different occasions in the early 1850s. Collections were organised on a national scale for the strikers. After the changes in fortune of national workers' organisations in England in the earlier part of the century, the 1850s saw the first signs of an emerging national leadership.

'NEW MODEL'

The Amalgamated Society of Engineers, formed in 1851, was the first of the so-called 'new model unions', a craft union organised nationally, and not just in a particular locality. Later, the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters was formed, following a nine-month strike by building workers in 1859. They struck for a nine-hour day and for the right to combine. That strike was again significant for the support it received from other workers. The Engineers gave three donations of £1,000 each.

The same workers who were giving a lead in building national organisations were also those involved in political struggles and in the first serious efforts to re-group workers internationally.

The economic crisis of 1857 had led to waves of strikes in different European countries. On many occasions, bosses threatened to import strike-breakers from elsewhere, or actually did so. They brought in poor people from the Irish countryside to break strikes in the Lancashire mills. They brought Belgian workers to break strikes for a nine-hour day in Newcastle. The international nature of the system was being

brought forcibly to the consciousness of many workers.

The struggles for democratic government and for national freedom in Italy and Poland also provoked a response from the more advanced workers in England and France. In 1863 and 1864 there were joint demonstrations by English and French workers in support of the Polish and Italian peoples.

At the same time, trade unionists were concerned with the questions of voting rights and with political reform. The first trade union candidate to stand for parliament in England had been W. Newton, a member of the Engineers Society, who stood as a Radical in the 1852 elections. Trade unionists worked with middle-class radicals in the Manhood Suffrage and Ballot By Vote Association, and later in the Reform League, which organised massive demonstrations in favour of electoral reform. It was in the later 1860s that Wilhelm Liebknecht was elected to the North German Parliament as a workers' representative.

CONFIDENCE

It was in this atmosphere of increasing confidence and consciousness of the working class that the message of the Communist Manifesto could have real effect. Following some preliminary meetings in previous years, the International Working Men's Association was set up in London in 1864, at a meeting attended by representatives from several European countries.

The confidence can be seen in statements contained in the Preamble to the Statutes of the International: 'the emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working class themselves . . . the economic emancipation of the working class is therefore the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinate as a means.'

The International, as it became known, quickly gained contacts, influence, and even notoriety. By the late 1860s, bosses were blaming it for strikes and other unrest. There were wild references to the 'millions' which the International possessed for furthering industrial and political strife, although the funds of the Association were never higher than £700.

Much of the Association's efforts was in servicing and supporting strikes. It organised collections, and arranged delegations, petitions, and support. Workers in quite remote parts of France and Germany looked to it for help. The Paris bronze workers won the right to organise in unions in 1869 largely through the support of the International Working Men's Association.

The capitalist class, and its state forces, continued to answer the demands and the struggles of workers with the old, crude weapons. The crisis of the mid-sixties provoked another wave of strikes. In 1869, there were massacres of workers both in Belgium and North Wales. Nine people were killed in a fusillade fired at striking Belgian miners in that year. The courts described it as 'justifiable homicide' when five miners

Part Three in a series on the History of Socialism

were killed at Mold, in Wales. A crowd of people had tried to rescue two comrades from a military escort. The soldiers returned their stones with gun-fire.

The sections of the International had to struggle constantly against reaction in order to survive. This alone forced the recognition that industrial struggle alone was never enough to change the system. The debates which went on within the International, however, were largely about the relations between the two. The Proudhonists, who were dominant in France, tended to play down the importance of political struggle, and even of strikes and direct economic action against the capitalist class. They argued that co-operative production was the answer to the problems of the working class, and that the new order could be built within the old. This theory reflected the lower level of industrial development in France, and the smaller size of factories. Proudhon's ideas, and similar ideas, tended to gain more influence in countries like France, Spain and Italy.

Marx was, of course, an active member of the International, writing many of its documents, and arguing within it against reformism and chauvinism. On Ireland, for instance, he argued that the International had to support the Fenians, and the struggle for national independence, whatever reservations it may have about their methods and their politics. He put a resolution through the General Council of the Association directed specifically against the illusions of some sections and members in co-operatives: 'general social changes are wanted . . . never to be realised save by the transfer of the organised forces of society, viz. the state power, from capitalists and landlords to the producers themselves.'

TRADES COUNCILS

During this period, workers in England and Germany, in particular, strengthened their national organisations. From the formation of the London Trades Council in 1860, trades councils had been set up in a number of areas. In 1866 34 delegates from Trades Councils met the General Council of Trade Unions, later to become the Trades Union Congress.

In Germany, there were two main working-class political organisations, the General German Workers' Union, led by Lassalle, a reformist, and later the German Social Democratic Workers' Party, founded in 1869 and aligned with the 'Marxists'. This latter party, led by Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel, was to grow enormously in numbers and influence in the following years. It was the first mass workers' party and for a long time the only workers' party with a national organisation.

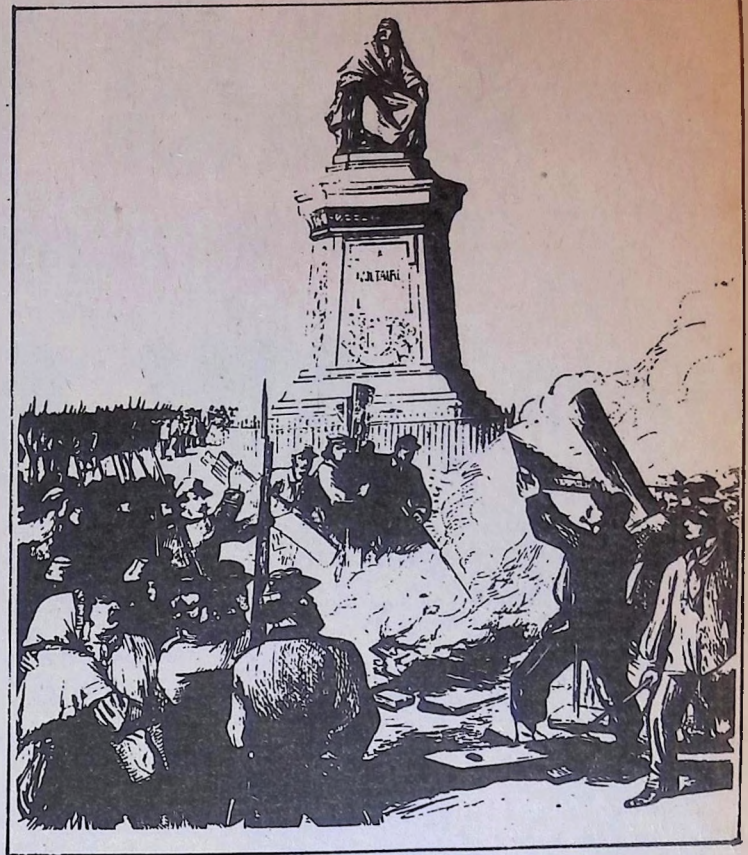
In England, trade unionists continued to work with bourgeois radicals and liberals for political reforms. John Stuart Mill, the philosopher and radical, was elected to Westminster in 1865 with trade union support. The political involvement of the workers' organisations was still limited, and concerned mainly trade union law.

Out of the remnants of the Young Irelanders there were formed local clubs and discussion groups. These clubs in West Cork and Kerry were under the influence of Jeremiah O'Donovan 'Rossa'. In 1856 he gathered them together to form an organisation known as the Phoenix.

Later in the year word came from James Stephens that an organisation had been set up in the U.S.A. which was to become known as the Irish Republican Brotherhood. A combination of the two led to a secret oath-bound military conspiratorial type organisation called the Fenians after the Fianna in Irish mythology.

The Fenians had many influences from the Continent. Stephens who had lived for years in Paris came back with the concept of building an organisation on the same lines as those of European revolutionary movements, such as the Blanquists in France.

The Fenians drew the bulk of their support from the working class in the towns and the agricultural labourers in the countryside. Some of the leaders were influenced by socialist ideas and



Paris Commune: 100 days of workers rule

In 1870, France under Napoleon III went to war with Prussia. The French Empire sought to take a piece of Prussia, but within a month the French campaign had collapsed. The Empire was shoved aside and replaced by a new government, the 'Government of National Defence'. Soon Prussian troops were at the gates of Paris.

The wave of patriotism that had gripped the Paris masses at the beginning of the war now turned to revolution. By January 1871 rioting had started and the Government banned 17 radical newspapers. The Paris National Guard became the armed people. The French Government surrendered to the Prussians, who demanded the disarmament and suppression of Paris. After economic attacks and then disarmament of the workers had failed, the Government cleared out of Paris, and the working-class and their allies found themselves in power. The population voted its own local representatives — the Commune.

The Commune gave us a brief glimpse of how the working-class would take over and run society. Marx wrote: 'The Commune was to be a working, not a parliamentary, body, executive and legislative at the same time . . . Instead of deciding once every three or six years which member of the ruling class was to

represent and repress the people, universal suffrage was to serve the people constituted in communes . . . From the members of the Commune downwards, public service had to be done at workmen's wages. The privileges and representation allowances of the high dignitaries of the state disappeared along with the dignitaries themselves.'

On 30 March the Commune abolished the standing army, all rents were remitted and all pledges at the pawnshops returned. The guillotine was publicly burnt, statues were torn down. Then the pawnshops were closed and the bakers' night-shift was scrapped.

The French ruling-class moved against Paris with exceeding ferocity and cruelty. The Prussians placed the captured French army at their disposal. It marched on Paris in May 1871. There then began a month-long heroic defence of the city by the workers at the barricades. As the army entered, a reign of terror, massacre and torture was let loose. Dead Communards were piled high in the streets. 18,000 were killed or executed, the prisons were packed, thousands were deported and tens of thousands had to flee.

But the Commune had shown how the working-class would organise its emancipation.

D.D.

The Paris Commune shook the working-class and socialist movements although it was later described as essentially a spiritual offspring of the International. It brought home to Marx, in particular, the need for an independent and well organised political party of the working class. A resolution to this effect was passed at the 1871 Conference of the International. It showed, in practice, how the working class needed to totally revolutionise the political apparatus in order to run things in its own interests or even to

safeguard democratic freedoms. Marx's analysis of the Commune, 'Civil War in France', was sold in thousands of copies through the International, and drew these revolutionary lessons. But the reaction which followed the defeat of the Commune, and the expansion of capitalism through imperialist conquest led to a taming of the working class movement and to defeats. It was not until much later — in Russia — that the need of the revolutionary message took root.

