

the worker

FOR A WORKERS' REPUBLIC AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

SCHOOLS ACTION

BELFAST SCHOOL students have formed the Schools Action Committee to fight the internment of their comrades and to oppose increasing British Army harassment with a campaign of militant action.

The S.A.C. have called three one-day school strikes and organised protest rallies on each occasion. Members hoped to bring schools to a standstill and put real pressure on Whitelaw but the largest crowd at any rally was 500.

The main reason for poor support was the attitude of the teachers: none of them came out and many have victimised S.A.C. supporters. Students in many of Belfast's Catholic Schools were threatened with expulsion if they participated.

The S.D.L.P., of course, ignored the demonstrations and claim that the Action Committee is a Provo front. It would be a bad blow to their power-seeking activities in the Assembly if the people were prepared to get back to the streets and support militant anti-internment organisations.

The S.A.C. hopes to expand outside the Belfast area and throughout the 6 Counties. A member of the Action Committee told 'The Worker': 'We greatly need the support of Southern students to add to our strength and bring us victory.'

25p an hour!

AS THE MARLIN STRIKE ENDED—SEE PAGE 3—AROUND THE CORNER IN DUBLIN'S LIBERTIES THE MERLIN STRIKE WAS JUST BEGINNING.

Mr Helmut Merlin, a businessman from Lichtenstein, half owns the Gresham Hosiery factory in Ardee Street, where a four-day unofficial strike was staged recently. It was in support of a young dye-room worker who had been refused his wages while out sick with chemical burns on his hands. The management refused to accept any responsibility for the accident despite the fact that, contrary to law, the dye-room worker was unsupervised and without any protective clothing at all.

The I.T.G.W.U. official, whose obvious aim was to end the strike with the minimum of fuss to himself or the employers, eventually persuaded the employers to pay the

DON'T BE TRICKED!

AT A RECENT management conference in the North, Liam Connellan, director of the Confederation of Irish Industry, warned the bosses that they must think of 'new tricks (his words) to keep workers' wages down.

He was referring to the 'danger' of Irish workers fighting off the savage attacks on their living standards which are contained in Phase Three in the North and threatened in a third National Wage Agreement in the South. These are tricks, aimed at holding wages down while permitting profits to soar, and no worker should doubt it.

The last NWA was a disaster for workers in the South. In effect it prevented real wage rises. The poorly organised low paid workers often didn't even get the promised increases. And those who did failed to keep up with the massive rises in prices: food up by 30 per cent and all prices by an average of 18 per cent. Even higher increases are predicted for this year.

And the ICTU are now negotiating a repeat performance!

In the North the 7 per cent maximum wage increase will go nowhere near making up the ground lost under Phases One and Two. With tax deductions and price rises running at an annual average of 10 per cent, real wages will continue to fall. The lowest paid workers who settle for the flat rise of £2.24 will actually suffer a cut in income of 75p per week, as they will be raised above the minimum level for free school meals, Family Income Supplement, and rent rebates.

To reach the maximum annual increase of £350 you would have to be earning £100 per week!

The wage differential between British and Six County workers, now standing at around £5 per week, will be cemented under Phase Three. But the huge profits of the bosses continue to rocket to new heights: under Phase Two there was an all round increase of 40 per cent. (60 per cent since 1971).

Both North and South rank and file workers are preparing to defend themselves. In Dublin an anti national wage agreement committee of shop stewards and rank and file militants from a number of unions has been

set up. Three well attended public meetings have been held. Tens of thousands of leaflets have been distributed at factories. The demands in them include:

Minimum wage of £30.
35 hour working week.
Equal pay for women.
No restraints on collective bargaining.

Similar committees have been set up in Limerick and Drogheda. Workers in other towns have expressed support.

Prominent Northern militants have pledged support for a forthcoming conference of rank-and-file trade unionists to be held in the South. They are also organising factory gate meetings against Phase Three.

Both North and South TU top brass have made it clear that they have no intention of leading the struggles that lie ahead. The task of organising the fight has clearly fallen

OPPOSE BOSSES' PLANS TO CONTROL WAGES NORTH & SOUTH

to rank-and-file militants. And the fight is double edged: it must involve a struggle within the unions for greater rank-and-file control; and it must involve a struggle in the factories to prepare for militant action that is necessary to show the ruling class that they are not going to get away with their 'tricks'. In the North there must be organised pressure on the union leaders to abandon all talks with the Tory government and to pursue claims without phoney deals on productivity and 'efficiency'.

Bosses in both parts of Ireland are united in their attack on our living standards. The fight against them must be organised on the same basis. Cross-border links must be established.

Members and supporters of the Socialist Workers' Movement are actively assisting in this campaign. To ensure its success you must do likewise.

wage, while still denying any responsibility for the injuries. Work was resumed.

The Gresham Manufacturing Company owns more than the Ardee Street factory which is in fact their smallest. The two larger ones are in the North, in Newry and Bangor, and the faceless capitalist from Lichtenstein is living off the profits of them all, profits created by girls, some of whom earn less than 25p an hour.

"And furthermore, we will be mining the Royal Canal behind the prison to prevent escape by submarine!"



Equal Pay postponed — Unions must act

THE EQUAL PAY Commissioner who has sat silent, idle and well-paid in the Department of Labour for the last eighteen months, has finally acted. He has turned down the claim of the confectioners' union for equal pay for the women members.

The trade unions have given the commissioner very little work to do. The last National Wage Agreement gave women lower wage increases than men; it also allowed the unions to negotiate for 17% of the difference between male and female rate in any job. The confectioners' union is the first to put an Equal Pay claim — only two more union claims are pending.

'Business and Finance' — a paper widely read by Irish bosses — is upset by Mr. Maher's decision and states firmly:

"The ball now lies with the unions who must accept full responsibility for including in their wage agreements with employers, provisions which will enable women to get a fairer slice of the cake".

Of course, the employers mean a fairer slice of the workers' cake — they have no intention of allowing equal pay to cut into profits. Indeed, they have ways of regrading and "job-evaluating"

women out of equal pay. They are already using them. But equal pay talk and female wage increases are ways of encouraging a pool of female labour back to work.

What are the unions doing to protect women workers? Simply by accepting National Wage Agreements they rule out the right of women and men to strike for equal pay. The ICTU for years has talked of equal pay. The women's advisory committee has discussed it and other issues relating to women workers — how effective is the advisory committee?

Derry McDermott in the administration of the ITGWU and a member of the committee, told 'The Worker':

"It's a sop. There is lack of sincere concern about women by the union" The ITGWU has 49,000 women members and no policy on equal pay — agreement in principle, but no strategy for achieving it, no recognition of the employers' ways out, no determination to fight for it.

The Commission on the Status of Women gave lack of trade union organisation as one reason for women's low pay, but of the 100,000 women who are unionised few get support and encouragement — let alone leadership

from their trade union.

May O'Brien, — only female branch secretary of the ITGWU in Dublin says:

"Unions in general are male dominated — they see things from a man's point of view".

She claims that male trade unionists may give superficial support for equal pay and conditions for women — but it is only very superficial.

Women stewards are few; female workers are often represented by men at shop floor, branch and national level. Union officials are not very interested in this weak, low-paid section of the work force. But it is dangerous to demand all-female representation and even more dangerous to talk in terms of a women's union.

An all-female union is no solution it isolates women from higher paid, better organised sections of the work force; it prevents a co-ordinated workers' action for equal pay and conditions.

Similarly, male-dominated unions with no rank-and-file pressure for determined action against the super-exploitation of women, leave women workers vulnerable and isolated.

Today, women workers are being coaxed into industry after marriage; the bosses need them — they are cheaper and quieter.

Joan Carmichael only female branch secretary of the WUI, which represents 11,700 women, blames women workers for the situation; she talks of silent female attendance at meetings and mass female absence.

Equal Pay legislation is on the cards. If Michael O'Leary has done his homework on the British act, he can leave enough loopholes for every employer to avoid real equal pay.

Mr. Maher's report suggests the need for industry-wide job evaluation. Employers are already regrading women so that job evaluation can be used against their workers.

The Commission on the Status of Women, supported largely by the women's advisory committee, welcomes equal pay as an incentive to employers to get more productivity out of women. More shift work and overtime is likely to be demanded for women workers in return for some semblance of equal pay.

Rank-and-file trade unionists must oppose these strings around the equal

pay packet. They must demand a national minimum wage for men and women.

It is essential for all women workers to be unionised and active; the bosses are anxious for a larger under-paid female work force. The unions are doing little in the interests of their female members — only united rank-and-file activity will force them into action.

ARAB-ISRAELI WAR p7
MOTOR ASSEMBLY p4
95 Capel St
Dublin 1

THIRD WORLD REVOLT UPSETS BALANCE

Part 11 in a series on the History of Socialism

The eruptions in the so-called Third World have shaken the stability of the world system since World War II, but as the twentieth century has advanced, the pattern in the Third World has changed from the old political colonialism to what is called "neo-colonialism", in which political independence is granted but economic control from outside has remained.

In this issue of 'The Worker' we take several case-studies to illustrate the ways in which this has happened. In China and Vietnam guerrilla wars were fought in rural areas under the leadership of parties claiming to be Communist. In Cuba the rural guerrillas took over in the guise of a middle-class revolution, and the Communist aim was an afterthought. In Algeria the guerrillas operated in the towns as well as in the countryside, and yet the result was a regime much less identified with the "Socialist" countries. In India the nationalist movement was comparatively peaceful, and the same pattern was to be

followed throughout most of black Africa.

Yet the results of these different courses have striking similarities. Economic growth is difficult and slow. An important role is played by the government bureaucracy. Whether democratic forms exist or not, the working class has little real influence.

During the 1950s and 1960s there were many socialists who thought that the revolutions in the Third World had a crucial role to play in smashing imperialism. They thought that the working class in Europe and North America had been bought off by welfare capitalism, and that the hope lay in national liberation movements.

They forgot that the nature of imperialism had changed. Modern industry in

Western countries is less dependent on raw materials from the Third World, and Western countries now export their capital to other Western countries and not to the Third World. So its revolutions — if they can occur — have less damaging effects. At the same time, as the Western economic expansion based on armaments grinds to a halt, the Western working classes have begun to be more vigorous in their struggles.

It is on the development of similar struggles in the Third World — though the working classes there may be only a small minority of the population — that the future hopes for socialism in those countries must be based. They may be small, but with the example and the help of victorious working-class movements in the Western countries and also in Eastern Europe, they can succeed.



