

the worker

FOR A WORKERS' REPUBLIC AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

THE FIGHT GOES ON

THE British ruling class has adopted a new approach to its 'Irish question'. The determination of the Catholic population in the Six Counties in resisting oppression, and in refusing to co-operate with the Stormont state, has forced them to take over direct control of the North.

The Unionist state had for some time been an embarrassment in the British establishment's relations with 'Union Jack' Lynch. The last Labour government and the present Tory government have attempted to modify it—but not to abandon it, for fear of leaving a political vacuum. They have made the latest move in conditions not at all favourable to them; they have introduced direct rule in an attempt to stabilise their control over the whole of Ireland.

The 'Irish question', as seen by the British ruling class, is the problem of finding a means of dominating the economy of both parts of Ireland, preferably through the political rule of British big business' friends in Ireland.

The 'Irish question', seen from the point of view of the workers and working farmers, is the problem of getting rid of that domination, of uniting a working class divided by the policies and the tactics of the ruling class over generations, in the struggle for socialism.

Their solutions and our solutions are fundamentally opposed. Direct rule is, in one sense, a concession forced by the military resistance and the mass anti-Unionist movement. But it only changes the arena of struggle against British capitalism and its allies.

This is not a time to relax. There are many dangers in the present situation.

On the one hand, the Vanguard movement has rallied the support of tens of thousands of Protestant workers. Craig, now receiving the more open support of the Unionist Party, is leading Protestant workers up a blind alley, persuading them that they can force a return to a 'loyalist' government with even greater powers to repress and discriminate.

BUYING SUPPORT

On the other hand, the 'initiative' of the British government is designed to buy off the support of sections of the Catholic community, and to isolate the militants. By letting out some of the present internees, by injecting economic 'aid', by taking Catholics into the advisory commission—by these and other means, the Heath government aims to persuade Northern Catholics that their grievances have been answered.

But the question is not essentially one of Catholic grievances and Protestant resentments. It is the question of the exploitation by British and Irish capitalism of the whole Irish working class, and of the struggle to change that.

The situation is unstable not least because of the confusion which direct rule has caused—and was intended to cause—among sections of the anti-Unionists. It has been hailed by some as a major victory. But real and lasting gains can only be made from the present situation if we extend the struggle against British capital and its allies throughout Ireland.

This does not mean the use of tactics in the South which may have been partly successful, or wholly successful, in the North. It means, above all, mounting a direct political challenge—on class lines—to the Southern regime.

Through Lynch, and through the people in the North whom he can influence, the British government aims to stabilise their control. We have to be on our guard against the sell-outs of the 'moderates'.

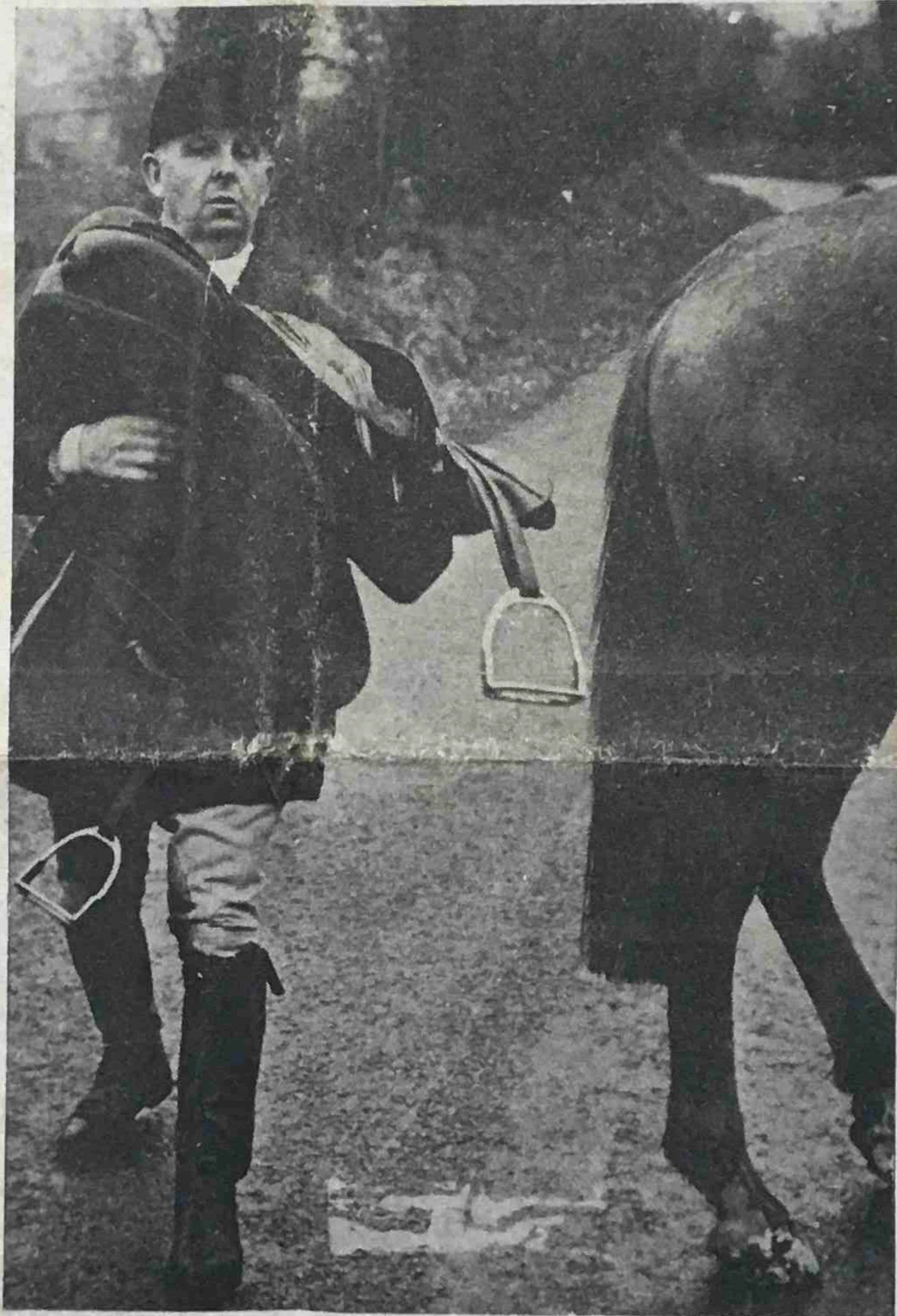
The civil resistance campaign must be maintained. The defences must be kept up against sectarian and military attacks.

Protestant workers will, in time, begin to see that their 'loyalism' has bought them no particular advantage in the long run. The British ruling class is discarding their old means of dividing and ruling the whole working class. Craig's manoeuvres could tie working-class organisations, making them incapable of defending any basic class interests.

The way forward now is to build a working class movement in the 32 Counties which can challenge the economic and political power of British and Irish capitalism, as well as maintain the necessary physical defence. We must build a movement which can defend workers against repression, and against the attacks on their living standards, and generate the will to fight for socialism, for working class power.

We do not set out to smash a state structure in order to see it replaced by another capitalist state structure; we do so in order to weaken the position of the privileged minority who control the state, and to overthrow their system.

The tasks which face us are difficult. We will only be able to meet them if we are clearly committed to the only class which never betrayed the struggle for Irish freedom, the working class.



Faulkner's gone—now kick hard

'Worker' seized in North

ON 27 February Bernadette Devlin, an active supporter of the Socialist Workers Movement, was stopped at an army road-block while travelling in a car in the Border area of Co Tyrone. The car was searched, and several dozen copies of the second issue of 'The Worker' were found.

A military policewoman leafed through one copy several times, a little puzzled, as she had never seen the paper before. She decided that the pictures of British soldiers on the first and second pages must be anti-British propaganda. 'Not the kind of thing we want people to see', she said. It hadn't occurred to her that people in the Six Counties are seeing it in the flesh every day. All the copies of the paper in the car were seized.

During the following week, nine people who had bought copies of 'The Worker' were stopped and questioned by police in the same area. The paper has been well received, however. This kind of intimidation, predictable as it was, will not stop us selling it as widely as possible, North and South.

No to Bosses' Europe

The Fianna Fail offensive on the Common Market issue is hotting up. In the run-up to the referendum, the government has published tens of thousands of pamphlets promising paradise for the Irish people in the EEC.

They claim that entry into the EEC will mean 8,000 new jobs each year, vastly increased prices for agricultural produce, and a decline in migration from the countryside. In general, they argue that entry into the EEC would reverse what is happening at the moment. But what it would, in fact, mean is a sharpening of present trends—higher prices, more jobs lost—and an overall drop in the standard of living.

Entry into the Common Market is necessary for Irish capitalism. This strategy has been the basis of Fianna Fail policies in many other fields. An independent Irish capitalist economy was at the best of times an unreal hope. That perspective has now been openly and publicly abandoned by the strongest sections of the Irish employing class, and their political agents.

The whole Irish economy, North and

South, is geared to closer and closer integration into the British and Western European system. Over the past 15 years, investment from Britain and Europe has increased enormously. Trade between Ireland and those countries has increased at the same time. But the relations between the Irish economy and Britain and the EEC are not equal relations. They are relations of domination and exploitation. The terms of trade, and the conditions for investment are determined at the centres of power, in London, Paris and Brussels. It is not the needs of the Irish people which affects such decisions, but the level of profit.

The proposal for entry into the EEC is simply another chapter in this continuous process. It is not the enormous and unique catastrophe which some people make it out to be. It represents in more dramatic form what way the Irish capitalist class has been moving over the past few decades. Those who talk of 'the death of the nation' if we enter the EEC exaggerate the significance of this move as compared with other moves in the past. More importantly, they do not lay the basis for a real

fight-back against the continuing attacks on the workers and small farmers.

Irish entry into the EEC would mean a strengthening of international capitalism's hold over the whole country. It would mean:

- 'rationalisation' throughout industry, reduced manning, productivity dealing, and consequently loss of jobs;
- tighter state control of trade unions, and an incomes policy to keep up the level of profits;
- closures and redundancies;
- the rapid decline of small farming, and a widening gap between large and small farmers;
- continued increase in prices for the housewife.

Entry to the EEC is a strategy which strengthens the hand of the international capitalist class at the expense of the working class. As socialists, we oppose this strategy. We call on workers to vote NO at the referendum, and to press their trade unions to take up a much more vigorous campaign against the EEC. The ICTU

Continued on next page

No to Bosses Europe

continued from page 1

seems to be using the excuse of a small majority at the special conference to do precisely nothing.

As socialists and internationalists we recognise that a strategy which is so indispensable to Irish capitalism can only be fought on the basis of opposition to capitalism as a whole. There is no chance of the Irish working class winning a lasting victory on this question in isolation from other workers. Our answer to the increasingly international character of modern capitalism must be the revolutionary internationalism of the working class.

There is no substantial native Irish capitalist class with independent interests. Any opposition to Irish entry into the EEC which suggests the possibility of an independent Irish capitalism is quite unreal. More than that: it disarms workers and working farmers in the struggle against the EEC. There is no group capable of imposing an alternative capitalist settlement. 'Associate status' and 'trading agreements' are the pipe-dream of small businessmen whom history has passed out.

Lies

The government's propaganda is sown through and through with lies. But on this one point they are correct: there is no realistic alternative within the capitalist system.

The comparisons with other small

countries are irrelevant. When the comparisons are made with Greece, Portugal and Spain, they are not just irrelevant, they are insulting. These are among the most backward and repressive regimes in the world. The workers and small farmers of Ireland have nothing in common with the dictators of these countries.

Class issue

When the Common Market Defence Campaign declares that entry into the EEC is 'not a party issue', they appeal to an abstract nationalism for which there is no real basis. They say it is a matter of deciding in favour of the 'national welfare' — but who decides the national welfare, the bosses or the workers? No doubt the Common Market Defence Campaign would claim that the Common Market issue is not a class issue. Perhaps they would not even recognise the existence of social classes in Ireland.

We in the Socialist Workers Movement believe that entry into the EEC is a class issue. It is the strategy of the dominant section of the Irish capitalist class, and can only be opposed successfully by a socialist, working-class force. A defeat for the government at the referendum would be an enormous set-back for their plans, but it would not in itself mean an end to the closures at a boss's whim, or an end to the rising prices. Indeed, a capitalist Ireland



Dublin workers demonstrate against EEC, January 1972

— opposition to all incomes policies under capitalism.