B.T.

The Fenians' Failure

were in contact with the International Working Men's Association. Marx recognised that a Fenian victory would be a progressive step both for the Irish and English working classes. But in general the Fenians concentrated on pure nationalism and were radicals rather than socialists.

Split

Almost as soon as the Fenian movement had begun to gain in momentum than it started to rend itself asunder. In 1865 the American movement split, and the promised money and arms (100,000 rifles) never materialised. The failure of the Americans to furnish the arms meant repeated delays until, eventually, the Fenian-infiltrated regiments had been withdrawn from Ireland.

All this indecision was bound to lead to mistakes. The rising was planned for 11 February 1867 but it was again decided to postpone it. The Fenians in Kerry and the North of England did not receive the message. The Kerry Fenians captured a

coastguard station and then the police barracks, and it was at the barracks they found out that the rising had been called off. The effort to capture Chester Castle in the North of England was equally a failure. The planned rising did take place on 5 March, but it was a complete disaster because the authorities had got the necessary forewarning and had arrested many of the leaders.

After 1867 the Fenians began to break up, some of them allying themselves with Butt's Home Rule movement. In 1877 some of the I.R.B. Supreme Council who were also members of parliament split from the I.R.B. when that organisation decided to withdraw from parliament.

These splits were to have a serious effect on future Irish freedom movements, for the strength of these movements was dissipated by them. It was not until 1896 with the founding of the Irish Socialist Republican Party by James Connolly that any serious effort was made to base the struggle openly and explicitly on its only secure foundation, that is, the working class.

K.Q.



Attempt to rescue Fenian prisoners in England

'DEAR DERMOT RYAN'

Thousands of people in Dublin get an advertising paper, 'Dublin Post', pushed through their door every week. Among all the advertisements it also has a 'problems' corner in which the 'Dermot Ryan Action Group' pretends to provide the answers. This is one letter which they will be happy to do nothing about.

Dear Dermot Ryan Action Group,
We wonder if you will help us. We work in a chain of filling stations where the working conditions are atrocious. Some of the electric fires are in a very dangerous condition; we have to sit in tiny 'offices' where there are holes in the floor which will cause a serious accident some day; the metre on one paraffin pump has to be read with a match! No decent chairs are provided. And the management refuses to do anything about these things.

The filling stations (there are nine in the group) provide the very minimum of services to the customer — petrol, oil, water, air, paraffin — and usually at least one of these is not available for very little reason. How many times a week do we pay for the inefficiency of the management, as a customer demands "What sort of garage is this anyway?" Yet the money rolls in (mainly thanks to the con-trick of Green Shield Stamps) and the owner is one of the wealthiest men in Ireland, with his fingers in many other pies, including Fianna Fail.

Shifts

Our shifts last 8 hours, without a break (plus half an hour each day, un-paid, to make up the accounts) and the workers are paid from £5-£9 for a six-day week if they are attendants (aged 14-20) and from £15-£18 if they are supervisors. Out of the supervisor's wage must be deducted money for any mistakes by himself or the attendants, or from any "dishonesty" — and could you really blame them? So workers can be divided, in distrust.

We put the day's cash in envelopes, which are collected once a day and taken into the central office. Very often they claim that an envelope was "short", had less in it than we knew we put in it. We



Dermot Ryan

either pay up, or risk being sacked. Recently a man who has worked for them for seven years was told to pay up £1, or else not come back the next day.

The wage is so low that a seven-day working week is common. All of us were working as usual on Christmas Day. The long hours, the low wages, and the 'shortages' all mean that there is a rapid turn-over of workers, and that makes it more difficult for us to act together to demand improvements in conditions — but we will do this.

So please help us to win a better wage, some control over our working lives, and a chance to say what we think without being sacked on the spot. Because of the injustice of this exploitation, perhaps you would change your policy and actually print the name of the firm whose dishonest practices you are revealing. (We understand why you don't usually, for otherwise dishonest firms might lose customers, and profit, mightn't they?). Perhaps you would make an exception in this case. The name of the firm, though it doesn't appear on the dingy filling stations, is *Dermot Ryan Petrol Sales*. p.s. Perhaps we can do without your help. We've got the union into most of the stations, and we may be putting in a claim soon. We'll keep you in touch. p.p.s. That was a very thoughtful Christmas present — a businessman's diary with our own names inscribed on it. Those recipes for mixing cocktails will be very useful.

CLOVER MEATS SACK 18 MORE

Redundancy has struck again in Waterford, this time in the firm of Clover Meats, which employs 600 people. 18 workers were laid off before Christmas. At a meeting between the Irish Transport and General Workers Union and the management the General Manager, Michael Collins, said that the lay-offs were 'inevitable' as a result of beef being exported on the hoof.

There are bigger prices to be got for exporting cattle live and therefore there is a scarcity of cattle for home production. The situation is more interesting when it is realised that the people who own the factory (mainly big farmers) are themselves exporting the cattle live.

The fresh meat industry is not the only industry affected by the export of live cattle. Portlaw tanneries in Co. Waterford is of course heavily dependent on hides, however with the fall in the home market, they now must import hides from the Continent at greatly increased prices. A tannery at Carrick-on-Suir has announced 40 redundancies. The firm of R. H. Wilson, Waterford, which converts the bones of cattle into collagen (glue) ceased production last Summer with the loss of 50 jobs, because of the fall in the killing of cattle.

However, the problem of redundancy for meat workers does not merely lie in the export of live cattle. 'Rationalisation' is a word not unknown to meat workers in Waterford, especially the 300 workers in Henry Denny's whose jobs were sacrificed in the interests of 'rationalisation' and bigger profits. E.E.C. entry will bring further pressures on the Irish fresh meat industry and it is to be expected that the bosses will resort to drives for increased productivity i.e., getting more work out of less workers.

The Clover Meat workers must be supported for the action they took when the news of redundancy broke. They 'downed tools' and the entire work force took part in a two-hour protest march through the city centre. They carried placards, one with a picture of James Connolly, and a mock black coffin bearing the words 'Clover Meat Jobs R.I.P.' The meat workers should not let this action die down; instead they must forge strong links with other meat workers, particularly in the Clover Group, and with workers in associated industries (tanning etc). Their combined demands must be 'No Redundancies', 'No Productivity Deals'.

M. O'Connor.

Molloy Rejects Tenants' Demands

A national protest week is being held in January to give more force to the national rent and rates strike of the National Association of Tenants Organisations (NATO) which has now been in progress since early November. NATO is demanding (a) that differential rent be assessed on the tenants basic or take-home pay; (b) a better house-purchase scheme for local authority dwellings, i.e. purchase price to be based on the cost of the house when built, with allowances made for years of tenancy etc.

The strike has significant support in areas such as Cork (city and county), Dublin (city and county), Wexford, Kilkenny, Limerick, Tralee and County Louth, but greater efforts will have to be made to involve the areas which are not on strike yet.

During the National Protest Week, from Sunday 21st to Saturday 27th of January '73 all local government buildings e.g. rent offices, county Councils etc. will be picketed. Tenants' Associations, whether on strike or not, should participate in this protest.

All the major unions have pledged their support for NATO's campaign, now is the time to show and put it into practice during the strike. This could be done if the Irish Congress of Trade Unions tied

the demand for higher wages to the demand for lower rents. In particular the trade union movement must be prepared to back NATO with industrial action if any tenant is threatened with eviction.

NATO's first set-back to date has been the refusal of the Minister for Local Government, Robert Molloy, to meet its National Executive to discuss its draft proposals on rents and house purchase schemes.

The Minister in a letter said that if NATO's proposals were implemented 'it would undermine the principle of differential rent' and would 'add well over £2 million in the first year to the £12 million now being provided yearly by taxpayers and ratepayers to keep rents of local authority houses at uneconomically low levels.' The Minister forgot to point out that NATO members are also taxpayers and ratepayers. We wonder would the £12 million 'subsidy' the Minister talks about be necessary if all housing debts on loans from the banks to local authorities, were cancelled.

The Minister's re-buff should not dampen the enthusiasm of tenants but encourage them all the more to struggle on to victory. Above all the tenants themselves must be kept involved in the strike through leaflets, regular meetings, pickets and protest marches.

Forty Face the Sack in Galway Factory

Irish Metal Industries, in Galway, have let it be known that they are going to sack 41 workers in February. This will be one of the biggest redundancies in Galway for some time. The union officials are calling on the workers to fight for better redundancy payments. The idea of fighting for the jobs does not seem to have crossed their minds.

I.M.I. cannot even use the excuse that they are making a loss. In 1971, their sales were worth £1,133,516, which means that each of the 144 workers is producing goods to a value of nearly £10,000 in a year. The profits for that year were £44,557 — about £6 profit from each worker per week, after overheads and salaries are paid.

The point is that I.M.I.'s profits are falling in relation to investment. The net profit, as a percentage of capital employed — the amount of money put in — has fallen from 22% in 1969, to 19% in 1970, to 12% in 1971. The I.M.I. bosses aim now to get more profit out of each worker — more than £6 per week.

By bringing in new machinery they have to achieve their targets. The workers left in the factory will produce as much, or more, as before, although there will be 41 less of them.

The I.M.I. workers have formidable opponents. Half of the shares in the company are owned by Imperial

Chemical Industrial (I.C.I.), one of the biggest firms in England. 15% of the shares are owned by Gouldings Fertilisers — itself 30 per cent-owned by I.C.I. The third major share-holder, Richardsons (Dublin), are also linked with I.C.I. Both Gouldings and I.C.I. have been trimming their work-force recently — all in the name of rationalisation, otherwise known as profiteering. I.C.I. have moved some of their production to England to South Africa, where labour is cheaper.

SOFTEN BLOW

The redundancy payment, a lump of money in the hand, may be hard for many people to refuse. But that is the idea behind it: to soften the blow, console the sacked worker, and dampen his spirit to fight back. It suits trade union officials like the Irish Transport Union branch secretary, who stay sitting in the offices at Prospect Hill 'having consultations with the management'.