The Cuban style

INDIA

UNDER the protection of British imperialism an educated middle class in India was given jobs in the civil service, and some Indian capitalists emerged.

The educated middle class took the lead in the nationalist movement led by Gandhi. But general strikes and violent demonstrations played a role alongside Gandhi's non-violence. The British government gradually gave self-government to India, but along with independence in 1947 came partition into India and Pakistan.

In India the Congress Party has remained continually in office. The underdeveloped economy has meant a large role for the State. This means that Congress has to balance the interests of the Indian capitalists and those of the government bureaucracy. Economic growth has only barely kept pace with the increase in population and the government dare not attack the rich peasants, who possess the only available capital to increase investment.

The workers have shown themselves capable of tremendously militant strikes, but the trade unions are run entirely by university graduates who are loyal to a political party and who sell out their members according to the political needs of the moment. The workers have not learned to organise themselves. The hereditary caste system prevents them identifying with the fellow-members of their class. Where the Communists have achieved mass voting support, it has been on the basis of allying themselves to raising peasant castes and not by achieving real class politics.

The Communist Party split in 1964, but both parts are embedded in the dead-end of parliamentary politics. For both, the first struggle is against imperialism and socialism is not on the agenda. Maoist guerrillas have used terrorism first in the countryside, then in Calcutta, but have only recently thought in terms of building mass organisations.

J. G.



Algerian guerrillas drilling

ALGERIA

THE FRENCH colonised Algeria in the first half of the 19th century, but did little to develop its resources. There were several rebellions against French rule. In 1945 a major uprising took 40,000 Algerians were killed.

The nationalist movement had stayed alive, however. In 1953 it split and the FLN (National Liberation Front) was set up, which started the Algerian war the next year. They gained control of several areas of the country side. They set up rival trade unions to those of the MNA (Algerian National Movement) and used violence against them.

In 1958 De Gaulle came to power in France. He was the agent of the big French capitalists who realised that French capitalism could continue to exploit Algeria without the costs of direct political rule.

In 1961 the FLN were able to renew the struggle in the cities and hold a massive demonstration of Algerian workers in Paris. After revolts by the settlers and the Army failed, the

right wing carried out its own terrorist campaign. The main factor for their defeat was the action of workers in France. At the funeral of eight demonstrators killed by police over 500,000 people assembled.

The possibility of class war on top of the Algerian war made the French capitalist grant independence quickly. Most of the Europeans left and the FLN took over the war-torn country. The new regime made claims to socialist policies, e.g. workers' councils, but these had only limited powers. The FLN smashed opposition within the Algerian trade unions and manned them with government supporters.

Such was the demoralisation of the people that when Ben Bella, the FLN leader, was overthrown by a military coup hardly anyone seemed to notice. It was the workers who had carried the burden of the liberation struggle, but this does not mean that the FLN or the MNA were socialist movements. The Algerian working class still has a revolution to make on its own behalf.

The Chinese 'communist' road

THE OUTSTANDING feature of Chinese "communism" is the small role played in its history by the industrial working class. After Chiang Kai-Shek murdered hundreds of thousands of worker militants the Communist party moved its base to the countryside. By the late 1930's industrial workers were less than 2% of party membership.

When the communists came to power, the workers were ordered not to take control of factories. For the first eight

years of communist rule, private capitalists remained in control of much of industry.

The new regime had to develop the economy in almost total isolation. Industrialisation posed formidable problems. 90% of the population worked in agriculture. The main questions were whether or not to channel capital from agriculture to industry. From 1948-57 the emphasis was on heavy industry at the expense of the other two sectors. However, the policy collapsed in the face of opposition

from the peasants and economic upheavals. Since 1960 private plots have been reappearing in agriculture. In industry, there is more individual management. The cultural revolution which was a response to all this has not turned back the tide. The experts are more valuable than the "reds".

China's isolation and backwardness and the need to build up capital has inevitably produced a bureaucratic ruling class to guide national policy. Such a class can only rule over the workers. This is

why the regime does not tolerate independent working class activity.

There were, however, signs during the Cultural Revolution that workers were taking initiatives. Widespread strikes were reported in Shanghai, an industrial city of 8 million people. A number of groups emerged who advocated smashing the "red capitalist state" and the creation of a society based on workers power and revolutionary internationalism. Such voices are bound to be heard increasingly in the coming years.

Doctors dodge it

IT'S HARD trying to get hold of family planning advice and contraceptives in this country, and many of the doctors who met at the Medical Union conference in Sligo earlier this month weren't interested in making it any easier. They referred the whole question to a committee which won't report back till next year's conference. In fact, they didn't really think it was their responsibility to press for the availability of contraceptives at all.

A lot of people might begin to question exactly what a doctor's job is. Could it have to do with alleviating the miserable overcrowded conditions of thousands of working class families, and pressing for the kind of knowledge about sex that it is everybody right to have? Could it have to do with ensuring that the thousands of women in this country who have given their lives to bearing child after child — because they've never been given any alternative — can at last be informed that they do have a right to control their own bodies, and be provided with the means to do so.

No, up till now it's been a doctor's job to sit in a comfortable consulting room, handing out prescriptions and bills. And they're not going to willingly change that cosy situation.

The lack of family planning facilities, and the whole programme of sex education that should go with it, is the direct cause of a never-ending cycle of deprivation, over-crowding, mental illness and brutality. The doctor in Sligo who said that:

There isn't a woman in this country to my knowledge who has to go without family planning advice', is typical of the hypocrites who run our lives, and ruin many.

How many lives have been ruined by the brutality of overcrowding? how many women suffer from nervous and physical exhaustion through constant child bearing? And who's trying to ensure that working class kids — often fourteen or more of them living in two-bedroomed houses — get some basic knowledge so that they don't end up in their parents' dilemma?

The answer is that no-one but working class men and women themselves will change the society that allows such a brutal life to exist. Contraception — the lack of it — is just one aspect of the way working class men and women are denied the right to control their own lives. You wouldn't put fourteen dogs to live in one room; in this society fourteen human beings are expected to do just that. Its time we changed it.

If you want some advice on Family Planning, or you need some contraceptives, write to: Family Planning Service, 4 Lr. Leeson Street, Dublin 2. They don't ask questions, they don't charge any money.

East Wall

Readers will remember that we reported several times on the terrible pollution in the East Wall area of Dublin, and the efforts of local people to stop it. The latest threat to the health and safety of the people of East Wall came from Readymix, the concrete firm, who plan to build a concrete mixing plant on the corner of East Wall Road and Merchants Road.

The residents of Merchants Road have opposed this, believing that it would cause serious damage to lives and property and bring with it the destruction of the road as a residential area. Many of them signed a petition opposing the plan, and demanding that the site be used for much-needed housing.

Now their objections are to be presented in an oral hearing of the appeal by Readymix against the Corporation's refusal of permission. Where will Mr. Tully stand — on the side of big business and their filthy plants (which could, incidentally, be made to cause less pollution, and placed well away from the houses), or on the side of the working people?

E O'D.

UCD WORKERS FIGHT ON

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE Dublin will soon be opening a new Department — a Department of Industrial Relations. Many of its own workers would suggest that the first people to take advantage of this would be the College Authorities themselves.

At present very many of the workers in UCD have grievances which they want to discuss with the authorities; some of these workers have recently found themselves striking on two occasions in an effort to make the College even sit down and talk with them.

On 27th September members of the No. 7 Branch I.T.G.W.U. (UCD Section) and A.U.E.W. (TASS) came out on a one-day unofficial stoppage. The Labour Court had just turned down the workers' demand for a 10% increase in wages, and an increase in family allowances. The workers pointed out that academic staff had received a 10% increase in line with a Public Service Award — and they represented people with salaries in the region of £1,800 to £8,000 while non-academic staff, earning £800 to £1,800 pa. were denied this increase, in spite of the fact that they had received the previous Public Service award. With regard to Family Allowances the differences are startling: academic staff receive £107 for wife and £78 for each child; a worker receives only £24 and £16 respectively — and whereas the academic staff receive regular increases in these amounts, the workers have received no increase since 1964.

Pickets were placed on Belfield, Earlsfort Terrace, Merrion Street, and Albert College, Glasnevin, and were supported by 90% of the workers. However, the

cussed the situation with all workers, including those not directly involved in the strike. When the academic years commenced, and the students returned to College, the workers felt the time was right for stronger action, and a General Meeting decided on a 3-day strike.

The pickets went on again on 16th October. The workers point out that they realised they were in a very different position to workers in industry. The College may only suffer inconvenience during a strike — and actually makes a profit — the thing that makes the difference is bad publicity. The Strike Committee organised coverage in the newspapers, on radio and television, and together with the Socialist Society held meetings to explain the strike to students. For the support they got from students and staff the workers were grateful, but they had this to say in an article written by one of themselves.

"Some students who were active in our support may have been disillusioned with the lack of support from the general student body — but they should remember Monica Nevin's survey into the background of students — only 5% come from working-class backgrounds".

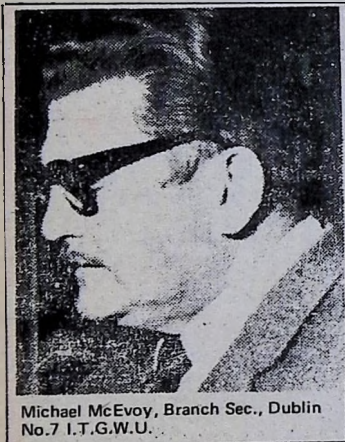
It goes on to say that with this unrepresentative figure one could not expect the solidarity with the workers which one might find in other areas. The article suggested also that students might well look into this question and ask themselves what law ordains that a University education should be so unobtainable for the working-class.

The situation in UCD is still unsettled. The I.T.G.W.U. members have finally convinced their union representatives to re-enter negotiations and together with the A.U.E.W. (TASS) are awaiting a reaction from the College Authorities. Many UCD workers in other unions also have grievances. These include equalising Sickness Benefit and Pension Schemes for non-academic staff (here again academic staff have better conditions) the provisions of written conditions of employment to workers and the setting up of a Personnel Department.

In the final analysis the workers are not under any illusions. In a statement issued by the Shop Stewards Group they call for some "Straight Answers" and demand:

"let's get rid of the 19th century idea of a University and face the fact that technicians . . . maintenance, cleaners, restaurant and all grades of general workers are as important in the running of a university as lecturing staff."

