

the worker

FOR A WORKERS' REPUBLIC AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

NO PARTNERSHIP WITH THE BOSSES

Profits are soaring, but the calls for wage control, a voluntary incomes policy, or a 'social contract' between unions, employers and government are growing stronger.

During the first few days of May, a number of companies reported their profits for the past year, or held their Annual General Meeting. These include:

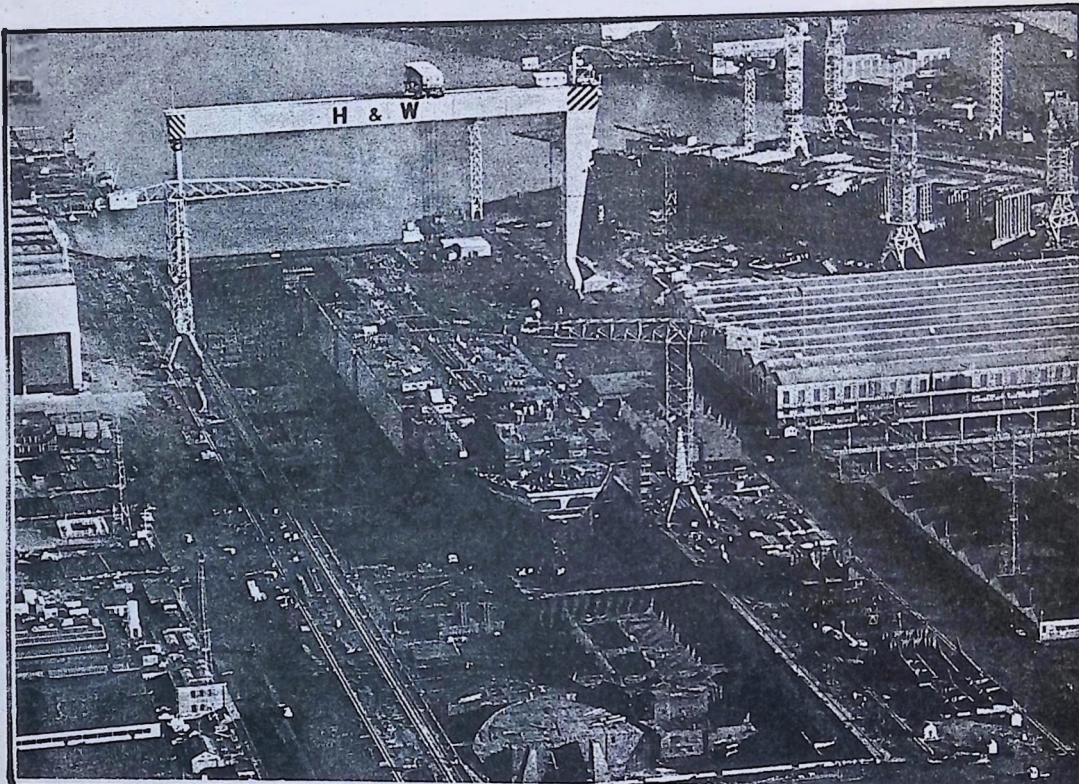
BANK OF IRELAND	profits up 43% to £10.69 million.
ALLIED IRISH BANKS --	profits up 23% to £9.7 million.
SMITH GROUP (Renault assemblers) --	profits up 85% to £680,000.
YOUGHAL CARPETS --	profits up 115% to £2¼ million.
FITZWILTON (Tony O'Reilly's Company) --	1973 profits expected to be £2¼ million.
ULSTER BANK --	profits up 58% to £3.12 million.
WATERFORD GLASS --	profits up 23% to nearly £2½ million.

The list could go -- profits are up at Brown Thomas, Arnott's, Ferrier Pollock, Savage Smyth, Northern Bank, and many others.

Prices, too are soaring. But the bosses are not happy with the Wage Agreement they have got in the South; they are not yet satisfied with the defeats they have inflicted on the working class in Britain and the North. They want 'wider co-operation' between unions and employers; they want the union leaders to take some of their 'responsibilities', and help carry out further attacks on workers' living standards.