But what does it mean to the worker who is out of a job? It is spent in a few weeks. The redundancy payment is supposed to keep you going while you find a new job. But where do you find one? Unemployment has been rising steadily in Galway in the last few years. It now stands at over 1,700 people out of work.

K. Allen

PAY FREEZE IN THE NORTH

Unionist politicians at Westminster may disagree with the Tories on how they can best solve the problems of political control in the 6 Counties but there is no difference in thinking when it comes to attacking the living standards of the workers here. The Unionists voted to a man in favour of Heath's legally binding 90-day pay freeze — thinly disguised as an all-round freeze on wages, prices, profits and rents. When it comes to attacking our living standards the Unionists no longer even pretend to represent the interests of the credulous 'loyalist' workers who voted for them. Profit for the Orange bosses can be squeezed equally from Shankill Road and Falls Road workers.

LOWER PAID

Workers from the 6 Counties as a whole come into the category of lower paid workers, when their wage rates are compared with those in Britain. The Tory Government recently admitted that wages here average 85 per cent of British wages. The wage freeze cements that inequality making it impossible for the gap to be reduced. Any attempt by workers here to raise their wages during the time of the freeze can be legally countered with massive fines and even imprisonment.

Not so for those wishing to put up their prices. Vegetables, meat and fish prices were excluded altogether from the freeze, and there are so many loopholes for manufacturers and distributors which enable them to raise their prices with only a minimum of consultation with government bodies, that we can be certain that prices will continue to soar. In fact, in the four days before the freeze came into effect, manufacturers raised the prices of 6,000 food items and household goods.

So far the response from Northern workers has been minimal. Only one official strike has taken place in support of a frozen wage claim: the hospital workers struck in December for a rise of £8 a week, and a reduction of working hours to 35. They are among the lowest-paid workers in the North, and their conditions are appalling.

Although the strike was fairly

BOOM

1972 was a 'Boom Year'. Apart from being a sick joke, that statement is certainly true for investors and shareholders. Industrial shares on the Irish Stock Exchange increased 80 per cent in value during the year—the sure mark of increased profits, and increased exploitation of the working class.



Black and white hospital workers demonstrate against the Tory freeze

widespread, there was nothing like the militancy shown by hospital workers in Britain itself. 5,000 manual workers struck, and there were pickets on the Altnagelvin (Derry), Royal Victoria and City (Belfast) hospitals. Some delegates from other hospitals went to the protest demonstration in London. But unlike the strike in Britain which involved some 180,000 workers, and which lasted from 12 to 24 hours, the strike in the North lasting only 2 hours was more of a token and a gesture than a real indication of any willingness to fight the Tories and their Unionist friends.

SOLIDARITY

One aspect of the strike in Britain, besides its militancy, should be a lesson to workers here. Many thousands of the workers are black, but in their common struggle for better wages and conditions there was no sign of racial discord. Just as working class solidarity against the bosses is the answer to Enoch Powell's racialism, which is designed to split the workers and turn them against each other, so too it is the answer to the sectarian bigots in the North who have used religious differences to prevent the working class from bettering wages and conditions. It is no accident that Enoch Powell has emerged as the friend of the savagely sectarian and

To see what that means in human terms, go down to the dole queue on Friday morning and see some workers coming away with only £3 a week — provided they keep signing on. The amount paid out will be smallest for the younger workers. Perhaps they think they can go to Dublin, or England and get a job — but the situation is no better there.

The workers must not accept any proposal which would split them — redundancy payments, or 'first in, last out'. The redundancies are not 'inevitable'. The company cannot claim to be in financial trouble. The unions must be made to fight.

It is in the power of the I.M.I. workers to stop these sackings. 'The Worker' has already reported a successful fight against redundancies by electricians on the university site in Galway. The fight must be organised at the place of work, by refusing to work the new practices, unless there is a guarantee of no jobs lost. If the machines cut down the labour needed then the demand must be that the work is shared out on full pay.

I.M.I. workers must set up a factory committee to organise resistance against the new measures. They must do so independently of the trade union officials, and force them to give support to their fight.

The Socialist Workers Movement has distributed a leaflet at the factory urging a fight against the sackings. We plan further action to give more assistance to workers in struggle against redundancies. We will be holding a public meeting in Galway of the fight against redundancies.

K. Allen

anti-working-class forces in the 6 Counties represented by Bill Craig.

Let the solidarity of the ruling class be a lesson to us also. They can overcome their temporary quarrels when a united front against the workers is required to boost their profits. The actions of the British Dockers and Miners last year showed how rotten Tory laws can be defeated: by massive militant action from the workers themselves. Workers here have a long way to go to even catch up with the wages of their British counterparts. They have therefore an even greater interest in smashing this wage freeze, and the Government that brought it about — and that includes the Unionist Party.

They can hope for little help from the Trade Union bosses in the struggles that lie ahead. These gentlemen have proved themselves all too willing to accept a freeze on wages provided they are given a few crumbs to buy off their workers, and prevent strikes which can threaten their own comfortable positions as much as they can the bosses'.

Rank and file organisation, militant determination, and massive pressure through strikes and demonstrations can defeat the wage freeze, and make it impossible for the T.U. bosses to sell us in the river without even the pretence of a fight.

M. Miller

WHY CONTRACEPTION?

If you go into any working-class housing estate or block of flats you will see young married women with old faces, tired and drawn, from worry at trying to manage a large family on a week's wage. If any of these women had access to contraceptive methods, and knew how to use them, they would have been able to plan their families in a more rational manner, instead of suffering the strain and stress of having child after child like a machine.

Contraceptives are illegal in the 26 Counties. Many young couples getting married find that before they can get on their feet the wife has become pregnant, and all their resources are used on the baby. Under these circumstances the child is more often than not born into an environment which is inadequate for bringing it up. It is lucky if it is not actually resented.

Most men don't seem to realise that the old saying 'a woman's work is never done' is quite true. A man is exploited in the work done for his employer. A woman's life and body are sold to the system. Her body becomes a machine for the reproduction of others who go on to be exploited by the capitalist system.

By fighting for new rights, women are not asking to be put on pedestals. We only ask for the freedom to plan our lives as we see best. This can be started by having available the methods for family planning. We are not against having children, only against the way in which we are forced to have them.

Black Market

The fact that contraceptives are illegal in this country has led to a flourishing trade in the black market business for the sale of contraceptives, but they are out of the reach of most working class women.

Women are tied to the home because they are the ones who have children. They find it almost impossible to participate in any activities outside the home, such as socialist politics. From their earliest days young girls are expected to clean up after their brothers and father.

The whole emphasis in home life is for a young girl to get married and settle down, and do as her mother did before her. That is, have the children, warm the man's bed, cook his meals, and clean up his mess. The big majority of women do not get married for love. The present system makes that difficult, and the situation in the home makes it impossible to keep love as the bond between partners.

Why can't women get contraceptives in the 26 Counties? In 1935, a Criminal Law Amendment Act made it illegal to 'sell, expose, offer, advertise, keep for sale or import' contraceptives into the State. The moral position of the Catholic Church is written into the law. Whether or not a woman believes that it is wrong to control her family, she is committing a crime if she tries it.

Last July, a woman challenged the right of the customs to seize contraceptives sent to her. She argued that the Constitution allowed freedom of conscience while the law prevented it. The High Court did not agree. She couldn't retrieve her contraceptives.

Constitution

In December, large numbers of people voted to drop certain sections of Article 44. But divorce and contraception are still illegal. Women are barred from many jobs just because they are married. The Constitution still says that women have a special place in the home, rearing children. How many families are forced to live in a few damp rooms? How many landlords say: 'Sorry, no children!'

Women are forced by law to have as many children as their bodies will give them. How many of those children will in their turn be forced on to the Liverpool ferry to their place on a production line or a building site at a lousy wage and in bad conditions?

The financial and emotional burden of a large family rests completely with the parents. It is they who must cope with, and pay for, another mouth to feed. Family allowances here are among the worst in Europe. Wages are low.

A woman is demanded to be a baby-producing machine. It's about time women, and men too, demanded decent lives for ourselves and the children we already have, as well as the right to plan when we have more.

O.Q.S.D.

DID YOU KNOW

- the Constitution says a woman's place is in the home
- 25,000 women are on the pill in the 26 Counties
- 3 per cent of all live births here are illegitimate
- in the civil service a single woman may have two children (three in wartime), but if she gets married she loses her job
- a deserted wife must prove her husband has not supported her for six months before she is entitled to a penny of welfare benefit
- 81 per cent of working women are single
- working women in the 26 Counties earn 56.5% of men's wages
- in the sixth century, the Council of the Church at Macon, in France, decided, by a small majority, that women had souls



CATHOLIC FAMILY PLANNING?

Catholic Marriage Advisory Centres exist throughout the 32 Counties of Ireland. The first was set up in Belfast. The one in Dublin (the fifth in Ireland) was founded in 1969.

These centres are under the control of the bishop of their particular area. As Bishop Lucey said: "I set it up, so I can close it down". The famous Bishop closed down the Cork centre because a woman doctor attached to it said that the main marital problem boiled down to birth control. She refused to withdraw her statement and the centre ceased to exist.

The centres see their role as marriage guidance rather than family planning. A spokesman for the Dublin clinic told 'The Worker' that they dealt with about 500 cases of marriage breakdown each year, and argued that this was their main task. They also dealt with 300 patients for the family planning section which offers only the 'rhythm method' in accordance with the position of the Catholic Church.

Most of the people come to the centre through 'Education for Life' courses which they run for engaged and recently married couples. These are held in church halls and other similar places around the city area. The centre insists that since most of the people who ask for family planning come as a result of these courses, they know only the rhythm method was being offered (and being good Catholics would be opposed to anything else). Consequently, there is never any need to refer patients to either of the two Dublin Fertility Guidance clinics for alternative methods.

The 'temperature' method is said to be fairly reliable if the couple can stand the strain of no sex for twenty-three days

out of twenty-eight, or indeed, the strain of those five blissful days in an otherwise celibate marriage!