M. MacADAM



Michael McEvoy, Branch Sec., Dublin No. 7 I.T.G.W.U.

action was completely ignored by the College authorities.

During the next few weeks, the strike Committee organised meetings, and dis-

"HIGHER WAGES are not the cause of inflation. They are merely its symptoms." That's what 'Business and Finance' are telling the workers. On the contrary, to listen to them you would often think that the only thing that is "inflationary" (that is, causes prices to rise) is an increase in wages.

Probably no other question causes such confusion in the working class movement. There are many workers prepared to believe that if they accept lower wage rises they will help slow down inflation. But the experience of two National Wage Agreements should be the bitter lie to that one. And still the politicians, press and the bosses keep hammering out that same old fraud.

We always hear wage rises referred to as "inflationary", but not rising profit margins, the vast earnings of speculators or the control of some markets by the monopoly companies.

When businessmen are talking to each other they do not say that rising wages are the cause of inflation. They recognise it as part of a world-wide occurrence. And they are right. Inflation has been a built-in part of the capitalist system since World War II, but in recent years it has reached alarming proportions. Again, when they are discussing it among themselves the bosses aren't even sure that there is any cure at all.

Last year 'Business and Finance' came to the sorry conclusion that the remedies to cure the three ailments of the economy — inflation, unemployment, and the balance of payments deficit, all cancelled each other out.

Speaking at the Irish Management Institute Conference last year, Nicholas Leonard, one of the richest men in the country, suggested that the high rate of inflation in this country had to do with the big proportion of non-productive workers.

In a more recent analysis of inflation published in the 'Newsletter' of the Confederation of Irish Industry of 21st August 1973, we again find the bosses' experts admitting that workers wages alone are not to blame. Of course, they know — as we do — that wage rises have slowed down in the past two years while prices have been rising faster. They don't try to fool themselves, as they try to fool us, that rising wages cause inflation.

Bosses admit: Higher wages don't cause inflation

The 'Newsletter' gives a number of reasons for inflation — devaluation of the pound leading to higher import prices; the rise in prices of raw materials (mentioned by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development as "the greatest single component in the industrial world's inflation"); the activities of speculators on the raw materials' markets; higher export prices due to world shortage of some foods leading to a levelling up of prices here; increases in taxation; more public expenditure on welfare and education; money being too easily available.

When the Confederation 'Newsletter' comes to incomes (not just workers' wages). Here they say "cost inflation" — that is, the increase in production costs due to higher wages and salaries — "is the way in which inflation is perpetuated rather than initiated". Put another way around, employers will only increase wages without increasing unemployment, if they know they can pass on the increased costs in higher prices — that is, if there is inflation around already. Wages are part of the overall picture, not the main cause.

Why, then, do they go on telling us that rising wages cause inflation?

The answer is simple. Because wages are the only element in the whole thing that can be controlled without tackling the system itself, the speculator, the financiers, the monopolies, the commodity dealers, whose activities lie behind the world-wide inflation. All the lying arguments are no more than a long-winded cover-up for a particular, brutal scheme — to cut back the living standards of workers.

They can only succeed in this if we let them. And the first step to letting them is accepting their deliberately distorted version of things.

In Ireland, it is especially true that the main causes of inflation are external, world-wide causes. The economy is backward, and very dependant on trade and outside capital. Goods made in this country have a very high import content. The policy of 'open doors' for foreign investors also means that we invite, and then magnify all the problems of the world economy.

World-wide inflation is the result of the world-wide chase for profits by a tiny minority who control the wealth and the power. The only way to end it for ever is to end the rotten system for ever.

MARLIN STRIKE ENDS

THE FIVE WEEK unofficial strike at Marlin Communal Aerials ended on 25th October when the workers voted to accept management offers and return to work. Although the gains made in wage increases fell short of their original demands, the Marlin workers felt they should accept the employer's offers as the strike was no longer 100% effective, and they needed to preserve their forces.

On top of the offer of immediate wage increases the management also committed itself to paying future increases under the National Wage Agreement, which they had previously ignored. They also agreed to look into other fringe benefits such as meal allowances, driving allowances and promotion within the company. The wage rises were to be back-dated to 1st June of this year, something which the employers had resisted all along. Finally, the management were forced to consider the grievances of the office girls.

In spite of these partial successes, it is clear that more could have been gained had it not been for the ambiguous attitude of the union official, Mick McEvoy, Secretary of Dublin No. 7 Branch, I.T.G.W.U. His original promises of support were never realised. Indeed, he ignored an instruction from

the Branch Committee at one stage to make the strike official.

The finest gestures of support came from workers at RTE Relays who gave financial assistance throughout the strike. These gestures will not be forgotten by the Marlin workers as their colleagues at RTE Relays themselves enter a strike.

Apart from everything else, the most important outcome of the Marlin strike was the impetus to trade union and working class consciousness which the workers in this recent organised firm got. They'll need it too, for the Marlin management are still an arrogant lot. Within two days of the vote to resume full working, the management sacked two of the servicemen, although they had only taken some of them on in the past few months.

MARLIN WORKER

Robbed Twice Over

THE CAMPAIGN against ground rent is gathering momentum in Waterford. It has been initiated and co-ordinated by a group of workers from Waterford Glass.

They have decided to put an end to the builder McInerney's getting rich at their expense. He built 524 houses for the Corporation and the National Building Agency, and another 650 houses privately. It is from these he is claiming ground rent.

He is not content with the kill he has made on the land and the houses. He paid £23,000 for the sites for 230 houses in Lismore Park — only £100 per site. A bargain. In ground rent alone he gets half that each year — over £11,000. Each of the 650 householders pays between £15 and £20. And it goes straight into McInerney's pocket, along with all the rest.

You may say, "But the ground rent bill comes from Henry Hunt Ltd." True. And who's behind that name? None other than McInerney himself. He bought over Henry Hunt in the 1960's.

Now McInerney is spreading his tentacles to the south-east of the city, where he has purchased 110 housing sites at Viewmount Park.

Of course, people paying ground rent to him can buy it out — at 13.7 times the annual amount, plus legal fees. Some agitation may make McInerney offer the ground rents at a reduced price. But he'll still make a big killing on that, with nice ready made cash in the hand.

Ground rent is legalised robbery. And the only answer to it is for everybody to simply not pay it. REFUSE TO PAY YOUR GROUND RENT!

ENTHUSIASM FOR WHAT?

THE DELEGATES who packed the Mansion House in Dublin for this year's Ard Fheis of Provisional Sinn Fein were enthusiastic in their support for the movement, its leaders and its policies. But the Ard Fheis must be a disappointment to socialists for the enthusiasm was all for the military struggle in the North. No attempt whatsoever was made to formulate a policy to appeal to the working class in its day-to-day struggles against the bosses. Those struggles are the starting point for revolutionaries — not militarism.

The resolutions to the Ard Fheis indicated confused and vague thinking on the part of the movement's members, where they tried to show concern for things other than the Northern struggle. There was, for example a motion from Tom McCurtain Cumann of Cork that "Sinn Fein should become more involved with the social aspect of the country". Such vagueness shows clearly that the struggle of the workers against the bosses is not central to the politics of the Provisional Republican Movement.

In a democratic organisation the rank-and-file should be formulating ideas and policies and fighting to have them implemented rather than leaving it up to the leadership. For instance, the one and only motion on contraception and divorce advocated that "Sinn Fein form an agreed policy on contraceptives and divorce", leaving the issue at that.

Not one single motion referred to the

fight against the National Wage Agreement in the South or Phase II in the North. The struggle of women was ignored. Industrial action was nowhere mentioned in any of the 158 motions.

Ruairi O Bradaigh did spend some time on economic issues in his Presidential address but did not mention the working class. Is it any wonder, then, that Sinn Fein could not explain to itself the successes of the SDLP or work out a strategy to undermine it? Is it any wonder that Sinn Fein can only see the struggle being spread from the North to the South through an appeal to sentiment and a call to set up provincial debating societies?

O Bradaigh ended his speech saying "Let us return home then fired by new enthusiasm and get down to work". But enthusiasm is not enough, nor bullets for that matter. What is needed are real political ideas, and policies to mobilise both Catholic and Protestant workers against capitalism, defeat British military repression in the North and the international capitalist domination of the whole country, and go forward to the Workers Republic.

Ruairi O Bradaigh

BRENDAN O'SULLIVAN

THREAT TO CAR WORKERS JOBS

THE IRISH CAR assembly industry has been built up behind high tariff barriers largely since the 1930's. Currently employing about 5,000 men in assembly, with another 2,000 in directly related ancillary industries, it is facing a crisis caused by the necessity to reduce the protective barriers because of the 26 Counties' entry into the EEC.

At the same time, the numbers of cars being bought has shot up in the past few years — 100% in ten years. The annual total is about 70,000 now, and is expected to be about 100,000 by 1980. This expanding market has brought changes in the control of the industry. Originally, most of the assembly was done on franchise by Dublin garages. During the 1960's the international companies rationalised the situation for themselves, by taking over first Fiat and Chrysler, then Standard-Triumph. The buoyant market has also attracted the Japanese assemblers, with their eyes on export to Europe too.

The agreement negotiated with the EEC allows for local assembly to maintain the tariff walls until 1985. The arrangements also allow for an increased proportion of fully built up cars to be imported from 1973, provided the 1967 levels of local assembly are maintained. The differential tax rate on British and Continental fully assembled imports, which previously operated to their disadvantage, is being done away with. About 20% of the new cars now being bought are imported fully built up, but there have been complaints that an informal arrangement to keep to this level has already been broken.

The crunch for the industry is obviously going to come well before

BRITAIN GROUP

"I MUST... on your (the shareholders) behalf thank your executives who have worked so well in very difficult circumstances and especially congratulate your senior executives, Messrs. Trodd and Coleman... I also commend to you the numerous other executives who have contributed to the company and whose morale is very high as a result of the improving situation in which the company finds itself now that supplies are flowing properly for the first time for several years. Finally we should not forget our workers in all departments without whose efforts none of us would be here".
(George Clemenger Vincent Britain, statement to Britain's A.G.M. 8 Nov. 1973).

Britain's is the second biggest employer in the Irish auto assembly industry, next to Fords. 800 are employed in the company which, unlike Ford, Fiat and Chrysler is still privately owned, and not directly controlled by the international company for which it does assembly, British Leyland.