By struggling for the implementation of these demands, and by building an independent socialist movement, we can create the force which will achieve the only real alternative to the EEC — a socialist Ireland as part of a socialist Europe. Our struggle against the EEC must be fought in conjunction with the workers in the Common Market countries. That is the meaning of internationalism. There is no immediate working class alternative to the EEC. There is only the struggle to build a fighting strength and unity of workers to resist attacks on our living standards, and on our democratic rights. These struggles can be turned into an attack on the system and on the state if we develop a coherent revolutionary organisation.

**NO TO THE COMMON MARKET!
IN OR OUT, PREPARE TO FIGHT!
FOR A WORKERS REPUBLIC! FOR A
SOCIALIST EUROPE!**

outside the EEC might be affected by these things to an even greater extent.

It would be an unstable situation, however. It would open up new opportunities for a working-class offensive against the system here. Even if we win the battle of the referendum, we will still have a war to fight. Inside or outside the EEC we must commit the trade unions and other organisations of the working class and the small farmers to a continuing and militant struggle against all the effects of inter-

national capitalist domination of Ireland.

Workers should fight in their trade unions for a massive NO at the referendum, and for action on the following demands:

- opposition to all closures and redundancies; nationalisation under workers' control of factories and firms threatening lay-offs;
- opposition to all anti-trade union legislation;

BOLAND'S BANDWAGON

AONTACHT EIREANN has decided that it opposes the 26 Counties' entry into the Common Market.

What is this? Kevin Boland, who gerrymandered the constituencies, who dissolved Dublin Corporation, who presided over years of housing crisis without admitting that there was a crisis—has he suddenly decided to do penance for his years of Trappist silence in the Cabinet and to throw his lot in with the working class?

Ah no, Kevin is just returning to Tir na n-Og, to the land of his youth, to the Ireland of Fianna Fail's youth.

For when Fianna Fail was young, it pretended to be on the side of the working class. It was really on the side of the lower middle class, who had ambitions of becoming rich. The big businessmen of those days, who had built up their industries under free trade, wanted to keep it in order to prevent the retaliation by Britain that might follow any attempt to impose protection: accordingly they supported Cumann na nGaedheal, later Fine Gael.

TARIFFS

The backbone of Fianna Fail then was the small shopkeepers, the gombeenmen, who saw that they could enrich themselves by putting an end to free trade and introducing tariff barriers, so that they could build up industries behind the wall of customs duties.

Many of them were able to take advantage of the policy of protectionism which was brought in by Fianna Fail when it came to power in 1932. A considerable number of new industries were set up. The number of industrial workers increased from 111,000 in 1931 to 166,000 in 1938—a 50 per cent increase in 7 years.

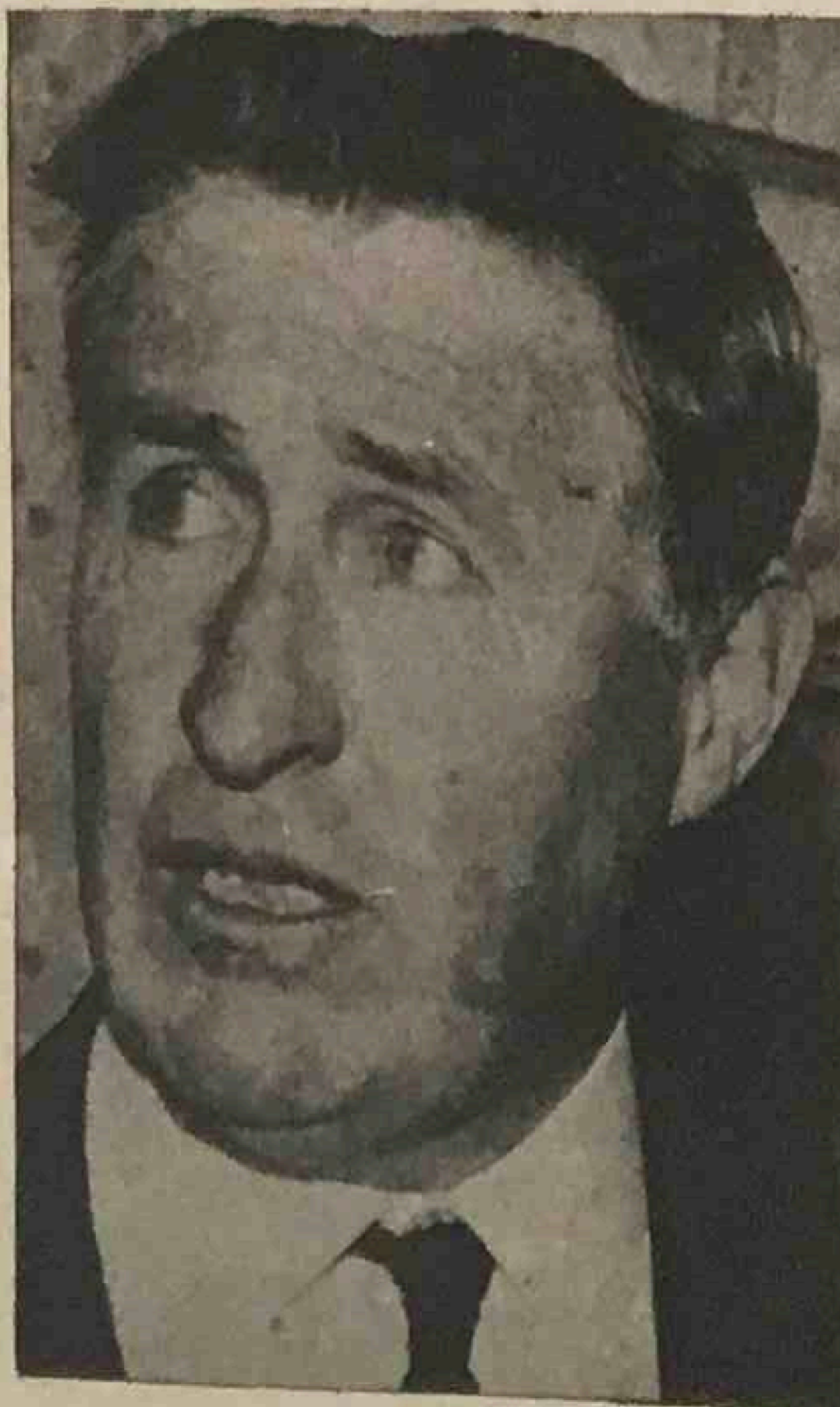
But it was already too late in history for an independent capitalist state to be built in Ireland. The forces of British imperialism, backed by their supporters in the commercial life of Ireland, were already too strong and the native capitalists were too weak. The Economic War was won by Britain, and the process of industrialisation slowed down. When industrialisation started again in 1958, it was on the opposite basis: let in foreign capital, rely on imperialism to set up factories, take down tariff barriers, go into the Common Market.

This was not because Fianna Fail

had decided to sell out their supporters. On the contrary, it was because the industrialists who owed their prosperity to Fianna Fail had used up the opportunities for profit in Ireland, and their industries had grown to the size where they needed new markets abroad. Speaking in Fermoy on 28 February last, Michael O'Kennedy, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Education, said that protection 'had caused many Irish firms to rely excessively on the small home market, and this had imposed limitations on development.' In other words, a small minority of firms, whose owners are the backbone of the Fianna Fail of today, find that there are limitations on their profits because of the absence of free trade, and therefore the whole country has to go into the Common Market.

Every cloud has its silver lining, and the silver and gold from the Common Market will go straight into the pockets of the business supporters of Fianna Fail, while the ordinary working people are told that if they are not lucky enough to be working in the right factory, the dole queue or the emigrant ship awaits them.

And for the small business people



Gerrymanderer

who did not manage to make a killing while the going was good, but who clung stubbornly to Fainna Fail, they can have the revivalist preacher Kevin Boland to stir their hearts with heroic talk of the Republicanism of 1932, while they see their shops put out of business by foreign-owned supermarkets.

The workers lack power, and because they lack power their fate is decided by others. In 1969, 42 per cent of higher and intermediate managers, administrators and proprietors supported Fianna Fail, while 43 per cent supported Fine Gael. The middle class had two parties to choose from—Fianna Fail for the new rich, the small men of yesterday, and those who want to be around when the jobs for the boys are being given out; Fine Gael for the conservative and established firms, the ranchers, the 'respectable' people who want to vote for a 'respectable' party, and those who feel shut out from the scent of patronage.

Both are in favour of the Common Market, knowing that outside it their hold over the working class will be threatened.

If we return to Michael O'Kennedy's speech we find him saying that Irish industrial concerns 'will have an opportunity to replace a small volume of high-cost, low-profit production for the home market by a large volume of low-cost, high-profit production for the home and export market.' He must have small regard for the intelligence of Irish workers. Having told them for years that the reason for high costs in industry was that the wicked workers demanded impossibly high wages, Fianna Fail now expect them to vote for the Common Market where the costs will be lower—will wages be lower too, then? 'Low-cost, high-profit production'—no prizes for guessing out of whose pocket those high profits are going to come.

It is in some people's interest that we go into the Common Market—though the rank-and-file supporters of Fianna Fail and Fine Gael will not draw much benefit from it.

PHONEY

The two parties offer a phoney competition to each other. And if the Labour Party, pathetically following at Fine Gael's heels, should ever succeed in boosting it into office, Tweedledum and Tweedledee will change places, and Fianna Fail will devote itself to denouncing the inefficiency of the Fine Gael (or Coalition) government and promising what great things they will do for the people next time they get in.

The working class has the ability to change this state of affairs. But it will not be changed by relying on the promises of politicians. It can only be changed by workers coming together in their factories and places of work to get rid of their bosses and of the politicians whom their bosses support.

John Goodwillie

Who are our friends?

In 1968 the Civil Rights Movement demanded reform, declaring that it was 'non-political, non-sectarian, non-violent'. Some of us tried to argue that this was an impossible position, but we were seen as a threat to the unity, and therefore the success, of the whole movement.

We were right. Stormont is incapable of reform. Four years of increasing repression, which has produced the wreckage of Northern Ireland, must surely prove the point. Far from being 'non-political', the mass movement of thousands which demanded mild concessions, constituted a direct political threat. It was a threat not only to the Stormont administration, but to the system maintained in the whole of Ireland by the British and Irish ruling classes. In order to contain the movement, in order to survive, they have had to resort to their ultimate weapon, state force and repression.

DIRECTION

Each repressive measure has been met by greater determination from the people. But determination is not enough. What is needed is direction. It is no longer possible or desirable to maintain a vague 'non-political' unity, or to advocate an equally vague militancy.

The struggle has shown that many of our erstwhile friends are, in fact, against us. Some of the statements of our 'second guarantor', Jack Lynch, have shocked even Fianne Fail colleagues. Lynch, and other Southern politicians, make violence into the key issue. What puzzles many people, North and South, however, is why Jack Lynch does not support the non-violent Civil Resistance Campaign.

Mr Lynch's only public statement on that question was clear and to the point:

how could he be expected to support rent strikes in the Six Counties, when he has to deal with an even bigger rent strike in the 26 Counties? There are no prizes for guessing what Jack Lynch's attitude is to demands for higher wages, more work and no redundancies in Northern Ireland. The man's hypocrisy allows him to talk about just demands for more housing and better housing in the North. But what's his attitude to squatting, and other forms of direct action, to secure these demands?

Lynch is not alone in his hypocrisy and dishonesty. He is, if anything, outbid by some of the stalwart Northern 'republicans'.

Unemployment, emigration, redundancies, and homelessness are real and fundamental problems throughout the 32 Counties of Ireland. Demands to end them must be raised, and fought for, North and South. If we are to make any gains from the present situation, if we are to take the struggle forward, these are the issues we must be fighting on.

The lack of civil and social rights all stem from the fact that while the working class produces the wealth, the ruling class — a small minority — owns it, and holds political power in order to go on owning it.

CHANGE

Our struggle must be to change that situation, and to reverse the old order. In that struggle our only allies are the workers and the working farmers. The class demands, including the demand for working class power, must be raised, and fought for. We must build a movement of our class which will guard us against the sell-outs.

Bernadette Devlin

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FIGHT THE WAGE PACT

As the First National Wage Agreement comes to a close the Bosses and their Government are putting pressure on the Unions to sign another one (not that they will have to put much pressure on the Trade Union bureaucrats). Workers should know a few facts about the increase in retail prices and the number of redundancies. The National Wage Agreement was supposed to curtail these, so we were led to believe.

In 1971 retail prices rose by an average 8.6 per cent on the year 1970, and are likely to rise by another 12 per cent in 1972, as every man and woman in the streets will tell you, the price of essential commodities have really taken a jump.