The doctor in Cork probably spoke for many married Catholics when she said their main problem is contraception. Sex is an important part of a relationship between a man and a woman. Why should it be soaked in worry and dread of another pregnancy?

The 1968 Papal Encyclical reaffirmed the Church's position: against all artificial methods of contraception. Why is it all right to go around with thermometers and temperature charts, doing everything possible to make sure intercourse is only on safe days, when it's not all right to make every day a safe day?

'UNHOLINESS'

According to Francis Frost, D.D., (in 'Contraception and Unholiness'), artificial contraception is 'usurping the natural mastery of God'. Apparently, only God must decide what happens in nature. Has the Catholic Church ever tried to tell farmers that they should drive cows three miles down the road to the bull rather than having them

artificially inseminated on the spot? Tell the farmers they're usurping God's mastery.

Any attempt by man to control the world around him, any progress in science, could be called the same thing. The Catholic Church doesn't hold this position in relation to industrial and agricultural science. Why do they hold it in relation to family planning?

Socialism is about people controlling their lives—a woman controlling her body is a very basic part of that.

Last month, the Pope hit out at Women's Liberation. He argued that women are liberated as mothers. Liberated to have months of morning sickness, hours of contraction, and continual back-ache? Liberated to be tied to the sink, washing nappies, cleaning, cooking, shopping—and unable to play a part in the world outside. That is the 'liberated' life of most working class women.

If they work outside the home, they get paid at half rate simply because they are women. The Church, the state, and the capitalist system have kept women down for too long. We want real liberation now.

S.D.

QUOTES FROM CONNOLLY

The worker is the slave of capitalist society, the female worker is the slave of the slave.

So her whole life runs — a dreary pilgrimage from one drudgery to another, the coming of children but serving as milestones in her journey to signalise fresh increases to her burden.

(On women's struggle for freedom) None so fitted to break the chain as they who wear them, none so well equipped to decide what is a fetter.

THE ARTIFICIAL METHODS

Many women in Ireland use the pill. Most get it prescribed for them by their doctor who usually prescribes it for long periods without asking them to have regular check-ups, smear tests, consultation about side effects, etc.

For those who know that more specialised help is available there exist two Family Planning Clinics in Dublin. They are called Fertility Guidance Clinics, one situated at 16 Merrion Square, the other at 16 Mountjoy Square. They provide their services for about 1,500 women each year of 18 years old and upwards.

The Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1935 (clause 11) states that no one may legally sell, advertise or import into the country for sale any contraceptive. It is therefore not possible for the clinics to sell their information booklets legally. Their legal position is a risky one. If anyone were to complain that they are breaking the law they would face a fine. Like so many other things in this country, it is carried on with a wink and a nod. The authorities turn a blind eye as long as it is considered to be in the public interest.

There should be no more of the winking and nodding. Women should demand that similar services are made available throughout the country. The centres should have doctors and gynaecologists to provide proper medical or gynaecological problems. In the

Dublin clinics, there is specialist advice about family planning for women and couples. They can prescribe the pill after proper discussion. They can fit women for the diaphragm, and they can give advice about other contraceptive devices, but they are not allowed to supply them.

The church and the state do not permit the use of artificial contraceptive methods — that is, those methods apart from the 'rhythm or temperature' method, and abstinence. But while these methods are being used, it is important that the law, and above all the hypocrisy, surrounding them is broken.

THE PILL is prescribed by the Smith only at a period consultant and is sold by chemists without instructions, but is nearly always used as a contraceptive. Some women get headaches and sickness, but these usually disappear after a few months. The majority of women can use the pill safely and the new low dosage pills are very safe. In fact, fewer women using the pill die than those who die in pregnancy and childbirth. It is almost 100% effective in preventing pregnancy if taken properly.

THE DIAPHRAGM is usually a small flat object which is inserted into the womb by a doctor and is most suitable for women who have already had two or more children. If another child is wanted, it can be

removed by a doctor. Some women have slight pains after it has been inserted, but these disappear quite soon. This is the next most effective contraceptive after the pill.

THE DIAPHRAGM is a completely harmless method. A woman can insert the diaphragm herself after simple instruction. A cap can last for two years, but it is best to have a check-up for proper fitting every six months. This can be done by a doctor or by the Fertility Guidance Clinics. It is about 95% effective, and has no side effects.

THE CONDOM otherwise known as a 'shield' or 'French letter', is harmless and about 95% effective, and more so if the woman uses a spermicidal jelly as well.

These are the most usual and effective methods of contraception, all being illegal in this country. The Pill costs between 60p and 70p for a month's supply — which is twice as much as in Britain. The IUD costs between 6 and 10 guineas for device and fitting, and the Diaphragm up to £10 for device and fitting. The Condom can cost upwards from 50 pence per dozen.

The Fertility Guidance Clinics charge an annual fee for their professional advice, prescriptions, and fitting of the diaphragm. The maximum fee is £3, but it varies according to income.

R.T.



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

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

Name _____

Address _____

OFFICIALS' ARD-FHEIS ADDS TO THE CONFUSION

ix weeks ago, Sinn Fein (Gardiner face) announced that they would be giving details of a 'new civil rights movement' within a week. We have not heard anything but rumours about it since. It was one of the more remarkable things about the Ard-Fheis in December that the matter was not even discussed.

'United Irishman' has called for a civil rights movement in the South for many months. There was no mention of this demand at the Ard-Fheis, although it took place in the shadow of what Tomas MacGiolla called 'preparation for the total Police state'.

Perhaps this is one of the main characteristics of the Officials today — the contrast between assurances that they stand for socialism and militant struggle, and their lameness in relation to immediate problems of the working class. Many of the delegates to the Ard-Fheis may feel it was a successful conference. It was well attended. Much of the debate was quite serious. There were even heated controversies. But what came out at the end of it all? Do the Officials have any clearer idea of their tasks and perspectives?

Northern Policy

Take Northern policy, for instance. There was a long discussion about an Ard-Comhairle resolution and an amendment from Seamus Costello. To listen to it, you might have thought the differences could only be expressed in a divided vote. But in the end, the amendment was accepted, with a small change, and the civil rights strategy remained intact, with a stronger emphasis on opposing imperialism and the Six-County state. In other words, it is unlikely to change anything, or only add further to the confusion. The Six-County Republican Clubs statement



Eoin O Murchu, no longer 'United Irishman' editor, but one of the leadership's main spokesmen at the Ard-Fheis

about 'Christmas peace' shows only change for the worse, if it shows anything at all.

There was an equal amount of heat and fire created by the discussion on sectarianism, and whether or not the Officials should seek talks with militant loyalists. There was a tied vote on one proposal. But because the resolutions were so vague, nothing definite came out of it.

Nobody was talking about linking the present struggle with the long term, supposedly socialist, goals. Nobody was talking about injecting socialist and working-class demands into the anti-repression struggle. Nobody was talking concretely about the kind of things which could be emphasised to

bring out the independent class interests of workers in this situation. There was no concept of formulating a programme of action guiding the discussion. The broad generalisations about workers, democracy, and imperialism, were accepted as if everybody understood their implications.

In spite of the well-attended Ard-Fheis, in spite of the big sales of 'United Irishman', the Officials can hardly point to half-a-dozen areas where they are really effectively organised, and where they can count on active support and the full, conscious participation of their own members. They do have, and no doubt

will continue to have, local and temporary successes. But that will never be enough to get real roots and make conscious militants out of passive supporters.

The lack of definition in their politics, and the style of organisation have a lot to do with this. Look at the resolution on economic affairs: the main demands are for nationalisation of the banks and for the abolition of Value Added Tax. How do you mobilise workers on these demands? In fact, they look like they are designed to avoid facing real problems of day-to-day organisation. True, there was an amendment about fighting factory closures, but it was not very direct at all, and still linked to statements about 'a more realistic policy of industrial development by over-hauling the existing organisations used to promote new industry and jobs'. Two weeks later, this 'overhaul' had become a demand for the abolition of the IDA — had something happened to change the Officials' minds?

Struggle

A socialist organisation must be an organisation of struggle. In the context of the EEC, the fight against factory closures and redundancies should be central for socialists, not the subject of an amendment. There was no mention at the Ard-Fheis of the National Wage Agreement and the fight against it with a call for a minimum wage. There was no mention of the attacks on working conditions. There was no hint of a strategy for struggle within the unions. The discussion on the EEC got swallowed up in the phrases about the 'destruction of the Irish people'.

Delegates were told by Tomas MacGiolla that 'there are no victories on the horizon for the Irish people'. It is true that the anti-imperialist and working-class movements face serious threats. But that is precisely the situation in which a political movement which claims to be socialist, and which claims a leadership role, ought to be advocating a real fight-back, building up confidence and consciousness through its involvement in workers' struggles.

Many delegates got up to state their conviction in the need for socialism and for a workers' party, but there was no lead as to how to get there. There may be some within the leadership who are sincere in their affirmations of faith in socialism and the working class. But it can be no more than faith, and rhetoric, as long as it is postponed to some later, never-to-be-reached, stage.

Discussion

The Officials are now in the midst of a discussion about organisation and structure. Several important resolutions on general policy — and some calling for a revolutionary manifesto — were deferred from the Ard-Fheis to a conference at Easter. The movement of ideas inside the movement has not stopped. Socialists inside the Officials must ensure that the discussion becomes one about laying clear guidelines for revolutionary work, and for generating class consciousness on each issue taken up. They must start to lay down a worked-out alternative to the 'stages' theory, to the vague and contradictory jobs which the Officials are making at socialist and reformist ideas.

Unless the next three months produce a much clearer awareness among the Officials about the tasks and problems of socialist revolution, the movement could condemn itself to complete immobility, face a faster decline of morale among members, and find itself left behind by a rising tide of class struggle.

B. Trench

LETTER FROM A GALWAY HOUSEWIFE

Dear Sir,
Why do we working class people always have to fight for what we ourselves think we are really entitled to? I am the mother of 4 children ranging from 12 to 4 years of age. My husband earns £19 a week and I was turned down many times for a medical card.