The Company's share of the Irish market has declined dramatically in the last ten years from 36.4% in 1966 to 15.4% in 1972, and down to 13.3% in August 1973. They have not gained from the big increase in car registrations in this country, and their production has not gone up.

Internationally, British Leyland is getting less and less of the world market. A recent report on BLMC concluded that the company might have to cut back on private motor car production in Britain if its share continues to fall. BLMC may, therefore, not be able to hold off for very much longer taking over and rationalising Britains. They have done this to other independent assemblers — e.g. in Italy. And they can't be too happy about Britain's decision to assemble Datsun cars with the excess capacity.

So the future of Britains is by no means secure in either the long or the medium term — quite independently of the problem about EEC terms. And if Britains don't close, they are going to have to drastically improve productivity. They won't put up with £4 million losses for very long.

The workers came through the nine-week strike late last year with improved morale, and won most of their claims, particularly on the bonus issue. There are still grievances on

this score, however — and there are still all the problems of productivity and work study to come. Here the relations between different plants are vital. It would be fatal if the company could again succeed in playing one off against the other as they have done in the recent past.

The means of defence against future attacks is effective rank-and-file organisation across the board. It cannot be left to a few individuals or the union branch committee. Indeed, they may sometimes find themselves overtaken by the militancy of the mass of workers — as happened during last year's strike. The Britain's management, have also been keen to divide workers in Dublin from British Leyland workers in Britain, blaming production difficulties on the irregular supplies from there. This could be used as a dangerous divisive tactic. The contacts built up during last year's strike should be kept in good order to counteract it.

FORD

FORD OF CORK is the oldest assembly plant in the country, dating from 1917. At present, the Cortina and the Escort van are assembled there. Hayes, the Managing Director, is planning a one-model factory and £1.8m has been invested in the plant which is the largest in the country with 1150 jobs. Ford hold 30 per cent of the Irish market and 4000 vans will be exported to Britain this year.

There is a long history of bitter disputes in Ford (Cork) and stories abound of attempts to stone scabs. On the other hand it has been company policy to promote scabs.

Managing Director Hayes says Ford (Cork) will survive but Henry Ford II doesn't seem to have got the message. His regular threats to pull out of Britain must send Hayes running for sedatives.

It is deplorable that so few links exist between Ford workers and other car workers in Dublin and Wexford. The only way to ensure Ford stays in Cork is to be ready to stop him moving out. The same applies to all firms and this is why a national car trade shop stewards' committee is needed. Fords take 25 per cent of Springs (Wexford) sales and Springs are trying to diversify because they expect trouble in the car trade.

But national links may not be enough. Contact must be kept with Ford workers in England. Otherwise Henry Ford may try to play one division off against another. It's about time Ford workers got together to show Ford his threats like his history



Fiat workers march to join Britain workers' picket—November 1972

1985. There are variations within the trade, however. Fiat, Ford and Chrysler have invested recently in new plant, and Ford and Chrysler export vehicles — the latter 3000 a year to Britain. But generally the increased demand for cars has been met by more imports. The imports have increased from 500 fully assembled vehicles in 1965 to 10,000 last year. Already General Motors is threatening to close down its local assembly plants in return for the sop of a components factory, which will, incidentally, only employ 40% male labour.



Fiat assembly line in Dublin

CAR ASSEMBLY workers played a big part in the anti-EEC campaign with their protests and demonstrations, some of which were addressed by Justin Keating! At the time spokesmen for the workers confined their demands to changes in the tax structure and some even went so far as to promise trouble-free plants!

The scare about the possible closure of McCairns and Armstrongs, earlier this year forced a big change in attitude. On that occasion, Mick O'Reilly, President of the auto branch of the A.T.G.W.U., and Ted McKenna, Chairman of the shop stewards committee, stated that any break with EEC promises would be resisted by industrial action. They went on "If there is any attempt to create redundancy, the workers will resist this by sit-ins, work-ins, strikes and demonstrations." Support would be enlisted from the whole labour movement, and all fully assembled cars would be blacked.

Such a position is absolutely correct. Every job must be defended and only the force of the workers themselves can do that. But this is a rather far cry from the resolution on the car assembly industry which the A.T.G.W.U. put to the Labour Party conference, and which was passed with Keating's approval, promising support to the government for any "selective measures" to protect the industry. It's a straight choice — either rely on the workers to defend jobs through their own direct action, or make hopeless calls on the government to effectively defend the industry.

The car workers and their unions have not been lying down, however. They were in the vanguard of the EEC entry. It was their action which forced the government into the industry as a "special case" in negotiations for entry. But those agreements, nor even any measures the government take within the framework of the EEC, could never put jobs. The workers themselves are the only ones who can take their own direct action.

GENERAL MOTORS

OVER the past two years in the United States General Motors have proved to be the most ruthless of all the motor companies. Since the rationalisation of GM and the formation of GMAD (General Motors Assembly Division), lines have been speeded up, lay-offs, disciplinary lay-offs and sackings of militants have increased dramatically.

Because of the fear of GM taking direct control of the assembly companies in this country the workers at McCairns plants at Santry 'sat in' last May. Secret talks between Reg Armstrong, McCairns and GM were taking place that were to decide the fate of hundreds of workers' jobs and the workers themselves were being kept in the dark.

Since then the workers at the McCairns assembly plant on Alexandra Road have been asked by management to work long hours of overtime just before their summer holidays so that a batch of cars could be finished. "You'd be helping us out", said management,

"as it would VAT, if the cars are such and such a date workers have been working only a few hours out the VAT a fiddle. The cars assembled to avoid VAT of the unassembled parts was enough, even if lying beside the dock.

The most recent announcement most conveniently fit in the back pages of that they are to move earthmoving equipment lorries to a new factory.

As Brian Hennessy Steward McCairns said "There's a big fight the only way we stand all the McCairns and workers to stand together some of us have been own but we all have and this General Motors bring us together!"

In an unusual involving truck Motors announced intended to build 20 to 35 tons along with moving equipment yet to be built zone and intended its plant in Ireland location.

rank and file

Any successful direct action depends on rank-and-file. There should be no distinction between the profitable and the failing ones. A sit-in in one of the more successful would be much more powerful than one in a dying firm.

To prepare for such wide, co-ordinated action much education is needed. As recently as June of this year 21 marched through Dublin to hear ATGWU officials, and stewards, say demand that EEC promises of no redundancy be kept. With such an impressive turn-out a real link-car workers could have developed. This did not happen. Stewards of all Dublin's car works have a committee, meet regularly. There is little or no contact across boundaries, or between, Cork, Wexford and Dublin. They have despaired at the uphill task, and in one company the between the different plants has broken down so far that one took on extra work when there was a go-slow in another.

Militant rank-and-file organisation is not a pipedream necessity. Links must be formed between all workers in as well as the ancillary industries (springs, batteries, up windscreens), most of whom are not in the A.T.G.W.U. national meetings of all stewards in the trade, plus representative shop floor and a bulletin for the trade are the way forward. Since all the companies involved have international workers action must be international too. Links must

TO CAR WORKERS'

CHRYSLER IRELAND



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CHRYSLER is generally thought likely to survive in Ireland. Under Managing Director Freshney, Chrysler's market share has increased from 3 per cent in 1967 to 16 per cent today. With a labour force of 300 they produce roughly as many cars as Britain's do — with over twice as many workers. Measured Day Work and work study explain how it is that so much is produced. And Chrysler workers have been feeling the pinch recent.

The 1972 Procedure and Pay Productivity Agreements have just lapsed. These Agreements took Chrysler workers from 65p per hour to 80p (1972) and 88p (1973) in return for increased use of Industrial Engineers (IEs) using time study to change jobs. At first little changed under the Agreement until recently when Chrysler switched to full Simca production. This was due to shortages of kits from Chrysler (UK) where production has been hindered by management provocation. Previously the rate was 35 cars per day (Hunters and Avengers), then it was 37 Simcas per day, and management started looking for 39.

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Conditions in Chrysler are bad, as could be expected in the only Irish plant with Measured Day Work. Management control is extensive. Both agreements stated that management establish the sequence and method of each job. They then inform the workers, who even if they disagree, must work the new method while it is studied. The company can vary line speed and man assignments at will. Timekeeping is tight and shop stewards have been moved around the factory, thus losing credentials. Although all this is dressed up in scientific language by management it boils down to hard work and little chance to object.

Small wonder then that discontent is rising. The number of suspensions for misconduct has increased. And now the IEs are being used to make fewer men do the same amount of work.

Chrysler workers must reject work study in the next agreement. They must reassert the power of the shop steward to bargain with management for both money and conditions. In this they can gain valuable lessons from British Chrysler workers. Already the 'Carworker' produced by militants in British car factories is reaching workers in Santry. The links must be strengthened.

Chrysler workers are beginning to discover that the only reason Freshney says they will survive is that they work harder than elsewhere, i.e. "a first class labour force". It is in the interest of Chrysler workers first to help defend all jobs in the car trade and secondly to force a better deal off Chrysler. National and international solidarity among car workers can do that.

The car workers and their unions have not been taking all this lying down, however. They were in the vanguard of the fight against EEC entry. It was their action which forced the government to treat the industry as a "special case" in negotiations for entry into the EEC. But those agreements, nor even any measures the government could still take within the framework of the EEC, could never protect the men's jobs. The workers themselves are the only ones who can do that — by their own direct action.

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agement, "as it would avoid us paying VAT, if the cars are assembled before such and such a date." Since then the workers have been on short time, working only a few days a week and it turns out the VAT argument was just a fiddle. The cars didn't have to be assembled to avoid VAT: the presence of the unassembled parts in the country was enough, even if they were only lying beside the dock.

The most recent development has been the announcement by GM (hidden most conveniently for the employers in the back pages of the newspapers) that they are to move all assembly of earthmoving equipment and heavy lorries to a new factory in Brazil!

As Brian Hennessy, AGEMOU Shop Steward McCairns Santry Depot, says: "There's a big fight on the way and the only way we stand a chance is for all the McCairns and Armstrong workers to stand together. Before now some of us have been fighting on our own but we all have the same interests and this General Motors threat must bring us together!"

In an unusual move, again involving trucks, General Motors announced that it intended to build lorries of 20 to 35 tons gross weight along with heavy earthmoving equipment at a plant yet to be built at Bello Horizonte and intended to ship its plant in Ireland to this location.