Here are some figures from the end of 1970 to the end of 1971 when the economy was supposed to be stabilized by a ceiling of 7 per cent on wage claims.

	to the end of 1970 percentage increase	to the end of 1971 percentage increase
Food	8.1	9.4
Drink	6.5	7.8
Tobacco	3.7	0.4
Clothing	11	8.8
Fuel & Light	9.9	13.0
Housing	8.9	13.4
Durable household goods	9.1	7.6
Other goods	18.8	5.7
Transport	16.1	7.5
Services, etc.	12.7	9.3

This increase of 8.6 per cent in the cost of living places Ireland third among the countries of the World in the cost-of-living-increase tables. The figures for 1971 issued by the OECD shows the following percentage increases: Yugoslavia 14.8, Finland 8.7, Ireland 8.6, Japan 8.4, Netherlands 8.3, Sweden 7.7, Spain 7.3, Switzerland 6.6, Germany 5.9, France 5.8, Norway 5.7, Denmark 5.4, Austria 5.3, Belgium 5.2, Italy 4.9, U.S.A. 3.8, Canada 3.5.

PROFITS UP

The bosses and their government have really something to be proud of specially when you realise that their profits taken a jump of 23.1 per cent in 1971 on 1970 and the directors fees a jump of 10 per cent.

Compare this 10.7 per cent with the 7 per cent for the workers in one particular firm, Gouldings, where the directors' pay is £65,558 which is an increase of £6,555. The poor workers get a measly £1.75, and to get this they are bound to a wage agreement for two years.

The National Wage Agreement was presented as a means of reducing the number of jobs being lost but precisely the opposite has happened. There were 8,556 redundancies in 1971, compared with 3,896 in 1970, an increase of 170 per cent. Nearly half of these were in Dublin, 17 per cent in Cork and the rest scattered throughout the country.

RESIST

So the cost of living continues to rise by about 10-12 per cent and the redundancies keep going up - 170 per cent last year, and when the figures for the period after Christmas and the New Year are added, it will make it about 150-200 per cent for 1972. And still they want us to sign another National Wage Agreement!

All the major Unions seem to be in favour of negotiating another Wage agreement, at least the officials are in favour, but the workers have the final say. Demand that a general meeting be held before any decision is taken, the officials are likely to react as they did in the Workers Union of Ireland by saying that they had made a commitment to an agreement, and to present it as a "fait accompli" to prevent discussion taking place. We, the workers, the rank and file trade unionists, should not allow the officials to usurp our right to vote on this issue. We must strongly urge other workers to reject any attempt to pressure us into another National Wage Agreement.

Ken Quinn

WAGE PACT

APPRENTICES' RIGHTS

An apprentice is defined in the dictionary as 'one bound by indentures to serve an employer for a term of years in order to earn some trade or craft which the employer agrees to teach.'

Just think about this a moment. It places most emphasis on the employer, and none at all on the apprentice himself.

One of the main factors in the industrial revolution was the massive exploitation of children and young workers. They were particularly defenceless when faced with the power of the employers. Over the years the trade union movement has succeeded in forcing some safeguards against the use of child labour.

Many trade unions are still reluctant, however, to give full rights - or rights of any kind - to apprentices. Many young apprentices find themselves almost as much prisoners of their union as prisoners of their employers.

I.E.T.A.

Recently a new union was formed, I.E.T.A., for apprentices in the electrical trades. This union allows all apprentice members to vote on the affairs of the union. There is one important exception, however: the apprentices do not have the right to strike.

Having got this far, we may now see many more young people taking part in trade union affairs. That can only help the trade union movement as a whole.

We face other problems among apprentices. There are far more apprentices training at the moment than there are jobs available. We have already seen the effects of a 'brain drain' from Ireland; we may now start to see a 'trade drain'. Young workers have a particular interest in insisting on the right to work in Ireland. This can only be guaranteed when the economy is planned on a national scale, and controlled democratically by those who do the work.

By doing nothing to stop the flooding of trades, the government is effectively weakening the trade union movement, and helping its own aim of keeping down wage claims. The issues of wages, jobs, and conditions for youth are connected in many ways. They must be fought on in a united way.

ESB Worker

THINK AGAIN

Recently, the Swiss Hotels Association has been advertising in Irish papers for hotel workers. With the present high unemployment in Ireland, they hope to get plenty of cheap labour.

Exploitation in Switzerland is more subtle than in most countries. Trade unionism is weak or non-existent; in the hotel industry it is especially backward. Visa restrictions and work permits make it impossible to change jobs. A resident visa is valid only for a limited area. Work visas apply for only one hotel.

When a hotel boss gives a worker notice, he is bound by law to inform the police. Deportation follows quickly. However, if the police are informed the only

choice is to get work illegally for less pay, and in much worse conditions. One fifth of the one million foreign workers in Switzerland are working illegally.

Switzerland's "guest-workers", as they are called, are regularly harassed by the police, and ruthlessly exploited by the employers. Foreign workers are second-class citizens, only tolerated as long as they remain inconspicuous. Switzerland's answer to Enoch Powell, a Herr Schwarzenbach, has recently been having some political success.

If you had thoughts about taking up the offers in the ads, think again, then think some more.



IT'S HAPPENING AGAIN

Unemployed workers marching in the 1950's when thousands emigrated to England each week

UNEMPLOYED ORGANISE

"There are roughly 20,000 men out of work in Dublin today," said Gerry Brady at the inaugural meeting of the Unemployed Workers' Association on Wednesday March 15th. He pointed out that since October the queues had been getting bigger and bigger, and these were new unemployed, people who had never been unemployed before. Until now, he said, hardly anyone under the age of thirty had ever been unemployed.

The U.W.A. has been formed to organise the growing numbers of the working class who are thrown aside, temporarily or permanently, whether it suits the interests of the shareholders to discard them. It demands three elementary rights:

1. The right to work in Ireland.
2. Government action to declare unemployment a national emergency.
3. Immediate and substantial increases in social welfare benefits.

These demands deserve the complete support of workers everywhere.

The main tactical question facing the movement is its relation to the trade unions. Many speakers voiced criticisms of some union officials. As Gerry Brady put it, "The Trade Unions are largely an inert body. The officials don't want any trouble - they'll only do exactly what you make them do and what you force them to do." Stating that the trade unions would not get the rights they demanded, he called for action by the unemployed themselves.

UNIONS

But other speakers stressed the need to involve the trade unions at every level. John Montgomery argued that the present unemployment was different from any previous experience. In the past, when unemployment had been high a whole industry had been affected at once so that a constant and consistent membership had been unemployed for the entire period, and it was possible for them to organise on their own. "The situation today is totally different," he said. "Today there is a world wide slump: certain industries are going to the wall and collapsing, and when these industries collapse they collapse gradually - your hear of 40 getting laid off, 50 getting laid off, 60, a hundred even. These people become unemployed, they seek jobs, some of them get jobs and

they are replaced by new unemployed. You have constant figures of unemployed, but you do not have constant membership of these figures." Because of this, he argued, the unemployed must work through the unions, which could control a vast membership of both employed and unemployed. "We must force the lazy officials to do the job," he said.

These views were accepted, and the meeting agreed that the unions should be invited to participate fully in the work of the association, though it would continue to work independently for the time being. The message to the unions was, "Until such time as you have organised to fight unemployment, we shall continue to agitate."

CHALLENGE

These militant workers - almost all of whom were, on a show of hands, card-carrying rank and file union members - will pose a serious challenge to the trade union leadership in the coming months. It is a challenge that should receive the backing of the entire working class. In our society, a man's "right to work" is, of course, only his right to sell his labour power cheaply so that the employer can profit from it. The worker has little alternative even when times are good, since he must support his family. But when times are bad, it may not suit the employer to use his labour at all, so in the interest of profits, the interests of the worker are disregarded. Within this system, the 'right to work' cannot be achieved: ultimately, as is shown by present levels of unemployment across the world, the great majority of men (and their wives and children) have no rights at all. Pushed to its logical conclusion, then, the demand for the "right to work" is a demand for a new social order, a socialist society. In the coming months the work of the U.W.A. will reveal whether the union leadership are prepared to support that demand.

Rejecting a call for small scale demonstrations at the present time, the U.W.A. decided to concentrate on reaching the unemployed themselves, by picketing the main labour exchanges on Wednesdays and Fridays. Any unemployed workers who wish to contact the movement should therefore ask at the 'labour'!

B. Torode

invested in South Africa has been estimated at 25 per cent. Socialists know that profits are made by the exploitation of the working class. In South Africa, the average wage of the black worker is one fifth of the average for white workers. Trade unions and living conditions are strictly state controlled, and segregated.

In case you were in any doubt as to Sisk's motives in going there, just listen to J. O. Sisk: "We are not there for fun. We are there to make money. While we may not agree with the system, we'll work within the law." They will work within the law (for once) - because it guarantees cheap labour, and higher profits.

But all is not rosy for white capitalists in South Africa. 15,000 black workers in the Ovambo region have been striking for equal pay, for the right to live outside the company compound and to live with their families, and for an end to the charter which binds workers to employers.

Wherever the system of exploitation is at work workers rebel against it. Sisk's can't go on for ever.

Galway S.W.M.

QUESTION and ANSWER

Q. - Would not one of the principal inducements to capitalists to embark capital in Ireland be the low rate of wages?

A. - That would be one great inducement, but it might be very easily counter-balanced by the idea of insecurity.

The questioner was the Select Committee on Emigration; the person to whom the question was put was Reverend Thomas Malthus, author of 'Essay on Population'. The date was 1827.

Inequality

IN THE last two issues of 'The Worker' we reported the result of researches by members of the Socialist Workers Movement, which showed that 10 per cent of the population of the 26 Counties own 90 per cent or more of the wealth.

Now comes confirmation from a study published in the Economic and Social Review (January 1972). This shows that in the 26 Counties slightly over 5 per cent of the adult population own more than £5,000 each and account for 72 per cent of total wealth. When this is further analysed, we find that only 3,855 persons, representing 0.23 per cent of the adult population, own about 17½ per cent of the total wealth.

The figures for the Six Counties are less blatantly unequal. Slightly less than 5 per cent of the adult population own 47 per cent of the total wealth.

Commenting on the figures for the 26 Counties, 'Hibernia' suggests that if one made allowance for fortunes which avoid estate duty, by transferring capital to family trusts, the correct figure might be 5 per cent of the adult population owning more than 80 per cent of the wealth.

Pamphlet Seized

EAMONN McCANN, a supporter of the Socialist Workers Movement, had 500 pamphlets seized from him at the end of February. The pamphlet was his own account of 'What Happened in Derry'. It shows how the shooting of 13 innocent citizens in Derry on Bloody Sunday was not the result of a few paratroopers losing their heads. On the contrary, the events of 30 January were the result of a definite plan.