I am glad to say that I am now the holder of a Medical Card after putting up a great fight which I should not have to do under my circumstances as I am an expatriate of T.B., and I also suffer with the bronchial chest and I am in need of medical attention all the

time. I think it is very unfair the way the medical cards are being issued. I fall to understand how I had to go to such lengths to get a medical card when others just got one automatically and I was already a holder of a brown medical card. I sincerely hope that the same thing does not happen to many more.
Signed Housewife
(name and address supplied)

The next issue of THE WORKER will carry an article on the health services in the South.

Beat Rising Prices-become a BOSS!

There is an old song which has a line that goes 'the rich get rich and the poor get poorer'. This is very true today in Dublin where a 'Supermarket' for the Bosses has been opened. This is Musgrave's on the Robin Hood Industrial Estate, Clondalkin, Dublin.

You can only get into this supermarket by producing a card. This in turn is only issued to those who have a Value Added Tax Number (VAT) thus proving that they are in business themselves, as a shopkeeper, supermarket-owner, publican, or in any profit-making enterprise. If you fit any of those categories, you can snop in Musgrave's.

All goods in this rich man's shopping centre are at cost price and can be bought individually. For instance, chickens selling in the shops at 68p can be bought for 45p — a difference of 23p. Meat is another commodity that is cheap. Round steak costing 58p per lb. in retail shops and markets can be purchased at 30p per lb. — a difference of 28p per lb. Furniture is also sold there. A closet bedroom suite costing £160 can be bought for £54. Tape-recorders costing £50 are sold at £24. On and on it goes. The flashy customers at Musgrave's can buy anything from one yoghurt to half a house.

In effect what this means is that the managers and owners can live for half what the workers pay. We are tied to wage agreements and have to face rising prices but they continue to make higher profits and saving. Who is responsible for inflation?

K.Q.

NEXT ISSUE:

- Elections in Europe
- Workers 'Participation'
- Free State Army
- Emigration

CORCA DUIBHNE

The Kerry Gaeltacht region of Corca Duibhne has recently been in the news. The Co-op there has brought out the first issue of its newspaper, and has made proposals for the setting up of a cheese factory there. Below, a correspondent living in the region reports on life in Corca Duibhne.

Tá dhá Ghaeltacht i Ciarraí, ceann timpeall ar Bhaile na Sceilg, Ceann Bholais, Rinn Iartharach agus cúpla nead bheag eile. Ansan tá Gaeltacht Chorca Dhuibhne atá siar ón nDaingean go Cuas go Dún Chaoin go Ceann Trá. Is beag ab fhíu bheith ag tracht ar cheantar Uibh Rathach, sin timpeall Bhailena Sceilg mar gur fadó ceannaithe coilte creachta é.

I gceantar Chorca Dhuibhne mar a bhfuil an phobal ata ann (4,000) réasúnta compordach tá creachadh mor déanta le blianta fada — measann mórán do phobail na geathrach go bhfuil saol brea bog suailceach ag muintir na Gaeltachta! Tá go deimhin ag flor bheagán díobh — lucht an establishment agus an ghaimbín.

Is feasach go bhfuil Comharli agus a samhail curtha ar bun le blianta fada agus ó Chiarraí ba bhoc le Fianna Fáil a ainmníodh i gceanaí. Feictear an rud céanna ar siúill inniu ach tá glúin óg a tógáint anois as na Gaeltachtaí.

Is beag ma tá aon mhonarchan sa cheantar stairiúil seo. Tá feirmeoirí uile na háite (85%) beagnach ag fáil an doje. Is beag daoine inphosta san áit. Níl aon saol sóisalta ann ach i rith an tsamhraidh nuair a bhíonn na mílte daoine thart in ainm is bheith ag foghlaim, Gaeilge.

Tá ná daoine a chaith imeacht searúsach. Is 'facade' í an Ghaeltacht deir siad léo fein. Reservation agus happy hunting ground do bhocanna áitúla agus strainséirí.

Tá an-chuid talún ceannaithe ag daoine ón Mor Roinn le beagan blianta agus tá 1/3 do Dhun Chaoin beagnach ag rachmasóir amháin ón nDaingean. Tá go leo feirmeacha íbparóistí eile ag imeacht an sli ceanna. Thug muintir na rachmasóirí seo, 'cáirde' (tick) sa sean-saol.

Tá an pobal ag titim as a chéile — daoine an-óg agus an-aosta. Fós níl géar chéim ann! 'Send the fool further'

mar a deirtear.
Olann gach éinne ann go mór mhór ar an deire seachtaine ach tá go leor dos na múinteoirí agus na sagairt nach ndeineann.

Tá creideamh Caitliceach an-láidir ag na seadaoine ach níl mórán do aon fheallsúnacht ag na dhoinne ó 18-45 bliana.

Bfíonn siad 'browned off' mar a deir siad. Níl an oiread imirce anois ann, mar tá fúrmhór na hóige imithe.

Tá comharchumann forbartha sa cheantar ach tá eagla orthu seo aon rud a rá in aghaidh an rialtais ar eagla go geallfí an deontas. Faraois is tré chic agus ní tré mealladh a faightear aon rud ón dream aga bhfuil an chumhacht sa tír seo fé láthair. Múinteoirí fúrmhór coiste an chomharchumainn, agus feirmeacha maith ag cuid mhaith acu chomh maith. Tá an rúnaí ina bhall de Chomhairle Radio na Gaeltachta agus ina iriseoir páirt aimsireach don radio chomh maith, gan trácht ar bheith ag múineadh agus ag feirmeoireacht. Príomh-oidé sa scoil an cathaoirleach; fear nach nólann é seo agus nach meascann mórán le daoine. Príomh-oidé ar scoil eile an PRO. Agus gan dabht is príomh-oidé gach duine den tríúr seo ar chúrsaí samhraidh Gaeilge an Chomharchumainn, as a mbíonn airgead maith. Cé go raibh easpa múinteoirí ar na cúrsaí seo anuraidh ní thabharfaí aon job do mhúinteoirí Scoil Dhún Chaoin.

Tá dream eile sa cheantar atá ag iarraidh leas na háite a dhéanamh, sé sin Cumann Cearta Náisiúnta Chorca Dhuibhne. Oibríteoirí, iascairí agus ceardaithe ismó atá anseo agus cearto bunúsacha a lorg acu. Tá easpa treoir faoi láthair orthu. Tá lucht polaitíochta na haite idir FG, FF, agus an comharchumann go nimhneach ina naghaidh, agus cuireann sin eagla ar dhaoine. D'fhéadfadh go neireodh leo dá ndúiseadh na ceannairí agus a naghaidh a iompó sa treo ceart.

Níl sábhailt ar bith ar Chorca Dhuibhne faoin gcoras mar atá, díreach mar nach bhfuil ag an náisiún. Is gíota den Pháilé sinne, is piosa don Bhreatain í sin agus is stráice den Mhonapolacht mhór í sin. Cá bhfagánn san sinne!

Florence O' Riordan

British military repression against the anti-Unionist population continues unabated. The case of Florence O'Riordan is no exception. On December 27th, a patrol of the Coldstream Guards raided her home twice. They completely wrecked it and Military Policewomen assaulted her. When she attempted to defend herself, she was arrested along with her husband, five children and two friends who were visiting at the time.

One of the friends was William Davidson, the man who drove the car in which the two sisters, Mrs Msura Meehan and Miss Dorothy Maguire were shot dead by the army in late 1970. Mrs O'Riordan, whose 13 year old son was also murdered by the army in March last year, was a passenger in the same car. Both she and Mr Davidson were accused of attempting to murder soldiers

from the car in which the sisters died. When forensic evidence given at their trial proved conclusively that no shots had been fired from the car, new charges of dangerous driving were brought against them. He got eight months, she got one. Her 12 year old son was 'lifted' by the army for screening, and when they had finished, they said they were going to drop him on the Shankill.

The Military Policewomen who assaulted her joked over a photograph of her dead son, saying that more of her children should have been shot. Mrs O'Riordan said: 'My home is subjected to almost daily abuse by the British Army. My children are harassed and my own nerves are virtually shattered. I have to go through entries in an attempt to avoid patrols, for they never leave me or my family at peace.'

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POLAND: TWO YEARS AFTER THE RIOTS

This month and last month mark the second anniversary of a great wave of strikes and revolts in Poland. On 13 December 1970 the Gomulka government announced large price rises for necessities like food, coal, and shoes. The workers of Gdansk rose in insurrection, sacking the local headquarters of the Polish United Workers' Party (the Communist Party). Strikes and demonstrations spread to other cities: over 40 workers were killed by the army and police.

Gomulka was forced to resign and the new government led by Gierk promised reforms. Yet many factories and shipyards stayed out on strike through January. The workers at the Adolf Warski shipyard in Szczecin refused to go back to work until Gierk came and listened to them. Details of this extraordinary confrontation have since been smuggled out.

The demands of the strike committee included cancellation of the price increases; honest information on the political and economic situation in the shipyards and the whole country; no victimisation; and that the demands should be reported by the local press and radio.

Gierk replied: 'Perhaps you don't know exactly where we stand . . . Everything is very, very bad . . . Wherever we turn, the situation is blocked. It's impossible to upset the applecart, to tear everything apart. The only solution, believe me, is painful . . . it's hard to say . . . but it is that you work harder and still harder.'

After Gierk gave the workers these thrilling news (which workers all over the world have heard from politicians), he added: 'It is out of the question, at this time, to encourage agitation among the workers by publishing your demands!'

Delegates

The meeting was then thrown open to delegates from the various departments. Delegates talked about bad working conditions and health risks, too much overtime, the lowering of piecework rates. The delegate from K-4 complained that their wages were only £18 or £20 a month. A family of five would have to spend £19 a month on food alone.

Another delegate asked was it true that the manager of the shipyard was paid £180 a month, and if so, salaries should be made more equal. He went on in words that ring true in Ireland also: 'I don't think our deputies are interested in their region. They don't

Polish workers raid shops in Gdansk, December 1970



pay the slightest attention to it. Our affairs don't interest them; they never come to the shipyards, not even to hold dialogues like this one. They come at election time though.'

The delegates from K-5 said: 'There are a terrible lot of offices in our section; we're working for six, seven, maybe ten men . . . They're stealing our wages. And that's not all. That's not all, mates. These gentlemen have got where they are, not from here, from among us, but via the government, the Party leadership — a long way from us.'