CALL FOR CURBS

The report of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development on the Southern Irish economy stressed the need (from the capitalist point of view) for curbs on wages, in the framework of a wider economic policy worked out by unions, employers and government. The report spoke of how the 'social partners' in small countries can easily work out common goals. The Central Bank has continued to push its favourite idea of a 'social contract'. The Committee on Industrial Progress says management is to blame for many of the weaknesses of Irish industry, but says workers and managers will have to "accommodate" to rationalisation of production -- for the workers, that means less jobs. The National Prices Commission points out that most of the causes of rising prices in Ireland lie outside Irish control, but then goes on to say that wage increases must be "moderated ... which can only be achieved in the context of a wider social policy". The British Tory Government has dragged a not-so-willing union leadership into talks on wage 'restraint'.



The fantastic profits reported above are made from the sweated labour of workers throughout the country. What goals would workers have in common with the people who exploit them in this way? The answer is none at all.

While the union leaders occasionally hit out at mergers, speculation, building societies, or rising prices -- or indeed anything which sounds radical, but does not tie them down to any action -- you can be sure that they are opening up the way for a deal with the people who gain from all these things.

We must resist any form of deal -- 'voluntary' or otherwise -- which would tie workers to objectives laid down by the bosses and in the bosses' interests. We must defend the independence of the working class movement, the trade union movement in particular.

Fifty years ago, 'Voice of Labour', the organ of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union, wrote that there was 'no such thing as community of interests between the working class and the capitalist class'. There is no need to change that statement today -- however much it might make the present leaders of the I.T.G.W.U. blush.

Say NO to any form of wage 'freeze'! Say NO to any form of 'social contract'!

Above: Harland and Wolff shipyards are almost at a stand-in one of the most important industrial disputes in the North in ten years.

READ INSIDE: Exclusive profile of Hoppe, Director of the Yards, and a full report on the dispute (Page 4).

ALSO INSIDE: Historical article on Ireland, 1916 - 23 (page 2), and Presidential Election -- Does It Matter? (Page 5).

LATE NEWS: Strike at Harris, assemblers of Hino Trucks. Support needed. More next month.

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NORTH - VOTE REPUBLICAN!

The Catholic middle class have come out of the cracks and crannies of Northern society. Solicitors, surgeons, businessmen and teachers are all bidding for seats in the local councils, for a share in the power.

'For the first time in 50 years', says the S.D.L.P. Draperstown Branch, 'we can control Magherafelt District Council'. 'We' can only mean the Catholics -- the S.D.L.P. has not existed for 50 years, thank God.

The 'Unity' moves are another attempt to unite Catholics across the class boundaries. Their aim is to integrate the anti-Unionist masses into the system.

As we said last month, 'the only possible answer to the British plans is on a working class basis' ... The election

platform could be used to bring home the message of working class action, in the work places, and in the housing estates!

Unhappily, nobody is fighting these elections on that basis. The Provisionals are steering clear of them. It might appear that they are correctly refusing to co-operate in any way. At the same time, however, they have opened a new office in Belfast and appealed to the British to allow it to stay open. They claim that they are a respectable and responsible political organisation. This desire for respectability has always been strong in the Provisionals and shows their basically middle class politics.

The Officials are putting up 80 candidates in the local elections. Their

organisation, and their members, like the Provos, have taken a hammering from the British Army in the past few weeks. There can be no doubt that British soldiers have deliberately shot down known republicans.

The soldiers who shot Peter McGerrigan in Armagh had been seen earlier that day searching Catholic houses in the city, carrying a photograph of the man. In Belfast, three Provisional volunteers have been killed in cold blood.

The Whitelaw regime are trying at once to coax the republicans on to parliamentary ground, and to weaken their organisation. The Officials have two, unconnected answers to this situation. On the one hand, they claim to have killed

seven soldiers in recent weeks -- and hope to calm the more militant people in their own ranks, as well as maybe catch 'Provo' votes in the elections. On the other hand, they issue an election manifesto which fits into the framework of local government.

They have criticisms of the proposed structure, of course, they describe it as 'grossly undemocratic', and call for 'the implementation of democracy at local government level'. How? through the present system? by a series of gradual reforms? In spite of the very thorough document which the Officials have put out, they do not answer this. Some of the points they make -- e.g. calling for community conferences under the auspices of the Community Relations

Commission -- only confirm the impression that they believe in the possibility of bringing 'full democracy' bit-by-bit, and broadly within the present class framework.