TOYOTA

STEPHEN O'FLAHERTY announced plans last July to open a toy factory in Dublin. But he was not playing around when he became managing director and majority shareholder in Toyota (Ireland) Ltd., which began assembling Japanese cars at Bluebell in Dublin last February. Toyota is the third largest car firm in the world, and have come to Dublin to take advantage of the expanding Irish car market. Toyota (Ireland) is Irish-owned and financed.

Before they came Toyota made sure they got the quietest possible union to represent their future workforce. The Industrial Development Authority recommended the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union and Toyota granted that union a closed shop. For assembly manager Toyota picked Larry Doyle — a man with a record of toughness against carworkers. The Amalgamated Transport and General Workers' Union, who are more militant in the car industry, did nothing to gain the workforce of Toyota to their ranks, even though they had a chance to do so. They were confident that in any case Toyota would come to them looking for experienced workers.

Far from it! Now the car manufacturers have divided Dublin carworkers into different unions. This helps to keep wages at a low level and in the beginning Toyota wages were miserable £25.20 for a forty-hour week to skilled car workers. Since then there has been dissatisfaction with the ITGWU and moves to transfer from it. But these moves have blown over and the men have received £11 in wage increases in six months, bringing their basic to £37 per week. That's the highest basic pay for carworkers in Dublin, which goes to show how badly the other carworkers are paid. Also Toyota workers are the most exploited carworkers in the world. 'Fortune' magazine estimated that in 1969 each of Toyota's 39,000 produced an average over 44,000 dollars in sales.

A third Japanese car is to be assembled in Dublin, but the circumstances that surround this are pretty weird. Motor Distributors Ltd. will produce Mazda cars, but Motor Distributors was set up by O'Flaherty and then given to his sons. So, O'Flaherty and his sons will both be in competition for a share of the Irish market, with Japanese cars.

Whatever bizarre activities the bosses are up to, the workers must be clear about their tactics. The shop-stewards from the different car factories must get together. Union differences cannot stand in the way of future united action.



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rank and file hold the key

Any successful direct action depends on rank-and-file solidarity. There should be no distinction between the profitable companies and the failing ones. A sit-in in one of the more successful car factories would be much more powerful than one in a dying firm.

To prepare for such wide, co-ordinated action much groundwork and education is needed. As recently as June of this year 2000 car workers marched through Dublin to hear ATGWU officials, and their own shop stewards, say demand that EEC promises of no redundancy until 1985 be kept. With such an impressive turn-out a real link-up between all car workers could have developed. This did not happen. The shop stewards of all Dublin's car works have a committee, but it does not meet regularly. There is little or no contact across trade union boundaries, or between, Cork, Wexford and Dublin. Some stewards have despaired at the uphill task, and in one company the solidarity even between the different plants has broken down so far that workers in one took on extra work when there was a go-slow in another.

Militant rank-and-file organisation is not a pipedream. It is an urgent necessity. Links must be formed between all workers in the car trade as well as the ancillary industries (springs, batteries, upholstery, tyres, windscreens), most of whom are not in the A.T.G.W.U. Regular national meetings of all stewards in the trade, plus reports back to the shop floor and a bulletin for the trade are the way forward.

Since all the companies involved have international connections, workers action must be international too. Links must be established

with the militant rank-and-file movement in the British car industry and on the Continent. There is a readymade means to do this; the 'Car Worker' published by rank-and-file carworkers in Britain who are anxious to have reports from Ireland.

The Socialist Workers Movement will use its members and supporters throughout the country, and its strong international contacts, to help develop the much needed link-ups.

Workers should not be concerned about how the bosses solve their problems of declining profitability. There must be no question of letting some factories survive on the backs of redundant car workers in others which do not.

The demands of a militant rank-and-file movement of car workers must be:

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GROPING FOR A THEME



THIS YEAR'S ARD-FHEIS of Official Sinn Fein is scheduled to take place during November. The delegates will hear reports of the movement's successes from the leaders, including the President Tomas MacGiolla. But here's a different view.

THE PAST YEAR has seen the Official Republican Movement in search of a single issue to bind all its forces and get the widest possible support. While it has continued to hammer out the 'civil rights' theme in the North even when it seemed most out of tune, in the South it has been groping.

About a year ago the theme was "Nationalise the Banks". A few meetings and pickets were held and that fizzled out. Just before that there had been talk of forming a civil rights movement in the South - nothing has come of that, although we are still told that there is something in the pipeline. For a while, too, the theme within the movement was building the revolutionary party, but elections and other commitments meant that the important decision about structure and organisation had to be put off.

The latest big issue is the extradition of republicans from the 26 Counties to the North and Britain. For two months the preparations for a big anti-extradition campaign were being made. The march on 23rd September in Dublin, however, was a somewhat dismal affair, and apart from the issuing of a leaflet, little or nothing has been done on the matter since.

Each of these issues points to a genuine and serious problem. But in each case the Officials' approach has blurred or confused the problem. But let's just look at the Official republican movement's achievements over the past year.

They got a fairly respectable number of votes in the Southern elections and got a dozen councillors elected in the North. They launched a new weekly paper, 'The Irish People' (although they haven't had the honesty to admit its theirs), and improved 'United Irishman'.

Expense

They did these things, however, at the expense of any clarification of revolutionary ideas among their members and supporters. The election campaigns both North and South (even though it may have been correct in both cases to put up candidates) were reformist in two senses at least. They hinged on demands that could be met within the present system and they encouraged the illusion that the working class could get real changes by electing people to take part in the institutions of the capitalist state. They also, by the way, had a certain demoralising effect on the members who did the work, for they had been led to believe that the successes would be far greater.

The Officials could reasonably claim that these campaigns made the policies and personalities of their movement

better known to wider sections of people. That is true - and it is also true that the movement got new recruits out of these campaigns. But most of what was gained has been lost again. The Officials have not been able to hold together the new Cummainn, and not even the old Cummainn. How many for instance, of the people drawn into the movement by P. J. O'Callaghan's campaign in Kerry are still active?

Diminished

In many key areas - including Dublin, it seems - the Official's strength has diminished rather than increased. The men (no women) sitting in the local councils around the 32 counties don't really represent a mass grass roots strength. In some cases - Seamus Rodgers, for instance in Donegal - the movement locally is not in a position to control the representatives and ensure they advocate official policies. By concentrating on local authority representation (see the back page of every UI), the Officials can only reinforce the impression that socialism is achieved through a series of very small steps from local level upwards. Certainly there will be plenty of small-scale localised work on the road to socialism - but we must never lose sight of the need for the working class AS A CLASS, to seize state power, and that's what is glaringly absent from the Officials' perspective.

The other major success of the year, from the Officials' point of view, was one they have not bothered to claim publicly. 'The Irish People' has been coming out regularly for nearly six months. In spite of Eason's refusal to distribute it, it has made some impact. Journalistically it has chalked up a few achievements. But let's look at it as the paper of an organisation that claims to be socialist. The first thing that strikes you is that it doesn't put forward the views of Official Sinn Fein and argue for workers to join that organisation - although the resources for publishing, writing and distributing the paper come 90% from the Officials. In fact, the paper doesn't have any clear line at all. It tries to look in some ways like a 'normal' (bourgeois) paper, simply reporting the facts or 'sensationalising' matters. It consequently often gives a false impression as, for instance, when it talked about "the hopes for a third National Wage Agreement". The headline to that same story - 'O'Leary Shocks Unions' - was an obvious gimmick to catch the attention Nobody was shocked by O'Leary's opposition to the call for a national minimum wage - least of all the leaders of big unions who don't even

have a policy in favour of a national minimum wage. Again just taking that same example, the story did not point out that the person who persuaded the movers of the particular resolution to the Labour Party Conference to withdraw it was Matt Merrigan, chairman of the meeting at which Tomas MacGiolla spoke the same day and one of the people with whom Sinn Fein wants to build "unity of the left". The Irish People's claim to be better informed than everybody else has on several occasions been made to look very stupid indeed.

Discussion

At present, the Officials are in the throes of a discussion of structure, organisation, the relations between the two wings of the movement, democratic centralism, etc. The remarkable thing about it is that it takes place in isolation from a real discussion of the politics which the organisation must be designed to put into effect! In fact, the theme which is missing from it is the one which is missing from the search for issues and from the way in which the chosen issues are fought on - the theme of the working class's leading role in the struggle to free Ireland from imperialist domination and to build socialism, the theme of building a revolutionary party of the working class with a coherent programme. That theme is hinted at and skirted around in many of the things coming out of the Officials. But nowhere is it grasped directly.

The only possibility for socialists in the Officials to get clarity out of the confusion is to insist that it is a mistake to neglect work on specifically working class questions (Note: the Republican Trade Union Group has barely hung together during the past year), that there is no solution to the national question this side of socialism, and that the near-pacifist step-by-step policy in the North has been a disaster. Many of the present members of the Officials will, we believe, be among the best militants of a future revolutionary party in Ireland. But that party - so necessary today - will not be built by hopping around from one popular issue to another. It will be built by the most class conscious workers with a clear and day-to-day commitment to the struggle for socialism throughout the world.

the worker

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ment, "as it would avoid us paying VAT, if the cars assembled before such and so on." Since then the workers have been on short time, working only a few days a week and it turns out the VAT argument was just a fiddle. The car didn't have to be assembled to pay VAT: the presence of the unassembled parts in the country was enough, even if they were only lying beside the dock.

The most recent development has been the announcement by GM (hidden in the back pages of the newspapers) that they are to move all assembly of earthmoving equipment and heavy lorries to a new factory in Brazil!

As Brian Hennessy, AGEMOU Shop Steward McCairns Santry Depot, says: "There's a big fight on the way and the only way we stand a chance is for all the McCairns and Armstrong workers to stand together. Before now some of us have been fighting on our own but we all have the same interests and this General Motors threat must bring us together!"

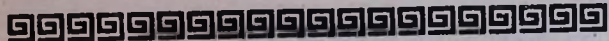
In an unusual move, again involving trucks, General Motors announced that it intended to build lorries of 20 to 35 tons gross weight along with heavy earthmoving equipment at a plant set to be built at Belderrone and intended to ship its plant in Ireland to this location.

depends on rank-and-file solidarity, when the profitable companies and the more successful car factories are in a dying firm.