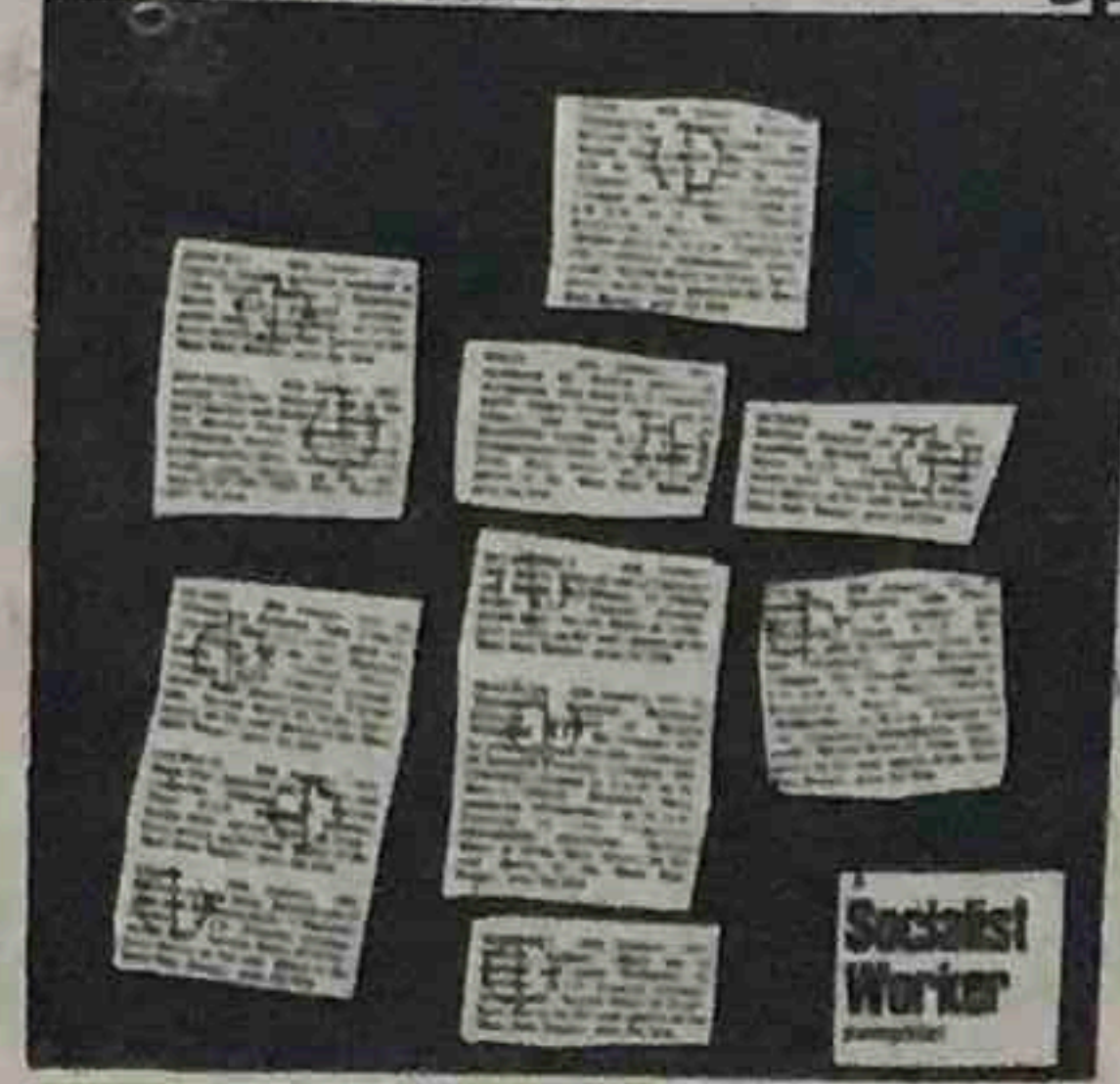
The British Army expected the IRA to retaliate for the shooting of two demonstrators standing apart from the main crowd. They were prepared for a big shoot-out in which the IRA would be discredited for using the crowd as 'cover'. To judge from their evidence to Widgery, some of them have actually convinced themselves that the shoot-out did occur.

Eamonn McCann's pamphlet is the only true account of the events of Bloody Sunday to have been published in Britain. Although several British newspapers had a full account of the massacre, they have not dared to publish it for fear of contradicting the inevitable Widgery white-wash. 'What Happened in Derry' is available in Ireland through the Socialist Workers Movement, Price 5p plus postage, from 30 Strandville Avenue, Dublin 3, and from 'Worker' sellers.

WHAT HAPPENED IN DERRY

Eamonn McCann

5p



SISK SPREADS

John Sisk is one of the biggest building firms in Ireland. It specialises in jobs for state and semi-state bodies. In Dublin, they are working on the airport extension, and on the new university buildings (U.C.D.) at Belfield. In Galway they are building part of the new university and a new community centre, which is being paid for by Galway people to attract tourists to Salthill hotels.

Now the firm is going further afield. In search of even cheaper labour than it gets in Ireland it is doing contracts in Rhodesia and South Africa. The return on capital

VICTIMS OF THE SYSTEM

Women Workers

Ireland's women are 'slaves of slaves', as Connolly said. Their average earnings are one half of male average earnings. In factories, laundries, hotels, and shops throughout Ireland they are grossly underpaid, and work in foul conditions.

Toohey's clothing factory in Marlborough Lane, Dublin, is a case in point. 300 girls, mostly in their teens, work there. They are paid on piece rate, which means that they get a fixed amount for each finished article. It often happens that when younger girls earn £12.00 for a full, sweating week over a sewing machine the wages are stopped, and they don't get it until the next week.

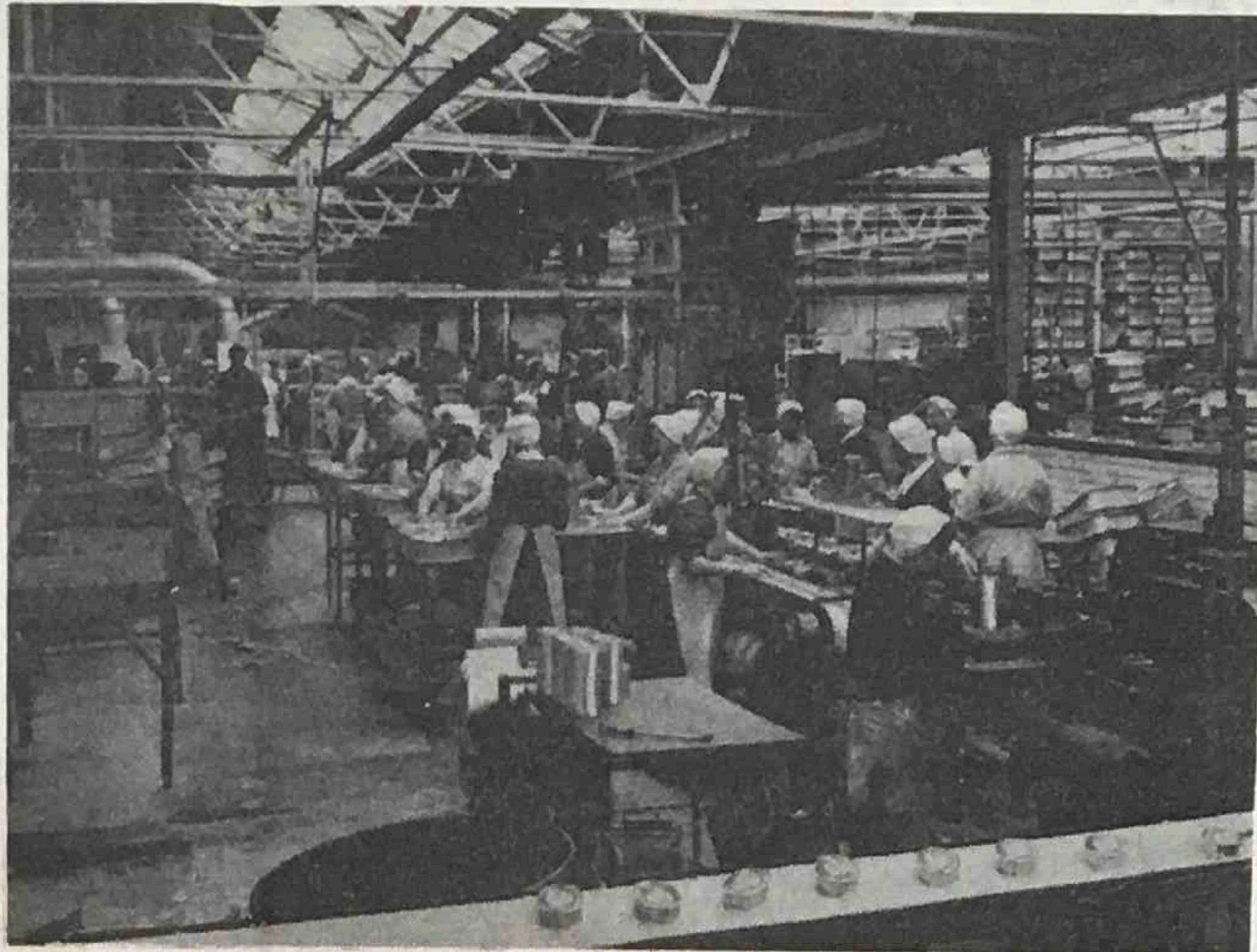
Some girls have tried to organise against these scandalous conditions by setting up a shop committee or joining a union. The management has its stooges on the factory floor, however, and any girl found talking about unions or other forms of defence is instantly dismissed. Naturally enough, this discourages others from trying to gain their rights.

In the same factory a glass-pannelled door was put on the lavatories several years ago. This was intended to ensure that there was no wasting of 'company time'. With such terrible conditions, it is not surprising that there is a big turnover of workers; most girls leave before they are twenty. This makes organisation even more difficult — and helps keep the employer's wage-bill down.

Laundry-work is at the best of times a foul job, perhaps one of the worst; and most unhealthy, a girl could get into. Senior girls earn about £8.00 per week for the 'privilege' of working an eight-hour day in steaming hot conditions. Here again, most girls leave this type of job before they reach the senior bracket.

The Irish Hospitals Sweepstake office at Ballsbridge is another black hole where female labour is particularly exploited. Women, mostly widows, work part-time there; they have to stretch themselves to the extreme in order to reach a quota which gives them a chance of being called again. The women write out thousands of receipts. The first group of women to reach the highest quota are 'called' first for the next sweep draw, the second group next, and so on. Working harder than anybody else does not necessarily guarantee a position. The management occasionally drops women to the second or third 'call' in order to keep them on their toes.

Young girls in supermarkets and shops are among the worst exploited. Their wages rarely exceed £10.00 per week for girls with up to 7 years experience. More often they earn between £5 and £7 for working from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m. In order to bring their earnings up to nearer £10 they have to work till 9 p.m. two evenings a week, and often Sunday morning as well. Every hour of the week they are hounded and harassed by the numerous



supervisors, managers, assistant managers, and shop-owners. In non-unionised firms such as Lally's, Paddy's, and Elephant Markets, any talk of unions is suppressed immediately.

The record of the trade unions themselves in these, and similar, cases is far from satisfactory. Individual workers have gone to union offices in order to join. They have been 'welcomed' with the assurance that it is not worth joining unless all the girls in that particular factory or shop are going to join. It does not seem to occur to the union officials that the best way to get them all to join would be by taking those who apply, and

then being seen to act on their behalf. Many of the union officials seem only too anxious to avoid any confrontation with such reactionary bosses.

Woman workers, young and old, should demand:

- equal pay immediately; we can't wait for some commission to report in full and then for the government to take action; our only guarantee is to press the demand for equal pay now through the unions and directly on the shop-floor;
- better working conditions all round, no discrimination on the basis of sex.

Where there is no trade union organisation, a group of workers (six or seven would do) should go to the union most directly concerned with their type of work, and not leave until their case has been heard in full, they have been admitted to the union, and the union has committed itself to helping them organise at their place of work.

Inadequate

All the indications are that the Report of the Commission on Equal Pay will be completely inadequate. The Interim Report of October 1971 limits the application of equal pay to the situation where men and women are doing the same jobs, or interchangeable jobs. This means that employers can still grade jobs as women's jobs and men's jobs, and thus maintain the differential. It is by this grading that employers benefit most from discrimination; the recommendations of the Interim Report would simply lead to a reinforcing of the mechanism.

The Socialist Workers Movement sees the struggle for full social equality of women as an important part of the struggle to end the system based on exploitation and oppression. The S.W.M. will help any group of workers fighting the general exploitation of workers under capitalism, or the particular oppression of women. If you want information on a firm, on joining a union, or forming a shop committee, contact us.

Ken Quinn

Young Workers

Young workers constitute a major part of the working class. In the 26 Counties they number 198,400 (1967 statistics). About 60 per cent of the total work-force is insured, and of these one third are aged between 16 and 24 years.

This is not only the biggest single age-group among the working population; it is the most exploited. The national press would have us believe that young workers are getting good wages, and working in reasonable conditions, but the government's own statistics speak for themselves.

In manufacturing industry, the average weekly earnings of males below 18 years were £5.28 (1967), and £5.95 (1968), compared with £16.09 (1967) and £17.77 (1968), for males over 18 years. The difference in female earnings is only less because of the scandalous wages which adult women workers receive. For under-18's they are £5.56 (1968), and for over-18's they are £9.02 (1968). The difference in the number of hours worked does not nearly compensate for this enormous gap. When the figures are worked out for all industries, excluding building and construction, the picture is still the same. Under-18's earn on average one third of over-18's. For women workers the proportion is about one half. (Statistics taken from Irish Statistical Bulletin, September 1970.)

Unemployment

The statistics show further that unemployment hits young workers particularly hard. Although the Liew Register excludes all those who have left school and been unable to find a job, the figures show that claimants for unemployment benefit and assistance consist very largely of young workers.

In 1968 the percentage of claimants for unemployment benefit living in towns and less than 21 years was 9.4. 31 per cent of claimants were less than 30 years. There is also a large number of young people who have no qualifications, and who have never had a job. The census for 1966



Apprentices training to meet the demands of free trade (see ANCO aims)

showed 19,000 'not yet at work'. All of these would be below 30 years. Their numbers in the 16-24 age-group would be equivalent to about one tenth of the workers employed in that group.