Bonuses

The delegate from W-2 asked: 'Is it necessary for blood to flow before the Central Committee of the PUWP and the government can be changed?' And the delegate from CP came to the nub of the matter: 'Our society is divided into classes . . . Some people, especially the management and department heads, get much bigger bonuses than others; these bonuses should be equalized . . . We've been fighting for this since 1945; we must make sure there's no division into classes.'

These short extracts give some idea of the feelings of workers in a country which calls itself a 'socialist country' — a country where the working class is supposed to be in power. And what happened two years ago is not just an isolated exception. There have been strikes and risings before. Although workers' conditions have improved in the last two years. Government leaders have had to make repeated visits to the Baltic ports. There is tension over proposed new wage scales linked to productivity and profits. There was

another strike in Gdansk recently, and a threatened strike in Szczecin against the government appointing the prime minister in Gomulka's time as an ambassador; the government climbed down.

The power of the bureaucrats who rule Poland is based on gearing the economy towards making production goods (factory machinery, etc.) instead of making what workers will consume. The present decentralisation of power into the hands of factory managers will mean more luxury goods for managers to buy, not more goods for workers.

Lessons

There are two lessons to be learned from all this. Firstly, the Polish system is not what we are fighting for. The Irish working class must not be conned — either by the capitalists or by the Communist Party — into thinking that what happens in Poland is socialism. A genuine working-class state is possible provided it is established by the working class itself (the coming of socialism in Poland was 'helped' by the Russian Army); and provided the workers control their own factories and places of work and starting there, build their own state democratically upwards.

Secondly, workers are the same the world over. Polish workers will rise in rebellion again — not for the sake of restoring capitalism but for the sake of a genuine socialism. Their final success or failure will depend on the progress of workers' struggles in Russia . . . Germany . . . Ireland.

John Goodwillie

Bolivian Workers Strike

General Banzer's dictatorial regime has held power in Bolivia for just over a year. It was in November 1971 that an army coup overthrew the Popular Assembly. One of the first things it did was to dissolve the trade union federation.

But there are signs that the Bolivian workers are shaking off the effects of that defeat. In July, government candidates in a miners' union election were defeated. In November, the trade unions called a 24-hour strike against the government's economic policies. Previous to that, they had forced the government to put a price freeze on essential goods.

The authorities reacted to the strike call by banning trade union demonstrations and arresting a number of trade union leaders. But a sit-in strike by textile workers was able to force their release. Once again, the government conceded, and entered wage negotiations. The trade unions have gone into these with the power of threatened strike action against unsatisfactory settlements behind them.

The Bolivian workers have shown that their organised resistance cannot be held down for long. But if the Bolivian workers are to gain lasting successes they will have to break free, not only of the Banzer regime, but also of the middle-class nationalists who would happily use them to get into power.

ITALIAN STRUGGLE HOTS UP



Engineering workers at the Milan meeting

Every three years, the 'contracts' which govern wage levels for many thousands of Italian workers, are renewed. They correspond roughly to the National Wage Agreement in this country. In 1969, the struggle over the contracts led to massive demonstrations, factory occupations, and violent clashes between strikers and police.

Two months ago, 200,000 engineering workers assembled in Milan to launch the struggle for 1972-73. This was exactly twice the number that met on the same occasion three years before. Since then, there have been strikes in many sectors, with up to 3 million on strike at one time. Bank clerks were among the most recent to strike, complaining, in particular, of the effects of V.A.T. on prices. Railway workers were due to strike at Christmas, but called off their action when an agreement was signed.

At the same time as this struggle has been hotting up, there are demonstrations taking place against the activities of the police and of extreme right-wing groups (sometimes in league with one another). In December, 30,000 marched for the release of Valpreda, an anarchist held without reason for three years by the police. Demonstrations in Rome have not often been as large as this, and this one led to sharp clashes between police and protestors.

The Communist Party, which aims at slowly easing into power through elections and through increasing 'respectability', took the occasion to denounce the demonstrators as provocateurs.

But the struggle for higher wages, and the fight against repression, will inevitably go beyond the limits which the Communist Party would set. It must become a struggle to define a revolutionary alternative based on the power of workers in the factories and in the localities.

GREECE: A Turning Point?

The recent repressive measures of the Pianna Fall government led many people to compare them with the Greek colonels' regime. In Greece itself, there is increasing opposition to the 'junta' from several different sectors of society, including members of the previous government. There is also some sign, however, that the colonels are trying to look more respectable.

In this article, a Greek exile, George Gons, examines the colonels' regime and recent trends in that country.

On the 29th October, the Greek Army held exercises on the campus of the university in Thessaloniki, the second biggest and most industrialised city in Greece. The strange thing is not the manoeuvres themselves, but the fact that they were timed to coincide with the student-council elections.

The fact is that the Colonels, since they came to power in April 1967, have not dared till now to risk elections being held in any mass representative body.

When they came to power, their role was to fill the political vacuum. This resulted from the inability of the ruling class to agree on a basic programme of economic and social development and from the illusion of the working class,

held back by the Greek Communist Party, that when the General Elections came they would be able to impose a government in their own interests.

The falseness of this treacherous advice was shown ten days before the election with the Colonels' coup. Their first act in power was to abolish all political parties, arrest all working class leaders, trade unionists, militants and students. The Communist Party members were hounded, tortured and imprisoned. The Church was given the prominent place in public life that it had been losing, and anti-communism, Christianity and love of the fatherland became the watchwords of the new regime.

OPPOSITION

Of course, there was political opposition, but nothing that ever put the regime into doubt. No organisation, whether Communist Party-led, liberalised or revolutionary, managed to attract and keep any significant section of the working class in its ranks. The result was that bombing became the main form of political activity, which played into the hands of the junta, making it easier for it to continue the emergency laws and persecution of workers, and at the same time left the

mass of the workers apathetic.

Strikers were forbidden, and any demands the workers made had to be vetted by the state-appointed union officials. Yet industrial action did not cease, and concessions were made wherever it was feared that a greater explosion might follow.

Under the pressure of threatened revolt from below and the need for economic development, the junta has tried to hammer out a programme which involves kicking nearly 300,000 peasants off the land and modernising industry and agriculture to fit into the Common Market's needs. But this programme requires large sums of capital and co-operation both from industrialists and workers, and the latter can only be procured in a framework of wider consultation, bargaining and collective decision-making. In short the junta needs to liberalise, set up a smaller, better controlled parliament, have tame trade unions, and more 'responsible' political parties. This will be counter-balanced by greater independence for the army as well as laws to allow the government to intervene in the internal affairs of the parties and unions — to make sure they are not too responsive to pressures from below.

The student elections were an experiment tried by the junta to test the political temperature. The Minister of Education affirmed before the elections 'the complete faith of the government in the students'. Yet everywhere they could, the junta's representatives used the most blatant trickery to stop the students from voting, preventing 'unreliable' candidates from standing for election, taking hundreds of students before the political police, tampering with ballot boxes, and employing hosts of other measures of terror.

BOYCOTT

The result was the students boycotted elections on a mass scale, and the hopeless reliance of the junta on the police rather than on mass persuasion was once more revealed.

This, at a time of threatened strikes by the bank, shop-assistants and railway workers, shows the plans of the ruling class are once again coming up against the rock on which they had floundered previously — namely, the unwillingness of the Green working class to pay for the problems and expansion of the Greek capitalists and their Colonels.

LOYALISTS AND THE EEC

The following is an extract from the *Loyalist News*, Dec. 30th, 1972:— 'The EEC has been variously labeled "The New Holy Roman Empire", "The Rich Man's Club", etc. Within and without it there is much antagonism towards its economic policies, which are not designed to increase in any substantial measure the share of Europe's working classes in the wealth which they produce, and its political aspirations which are seen by many to be subversive of individual and national liberty . . . Despite the eloquence of its sponsors, it does little to expand that "Internationalism" which is the real hope for world peace and harmony . . . There is too the very real danger of the creation of a European bureaucratic elite, a new aristocracy of rich industrialists and ivory towered politicians, ruling over vast millions of even less free working people: a modern feudalism.'

In spite of the fine-sounding rhetoric, however, the *Loyalist News* only offers a return the British Commonwealth, and bemoans the fact the EEC will cut off 'the UK from our racial compatriots in Australia and New Zealand'. The rest of this edition is full of psychopathic rantings about William Craig, that great champion of the working classes, individual liberty, Internationalism, left wing political movements, full employment, social and economic progress . . .

The North:

SECTARIAN KILLINGS INCREASE

In the last month of 1972, 33 people died violently in the Six Counties, and four in the 26. Of these 37 people, 19 were killed by loyalists, 16 of them Catholics: 13 assassinated in cold blood, and three in loyalist bomb explosions. Of the other three, one was the Protestant wife of an East Belfast Catholic whose home and business has come under relentless attack from the UDA in recent months, one was a Protestant killed in the Derry massacre at the Top of the Hill bar, in which four Catholics also died, and the third was Mr Ernie Elliot, a leader in the UDA, killed in an internal loyalist feud.

Three soldiers, three UDR men and two policemen were killed by republicans, along with three civilians. Five of the dead were killed by the British Army, two of them by what the army called 'mistakes'. Of the other three killed, at least one, Mr James McDaid, was certainly not armed, and was shot in the back.

Between them, the army and the loyalist extremists are therefore responsible for two thirds of the violent deaths in December. But in spite of this fact, the media continue to blame the IRA for the spiralling death toll. Of the 121 people officially recognised as being the victims of assassination squads, 83 were Catholics, and 38 Protestants. A great many of the Protestants were killed by loyalists, including three in December alone.

Task Force

On 6 December, Whitelaw announced the setting up of a Special Task Force, to deal with the wave of murders, especially in East Belfast, where one sixth of the victims have died, although less than a twentieth of the Six Counties' population lives there. East Belfast has been the scene of a pogrom attempt by extreme loyalists against the scattered and isolated Catholic families who live there. This has taken the form of killings, beatings, burnings and bombings.