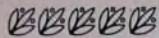
nated action much groundwork and June of this year 2000 car workers IGWU officials, and their own shop misuses of no redundancy until 1985 turn-out a real link-up between all This did not happen. The shop have a committee, but it does not have no contact across trade union xford and Dublin. Some stewards in one company the solidarity even rken down so far that workers in was a go-slow in another.

on is not a pipedream. It is an urgent between all workers in the car trade (springs, batteries, upholstery, tyres, e not in the A.T.G.W.U. Regular in the trade, plus reports back to the side are the way forward.

Links must be established



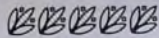
Snooping about



BRITISH SOLDIERS in Derry have been keeping more than the peace lately. During October three soldiers were fined at Derry court for taking car radios and a tape recorder from cars they were checking while on patrol.

Such is the difficult task of the B.A.

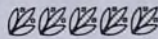
in the North — protecting the life, limb, and property of ordinary people!



THE CHILDREN of Drogheda don't use bad language. You don't believe it? Neither do we. But Mr. Paddy Buckley, ex-Mayor of Drogheda, has called for the removal of itinerants camped at Hillbrook Drive

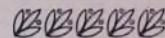
because "It's a disgrace up there. Children can see what is going on and hear the filthy language".

Meanwhile, Dublin Corporation has been taking quieter but more drastic action against the itinerants. A waste stretch of land along Collins Avenue where itinerants usually camp has been completely ploughed up making it impossible to camp on. Or maybe the Corporation is going into agriculture...



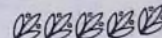
THE MONDAY CLUB, a right-wing and racist association of British Conservatives, has this to say in their crummy pamphlet called 'Is Terrorism Winning?': "Notwithstanding this (Catholic) Boycott successive (Unionist) Governments' records in the field of housing, welfare and education stand up to the closest of scrutiny, in equality, quantity and fairness of allocation there always being complete equality under this law for all citizens".

It is rumoured that the next pamphlet by the 'Bloody Sunday' Club will be called 'Is the World Round?'



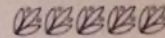
THE IRISH Transport and General Workers Union is only here for the beer, it seems. Those jovial bandsmen with the beery grins who desert the parade for a quick pint of 'Bass', in the Bass TV commercials, belong to the I.T.G.W.U. band. A far cry indeed from the days when the I.T.G.W.U. was the most vigorous advocate of 'Buy Irish' campaigns.

But then they now have to pay for the upkeep of all those Ford Granada GXL 3000's which the union leaders have.



MAIRE WALSH, member of the Labour Party's Administrative Council was heard to remark during the Labour Party Conference in Cork that there was little point in passing a document about the position of women when the platform immediately opted for her, a woman, when somebody had to get the tea.

She doesn't need to get the tea herself at home, of course, she has a maid to do that!



THE BEHAVIOUR of a group of British soldiers on returning home for duty in the North shows clearly how brutalised the 'Peace-keepers' become there. Six soldiers, aged between 18 and 25, were charged in a Winchester court on 10th October with a total of 137 offences. These offences, which included assault, rape and theft, were all committed within three months after a tour of duty in the Six Counties.

The judge commented: "It is an appalling story. You attacked a man in the most brutal and vicious manner. Three of you have pleaded guilty to taking part in the most unpleasant form of multiple rape".

Who will secure us against the security forces?

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Dear Comrades,

Brian Trench's article on the Provos in the last issue of 'The Worker' (September 1973) contained some very interesting material, especially in relation to the Provos' "Economic bombing campaign", which "can destroy the N.I. economy" and also I suppose international capitalism. Trench did in fact add that "this sounds radical enough", but I always thought that socialists did not want to destroy the capitalist economy but rather to seize it, by force if necessary, and run it on socialist lines, under workers' control, etc.

Presumably there can be workers control of bombed-out factories and workshops.

It is not just a matter of enlarging on the freedom struggle and the economic bombing campaign "to change consciousness, fight for leadership in

day-to-day struggles" as Trench concludes, but of — as a Belfast correspondent wrote in the same issue — working for "an end to Provisional offensive action until it has the full support of an organised working class".

It is clear in fact that the Provo campaign can only sabotage the class struggle in the North — e.g. productivity has risen over the last three years to a greater extent than anywhere in Great Britain, and strikes, disputes and shop-floor organisation are being undermined by the constant emphasis on the national struggle which is regarded as the first priority of both unionist and nationalist workers.

Yours fraternally
"Thomas James"
(originally from Ireland)
Edinburgh
Scotland

WHAT WE STAND FOR

SOCIALIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT

The SOCIALISTS WORKERS' MOVEMENT is a revolutionary workers' movement, whose aim is the organisation of the working class in the struggle for power and the transformation of the existing social order. All its activities, its methods and its internal organisation are subordinated to this and are designed to serve this purpose.

Capitalism is a system based on production for profit, not for human need. This system is driven by the necessity to accumulate profit, which means that capitalists compete with one another, both nationally and internationally.

The capitalist class is a ruling class whose ownership and control of the means of production is based on the exploitation of the working class. Thus, a small minority rules society. In Ireland, 9 per cent of the population owns 90 per cent of the wealth.

The contradictions between competing capitalists, produce war, poverty and crisis. The struggle between the classes will produce the overthrow of capitalist society.

Capitalism needs the working class; the working class does not need capitalism. Present day capitalism is entering a period of stagnation and crisis; it attempts to solve its problems at the expense of working-class living standards and democratic rights.

This system is international: in the drive to expand it must extend its power over the whole world. 250 companies dominate the international economy. The search for markets and materials has led to imperialism — the brutal oppression of the peoples of two-thirds of the world and the effective strangling of those peoples' attempts to develop their societies.

Imperialism

International capitalism operates in Ireland through British imperialism's military, economic and political domination of the whole country. Britain maintains a standing army in the North. British imperialism has divided the working class on sectarian lines. British investments throughout Ireland equal 50 per cent of all investment in manufacturing and commerce. The Dublin and Stormont governments are subservient to the dictates of the international system and thus to its agent, Westminster.

Imperialism dominates Ireland as a whole: it treats Ireland as a unity. The struggle to defeat imperialism, therefore, must be fought in a united way throughout the 32 counties. This involves the overthrow of the Orange-Unionist state in the North and of the Green-Tory state in the South.

Irish capitalism, Green and Orange, is wholly integrated into the world system. Because of this, the mere unification of Ireland, or the removal of British troops, cannot in themselves mean the defeat of imperialism in Ireland. There is no independent republic this side of the Workers' Republic. Only by the uniting of the

working class can power be taken from the Orange and Green ruling class minorities and victory be won over imperialism.

It is the Irish working class and small farmers who bear the load of this imperialist domination. The contrast between Ireland, a neo-colony, and the Western capitalist countries is especially glaring:

- North and South:
- 120,000 unemployed—the highest rate of unemployment in Europe;
- 60,000 redundancies expected in the next four years;
- 100,000 unfit houses and the worst housing record in Europe;
- £9 per week net average income per rural household—the third lowest in Europe;
- 1,000 political prisoners.

The working class has the capacity to end exploitation and oppression. In Ireland North and South the working class is now the predominant social class numerically and in terms of potential strength. The class has achieved a new self-confidence and militancy; this needs political co-ordination. Independent working class action can create a society based on production for human need, democratically controlled by the majority. By organising at the point of production and in the localities the workers can lead a struggle to the Workers' Republic. This would not mean merely a State takeover of the means of production, but workers' control of all aspects of society, local and national. Such a society does not exist in any country today.

The Socialist Workers' Movement stands for the nationalisation of banks and industry under workers' control and without compensation. To this end we actively engage in the day-to-day struggles of workers and small farmers and seek to build a mass working-class party which can lead the struggle to build socialism in Ireland as part of the struggle for international socialism. A Workers' Republic cannot survive without the aid of the British and Continental working classes and the international extension of the revolutionary fight.

The Socialist Workers' Movement opposes the E.E.C. to which the only alternative is socialism in Ireland, as part of a socialist Europe. The Socialist Workers' Movement opposes N.A.T.O. and all other international military alliances. We are independent of Washington, Moscow and Peking. We support all anti-imperialist struggles throughout the world.

Workers struggles

The Socialist Workers' Movement fights for:—

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

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

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

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

POLITICAL IGNORANCE Review



Belfast assassination victim being lifted on to a stretcher

THE AUTHORS of this book begin with a tortuous foreword which is painful to read — like a good many other parts of the book. They excuse themselves, and provide cover against criticisms with statements like "the truth has many facets and it is often difficult to distinguish it from falsehood". The gist of it all is that they want to appear as perfectly neutral, objective reporters, who just present the facts.

That would be acceptable if they stuck to that framework. But the book is marred by a tone of moral righteousness, usually expressed in journalist's jargon, and sweeping statements. For example, Special Courts are justified by a "drastic situation" calling for "drastic measures". They treat the Provos with special distaste, and to make out that the 'left' and the thugs in the UDA were one and the same. The authors whitewash Harding Smith, Herron's reactionary rival — who is now reported to be taking legal action against them for some reason — and the British Army. They may not have had "an axe to grind", but they certainly had a position from which they put things in their own particular focus.

Dillon and Lehané do provide a detailed account of the actual assassinations. It is a frightening and an apparently accurate picture of how the murders have taken place. For that alone the book has some value. But there is a series of howlers throughout the book which testifies to their lack of real knowledge about the political situation. (It is worth noting that Lehané only joined the 'Belfast Telegraph' in January of this year).

Their biggest blunder comes with one of their central arguments — the killings

could have been stopped if Officials had responded to the UDA's calling off the assassinations in January 1973. The Officials should, they say, have used their "moral authority" to stop the Provos' campaign, thus enabling them to do deals with the UDA! It is hard to fathom that they should be so seriously misled about the situation to believe that the Officials could or would have done this. However, they then go on to say that "the Official IRA will eventually move to eliminate the Provisionals".

Identical

That's not all; they say that Dave Fogel (the UDA man who ran away to England and sold his story to the 'Sunday Times') has views on "social conditions in both communities" and on the Unionist Party "identical to the Official IRA's". They also claim that the Provisionals took over NICRA and used it for propaganda purposes, although the Provos have never had an organised presence in that organisation and have usually opposed it. Finally, and most outrageously, they claim that the British Army has never had any reason to assassinate civilians in the North, although there is a weight of evidence to suggest that they have indeed been involved in such killings.

If you know anything about the political situation in the North, you will know what to do with these judgements — ignore them. The authors clearly don't have a grasp of the political realities. They should have stuck to the facts on the murders.