Of those who have had jobs, an increasing proportion are being hit by the wave of redundancies. In one year, 1970/71 juvenile unemployment has risen 25 per cent.

Union Rights

We have shown that young workers are especially badly hit by low wages and by unemployment. Wages and the 'right to work' are major points of discussion in any trade union, but apprentices cannot vote at union meetings on major issues, such as strikes. At the same time, they are obliged (and correctly so) to be members of their appropriate unions.

This practice serves only to divide workers; it is the kind of thing which gives a quick answer to union officials who ask "Why don't the men come to their union meeting?" Workers will not become active in an organisation in which they have no say. Some officials deliberately encourage the idea that holding a union card is simply a 'ticket' to work. Union membership should be much more than this. There should be full opportunity for trade union members, young and old, to determine the policies and actions of their union.

To meet the demands of expanding industry, ANCO, the industrial training authority, was established. The bosses' need of qualified workers has been well looked after in ANCO by board members such as Traynor, 'Irish Press' director, and

Maguire, of the Federated Irish Industries, and formerly of the Ministry for Finance.

When training comes into conflict with profits, you can guess which goes out the window.

A recent survey showed that only 17.2 per cent of the working population had attended secondary school, 8.4 per cent had attended vocational school, and only 4 per cent had been at university.

In many cases, young workers have to give up school to provide for their families. Economic need prevails over even the strongest will to further one's education.

The S.W.M. aims to build a democratic and revolutionary movement of workers to give support and direction to workers in struggle against the employers and against the state. In relation to young workers we fight for:

- Adult wages and adult rights (e.g. the right to vote) at 18;
- five days' work or five days' pay;
- rank-and-file control and socialist leadership of the trade unions;
- the right to strike, and the right to vote on all union matters for young workers and apprentices;
- adequate representation on training boards;
- a secular and comprehensive education system controlled by teachers, parents and pupils;
- raising of school-leaving age to 18;
- free education to the highest level.

Young workers, join us in the fight on these issues; help build a strong and united socialist organisation.

David Lloyd

Private Tenants

About 200,000 people in Ireland are living in flats owned by private landlords. In the vast majority of these, conditions are deplorable, and rents are outrageously high.

Fairly typical of the flats available in Dublin are the flats in a house in Charleville Avenue, North Strand. It is a two-storey house with basement divided into four flats. The basement flat consists of two rooms both reeking heavily with dampness. Clothes hanging in the wardrobe get 'green mould' in a matter of days. Even the bed-clothes are damp. A fire has to be kept going to make the place at all habitable. The weekly rent for this luxury place is £6.30.

The flat on the ground floor is little better. There the problem is not so much damp but rotten floor-boards. Just to move furniture is enough to put it through the floor. A family with three young children who lived in this flat recently went in desperation to the city Corporation to see if they were eligible for re-housing. A Corporation officer visited them, and, after measuring the crowded room, he informed them that they had enough space. They would need to have five children in order to qualify for a new flat.

This is typical of the Corporation's attitude. The public authorities do nothing to improve the situation among private tenants. The 26 County government has the worst housing record in Europe. The crisis in housing is likely to become more acute, as the flight from the land continues, and people move into the towns in search of work (some search).

Private landlords are benefiting from this situation, turning everything into flats, dividing and re-dividing. Landings become bathrooms. Kitchens become living-rooms. Garden-sheds become toilets. The ever-decreasing size of the rooms does not stop the rents increasing steadily. Tenants are known to be paying up to £12 for one room.

You might ask: if people can pay that sort of rent, would they not be better off saving to buy a house? But if a family is paying out over half of a weekly income of £20 on absolutely basic necessities, they can do little saving. Of course, the whole system is geared to benefit private landlords, and house-owners. People who own their own houses are less likely to develop solidarity in the struggle against an exploitative and oppressive system. The system's bias is shown in a comparison of the subsidies to local authority housing with the total grants and tax relief paid

out to private housing. The figures for 1970-71 are £9.3 million for public housing, and £11.7 million for private housing.

The legislation gives almost no protection to tenants of private landlords. All it requires to make a flat 'furnished' is a table and one or two other pieces of furniture. (In the case of Legion of Mary property in North Great Georges Street, in Dublin, a holy picture.) Generally, a tenant has to pay extra for electricity, and he faces an annual increase in rent, to meet rising rates.

Since 1969, the campaign on housing issues has almost disappeared. The Dublin Housing Action Committee was only revived briefly to protest about the Forcible Entry Bill. But most of the revolutionaries formerly involved in that campaign have moved into the anti-Unionist struggle in the North. There was a time, indeed, when some groups deliberately avoided embarrassing Southern bosses and landlords while the struggle in the north took all their attention. But the demands for more and better housing in the 26 Counties retain all their validity. It would assist the struggle in the North to press these and other demands which expose the Southern regime.

Rent Strike

In the past year we have seen the development of the rent strike throughout the 26 Counties. But this has been very limited in its scope. What we need is a link-up of private and public tenants. The proposed rates increases will affect both directly. They have many grievances in common.

But if there is to be any effective link-up, we must develop organisations for private tenants. They must organise to resist rent increases, to force necessary repairs (e.g. by withholding rent), and to bring their demands to the notice of the bosses' and landlords' government.

Immediate demands should be: extension of rent control to furnished flats, and minimum standards for amenities in private accommodation — both of these to be determined by representative tenants' organisations.

Beyond that, we must take up the struggle on the basis of the following points: one family — one house; emergency housing programme; expropriation of all building land; nationalisation of the building industry under worker's control.

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WHAT IS THE COMMON MARKET

THE question of Irish entry into the EEC has too often been seen in isolation from events in Europe itself. In this article Paul Gillespie gives an account of the formation of the Common Market, and of the economic processes which have been taking place within it.

Following World War II, European capitalism was in a state of material and moral exhaustion. Industrial production in 1947 stood well below the pre-war levels: 27 per cent in Germany; 66 per cent in Austria, Italy and Greece; and slightly higher in France and the Netherlands.

At the same time, there had been an average increase in population in the European countries of 10 per cent.

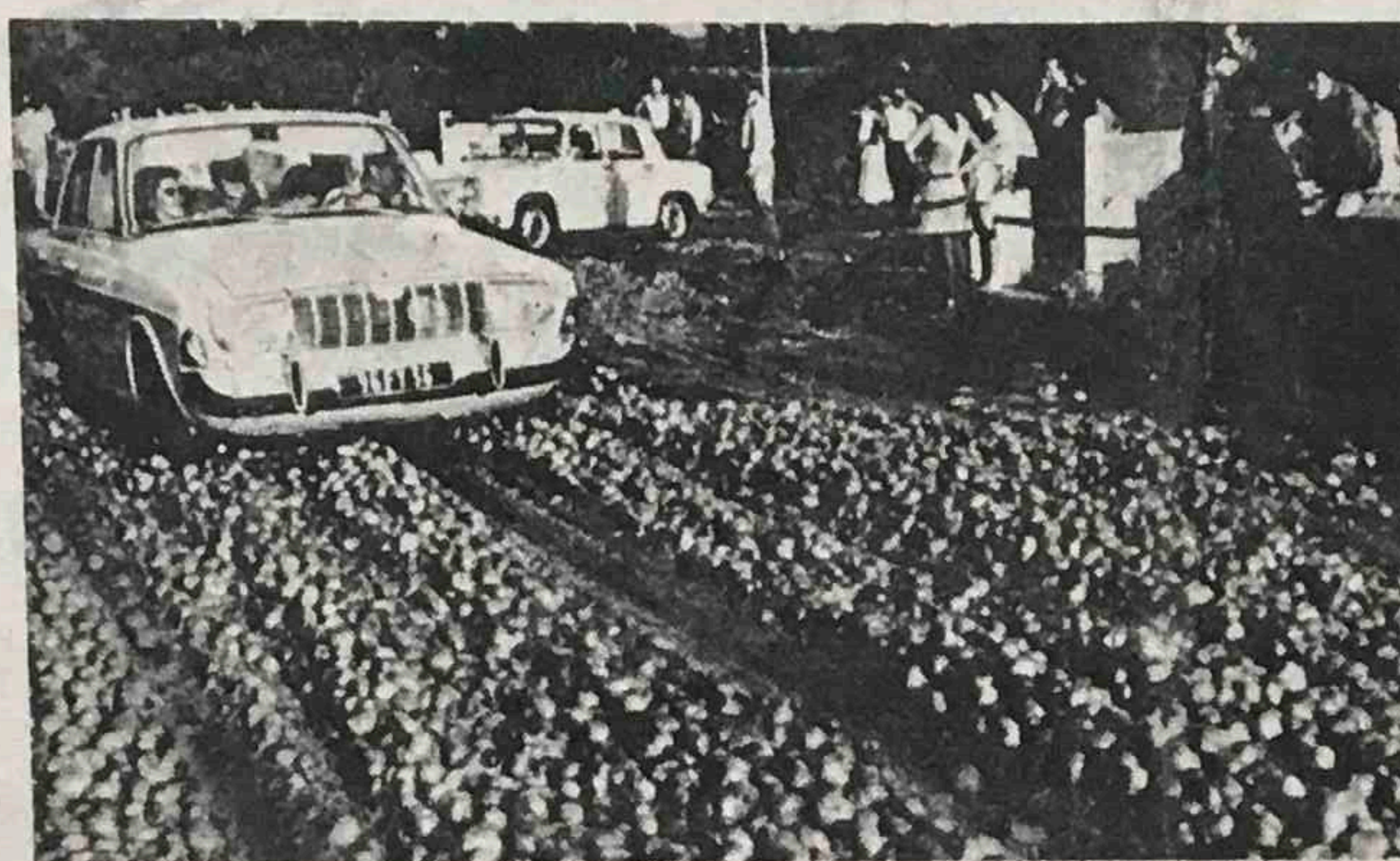
The social discontent which resulted from this situation was sharpened by inflation and unemployment. Throughout Europe, workers were prepared to fight to prevent any repetition of the war experience. In some countries, such as France, they were armed. This anger was not channelled politically, however. The blame for this falls primarily on the leadership or lack of it, offered by the Communist and Social Democratic parties who were prepared to join in class coalitions at Stalin's command. The working-class militancy could have been organised for a revolutionary overthrow of the regimes that had caused the war.

MARSHALL AID

American enterprises abroad form the third largest 'country' in the world, with a gross product greater than that of any country except the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. Many of these companies are based in EEC countries, where 40 per cent of total U.S. overseas investments were made in 1966.

International manufacturing enterprises are financed by an appropriately international financial system. Between 1963 and 1968 the international bond market in Europe grew 900 per cent.

The concentration of economic and industrial power has been growing rapidly within European capitalism also. 200 British firms produce one half of the country's manufacturing exports; a dozen firms produce as much as a fifth. In Western Germany the 100 biggest firms are responsible for nearly two-fifths of industrial turn-over, employ one third of the labour force, and produce over 50 per cent of exports. The picture is much the same in other EEC countries.



French farmers protest by crushing tomatoes on the road

The Americans were well aware of this instability, and of the possible threats it contained. They set about resurrecting capitalism in Europe through such things as Marshall Aid. As the economic recovery proceeded, it led some sections of European capitalism to think of sharing resources, in particular coal and steel. They aimed also to prevent any independent German development, and to resist the supposed threat from Russia and the Eastern bloc. The Coal and Steel Association, formed in the early 1950s, provided a foundation for the EEC.

At the same time as this was happening, the trend towards massive international companies was asserting itself - especially in the technologically more advanced industries, such as chemicals, electronics, and communications. This can be illustrated statistically. In 1969 a Mr Peter Parker, chairman of a large British colonial enterprise was able to say that "by 1970 the free world's economy will be dominated by some 300 large companies, responsible for most of the world's output... it is possible that 200 of these companies will be American."

The EEC operates in the interests of the enormous enterprises which dominate the international economy. The concentration of power is increasing all the time. In 1966 there were 1,600 mergers during the first half of 1966, as against 470 for the whole of 1967.

Some of the largest international firms - Fords, Chrysler, IBM - have branches in most European countries. The effects of the Common

Market 'rationalisations' - reducing tariff barriers; providing for free movement of capital and labour; levelling out the different legal systems; moving towards common budgeting arrangements - all fit in with the plans of the corporate giants. However, the operation does not always run smoothly. The economies of the EEC countries are still essentially national economies.

Capitalism is by nature a competitive system. There is competition not only between firms - which produces mergers and take-overs - but also between states. This is expressed in different rates of inflation, and in balance of payments problems.