For all their limitations, the Officials are trying to express a position that is anti-imperialist and in some sense 'socialist'. Their candidates, and any others standing on a more clearly socialist basis, should get the support of class-conscious workers on 30th May. But the struggle of socialists within the republican movement, both wings, for genuinely socialist policies, must go on.

THE LOST CHANCES

IRELAND 1916-1923



Above: Liberty Hall shelled by British troops.

Any study of this period must begin with 1916 and James Connolly. Connolly was a socialist; when asked what his profession was he used to reply "Revolution". His life's work was spent in organising the workers as a class. He worked to building the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union; he formed the Irish Socialist Republican Party, the Socialist Party of Ireland and the Irish Citizens' Army. He was never a member of the Republican organisations of the time. Few people could understand how this revolutionary socialist could join forces with the nationalists who put nation before class.

JUSTICE

Connolly was an internationalist; but he saw the justice of the Irish national struggle. He believed that the working class were the incorruptible inheritors of the fight for Irish freedom. He believed that the Republic had to be socialist, to be a Workers' Republic. This is why he organised the working class independently and for socialism. But 1916 was hardly likely to result in a

Workers' Republic, although Connolly told his 200 I.C.A. men: "In the event of victory, hold on to your rifles as those with whom we are fighting may stop before our goal is reached".

DESPERATE

Connolly's desperate action must be seen in the light of that political position. The working class had been defeated in 1913. In 1914 Redmond urged the Irish Volunteers to join the British Army and fight for Catholic Belgium; and many did. Further, the big socialist parties of France and Germany, who had pledged opposition to war, were now actively supporting the butchery. This is the context in which Connolly wrote: "But deep in the heart of Ireland has sunk a sense of degradation wrought upon its people - so deep and so humiliating that no agency less powerful than the red tide of war on Irish soil will enable the Irish race to recover its self respect ... it may truly be said that 'without the shedding of

blood there is no redemption." Thus the aim was to turn the tide.

In so far as 1916 changed the course of Irish history Connolly was right. So far as the organisation of a Workers' Republic was concerned, a fatal flaw was revealed in his thought. Connolly never realised the full importance of a clear, farsighted socialist organisation. When Connolly

was executed on May 12, 1916, most of his ideas went with him. His closest followers became either pure Republicans or simply trade unionists. The absence of a socialist organisation, however small, was to prove fatal to the fulfilment of Connolly's aim - the achievement of a Workers' Republic.

against striking farm workers at a Sinn Fein court in Co. Limerick.

In May Cleves threatened to close all their creameries unless the workers took a wage cut of 33%! The workers' response was to hoist the red flag yet again and soviets were declared at Carrick-on-Suir, Bansha, Clonmel, Kilmallock, Mallow, Knocklong, Bruree, Aherlow etc. When I.T.G.W.U. members picketed shops refusing to sell soviet butter in Clonmel some anti-Treaty volunteers fired on them!

As the Free State consolidated its control, thousands were interned and executions began. After an attack on two Free State T.D.'s four leading anti-Treaty leaders were shot on 8 December 1922; they included Mellows who in jail had begun to realise the need to win support from the workers. Bishops condemned opposition to the Treaty. Slowly, and through a reign of terror, Cork and Kerry were taken for the Free State. In May 1923 the Civil War ended.

STRUGGLE FOR WHOSE FREEDOM?

The execution of the 1916 leaders contributed greatly to Irish disillusionment with the First World War. In the prosperity that resulted from the War, workers pushed for higher wages. Trade union membership soared, the I.T.G.W.U. membership jumping from 5,000 in 1916 to 100,000 in 1920. Membership of the Irish Trade Union Congress grew from 100,000 to 250,000 in one year. Trades councils were set up in most towns. This growing strength combined with anti-War feeling made the situation explosive.

However, no organisation existed to link the workers' militancy to the struggle against British domination. The Labour Party abandoned the path Connolly had urged on it. The 1916 Conference stood in silence in honour of the dead regardless of whether they had died fighting for or against the British Army! It was no more than another name for the Trade Union Congress.