Dillon and Lehané: Political Murder in Northern Ireland. Penguin Books.

USA AND USSR

DOMINATE MID EAST

The Fourth Arab-Israeli war in twenty-five years has shuddered to an uneasy conclusion. The Middle East has been in constant conflict since the state of Israel was created, with British backing, in 1948.

At one stage the most recent upheaval threatened bigger international repercussions, as Nixon gave a world-wide emergency call to US troops. Why do the big powers take so much notice of this part of the world? What is the cause and meaning of Arab-Israeli conflict? Above all, what is the solution.

In 1947 no state of Israel existed. The land that is now Israel was then Palestine and occupied by millions of Palestinian Arabs. Now those Palestinians and their descendants survey their former home from cramped refugee camps to the North, East and South of Israel.

In the 1940's tens of thousands of Jewish immigrants, particularly those fleeing Hitler's gas chambers, came to Palestine the promised land. With British help and sanction they expelled virtually all Arab inhabitants, butchering many and leaving others to starve without employment or without a market for their farm produce.

The Zionist state of Israel is founded on a belief in Jewish superiority. Elementary rights are denied to Arabs who live in it, and constant harassment and misery are the daily lot of the inhabitants of the extra territory gained by Israel in the 1967 six day war.

Benefits

Israel receives enormous quantities of money and goods from imperialist powers notably America, giving no economic benefits to those powers in return. Millions of German Marks - World War II reparations - and millions of US dollars support the Israeli state. The American-Jewish population donates tax-free dollars, and the US government provides grants.

Israel's returns to her financial backers are not directly economic - they are political. As the influential Jewish newspaper "Ha'aretz" said - Israel's role is that of a watch dog, assuring western imperialism a political base in an area rich in oil and generally unsympathetic to the US and her allies.

The Israeli state and Jews throughout the world have managed to propagate the myth that Israel is at least half way to socialism that the Zionist population has made the desert bloom; that the kibbutz the agricultural communes, are communism in practice.

The majority of Israeli workers identify with Zionists of all classes against Arab workers. They consider that their interests lie in maintaining the state, the bosses, and all that goes with them: Jewish labour, Jewish produce and oppression of the Arabs. But as Marx said: "a people oppressing another cannot itself be free".

Sectarian

The kibbutzim are totally sectarian, perched along Israel's frontiers, providing cheap Jewish labour and military reinforcements, and keeping the Arabs out.

Within Israel, even amongst Jews, there exists enormous discrimination. Two-thirds of the unskilled labour force are Oriental Jews who have much lower status, wages, and quality of life than their Western counterparts.

The Histadrut is effectively, a state trade union which puts Zionist interests before Jewish interests. As General Dayan himself admits, the Jewish state exists in conflict with its neighbours. The Jewish leaders argue that everyone, irrespective of

class, must pull together to maintain it! Any attempts at dialogue or fronts with Arab workers have been brutally smashed.

Retrieve

President Sadat has insisted, throughout the current conflict, that the Arab aim behind the most recent hostilities was merely to retrieve territory lost in 1967, not to destroy the Israeli state. The Arab states, Syria and Egypt especially, want a bourgeois solution policed by the United Nations. Their strategy was obviously aimed at forcing the hand of the US or, failing that, the UN. Putting their countries on a war-footing also helps the reactionary Arab leaders keep popular support!

For Palestinian guerillas, it is a question of an offensive struggle to regain their lands. The Arab leaders will not help them in this. In a recent article in "Free Palestine", representatives of Al Fatah, the guerilla movement, stress that to them, Jordan is as bad as Israel, and as oppressive as Western imperialism. They insist that they want a non-sectarian land where Jews and Arabs can live in peace and equality.

An uneasy Arab unity was maintained throughout the war last month with some military and financial support coming from the Arab countries not directly involved. Despite pressure from large sections of Arab workers, no effective blockade was maintained.

Increase

America gets only 10% of its oil from the Middle East at present, but as native US oil supplies dry up, that proportion is expected to increase dramatically. So oil is a strong card in the hands of the Arab leaders, Sadat and Assad. The greatest

International News



Egyptian prisoners in the desert

proportion of Middle East oil comes from Saudi - Arabia, Kuwait and the Persian Gulf countries. Along with Jordan, these countries have close links with imperialist powers, notably the US. They are also marked by enormous differences between rich and poor, with the majority of their population living in abject poverty. The oil sheiks want to increase oil prices, but find trade with the West generally too profitable to risk taking action against Israel and western interests.

Egypt and Syria, along with Iraq, have considerable amounts of their economies controlled by the state. They have also more industrialisation, more health benefits, housing schemes, etc. They also have closer economic relationships with Russia, and are supplied with Mig fighters, ground-to-air missiles, and tanks etc. by her.

Determination

This is how the great powers become involved. America and Russia could either escalate or stem the conflict in the Middle East. The initial determination of both the Arabs and the Israelis to fight it out gave way to super-power pressure. And neither side could fight it out when a steady supply of arms were arriving from Moscow and Washington.

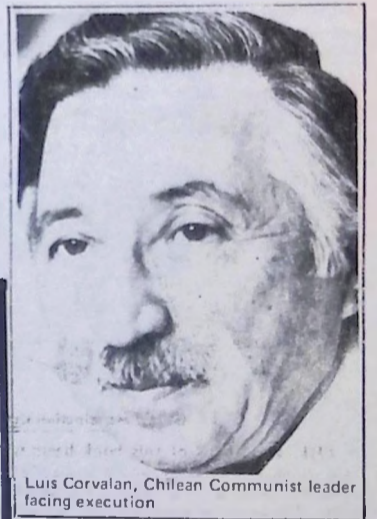
In a straight conflict between US and Russian Imperialism, many socialists would be loathe to take sides. Undoubtedly the super-powers use their respective Middle-Eastern allies for their own interests. But it is the duty of socialists to oppose Zionism, to support the right of Palestinians to live in their own land, and consequently to give critical support to

the Arab Cause.

Jews have every right to live in Palestine beside their Arab brothers and sisters, Jewish workers do not have the same interests as Jewish bosses; they too suffer exploitation and discrimination. Zionism, which blinds them to that reality, has to be destroyed - and that will only be done conclusively by the united action of Arab and Jewish workers.

SHEILA DUNCAN

Chilean crackdown



Luis Corvalan, Chilean Communist leader facing execution

"ABOUT a thousand people have been executed in Chile... four of them on Monday 22nd October at Concepcion after they were condemned to death by the military council of the town." Miguel Enriquez, Secretary General of the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR), has said from hiding. MIR is the biggest of the left-wing groups in Chile which tried to organise independently of Allende's Popular Unity front. Enriquez has been in hiding since 11th September.

The four people shot at Concepcion were accused of stealing explosives and trying to form armed groups. Fifteen other people were condemned by Concepcion's military councils to long prison sentences. They are the evidence that the resistance has continued in Chile despite the brutal crack-down by the military regime.

"It is not socialism nor the proletarian revolution nor the workers who failed in Chile," said Enriquez. "What happened in Chile was that a reformist experiment collapsed tragically because it was based on the illusion of achieving socialism while the ruling class looks on passively and because the experiment was imprisoned within the bourgeois order. The struggle has hardly started. A battle has been lost but not the war".

Strangely, Enriquez ended his statement by paying homage to Salvador Allende "who gave his life in defence of his convictions."

HOW FAR THEY GO

The depths to which the ruling class will go in order to preserve their power has been clearly shown in the first two of SEAN GARVIN'S articles From the Civil War through De Valera's witch-hunt of republicans down to the present day the rulers in the 26 Counties have the blood of ordinary workers and political activists on their hands.

THIS IS no quirk of personalities. O'Malley, Fianna Fail's Minister for Justice, was certainly (and is still) a despicable man, but he was simply as vile and as callous as his masters allowed or required him to be. His somewhat heavy-handed behaviour

gave a clear insight into government thinking on several important issues.

The present government is just as capable of ruthless practices, even if at the moment it is slightly more subtle. But legislation to curb the wage rises of bank employees is repressive in the same way as the harassment and jailing of political dissidents.

We always need to remind ourselves of what the ruling class has been capable of when the situation demanded it.

During the last World War, amidst much talk of a German invasion, the Government was kept well informed of all IRA and German intelligence negotiations. Perhaps the biggest disappointment experienced by the Germans was their realisation - slow and too late - that the IRA was nothing like as well organised as they had been led to believe, nor could they operate with any degree of secrecy, owing to police infiltration of that organisation.

The government cunningly allowed the IRA/Nazi liaison to work towards its own ends.

Invasion

The Chief of Staff of the IRA was busily preparing a list of those who would have to be dispatched in the event of a German invasion. Former comrades like George Gilmore and Peadar O'Donnell, and numerous others of Republican Congress vintage, were marked for annihilation because of their alleged communist and left-wing attitudes. The Chief of Staff was a man of solid family background, hailing from the marrow of the independence movement and steeped in the traditions of pure green Republicanism from the cradle and, at the same time, an extreme right-winger. Yet, in the eyes of Fianna Fail, not really quite so bad; in fact good enough to be later taken into the party's fold and promoted to the position of a sort of party spokesman on



Des O'Malley, exposing the more vicious side

traditional, or as they are called "Old I.R.A.", platforms. Indeed, in his political life, Mr. Rory Brugha has shown himself to be as vile as any of the other specimens in Jack Lynch's train.

Look at the record of Rory Brugha and the Fianna Fail government of those years. After all, while he was contemplating the removal of his late father, Cathal Brugha's, former comrades-in-arms Dev was keeping Britain's hangman, Mr. Pierpoint, busy stringing up stout 1916 veterans like Paddy McGrath, and Civil War stalwarts like George Plant. Even in the Six-county regime over the past fifty years, no man has been executed after he had been acquitted by judge and jury in an open court as George Plant was by Dev. In fact, in their fifty-odd years they have hanged only one man and that on a charge of murder.

Fianna Fail also has to its credit the hanging of Sean McGlynn in his cell in Arbour Hill military prison by Army Red-caps.

Shot down

We have yet to see or hear of the British

military opening fire through the barbed-wire perimeter of Long Kesh on the unarmed and defenceless detainees. Dev's military police shot down Casey behind the wire in the Curragh concentration camp. At their worst the RUC or B-Specials did not measure up to Dev's detective chief Dinny O'Brien, who machine-gunned Jackie Griffith from a speeding car in November 1942. Ex-Republican Minister for Justice Gerry Boland saw to it that the evidence of the postman who witnessed the slaughter was safely sat upon.