During the last fifteen years, the big international companies have had to plan investment ahead for periods up to ten years. The major unpredictable factor in this planning is the cost of labour. Hence their enthusiasm for incomes policies, which they see as a method of ensuring the stability of such 'costs'. The growth of the officials bureaucracies has helped these policing operations.

UNITY?

National and international factors combine in the EEC. Their combination illustrates the fundamentally contradictory character of the capitalist system. It can also help explain some of the failures of the EEC to meet its own goals.

There has never been any shortage of liberals to argue the case for European unity. But there has been very little substantial success in this field. Institutions like the European

parliament are powerless to effect any major change in the policies of the EEC authorities. Recent reports on economic integration within the EEC show almost no progress since the mid-1960s. Everybody admits that there is no unified regional policy. Neither the Commission nor the Parliament have positive power of taxation, although there has been some 'success' in the implementation of a common method of taxation in the EEC countries. There has been little co-operation in research and development - certainly nothing like what was projected.

The main achievement is in the field of agricultural policy. The Commission fixes prices from year to year, and negotiates quota arrangements with countries outside the Community. Agriculture is also the Commission's main source of income.

Under the Common Agricultural Policy farmers are guaranteed a certain level of prices, which may be maintained by the Commission's intervention in the food market, if prices fall. The cost of the Farm Fund has increased as follows:

1962-63	38 million dollars
1964-65	217 million dollars
1966-67	494 million dollars
1968-69	2,437 million dollars
1969-70	3,124 million dollars (estimate)

The basis of this expensive agreement is the German capitalist class's willingness to subsidise the French in maintaining their peasants, and in maintaining political stability, by a food price guarantee. The Gemrans were prepared to enter this agreement on the assumption that they would gain an equivalent amount from the sale of industrial goods on the French market. The policy is based on the balance of political and economic forces within the EEC at the time the agreement was made. It is certain to be changed when Britain, which has had a cheap food policy, enters the EEC. German industrialists now recognise that they made a bad deal. Farmers are now less strong as a pressure group within the EEC. The policy is not likely to last more than 5 years at present levels.

PRICES

This will leave Irish farmers in a strange position. The decline in food prices could occur in a number of ways. The most likely is a freezing of food prices, while industrial and consumer goods increase. This is already happening to some extent. At the same time, farm incomes will be spread amongst a much smaller agricultural population, as the Mansholt Plan has made clear.

We therefore have a picture of very uneven successes in the EEC, measured against the hopes of its founding years. There has certainly been fairly spectacular industrial growth in Europe during the 1950s and 1960s. One economist has estimated that industrial production in Europe doubled between 1950 and 1963. Of course, this is not the effect solely of the EEC. It is part of the history of international capitalism since World War II. The most important factor in this has been state expenditure on armaments. Up to 50 per cent of the annual investible surplus of the U.S.A. goes on armaments. State expenditure has been crucial to the development of the most advanced industries, many of which are military suppliers.

The temporary stability which this allowed has begun to break down. The capitalist system on an international scale is affected by the strange combination of inflation and stagnation. Even Western Germany, whose economy has benefited very considerably from the Common Market, has had a 50 per cent increase in unemployment in the past year - admittedly starting from a very low base.

CONTRADICTIONS

No matter how efficient the international bureaucracy of the EEC is, it can only operate according to the laws of the economic system. That system is riddled with contradictions, between national economies, between different sections of the capitalist class, but, most importantly, between the employing class and the working class. These contradictions are coming more and more to the surface. Workers in Western Germany, which has had a docile labour force for twenty years, have been engaged in militant struggle on wage claims. In Germany, as in Britain and Ireland, the employers and the government have attempted to impose a ceiling on wage increases.

Comparison of Gross National Products of European countries and Total Sales of leading international companies (all in thousand million dollars)

GNP 1969	
Holland	28.24
Sweden	27.85
Belgium	22.82
Switzerland	18.82
Denmark	13.99
Norway	9.73
Greece	8.40
Ireland	3.40
Sales	
General Motors	24.30
Standard Oil NJ	14.93
Ford	14.70
Royal Dutch-Shell	9.74
IBM	7.20
Unilever	6.03
Philips	3.60
ICI	3.25

In the EEC countries there have been repeated attempts to tie the trade unions closer to the state, and the union leaderships, as well as the Social Democratic parties, have largely accepted the crumbs from the table which have resulted from this. Unemployment is on the increase in the EEC, too, and it is here that the failure of the regional policies is most obvious. The gap in standards of living between the industrialised areas and the peripheral, mainly agricultural, areas, has widened steadily.

Nobody should be fooled that the Common Market is a harmonious whole, providing steady wages and steady work for all. The workers in the Common Market countries certainly are not fooled. It is with them that we shall have to forge fighting links, whether we are dragged into the EEC or not.

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Ken Quinn

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At its Conference held at the beginning of March, the Socialist Workers' Movement decided to affiliate to the Socialist Labour Alliance.

The S.L.A. was organised in March 1971 at a Socialist Republican Unity Conference on the basis of the following programme:

- (a) Fight for a socialist leadership in the trade unions on the basis of:
 - A. A minimum standard of living for all, men and women, employed or not.
 - B. The right to work, against unemployment and redundancies, demanding a sliding scale of working hours without loss of pay.
 - C. The democratic rights of the working class - for unfettered trade union organisation; for internal trade union democracy; against all wage freezes, anti-trade union legislation, Special Powers and Offences against the State Acts.
- (b) Full democratic rights for every-one, and support for the civil rights struggle in the 6 Counties, and opposition to the Catholic bias in the Constitution and laws of the 26 Counties. Opposition to all repressive laws, such as the Special Powers Act and Offences against the State Act.
- (c) Immediate withdrawal of British troops from Ireland and an end to the domination of Ireland by imperialism. The Conference condemns and will expose the role of the Catholic hierarchy and other religious denominations in Northern Ireland in contributing to the perpetuation of religious sectarianism among the working class.
- (d) Fight for the rights to a livelihood of the small farmer.
- (e) Opposition to the E.E.C.
- (f) Fight for the overthrow of the 6 County and 26 County states, and for

the establishment of a 32 County Workers' Republic in a United Socialist States of Europe as part of the struggle for international socialism.

(g) Work for the formation of an all-Ireland revolutionary socialist party.

Those who participated were chiefly the People's Democracy and members of the Irish Labour Party, such as the Young Socialists, who disagreed with that Party's decision to go into coalition.

Some of the members of the S.L.A. belonged to no other organisation, while others remained in existing socialist organisations. This contradiction, together with policy differences between the various groups, prevented the S.L.A. emerging as an effective political organisation.

When the Socialist Workers' Movement was formed, some of the members were in the S.L.A. and some were outside it.

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Many people ask why there are so many socialist organisations and why they cannot all get together. Unlike some other organisations, it is not our policy to fill the pages of our paper with diatribes against other organisations, and so we will refrain from detailing the very real differences which make complete unity impossible at this stage. We will leave it to our readers to judge whether our attitudes are relevant to workers, to their struggles, and to the ending of their exploitation.

However, there are some fields in which we find it possible to co-operate with other socialist organisations.

On the initiative of members of the S.W.M., the S.L.A. decided last January to reconstitute itself simply as an alliance of organisations co-operating on such matters as they could agree on, and not as an organisation attempting to supersede other organisations. On this basis, the S.W.M. decided to enter into affiliation.

Socialist
Labour
Alliance

WHAT WE STAND FOR

SOCIALIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT

The SOCIALIST 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 unhit houses and the worst housing record in Europe; —£9 per week net average income per rural household—the third lowest in Europe; —1,000 political prisoners.

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

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

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

Workers struggles

The Socialist Workers' Movement fights for:—

- full support for workers and small farmers in struggle;
- defence of the living standards of workers and small farmers;
- rank-and-file control and socialist leadership of the trade unions;
- the election of all trade union officials, subject to recall;
- all strikes to be declared official if supported by the majority of the workers concerned;
- a minimum wage of at least £30 for a 35-hour week;
- equal pay for women;
- 100 per cent trade unionism;
- opposition to all anti-trade union legislation;
- opposition to all incomes policies under capitalism;
- against unemployment, redundancy and lay offs. We support the demand: Five days' work or five days' pay;
- repeal of all repressive legislation—e.g. Special Powers Act and Offences Against the State Act;
- extension of the Civil Resistance Campaign in the Six Counties;
- release of all political prisoners;
- evacuation of British troops from Ireland;
- defence of working class areas against military and sectarian attacks;
- freedom of worship for all religious groupings;
- total separation of Church and State;
- an end to clerical control of education;
- a secular and comprehensive education system controlled by teachers, pupils and parents;
- raising of school-leaving age to 18;
- free education to the highest level;
- full adult rights at 18—e.g. the right to vote;
- adult wages and adult rights for workers at 18;

- free and comprehensive health service;
- end to means-tested benefits;
- minimum wage for the unemployed and pensioners;
- one family—one house;
- emergency housing programme and expropriation of all building land;
- tenants' control of estates, including rents;
- full social equality for women;
- 24-hour nurseries;
- income for small farmers and agricultural labourers on parity with industrial rates;
- division of large estates under control of local farmers;
- the building of a genuine co-operative movement among farmers and fishermen;
- nationalisation of hunting and fishing rights.

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

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

WE NEED YOUR SUPPORT

'THE WORKER' IS PRODUCED BY WORKERS FOR WORKERS. IT MAKES NO PROFIT. WE NEED YOUR SUPPORT TO PRODUCE A BETTER PAPER, ONE OF EVER GREATER RELEVANCE TO CLASS STRUGGLES IN IRELAND. TAKE OUT A SUBSCRIPTION NOW, OR SEND A DONATION TO 'THE WORKER' FIGHTING FUND. WE HAVE SET OURSELVES A TARGET OF £500 OVER THE NEXT MONTHS.

WOMAN: PRISONER AT HOME PRISONER AT WORK

The time has come to look at the so called emancipation of Women, today in Ireland and indeed throughout the World. Opponents of Womens Liberation, ask "What more freedom do they want?" They talk about Women being free to work or get married, but look at the great mass of working girls and women how much independence have they gained? They have exchange the narrowness and lack of freedom of the home for the narrowness and lack of freedom of the factory, sweat-shop, supermarket, or office?

Working women have the extra burden of looking after the "home sweat-shop" — cold, dreary, disorderly, uninviting — after a hard day's work. GLORIOUS INDEPENDENCE! No wonder that hundreds of girls are so willing to accept the first offer of marriage, sick and tired of their 'independence' behind the counter, at the sewing machine or typewriter.

SUPERIORITY

All around them, women see the undisputed superiority of men. The average man likes to double in the "Fruit of Women" taking a bite out of each "Fruit" and then discarding it, but when the time comes to settle down, his "Fruit" must not be soiled or have been touched. Such hypocrisy is beyond words.

The popular notion about love and marriage is that they are the same thing, that they have the same motives, and cover the same human needs. Like most popular notions this rests not on fact, but on superstition.

There are large numbers of men and women to whom marriage is nothing but a farce, but who submit to it for the sake of public opinion. It is true that some marriages are based on love; it is also true that in some cases love continues in married life; but it does so despite marriage, not because of it. It is not true to say that love results from marriage,

although one often hears of a miraculous case of a married couple falling in love after marriage, but if you examine it closely you will find that they have merely adjusted to the inevitable. Growing used to each other is a far cry from the spontaneity, the intensity and the beauty of love.

ULTIMATE

Marriage is primarily an economic arrangement, an insurance pact, the only different being that it is more binding and exacting; the premiums in this case are the people involved.

From infancy, almost every girl is told that marriage is her ultimate goal. Her training and education are directed towards that end, yet she knows less about her function as wife and mother, than the ordinary tradesman knows of his trade. It is considered indecent and filthy for a 'respectable' girl to have previous knowledge of marriage and what it involves. It only takes the marriage vow to turn what is filthy into the most sacred and purest arrangement that no one dare question or criticise.

The prospective wife and mother is kept in complete ignorance of sex, so that when she does get married she is shocked, repelled, and outraged by the most natural and healthy instinct. Much of the unhappiness, misery, distress and physical suffering of marriage is due to the criminal ignorance in sex matters. Many homes have been broken up because of this deplorable fact. If on rare occasions, young people allow themselves the luxury of romance, they are quickly taken aside by their elders, and drilled and brain-washed until they become "sensible".

The moral lesson instilled into the girl is not whether the man has aroused her love, but can he make a living, can he support a wife? This gradually saturates every girl, and becomes eventually the



only justification for marriage. Instead of moonlight and kisses, of laughter and tears she dreams of shopping tours and bargain counters.