In that year Belfast engineers joined workers in Glasgow and Liverpool in a strike for shorter hours. Other trades joined the strike and soon Belfast was being run by the Trades Council. The strike bulletin of 8 February said: "At last we have unity in the ranks of the workers irrespective of religion or politics." Messages of support came from trades councils all over the country.

The Sinn Fein victory celebrations ignored the Belfast struggle which cut across the old religious divisions. Nothing was done to deepen and strengthen this class unity. Eventually the Belfast engineers settled for a reduction of seven hours a week; ruling class unionists were able to set the workers against one another again. Workers elsewhere moved. March brought a general strike in Boyle and April the Limerick 'Soviet'. There, the Trades Council called a general strike against military law.

On May Day 1919 red flags were seen all over the country, including Sligo, Drogheda, Wicklow and Mallow. In Kilmacthomas, Co. Waterford, a big march was headed by the banner "A Workers' Republic". Meanwhile, ambushes by Republicans turned into guerrilla war and by late 1919 martial law was proclaimed. Republicans were imprisoned. British legislation was prepared to partition Ireland.

Where the strength of the working class was brought in to the national struggle, victory was quickly won. Thus when the I.T.U.C. called a general strike for the release of

prisoners on hunger strike, the prisoners were released after three days.

In the North sectarian riots were encouraged by the bosses. Catholics were driven out of factories along with the trade union militants who had led the struggles of 1919.

In the South the class struggle reached new heights. In May 1920 Cleves workers took over their creamery at Knocklong when they were refused higher wages. Production continued and butter was sold to the Belfast Co-Op. Their slogan was "We make butter not profits".

By this time, the Dail had established Republican Courts. However, they simply applied British law which safeguarded property and considered workers' takeovers as illegal.

The British plan was to establish Stormont and then later do a deal with Sinn Fein. Republicans were being arrested in droves; the 'Black and Tans' eroded the country. Stormont was opened in June 1921. De Valera was allowed to remain free by the British. Presumably they saw him as the best hope for a compromise! Sure enough a truce was arranged in July 1921 and repression eased. Negotiations began.

The war-time prosperity had ended. Bosses pushed for wage cuts. Dockers' wages were cut and railwaymen struck. After a worker was dismissed at Cleves bakery and mill in Co. Limerick the "Bruree Workers' Soviet Mills" was set up. Again the red flag flew and the banners proclaimed "We make bread not profits". Drogheda foundry and

Cork harbour were taken over by striking workers.

These tremendous bursts of activity showed what was possible. Workers' takeovers occurred generally over issues of wages and were quickly won. No attempt was made to link up the workers as a class and direct the potential towards a socialist republic.

Of course, there were socialist groups which claimed to represent the working class's interest. They were small and ineffective. The Socialist Party of Ireland included several of the most important trade union leaders. But the party played a purely propaganda role. It did not organise and recruit. Later it was split and the Communist Party grew out of it - too late, however, to change the course of events.

The absence of an effective socialist party was felt nationally. Sinn Fein split over the Treaty which was signed in December 1921. Partition was not a central issue. Dominion status was, but the core of the debate was about the Crown and the oath of allegiance. Now the deputies were having to decide what sort of republic they wanted. Many rejected the republic offered but were unable to offer any alternative. A small majority in the Dail ratified the Treaty in January 1922. Here, if ever, the anti-Treaty forces should have developed the alternative republic, a Workers' Republic which could be built out of the struggles in progress. They did nothing, of the sort.

Soaring unemployment and wage cuts led unemployed workers to seize the Rotunda in Dublin and run up the red flag. Workers seized Mallow Mills in January but were forced out by Liam Lynch, a leading opponent of the Treaty. Moylan, another anti-Treaty leader, made judgement

TRAGEDY

The tragedy of the period was the opportunities which were lost. Many sincere and committed people pledged and lost their lives to the struggle against British imperialism. Unclear as to the nature of the struggle, they were split and defeated by the British Government, aided by the big Irish farmers and businessmen who founded the Free State. There were instances of magnificent courage both in the workers' struggle and the Republicans' struggle. But the necessary unity was never formed around a revolutionary programme.