Hundreds of Catholic families have been forced to flee the area. Scores of homes and small shops have been set on fire or blown up. Catholic churches and pubs have been attacked and wrecked. A number of the Catholics murdered in this part of the city have been workers, either going to or returning from work. At the beginning of January loyalist gunmen attempted to murder a whole car full of Catholic workmen going on night-shift at the Rolls Royce factory in East Belfast. One man was killed, and several injured.

Given the extent of the East Belfast pogrom, Whitelaw's Task Force of twenty men is useless. In any case it is not set up to save the lives of isolated Catholics in that part of Belfast—something which the army has publicly stated time and time again not to be its 'real' role—but rather to placate liberal elements who were beginning to get disturbed at the horror of it all.

The first man arrested by the new

patrol turned out to be a member of the UDR, found roaming the streets with a loaded gun, late at night. After all the initial publicity which greeted the Task Force, there was a sudden fall off in the coverage of its exploits. The fact that a member of a state body, armed and trained by the British Government, should be the first to fall foul of another Government force, out to catch murderers, was a considerable embarrassment to those who preach to us day and night about the need to respect the forces of 'law and order'. Any serious attempt to come to grips with the sectarian murders would undoubtedly reveal the extent to which the 'peacekeepers' and the extreme loyalist killer

the RUC for questioning. But when loyalists murdered five men in a Derry bar, no mass searches or arrests were made in the Waterside area of that city where the bar is situated. The police and army know the identity of the Derry loyalists, who operate openly there.

One Protestant I spoke to in Belfast expressed a view which is probably fairly widespread. He said that although the killings were frightening, they were justified if they would help to scare the Catholic population into renouncing the Provos. It is certainly the view of Craig and his Vanguard cronies. While halfheartedly criticising those responsible for the killings, he said that loyalists had no alternative so long as



gangs are in league with each other.

Members of the British Army are themselves involved in the shooting of unarmed Catholics. In May last year it was admitted in Parliament that plain clothes soldiers were engaged in these type of operations. A machine gun attack in the Catholic Ardoyne a week before Christmas, in which two civilians were wounded, was undoubtedly the work of one such undercover group. A uniformed military patrol looked on as the would-be assassins did their shooting and drove off.

The British Government is also unwilling to upset the loyalists at a time when they have the Provos on the run. This is why they refuse to follow up the murder of Catholics while they continue to arrest scores of Republicans and their supporters throughout the Six Counties. When the Unionist Councillor William Johnston, a prominent Armagh businessman and member of the Police Authority, was killed, hundreds of soldiers saturated the Catholic housing estates in the city and arrested 20 men who were handed over to

they were denied 'their' Parliament (meaning the 'legal' right to liquidate their opponents).

Craig has consistently advocated activities of the type which are now so widespread throughout the province. John Taylor and John McKeague have backed him up. Loyalist newspapers threaten wholesale massacre of Catholics. Whitelaw knows well who to go to if he wants to end the killings, but he would rather sacrifice the lives of unarmed civilians for the sake of British political expediency than save them at the expense of rocking the boat.

The British attitude to these horrific murders should finally dispell any illusions in the heads of those who have mistakenly believed that the British Army is in Ireland to keep the peace. It is not. It is here for one thing, and one thing only: to defeat all resistance to the continued domination of the Six Counties by British capital and British imperialism. The sooner that army gets out, the sooner the killing will be ended.

M. Miller January 2nd, 1973

Dublin:

BALLYFERMOT C.A. NOT A MODEL

Most people have heard of the Ballyfermot Community Association at one time or another. This association is pointed to as a model, the ideal set-up, North and South. It has been shown to the people of Bogside, and used as a model for the Bogside Community Association.

To most people in Ballyfermot it looks a bit different. The Community Association was formed with a promise from the Dublin Corporation that we would be in a better bargaining position to get things done. The Corporation guaranteed a bank loan to the B.C.A. That guarantee has been worth nothing, as all Corporation guarantees are. We are not in a better bargaining position.

Businessmen were brought into the Association too. They were supposed to help the people. I say suppose because their interests are not the same as the tenants. There are some people who say that we should work with the small traders and shopkeepers, but they forget that the shopkeepers put up prices and so on, while tenants are trying to keep them down. The tenants should make sure that this is changed.

Within the Ballyfermot Community Association people do not know what is going on. This is partly the tenants' fault but not all, as some of the leadership would have us believe. There are channels for information to be put out, but nobody makes sure that this happens. The present leadership has been more open than the past one. But still there is not enough in-

volvement at street level and not enough effort by the most active people to get others involved.

Some of the B.C.A. leadership have been heard to say that they wished the rent strike was over so as to get down to more important matters. I ask them, what could be more important than the rent strike. Do they still believe that the Corporation are all nice people? Have they forgotten the Coolock affair when an attempt was made to evict rent strikers?

The B.C.A. looks after the social side of things fairly well. But that is where it stops. All other matters will be taken care of in the future. Two community centres were built which, when payments are finished, will cost about £50,000. The tenants will have to pay for this. This should not have to happen. Wage packets in the houses are small enough, and getting smaller, without having to build your own community centres. Some people have also got into debt because they wanted to take part in social activities.

There are many more issues that tenants have to hit public bodies over, as well as private bodies. Unless tenants begin to realise that their fight is only a part of the whole fight against the present system, and begin to link up with others, they will not be able to hold on to short-term or long-term gains. To do this, they need their own organisations, not ones tied to the system itself.

P. Moran

Drogheda:

UNEMPLOYED KEPT OUT



In the last issue of 'The Worker' we reported on the activities of the Drogheda Unemployed Workers Committee. We stressed the importance of strengthening the links between the unemployed and the employed, and organised workers.

Since then, however, the Drogheda Unemployed Workers Committee have had two applications to affiliate to the local Trades Council turned down. The Trades Council has used the formal excuse of only taking in trade union representatives to exclude them.

One delegate thought there was nothing that could be done to help the unemployed, anyway. Perhaps they could demand the setting up of a training centre, he thought.

Waterford:

DUNLOP STRIKE ENDS

The strike of the 63 workers at the Dunlop slipper factory in Waterford has ended. The strike was against the lay off of one third of the work force (16 women, 6 men) and lasted fourteen weeks. Union support had declined and the workers could see no option but to accept a Labour Court recommendation.

The Court recommended that the remaining 58 workers work a four-day week up to 19th January, 1973. In the meantime workers may leave voluntarily, but if the required number have not left by the 19th January then the most junior workers will be made redundant. The 16 women being laid off will get compensation of two weeks pay for each years service or not less than £50 in addition to their entitlements under the Redundancy Payments Act. The 6 men will be offered alternative employment in Tyresoles, another local factory in the Dunlop Group.

In Tyresoles a three-shift system operates and for the Dunlop workers this will mean an additional shift is guaranteed whether they take the jobs or not. The Labour Court also upheld the 'final right of Management to determine the level of manpower required to meet production needs' i.e. the right of the bosses to sack where and when they like. The Labour Court is, of course, an 'im-

This is not only nonsense, it is also dangerous. It is just this kind of resignation and defeatism which allows bosses to divide workers and push through redundancies. By linking the employed and the unemployed, the fight could be carried on on two fronts, as it should be.

The unemployed must be organised to demand better treatment and higher welfare payments. Workers must be organised at the place of work to resist every threat of redundancy with immediate action. The full force of the trade union movement should be used to support every fight against attacks on jobs — by pickets, protests, and industrial action. The 80,000 unemployed in the 26 Counties should not be allowed to fall outside this movement. They are a part of the working class, and share the problems and interests of the working class.

It is especially important to point out the links between employed and unemployed, tenants and shoppers, at this time in Drogheda. The Corporation have been threatening to sack men, because, they say, of the effects of the rent strike on Ballsbridge estate.

By refusing the Unemployed Workers' application to join, the Trades Council has helped perpetuate the kind of divisions which would allow the Corporation to get away with this. They should be to the fore in defending every job. They should think again about what they have done.

Galway:

'Not another article on Housing?' Galway people ask. Yes, it is. But maybe there are a few points here which have not been mentioned in the local papers. This is the tenants view of the situation.

First, take the house purchasing scheme. The Corporation have been trying to sell houses in all the estates around town. Since the 1966 Housing Act, they can claim market value for the houses, so they are in fact just like the blood-sucking speculators we hear so much about. This is not surprising when one looks at some of the people who are on the Corporation, people like poor Mr Divilly. But the point is that the Corporation is a publicly elected body which is supposed to serve the people and not joint with those who are exploiting. The effects of the 1966 Act on tenant house-buying can be seen from the following examples.

Not Buying

The houses in O'Donoghue's Terrace were built in 1910 by the British at an estimated price of £90. Before 1966 these houses were not up for sale, but the area was to be redeveloped, they said. Since 1966 when market prices applied, the houses are now on the market for £2,000. In Henry Street, houses were for sale before 1966 for £300 now the price is £2,000. The Claddagh people are also being offered houses for £2,000, but are not buying. They are not likely to forget the sort of deals the Corporation make. In the 1930s the houses in the old village were knocked down and new ones built. Apart from the fact that the new ones were just as bad as the old ones, the tenants had to

CORPORATION TENANTS PAY MORE FOR HOUSES

pay rents in the new ones when the old ones were rent free.

Anyone who buys these houses will be burdened with repayments, and by the time a house has been paid for over £6,000 will have been paid to the Corporation. But this is not enough for the Corporation; each sale is by way of lease for 99 years. At the end of that time the house goes back to the Corporation again and someone else buys the house all over again. Just like the old feudal system. Another thing about repayments is that if a tenant can't make them, for example, in the case of long sickness, death etc., he or she must go back to differential rent payments again and no benefit is given for payments already made.

The repayments go on for 35 years so many tenants will have repayments after retirement. No reductions for this as in rent/rates payments on retirement or prolonged social payments. But the Corporation won't tell this to tenants. In fact there is a large amount of secrecy when it comes to tenants rights. Tenants have to apply for these remittances on retiring and now the Combined Tenants Association (C.T.A.) is helping in this.

Recently they discovered that the forms for these remittances must be filled in every year. One man, who could not read or write had his rents increased again. The Corporation officials would not explain the forms to him so he had to go to the C.T.A. for help. Every tenant should insist on being told what his rights are and this big secrecy on the part of the Corporation must stop.