Millions of women throughout the world have an equal "right" with men to be exploited and robbed, to go on strike and to starve. Women often consider their position as a worker to be transitory, to be given up for the first bidder. This makes it difficult to organise women. "Why should I join a Union? I am getting married to have a home," they say. This is because of her conditioning from childhood, to look to her "vocation" in life, marriage.

A woman can't speak of "her" home since it is the man who creates it, it does not matter whether he is a "brute" or a "darling", marriage does not guarantee women a home, this is granted only by the grace of her husband. It is little wonder that she may become a nag, petty, quarrelsome, gossipy, eventually driving the man from the house. She couldn't go even if she wanted, she has no place to go.

Marriage is supposed to protect the child yet thousands are destitute and homeless, in overcrowded orphanages and reformatories. The Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children is kept busy

rescuing the little victims of erring parents.

A child needs to be reared in love, free love, money will not buy love, no powers can subdue it. Love needs no protection, it is its own protection. As long as love reigns — as long as it is possible — no child is deserted, or hungry, or famished.

The state dreads the coming of free motherhood because it will rob them of their prey. Who would fight the wars? Who would create the wealth if women were to refuse the indiscriminate breeding of children? The race! The race shouts the President, the Capitalist, the Priest; the race must be preserved, though woman be degraded to a mere machine. Marriage is the safety valve against the sex awakening of Woman.

Woman's freedom is closely linked with man's freedom. Most people seem to overlook the fact that when a child is born, it needs the love of every human being around it. The narrowness of human relationships under capitalism has brought tragedy into the lives of modern man and woman. Someday when the world gives birth to a new society, to true companionship, not marriage but love will be the parent.

Tania

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

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

Name _____

Address _____

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International News

Where have all the radicals gone?

The 1960s were marked by disturbance and upset, and contrasted sharply with the dull conformity which characterised American politics previously. The prime mover in this radical upsurge was the Black Movement. Starting out as a campaign to get into white America, the younger sectors of it ended with a radical attack on white America and an urge somehow to get away from it.

The middle class youth rebellion - the "revolt against affluence" - was deeply impressed by the Black struggle. What more glaring contradiction to American democracy and American affluence than the plight of the 25 million Afro-Americans? To be Black was to be poor and oppressed, to be white was to have comfort and power - so thought the liberal and radical.

This "theory" found little support in the American working class; certainly the best off in the world, but hardly in the lap of luxury. The wages of the union-organised worker (only one quarter of the industrial work force is unionised) may buy him more than his European counterpart, but should he become sick, disabled, or redundant, or wish his children to go to university, he finds that the "land of the free" has a much lower level of social welfare payments than Britain, for instance.

POVERTY

According to the government's own figures 30 per cent of the population lives in sub-standard conditions. Most of these are white, though non-whites, who constitute 15 per cent of the US total, are about one third of America's poor. Millions of

Americans suffer from severe malnutrition, resulting from poverty. They are largely concentrated among agricultural labourers, Black, Mexican and Indian, recently replaced by sophisticated "agri-business" machinery. The permanently unemployed "welfare people" are one factor in American poverty. Even more desperate are those millions below the poverty line who work 30 or more hours per week!

As in every capitalist country, the great burden of taxation falls on the working class which is least able to pay. While it is welcome that middle class reformers have given attention to the "Other America" their solutions (state investment financed from taxation) boil down to having the working class pay for the racism reinforced by reforms? Black workers, though on a markedly lower average level than the whites, are hardly more inspired by the liberals' "solutions".

In 1965, in the midst of the Black upsurge, the US found itself bogged down in a major war in Asia. Within a few years the grand consensus in support of the Empire - once known affectionately as the "Free World" - was called into question by a growing minority. The long-term prosperity which had been built on the foundation of the permanent arms economy (see M. Kidron's, "Western Capitalism Since The War", Penguin) began to wobble under pressure of the super-inflation caused by the Vietnam intervention. Prices began to soar, wages could not keep pace (from about 1969), and still the profits of key American industries sagged behind foreign rivals.

Unemployment reached levels not seen in 30 years. But, contrary to the economics textbooks, prices did not go down. Unemployment among the young is a critical problem, but was partly disguised so long as the draft calls to Vietnam were high.

Liberal imperialists, notably the Kennedys, who had laid the plans for Vietnam now began to draw back. Firstly, they feared that the US was overcommitting its military and political resources to SE Asia at the expense of other parts of the Empire; Europe, the Middle East and Latin America. Secondly, they feared the erosion in confidence in the ruling class evident in the anti-war upsurge of middle class youth. Thirdly, their economists (see anti-war editorials, *Wall Street Journal*) warned them that over-indulgence in the arms economy was detrimental to the long-term health of basic industry and research.

REPRESSION

By 1971 Black ghetto rebellions were no longer a regular occurrence. The US "security forces" never bothered with the rubber bullets stage; tanks and machine guns were used immediately. Nixon managed to convince people that he was ending the Indochina War. The anti-war mass movement was given one last (?) and enormous revival (Spring 1970) by Nixon's startling invasion of Cambodia. Of course, Nixon has continued to expand and escalate the war into Laos and back, again, to major air war on North Vietnam. On the domestic scene, however, he learned his lesson. He can carry the war to



Labour boss Meany meets Capital boss Nixon

the whole of Asia so long as he does not require loss of American lives. It is only the latter which excites significant opposition to the war at home.

The Black Movement is in disarray or retreat. Campus radicalism is dead. Yet the prospect of a radical attack on American capitalism is more real than it has been for 30 years. The mass of the working class is slowly and confusedly coming to action. It is worried about unemployment and the run-away pace of inflation. Every day that goes by shows Nixon's "wage-price controls" to be exactly what the capitalists intended: wage - without price - controls.

Most significantly for working class, revolutionary socialists, like those in American IS, is the fact that the workers realise that their trade unions are not serving their fundamental needs. Top-heavy, undemocratic bureaucracies that they are, the unions are more likely to serve as a second management than as the rank-and-file's first line of defence. The best unions may sincerely negotiate "the best contract possible under the circum-

stances", but once it is signed the force of the bureaucracy will be used to see that it is adhered to as much by their own ranks as by the employers.

Capitalism in crisis in very frank about what it needs from its working class; "more work for the same money". This also means a further decline in working conditions. As long as the union leadership is wedded to capitalist "logic", it will have to hold its members down.

Democratic, rank-and-file movements welcome the participation, sometimes even the leadership, of their socialist workmates. (The leading opposition within the auto union is headed by a man from Belfast's Markets area.) In the face of growing racial tension, there have even been signs of the willingness of black and white workers (New York telephone, auto, teachers' union) to come together in militant opposition to the employers and the union leadership's complicity with them.

Robert Harrison
International Socialists, USA

SHOP-FLOOR STRUGGLE

P Davies

The trouble with the conventional strike is that after you have gone through all the votes and discussions the actual strike itself is often an anti-climax. Of course, after the slavery of punching your card every morning, to be able to get up later in the day is a welcome change. But as time goes on you begin to miss the people you talked to at work, and above all, miss the money. If you are lucky enough to get strike pay it is usually pretty miserable and any National Assistance is very difficult to obtain.

The other worry is that you do not know what is being decided by the Unions and Management above your head. You feel isolated, and although you may have been involved in the original strike decision, often the first time that you hear of the Management's or Union's proposals is through the radio, TV or newspapers.

Strikes have been the commonest way to fight the bosses - and strikes have gained us a lot, but it should be remembered that there are other ways that we can fight. Often these methods do not involve us losing money, while enabling us to stay together so we can discuss any proposals put forward. This avoids others taking important decisions, supposedly on our behalf.

Another point worth considering is to actually enjoy fighting the bosses. The normal strike is a pretty grim affair after the first week or so. You sit at home wondering how long the thing is going to last and where you are going to borrow money if it goes on a long while. But a "work to rule" or a policy of "non-co-operation with management" can not only save your money, win your fight but also be fun!

SABOTAGE

People who don't work in factories often don't realise that the industrial struggle is a continuous day-to-day struggle. Management fights us by expanding work study, time and motion study, job evaluation, critical path analysis,

measured day work, etc. When we react to an increase in "efficiency", often just a new method by the bosses to make us work harder, we often resort to what they call sabotage. This sabotage is our everyday weapon. One day, certainly, we will control and run the factories in our own interests, but until that day we will make sure the bosses make as little out of us as possible. For example, the biggest enemy of the worker on the production line is the speed-up. The workers at Ford's in Dagenham used to fight back just like any other production workers - someone would just accidentally drop a bolt in the line, and as soon as it worked its way round to the end - bang - the line would stop. Then there would be a delay and everyone would take a break.

Or to quote from an American business magazine 'Fortune' talking about the U.S. motor industry "in some plants worker discontent has reached such a degree that there has been overt sabotage. Screws have been left in brake drums, tool handles have been welded into fender compartments (to cause mysterious, unfindable and eternal rattles), paint scratched and upholstery cut".

One way to disrupt the system and get a breather is to actually follow the management orders even when you know they are wrong. Sometimes it has happened that a whole workshop has worked to incorrect drawings even when everyone, including the foreman, knew that they were wrong. When later, months of work were thrown in the scrap bin everyone was in the clear - they had just followed orders! Incidentally, it is often a mistake to see foremen simply as a tool of management. They often have distinct interests and grievances of their own which a smart shop steward or worker can use to the advantage of all workers.

Sabotage is basically a "withdrawal of co-operation" and is therefore a very good bargaining counter. The bosses can see their profits slipping, delivery dates falling behind and can feel a definite "atmosphere" around the factory, but they can rarely put their finger on anything definite. Therefore, no one can be victimised. Also if any agreement are made with management on the basis of a "resumption of co-operation" the power

remains in our hands; possibly we didn't like the result of the agreement, so we can quite easily carry on as before! Another example is the tactics of some Italian workers in the boot and shoe industry - they refused to produce anything but left shoes!

Sabotage has been used effectively even after unsuccessful lockouts and strikes. After one particularly bitter strike when the workers were forced to go back to work after several months out, with no wage increase, they were quoted as returning "with bitterness in their hearts and emery dust in their pockets."

The bad feeling among workers after a defeat is often a greater danger to employers than any victory they might have won after a successful strike.

GO-SLOW

In a management textbook on industrial sociology the following is stated: "If managers' orders were completely obeyed confusion would result and production and morale would be lowered. In order to achieve the goals of the organisation workers must often violate orders, resort to their own techniques of doing things and disregarding lines of authority. Without this kind of systematic sabotage, much work could not be done. This unsolicited

sabotage in the form of disobedience and subterfuge is especially necessary to enable large bureaucracies to function effectively". Maybe there is a case for a withdrawal of sabotage in some cases!

Most industries have a mass of rules, regulations and working practices, most of them very old-fashioned and often designed to reduce management's liability in case of accidents. Managements are, of course, quite prepared to close their eyes if these rules are broken in the interest of increasing profits. Selective use of these rules can be a very effective form of struggle for us.

In 1965 the Antwerp docks in Belgium applied a work to rule. All the safety precautions were applied with enormous care; locks were never filled so slowly. It was many years since the years since the levels were so minutely checked with a plumbline, or swing bridges so carefully examined in case someone was sleeping off a hangover on the turntable beneath. Lock keepers also discovered unsuspected responsibilities when it came to identifying ships and their masters or making sure that all the fire regulations were observed. Tugs were hedged in with speed and movement regulations. Priority for entry was still being given to oil tankers despite the fact that the Antwerp refineries had adequate stocks of crude oil.

The French railwaymen, because striking was illegal for them, also found the

rule book very useful - one French law tells the engine driver to make sure of the safety of any bridge over which his train has to pass. If after personal examination he is still doubtful, then he must consult the other members of the train crew. Trains tended to run late!