Socialism was the only answer to the problems of the period. Many workers showed in action that socialism was possible. All the birth-pangs of a new society were felt, but the old order held on. The society that resulted was conservative, priest-ridden and racked by poverty and emigration.

SINN FEIN

With no alternatives offered, Sinn Fein was identified as the party of 1916. In fact Sinn Fein played no part in 1916 and was a small middle-class movement. In 1917, however, Sinn Fein became an organisation with massive support, including William Martin Murphy, the villain of 1913! Although Republicans joined, the politics remained firmly middle-class. From now on, the struggles of the working class and the fight for national independence were to remain separate.

In the general election of 1918 Sinn Fein won 75 seats out of 105. Bill O'Brien, Secretary of the I.T.G.W.U., convinced the Labour Party not to offer candidates but to support Sinn Fein. Thus the party withdrew to the sidelines. "Labour must wait" was the slogan; and Labour is still waiting 54 years later! The Sinn Fein deputies refused to take their seats in London and set up the Dail in January 1919. The majority of the T.D.'s were businessmen and shopkeepers. Their programme was similar to, but less radical than, the 1916 Proclamation. It is not surprising that these men took little interest in the working class struggle which flared up in early 1919.

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CROWN STRIKE



Last month THE WORKER reported in detail on the foul working conditions in the American-owned factory Crown Controls on the Galway Industrial Estate. Now the workers have taken action to improve their conditions.

On Thursday, 2nd May, eight men in the Grinding Section put a picket on the factory. They are demanding dirty money for doing one of the filthiest jobs in the place. Nobody passed the pickets. Crown Controls was on full strike for the first time since it opened.

The Amalgamated Engineering Union full-time official in Belfast, Charlie Hull, was asked to make the strike official. His answer was simple: the workers should go back to work and start talks. However, negotiations could not begin until he was able to come down himself on May 14th!

Militants at the factory brought out a leaflet calling for a broader fight in the factory. They put forward the following demands:

1. an increase of £3 overall for every worker;
2. management subsidies for overalls, shoes, travelling expenses, accommodation for those who have to find digs; showers to be provided, and canteen meals at reasonable cost;
3. time and a half for night shift;
4. an end to management selection of workers to do overtime;
5. parity between workers and staff in sick pay;
6. one union member from each section in the factory to be present at any future negotiations.

Late News: Crown workers ended their strike on 9th May.

Jimmy Lydon owns four restaurants - three in Galway, one in Limerick. He also owns confectionery and bread shops, the Cellar Bar in Galway, and a bakery. His sister owns half the houses in Long Walk, and her brother-in-law owns the famous Paddy Burke's bar in Clarenbridge. Small wonder, then, that Jimmy Lydon recently described himself as a millionaire in the bosses' paper, the 'Financial Times'.

Twenty girls work in Lydon's restaurant in Shop Street. They earn between £5 and £8 a week. They only survive on this, because they get some tips as well. They work 50 hours a week - knowing that how much they take home will depend on the mood of the customers or the smile they give them.

The waitresses are only allowed to take their meals in the restaurant when there aren't any customers around. They might often wait until 3 o'clock. If they can't eat in the restaurant, they have to take their dinner into the kitchen.

FIDDLING

Not only are wages and conditions bad, but Lydon's are fiddling their employees as well. The girls claim they are due a 'gratuity' of £2 every week. Nobody has ever seen it.

When the girls first tried to join the union, the management called them into the office one-by-one and went on at them about their lack of gratitude. They offered bribes to girls who would not join the union. Some

BEGINNING OF A LONG FIGHT

of them refused to give in, however, and the Irish Transport and General Workers Union put in a claim on their behalf.

As a last resort, Jimmy Lydon proposed that the girls should form a 'staff association', that they could contribute to their pensions, and so on. This move split the girls. But there were good reasons. Some of the girls live in rooms over the shop and restaurant; and they felt themselves to be in a precarious position. As well as this, the management had threatened and intimidated some of the girls, telling them that the Gardai would remove anybody who picketed the premises.