It seems unlikely that we will have a public enquiry into the bombs at Liberty Hall or Sac'ville Place. We won't know the facts about Jack Lynch and the Littlejohn affair but we would be very naive if we did not have our suspicions. And don't think that we are any better off with Mr. Cosgrave's government. When his father was President his troops led a group of prisoners of war at Ballyseedy arm to arm in a circle around a mine and exploded it.

N.I. ASSEMBLY: BAIT TAKEN

THE SECOND session of the Northern Ireland Assembly, which began in October has run more smoothly than the first in July. This relative calm has been seen as a sign of its impending success by those who want it to flourish. But its opponents continue to predict its inevitable and imminent collapse.

The Assembly is a means of creating an illusion that even if all the problems have not yet been solved, the institutions for solving them in a peaceful and 'responsible' manner are gradually emerging. Its role is to stabilise the British ruling class's control over the wealth of the whole of Ireland.

The presence of middle class Catholics in the state apparatus for the first time in fifty years is intended to smooth relations with the 'Republic' and to persuade working class Catholics back off the streets.

This process of absorbing the SDLP has been passed off as 'democratic reform'. Yet Northern Ireland remains a police state, with almost 2,000 political prisoners and where 20,000 men armed to the teeth are necessary to maintain 'law and order'. (If the same scale were repeated in Britain itself, there would be over 100,000 political prisoners and 1,000,000 armed law enforcers).

The British strategy does seem to be

winning ground. The once intransigent Unionist bosses, led by Brian Faulkner are now bending over backwards to make room for Gerry Fitt and his gang. Fitt & Co., who swore that they would never enter the same room as the 'architect of internment', are now scrambling to secure seats on the Assembly executive with these same Unionist gangsters.

Opposition to the plans of the British ruling class comes from the ultra loyalists and the republicans. Paisley and Craig who represent the extreme right wing of the pro-imperialist camp, fear that any deal with the Catholic middle class will sound their death knell. With Catholics sharing power they cannot so easily distribute patronage to working class Protestants, and they will rapidly lose their power base.

When Daithi O'Connell, reputedly the brains behind the Provisionals, said in a recent interview, that he would 'bend over backwards' to reach an agreement with these ultra right wingers, he revealed once

again the political bankruptcy of his movement. It is naively dangerous to assume that because the loyalists extremists oppose British plans they could, under the leadership of such men as Craig and Paisley, become allies of the anti-imperialists.

The question of the success or failure of the Assembly is not just the question of a military strategy. It is a political problem, and one which the Provos seem quite incapable of solving through political struggle.

But what sort of political action? The Officials and Communist Party still insist the only possible mass political struggle is one to extend liberal democracy and that struggle has to be organised through NICRA. In the past these two organisations explicitly excluded any working class politics from the platforms of NICRA so as to enable it to embrace all shades of 'democratic' opinion. The SDLP consciously used the mass movement as the vehicle to carry them to power. They weren't so reluctant to make their politics clear: a share in power for themselves and no more.

There is little room for liberal democratic reform within the bounds of the Six County State. Any further progress requires that the state be destroyed - but not to replace it with rule from Leinster House. The struggle against the state must be a thirty two county struggle: it must be a struggle simultaneously against the 26 county state. And it must be a struggle for socialism.

The longer the struggle for socialism is diverted into blind alleys, be they of pure militarism or liberal reformism, the greater the chances of success for the Assembly; the more breathing space for imperialism to reorganise and stabilise its rule; and the greater the repression and exploitation of the Irish working class.

sackings - and without their support, the I.E.T.A. is not in a position to fight them. The E.T.U. only succeeded in getting a two-week extension for two of their members so that they would qualify for redundancy money.

It is not the local E.T.U. members who are to blame; it is the national leadership which has failed to develop a national policy to fight redundancies. If the ESB continues to get away with their lying arguments without the unions taking militant action to oppose them, it can only encourage bosses in other industries to copy their methods.

SEAN KEOGH

Waterford: More Work Fewer Jobs



PICTURE the scene: the wives of two workers in the Masser-Waterford Iron foundry meet in a supermarket. One remarks to the other, "I don't know how I'm going to manage. John was made redundant on Friday last" "That's terrible", the other says. "if I can help at all... Joe brought home great wages the past few weeks. He did a few evenings overtime last week and brought home about £80".

That little scene is not at all exaggerated. Many men have been sacked from their jobs while others in the same place did 20 or even 30 hours overtime in the week. In the Waterford Iron foundry a new system has been introduced into some departments which allows bonus to be earned on overtime and encourages men to do more - while in other departments machines are replacing men.

I have heard one worker describe it as industrial cannibalism - and truly it is. Sometimes the failure to see the other bloke's point of view can contribute to his being sacked. In the foundry the union branch actually has a limit of 12 hours overtime per week. But the tiny fine for exceeding the limit is easily won back in the increased earnings.

To stop the sackings which are taking place in the foundry, the first step would be a ban on overtime. That would, of course, only be a short-term measure. The workers of Masser-Waterford must

unite to get a 35 hour week without any loss of pay - and to get equal pay for women workers.

In the past two years Masser-Waterford have got loans totalling £367,000 from the state-sponsored Taisei Stait and Foir Teoranta. At a recent meeting with the union, the management of the foundry claimed the amount was only £80,000 but the officials records tell otherwise. That loan is supposed to help firms in difficulty - it didn't save jobs in danger.

The foundry management used the money - an interest-free loan - to buy a new machine which did away with the jobs of 20 men in the shell-mould shop. Three of the men were then taken back to man the machine. And even with the others being moved to different departments, there were still 17 jobs lost.

This rationalisation, the moving around of workers, and the encouragement to some men to work long hours of overtime to make up their money are a threat to the job security and to the solidarity within the factory.

We must learn from it, and demand: a minimum basic wage of £35 for a 35-hour week; equal pay for women workers; nationalisation under workers control of all industries threatening a serious loss of jobs.

D. POWER

Galway: SPARKS FIFTEEN SACKED

15 GALWAY electricians are being paid off. Two of them have been with the "Board" seven years, and others have been there only six months. All but one of the 15 have been working on the big University College site.

This policy of chopping and changing seems to have been adopted particularly in the Contracts Department. It's noticeable too that in this case in Galway no attempt was made to integrate the sacked sparks into other departments. The management has claimed there is no more work, and that their pricing of

some jobs has not been successful. But that is not the sparks' fault - it is the fault of the bureaucrats in the ESB management who are falling over each other, there are so many of them.

Since the ESB does not recognise the Irish Electrical Technicians Association (I.E.T.A.) and has been trying to get rid of it, it is obvious the two I.E.T.A. members among the 15 will not be re-employed as long as they hold the I.E.T.A. cards.

The main electricians' union, the E.T.U., has more or less accepted the

Weak opposition at Cork conference

THE LABOUR PARTY Conference held in Cork during October was different from many previous conferences. Observing the conference, one was made very much aware of the fact that the Labour Party is now in government. The Ministers and T.D.'s stressed the need to be "honourable" to their Coalition partners - pointing out, to applause, that Fine Gael had honoured their undertakings - and opposed motions calling for action on Labour Party policy as being irresponsible. Many of those same people had, of course, supported and even drawn up those policies some years ago.

Criticism by some delegates of the slow progress of reforms by the government was answered by saying that the only alternative was a Fianna Fail government. However, the opposition to the Parliamentary Party and to the platform was weak and ineffective. The majority of delegates were enthusiastic in applauding the achievements of the Labour ministers.

After the conference, Brendan Corish told a TV reporter that he was pleased that a large majority of delegates now accepted Coalition. Three years ago, at the same place, the decision to enter coalition had only been passed by a small majority. But Corish must be well aware that many of the people who opposed Coalition at that time have left the Labour Party, or were expelled because of their continued opposition.



Justin Keating in full flight

The Labour Party now is dominated by middle class professionals and trade union bureaucrats. The voice of militant workers was hardly heard during the whole of the Cork conference.

Opposition

The main opposition to the leadership of the party came on the question of nationalising the mines. On this issue the Left in the party mustered all its strength. Initially, the platform tried several manoeuvres in order to suppress discussion of the topic, but finally had to concede. A number of speakers gave speeches packed with fact about the mining industry, and with emotion. They pressed for full nationalisation. Justin Keating replied at great length to the debate in a clever and dishonest speech in which he barely spoke about mining.

He spelt out the context the Labour Party was operating in; it could accept the little it was getting, or go for everything, which would break the coalition and bring back Fianna Fail.

His arguments damaged the Left, because their case was unclear. Given the weakness of Labour's support, and the pressures of accepting the parliamentary road, Keating's position was at least understandable. The Left never made it clear whether they accepted the parliamentary road and certainly gave a strong impression that they did. Having chosen to work within the Labour Party, their efforts are geared towards it. They were not presenting a case which could be taken to the mass of workers; they do not use methods which would make them able to do so, in any case.

Workers are bound to be confused by a call from socialists for nationalisation of the mining industry which does not mention workers control. The fact of the state running the mines would be no guarantee of job security, or of decent wages. The experience of the existing state companies should prove that.

Workers Control

Workers control is the central issue of socialism and should be taken up vigorously by the Left. During the Labour Party conference they failed to do this. It looks suspiciously like the Left simply seized on a popular issue (promising, too, that nationalisation of the mines would solve all the social ills of the country) but did not base their position on the basic goal of workers' control in all things.

What's the future for the Left in the Labour Party? They have got three people on to the Administrative

Council, but past experience should tell us that that means very little. Before now, they have had more than that but did not achieve much. Within the party, their support will probably grow as the disillusionment with the Coalition sets in. They will certainly not succeed in winning an absolute majority away from the Coalition path.

Some of them remain convinced that the workers will never follow any other leadership apart from that of the Labour Party (a thinly disguised insult to the capacity of workers to build anything on their own). Others are probably thinking in terms of a new reformist party. Yet others talk of unity with Official Sinn Fein. The confusion is easy to understand - for the Left has no clear, long-term aims.

One thing is clear, however; by remaining in the party the Left only succeeds in giving credibility to a party that does not deserve it. By not spelling out clearly where they are going, they only succeed in confusing the few good radical workers who remain active members of the party.

SWM

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

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