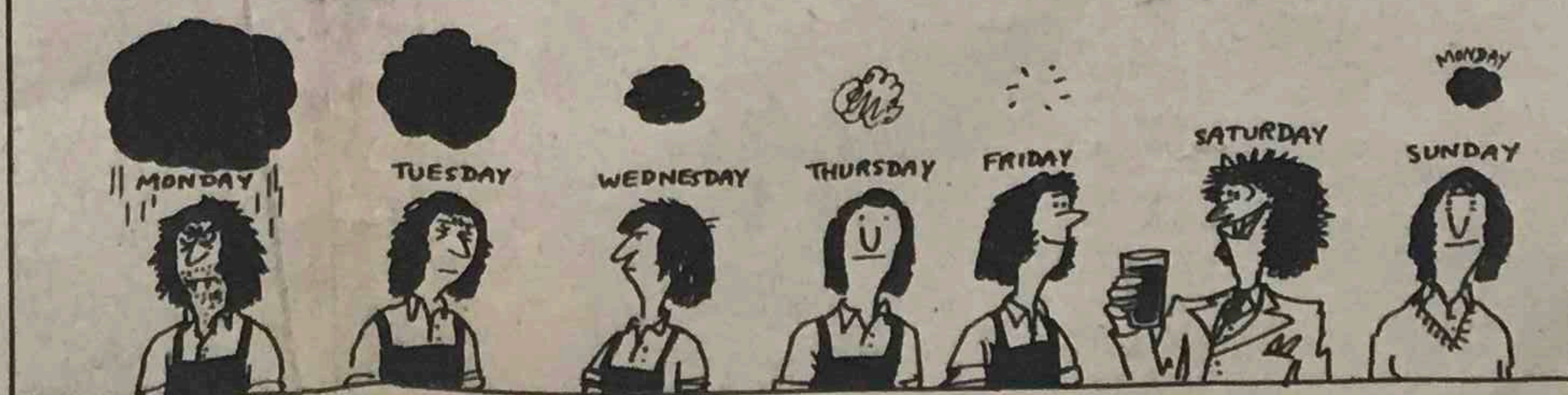
In 1962 Standard Telephones and Cables used a tool lock up very effectively. Instead of using their own gauges, rules etc. they queued up to use the firm's limited supply of micrometers. These and countless other nappenings drastically curtailed the output of jigs and fixtures which in turn meant a huge pile-up of work waiting for tools in the production shops. The men achieved their demands.

In the twenties and thirties the American working class used the slogan FOR POOR WAGES - BAD WORK. When railway workers were given a wage cut they took their shovels to the smithy and had two inches cut off the ends. For short wages - short shovels. Remember also, that these days the modern equivalent to wages cuts goes on continuously - our wages stay the same while prices rise.

Government organisations are particularly vulnerable to use of the rule book by the workers. In fact the British Union of Post Office Workers in 1961 produced a booklet outlining the most "useful" regulations. It seems rather unlikely that the GPO would prosecute the Union for conspiring to incite people to massive compliance with management instructions (the most efficient form of sabotage yet devised?). In fact, when you consider how many of the basic decisions taken in industry (to enable it to run at all) are taken by workers you might think we already had a form of workers' management. The point is of course, we don't decide what is to be made and who is to benefit from it.

To be continued

OUR NORMAN



VANGUARD GUARDS IN VAIN

The spectacle of tens of thousands of working class Protestants rallying to the call of the Ulster Vanguard is not a pleasant sight for Irish socialists. The fact that leaders of the Loyalist Workers Association who were chiefly responsible for organising the rally in Ormeau Park could appear on television and claim to be socialists and that one of the leaders, Billy Hull, has proved himself in the Belfast shipyards to be a militant trade unionist, seemed to any revolutionary patently absurd.

In an effort to explain away the obvious contradictions some socialists have raised the cry of "Fascism" while others have insisted that the Protestants "rights" must be respected. But the loyalist workers who cheered that well known alcoholic, Bill Craig, as he called for the liquidation of Ulster's enemies are not fascist just because of the style and tone of their rallies. On the other hand to talk of defending the Protestant workers' "rights" when these "rights" include better jobs and better housing than their Catholic neighbours, and ultimately the liquidation of these neighbours, is even more incorrect. For this was what the Stormont state was built on; discrimination and divide and rule. The ruling clique had to prevent the development of a united working class. No socialist can defend the existence of that state, with or without its Stormont trappings.

NO COHESION

To understand the nature of Vanguard a number of points should be stressed. First of all, it is not a cohesive or organized body with any real or agreed politics. Take the case of Knox-Cunningham, ex-Unionist M.P. for South Antrim; at the Vanguard rally he called on Enoch Powell to adopt the leadership of the Unionist cause at Westminster, and yet Powell has repeatedly called for the abolition of Stormont and the complete incorporation of the Six Counties into the U.K.—the very policy the Vanguard organized their rally to protest against!

Secondly, the very fact that Knox-Cunningham and other Vanguard speakers have emphasised the need for a new leader, while Craig sees himself as that leader, shows that there is as much disunion in the ranks of Vanguard as there is in any other of the Unionist cliques.

Vanguard has no clear cut policies or clear cut leadership; it is no more than an expression of discontent by the Protestant workers. In no sense can it be called organised fascism. Those who look for signs of fascism have pointed to the leathered motor cyclists who escorted Craig, to the raising and lowering of



Craig and Hull inspect Vanguard supporters

banners, to the military-style formations and to the organised shouting and saluting. Certainly these things are reminiscent of Hitler, but the Vanguard organizers are not trying to copy Hitler, rather they are trying to copy Carson, who went through a similar ritualistic performance in 1912.

Fascism is only possible when big business is prepared to back organisations like Vanguard to the hilt as it backed Carson in 1912, when it becomes the expression not of working class and lower middle class discontent, but primarily of capitalistic counter revolution. It has not done so in the Six Counties and it will not do so, unless it is faced with a socialist revolution. Unhappily, they are not faced with that at the moment. Big business is quite prepared to support Faulkner, the Alliance Party, or Enoch Powell-style direct rule. These at least promise some

prospect, however distant, of a nice "ordinary" stable political structure where they will be free to go on exploiting both sections of the working class. Craig, with his talk of U.D.I., cannot promise that.

LEFT'S FAILURE

If Vanguard is not fascist, what is it? It is the reaction of Protestants who have been told for fifty years that Stormont was the only safeguard for their privileged position, however shallow those privileges are in comparison with their Tory bosses. They now see Stormont abolished, and their Unionist leadership deserting them. It is an expression too, of the failure of the Left throughout Ireland to offer Protestant workers something more relevant than what they are now receiving.

The Protestant workers are expressing their discontent in reactionary and repressive ways and if they maintain privilege over Catholic workers, then socialists must use force to defend those Catholic workers.

It may seem easier to label the Protestant workers as fascist or to say the Protestants in the Six Counties are somehow a separate nation. But the only solution, the only long-term alternative to Vanguard, is the most difficult solution, the building of a thirty-two county socialist movement. The capitalists, the imperialists, the Stormont puppets and bigots like Craig, are running out of solutions, it is time the socialists took over, it is time they became the real vanguard, the vanguard of the Irish working class.

G. Hill

MICHELIN STRIKE

In the Six Counties the vast majority of firms employ less than fifty people. Therefore, a strike which brings two factories employing between them over three thousand workers to a stand-still — and for nine weeks — is of crucial importance to the working class movement in Ireland. The strike at Michelin's tyre factories has been going on since January 15th, and has been almost totally ignored by the press. The men are nonetheless determined to win.

Their main demand, from a list of eleven originally submitted to the management last December, is for a substantial increase in basic rates. They want shift allowances to be calculated as a percentage of the basic rate. They further insist that there must be parity of bonus rates between the two factories. The management has replied to all their demands with a flat "No", and proceeded to lock out all the uninvolved workers.

The unions involved — the A.U.E.W. and the E.E.T.U. — hesitated many weeks before making the strike official, and have failed to give the leadership necessary to win a strike in these conditions.

Blackmail

The men in fact have had to rely totally on themselves in the face of attempts to blackmail them back to work by local Unionist M.P.s, and the Minister

of Health and Social Security. Mrs. Anne Dickson, M.P. for the area of the larger of the two factories, had only the usual remarks to make that one expects from the enemies of the working class: "We have more than enough trouble in the country without putting at risk the goodwill of those who are giving employment to a large number of people." In other words, striking workers are bad for the profit of their bosses — those nice kind gentlemen, who, out of the kindness of their hearts, provide jobs for us — and upright loyal citizens should accept their miserable lot, so that people like Mrs. Dickson can play at politics at their expense, and lord it over them.

This policy of political blackmail has long been the crucial weapon in the Unionist ruling-class arsenal for keeping the labour force quiet. The well disciplined work-force is the best way of ensuring that lots of greedy capitalists will come and exploit the Irish workers. Michael Chapman, deputy chairman of I.C.I. said recently of his Ulster subsidiary, "We've had no labour troubles of any sort. It's wonderful to be able to tell people about this." In a period when workers' living standards are under attack, the absence of 'labour troubles' is a sure sign that the bosses are winning — hands down. If the workers attempt to assert their rights, they are speedily reminded of the need to be loyal, and that loyalty excludes strike action, in the pursuit of workers'

interests. To be loyal to the state, a worker has to be disloyal to his class.

Fitzsimmons set up an inquiry — under the safe chairmanship of an establishment man, Professor Donald McKay. His behind-the-scenes string pulling has had some effect, it seems. Some of the 'loyalist blackmail' has worked. Most of the shop stewards and T.U. officials tried to have the strike called off, pending the outcome of the enquiry. "The image of the country cannot afford to suffer any more", was the verdict of one leading steward. The men however have suffered long enough themselves to be too perturbed by the 'suffering image of the country', or any other mystifying notions: 94 per cent voted against a resumption of work.

Too late the workers saw the need to build rank and file committees to run their strikes and take all decisions democratically. This would have made a quicker and more likely victory possible.

Terror

Michelin might well terrorize the workers into submission by threatening closure. Such threats have been made many times here. The only safeguard against them is to fight for the full nationalization of all foreign-owned industries, and all other threatening closure for whatever reason, without compensation to

the owners, and under the control of those who work in them. Failing the implementation of such a policy by the political powers, workers here must prepare to occupy the factories, to prevent the removal of plant and equipment. UCS, Plessey and Fisher-Bendix are a lesson to us.

Ban profits export

To solve the unemployment problem, a ban must be put on the export of all profits from Ireland, and the funds thus secured invested here under the direction of the working class themselves.

No Unionist Government will ever initiate such a programme, as they, like their class the world over, are dedicated to the maintenance of the property system which creates these problems in the first place.

Only when the working class is organized in its own political party, fighting against the whole capitalist system, can we begin to get an end to unemployment, low wages, bad conditions, political blackmail, bosses' terrorism and all the other brutal aspects of this system which plague the vast majority of those who live in it — the working class.

Mike Miller

ONE OF THE TROUBLES with most books and articles on Northern Ireland is that they are written by people who don't know the facts. The trouble with this book is that it is written by people who know too many facts. It is over-researched.

The Insight Team have dug up and raked over thousands of incidents in recent Irish history and from them put together a story as racy and gripping as a good thriller. It is informative and enjoyable to read — and good value at 40p.

It will tell you what happened, but not why. What it lacks is politics. Events are explained by reference to the machinations of this or that group or said to result from the mistakes and decisions of various individuals. The crucial turn in military policy—from a 'neutralist' to an anti-Catholic attitude—is largely attributed to Cabinet ministers' misunderstandings and undiplomatic military blunders.

This is, of course, some distance away from the truth. The British Army, when it first intervened massively in 1969, tried to stand between and above the two communities, because the changing pattern of British investment in Ireland demanded 'neutrality' between Orange and Green capitalism. There was nothing accidental about the fact that it was not able to maintain this posture.

Orange machine

The change took place because the iron grip of the Orange machine on public life in the North was not broken. It still penetrated the Cabinet Office as easily as the office of some small rural district council. Gradually and inexorably, the British Army became enmeshed in that machine, thus destroying the strategy of 'de-sectarianising' Northern Ireland, as a step on the way to a cosy, Tory, Federal Deal.

With direct rule the Tories are having another go at the 'de-sectarianising' (Harold Wilson's word, not mine). They have now severed the links between the Orange machine and the centres of power. Hence the outrage of the machine-men, Craig, Faulkner, and Martin Smyth. Hence, also, the equivocation of Paisley who was not, to his political disadvantage, part of the machine.

None of this could be discerned in the 'Insight' book. Their 'explanations' are rooted in the rich interplay of personality and random circumstance. There is not one sentence about British business interests.

Insight have a taste for the clandestine. The book is studded with accounts of meetings in hotel rooms and kitchens and cloak and dagger phone calls from one semi-secret agent to another. Some of this is ludicrous.

There is the story of a Fianna Fail intelligence agent successfully impersonating a 'well-known' Dublin TV personality at an IRA meeting in Belfast. One suspects that somewhere along the line the Insight team were the victims of the traditional sport of pulling British journalists' legs.

There is a detailed account of a Free State army contingency plan to cross the border 'take Craigavon bridge and enter Derry'. Which is all very dramatic—except that Craigavon bridge is on the other side of Derry, away from the Border.

The account of August 1969, especially that of events in Derry, is inaccurate in some details. Still it is not the worst recent book I have read on Ulster. What it needs is a companion volume on the politics which underpin and explain the events described.

Eamonn McCann