On Saturday, 21st April, pickets were placed on Lydon's. But Jimmy Lydon had prepared. He

brought in married women and school-children to help the girls who had passed the pickets. The restaurant stayed open, and seven girls stayed on the picket.

The next day, Sunday, Lydon got a court injunction to stop the pickets. He also started a propaganda campaign to keep his customers. He said there was no strike.

This could be the beginning of a long fight. If the Lydon's girls win, it will be an encouragement to workers throughout the Galway catering and tourist trade. If they lose, the hotels and restaurants could still be paying £10 a week in 20 years' time. They can win - with the support of other Galway workers. All supplies to Lydon's must be blacked.

SMURFIT SIT-IN

In recent months, the giant Smurfit group has been buying itself more and more into businesses in Britain. Therefore it is very important that contacts between Smurfit workers in Britain and Ireland are built up. The recent dispute at the Smurfit packaging works in St. Helens, Lancashire, should be of interest to all Smurfit workers in Ireland.

The sit-in strike at the St. Helens factory took place in February of this year. It lasted three weeks. During the sit-in, the 230 workers all reported for work, but spent the day in the canteen, or on the picket.

The dispute grew out of negotiations which had been going on at factory level for nine months. The Chapel (Branch) of S.O.G.A.T. (general union for print workers and paper workers) had been demanding a better shift differential. Management replied with strict conditions about increasing productivity (cutting

down on lateness, on waste and spoilage).

In order to force their claim, the workers decided in February to withdraw their co-operation from the full flexibility of labour, 'which in the past had been exploited by Management to the extent of using female workers on male operations without parity pay'.

On Monday, 5th February, some girls refused to be shifted to another (male-operated) machine, and were immediately threatened with the sack. Within an hour the whole factory had stopped in support of them, and the sit-in began. Later, the workers barricaded all entrances to the building, and only allowed one member of management to enter to 'sit-in' with the workers.

By the third week, the 'pinch' was being felt and the shop committee recommended a return to work rather than see the shop-floor organisation decline. The terms for resuming work were 1. the consolidation of a £1 a week attendance money into the flat rate, back-dated to June 1972; 2. to put the

extra payment on the shift differential through official procedure; 3. guarantee of no victimisation. A mass meeting accepted these terms and voted to end the strike.

Since the return to work in late February, the management have threatened short-time and redundancy. However, the shop stewards were able to defeat this through negotiation at factory level. Then, the management tried to push a 'moderate' for the Father of the Chapel's post. This, too, was defeated at a committee meeting which proposed the present F.O.C. be returned unopposed.

It should be of interest to Smurfit workers here to note that their colleagues in St. Helens have been able to meet the threats and challenges from management at the factory level. They have the kind of organisation to defend themselves without having to refer everything to a full-time Branch Secretary. Efforts are now being made to form links between Smurfit workers in Ireland (there are half-a-dozen major Smurfit plants in Dublin) and in Lancashire.

FILTHY INSIDE AND OUTSIDE

The Munster Chipboard Factory Waterford, employs 190 workers and has been in operation since 1961. The factory's products are mainly used in the Building and Furniture industries.

The chipboard is made from wood which is chipped and compressed with glue to various densities. The noise of machinery, steel saws, etc., can be deafening during this process. Ammonia gas is also used in the manufacturing process and is known to leak. This gas, combined with the very fine saw-dust in the atmosphere of the factory can cause severe damage to the health of the workers - eye, throat and chest irritations are common.

The workers are now conducting their own enquiry into the leakage of ammonia and of its effects. Protective clothing is provided to some workers doing particular jobs, however, some months back the workers had to resort to an unofficial stoppage to force management to provide duffle coats for men working partly out-doors. Shift working is in operation and this month the workers are changing to four shift working, i.e. the plant will be working 24 hours a day, seven days a week.

While conditions are bad



inside the factory, they are not much better outside. The factory, situated in the middle of a complex of private and corporation housing estates, continually pumps out fine dust which covers everything within a radius of two miles.

A few years ago a worker doing a job on the factory roof was killed because he failed to see a glass window covered with this dust. He fell through the roof into a grinding machine and was crushed to death.