There are other aspects of this house purchasing which could be stressed. Clause 6(e) says that no alterations are

to be made to the house when bought, without 'prior consent of the Corporation'. A clause which makes second-class citizens of tenants who buy houses, because they must get permission from the Planning Authority and the Corporation.

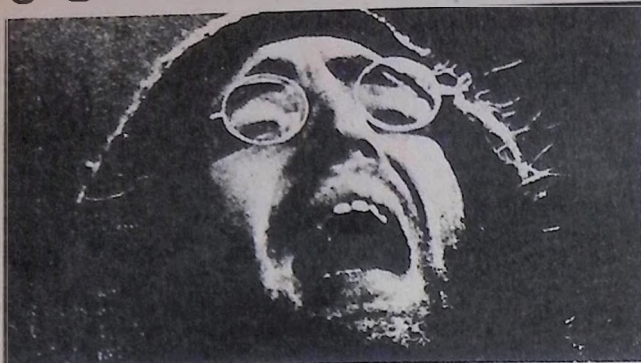
Repairs

Clause 6(g) is a beauty. According to that one, the Corporation or its agents can enter the dwelling 'for the purposes of examining the state of repair' and the owner must make any repairs they 'indicate in writing'. If the owner fails to do it, the Corporation can go ahead and do it and bill the owner for it. Now how about turning this clause around for a change. Let's say that the Corporation must make repairs to houses when asked for in writing by tenants and if they fail to do it the tenants get it done and send the bill to the Corporation. No need to say whether or not the Corporation would agree to that. The number of faults in houses around the working class housing estates is infinite and there is no need to mention them here. The tenants know what they are and are tired of telling the Corporation about them and waiting up to 13 years in some cases before they get anything done.

So it is obvious that the Corporation is trying to get a big fat profit out of the houses by getting the tenants to buy. The tenants are refusing to be conned. Instead they are putting pressure — and must put more — on the Corporation to repair the houses and provide proper facilities, at Corporation expense, in the houses, i.e. decent toilets, bathrooms etc.

Donal Hurley.

Review: JOHN LENNON



John Lennon's latest album 'Some Time in New York City' has been out for a couple of months, but is worth reviewing even now, along with his other recent work. It consists of two records.

To take the first record first. Musically this is, well, excellent. That is, it comes up to Lennon (and maybe maybe) scratch. It's a real rocker. The rotest is hammered home in fast loud beat. And if you like rock 'n' roll the whole record will appeal to you. The message, which is almost entirely a message of rebellion, is spelt out by the music as well as by the words that go with it.

Contemporary music — rock, blues, folk etc. — has always been rebellious, an expression of young dissent and rotest. (And of course, all this tended to be smothered in a sugary avalanche of commercial nonsense from the giant record companies, Radio Luxembourg, and the whole 'youth' industry.) 'Some Time in New York City' and other of Lennon's recent work has brought rotest song and music to a new height. Behind him he has a musical background featuring such rebellion and social comment as 'Eleanor Rigby', 'I am the Walrus', 'She's Leaving Home', 'Bungalow Bill', Harrison's 'Piggies' and so on.

Position

But now his protest and teaching is more to the point, closer to direct statement and less clothed in symbolism. In short he is talking about socialism. Lennon, the bohemian, the hippie artist, has turned radical. 'This time he has gone too far!' says respectable opinion, and the 'trendy, winging' false world of pop doesn't quite know how to take it.

The words of his songs have now taken up a definite position on the world about him. He has become political, taking part in the actual issues of the society around him. In his album (which has been nicknamed John Lennon's Greatest Protest) he sings about the North, Women's Liberation, American prison riots, the killing of John Sinclair, Angela Davis and his hopes for a new world.

A painter or a songwriter can do valuable work hitting out at

domination and injustice with his art, sending out his lone message. But Lennon has come right in on the side of the exploited and oppressed. He sings 'as soon as your born they make you feel small

by giving you no time instead of it all till the pain gets so big you
A working class hero is something to be.

He accepts an explanation of the ills of society — the socialist explanation — and talks about workers and them, meaning the exploiters. The message is, however, more of a personal angry comment than a clearly worked out political programme. But, unmistakably, here is an explicitly political approach. Lennon's hit single 'Power to the People' was used as a marching song in American demos and in this album —

'Now's the time for revolution
Give them all a chance to grow
Come together join the movement.
Take a stand for human rights . . .'

The standpoint on woman comes to the heart of the matter — 'Woman is the slave to the slaves' — and a great line — 'If you don't believe me take a look at the one you're with'.

The songs on Ireland really hit hard. Lennon tries so hard to see it from the Irish side that he ends up giving out fiery, Provo, anti-English lines — 'you anglo pigs and Scotties', and 'reappropriate to Britain all of you who call it home'. This extreme nationalism is forgivable in a song which is otherwise very valuable:

'Yes it's always bloody Sunday
In the concentration camps
Keep Falls Road free forever . . .'

Two other songs are about John Sinclair's severe jail sentence of ten years for having two marijuana smokes, and the imprisonment of Angela Davis — a champion of the black Americans.

The second record is a different kettle of fish. This kind of music has a limited appeal, but it's not the first time Lennon has done such. Side one should never have been released — it's available twice already on other records. On the other side, the old 'Cavern' rocker is great, and, I personally, like 'Scumbag' composed with the aid of Frank Zappa.

D. Derwin

The Great Stamp Controversy

Miracle of miracles! You can have your cake and eat it — you can shop and save, spend money and keep it. Or so the Green Shield Stamp Trading Co Ltd. would have us believe. The recent threat to their existence has sent them into a flurry of publicity and advertising. Black and white posters proclaim the 'facts', 'independent' surveys, 'freedom of choice' and so on. Let's take a closer look at the 'facts'.

Immediately it can be seen that the retailer, the stamp company and the firms who supply the gifts must be paid from the whole affair. Green Shield say the retailer pays them 87.5p for a book of stamps and they give 89.7 worth of goods for it. But the National Prices Commission say the retailer pays 95p for a book of stamps. Green Shield do not, however, give 95p worth of goods for one book. You can get a milk bottle carrier for 1 book — 60p is the average retail price in Dublin shops. For a tea-trolley you need 12½ books. For these the shopkeeper pays £11.87½ to Green Shield. You get a 'gift' tea-trolley from Green Shield which could be bought for £7.95.

A Black and Decker power drill costs £17.10 from the shops, when Green Shield buy it. Its average retail price in Dublin is

£12.20. Some items cost more in the shops than from Green Shield, but on average the Green Shield 'price' is 22% higher than the average retail price for the goods in their catalogues. And that's a National Prices Commission finding. What do Green Shield mean when they say 'Gifts are offered at the manufacturers recommended price?'

PROFITS

A shopkeeper making 16% profit on sales would have to increase his turnover by 18% just to cover the cost of stamps. 'In the long run shopkeepers incur additional costs and this tends to cause upward pressure on prices' — National Prices Commission.

Trading Stamps create an illusion for the shopper. There is only one way of filling that book faster — that's by buying more. The shoppers think they are getting something extra because they have a Green Shield book on the mantelpiece. It all helps the system by keeping more money circulating.

The difference between Green Shield books in Ireland and Britain is worth noting too. The U.K. book holds 1,280 stamps, while the Irish one takes 1,520. Yet in

Ireland a 24" suitcase costs 7 books, while in the U.K. it costs only 6½.

A Dublin chain of stores, Elephant Supermarkets, recently got rid of trading stamps. But they also increased their profit margins and brought down just some of their prices. This kind of thing frightens Green Shield — especially since the Chairman, R. Tomkins, has a salary of £390,000 per annum and gets most of the profits (£2,000,000 p.a.) of the company. It also worries corporations like Krups who get rid of 10% of their annual production to the Green Shield Stamp Co. Green Shield are now pressing firms like Krups to petition on their behalf.

The trading stamp business is an enormous and very profitable con. But does that mean we prefer shops not to have them? As the examples above shows, they increase their profits, and in spite of lower prices on some goods, the customer makes less of a saving on each item. The fact is that stamps are completely unimportant to the whole issue of rising prices and profits. Only taking on the system with demands for a national minimum wage could begin to change that.

D.D.

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 the living;
- defence of the living standards of workers and small farmers;
- rank-and-file control and socialist leadership of the trade unions;
- the election of all trade union

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

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

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

GALWAY NOTES

A young worker recently made redundant applied for a labouring job in the Digital factory. He had to go through two interviews and an I.Q. test before he got the job. But after a week and a day at work, he was sacked; no explanation given.

Apparently, Digital do not only test a worker's character and 'intelligence', they also check on political views. The worker in question has been an active militant in the local republican movement for some time. His experience has been shared by other with similar views, who have been threatened by Gardai or by their bosses in an effort to intimidate them out of political activity.

★★★★★

Towards the end of last year, there was a bomb scare in the Great Southern Hotel. The Gardai went mad — they knew someone was up to tricks. They suddenly decided they knew who that someone was.

A group of young people from the Mervue estate were walking down the street. Two squad cars pulled up beside them. They began to pull the six lads in. Two others across the road came over to ask what was going on. They too were taken to the station.

Once in the station, they were kicked in the face, told to get their hair cut, and were shouted at to 'admit it', 'admit it'. They were brought to the cells individually. From time to time, one or

other was brought up to face interrogation. Eventually, one asked that he either be charged or released. Again, beatings, and shouts.

At six o'clock in the morning, all were released individually. There were no charges, arrests, or apologies. No doubt the superintendent will deny that anything happened at all in the station on that Saturday night. Just as he denied that, on the previous day, there had been a baton charge against students who dared to picket the station.

★★★★★

Another young worker, who went for a job at one of Pat Quinn's stores, had a different experience at his interview. He was asked how many times he had sex in a week. He answered satisfactorily, it seems, for he got the job as a storeman. He was employed as a temporary, getting £4 a day, 5 days a week. Pat Quinn was in a hurry to get the shop ready for opening.

Thinking he was on to a good thing, the worker applied for a permanent position as storeman. He was told it would be settled at the end of the week. To his surprise, he received £7.50 for the week's work. The explanation: if you want to be a storeman on a permanent basis, you start at £7.50 a week for the first year, and £8.00 a week for the second year — if they haven't sacked you.