This fall-out of waste saw-dust destroys clothes, carpets, furniture, cars etc. Residents in the Belvedere Drive estate, which is within 50 yards of the factory have suffered most.

Early one night last August after a "blizzard fall-out" they decided that complaining was not enough. Young children wrote placards saying "We want fresh air". Residents with cars drove them to the factory and blocked the main entrance. This action finally got a statement from the Munster Chipboard management which stated that over the last two years they had spent £30,000 in an attempt to minimise the dust fall-out. They also 'regretted' any inconvenience caused.

The residents do not believe that the company spent this money. The statement also pointed out that when the factory was built the area

FINGER IN THE POT

The Government may have changed, but the men who put the policies into practice have not. This has come to light as a result of the negotiations now going on between the tenants' associations (N.A.T.O.) and James Tully, the Minister for Local Government.

Tully has asked the civil servants in his department to find out from local authorities how much it would cost them to implement N.A.T.O.'s proposals on differential rents, tenant purchase, and so on.

One civil servant was determined that the result of this survey should be unfavourable to N.A.T.O. He contacted people in the local authorities and urged them to give inflated estimates of the cost of the proposals.

He has been found out and has been 'on the mat'. But how many other civil servants must there be who are supporters of Fianna Fail? Their attitudes are not going to be changed just because they have new bosses.

was zoned for industrial purposes, but later on the Corporation had decided to re-zone it for housing. One thing the statement did not say was that there is a notice posted in the factory threatening "instant dismissal" to anyone disclosing information about the plant to outsiders.

The main corporation water reservoir which supplies the city lies alongside the factory, and it is believed that because of the dust fall-out, the filter beds for storing the water, are regularly coated with slime and scum.

While the management of Munster Chipboard must bear responsibility for causing pollution, the Waterford Corporation are not innocent. The planning department in the Corporation obviously made

no allowance for the future housing needs of the city when the factory was built. Five or six years later, they realised their mistake when thousands were looking for houses, and changed their plans and allowed houses to be built close to the factory.

The residents of Belvedere Drive now frustrated from many years of complaining about the dust fall-out are with-holding house-purchase repayments and rates from the Corporation until their demands are met. Workers in Munster Chipboard should attempt to resist the intimidation of management and link up with the residents in a joint campaign to pressurise the management and the Corporation into taking speedy action to prevent future outbreaks of pollution.

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THE SHIPYARDS DISPUTE

The steelmen's dispute at Harland and Wolff's Belfast shipyard has been the most important industrial struggle in the North for many years. It is reckoned that 100,000 people are dependent, both directly and indirectly, on the existence of the shipyards.

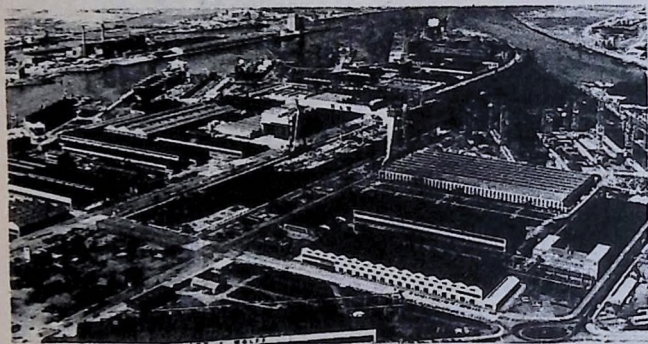
The steelworkers have shown their willingness to stand up to a dictatorial management, an intransigent government, and a treacherous trade union leadership.

Their unofficial overtime ban which began on February 9th., was designed to force the management to pay a bonus of £2.50, promised as part of a pay and productivity deal agreed in the summer of 1971! In return for a pay rise, through bonus payments, productivity was to rise by 50 per cent. over two years. To ensure that it did, Work Study was introduced, to squeeze every last drop of work out of the men. 'Flexibility' of labour was extended, enabling management to move men around, cutting the wages bill and reducing the ability of the unions to fight back. New shift working was introduced, but the managing director, Ivor Hoppe, still complains that the yards are not operating 24 hours a day!

Hoppe's plan, under 'Project 200', is to double the output of the yards while only increasing the workforce by 30-40 per cent! To do this, and make the yards profitable, he will have to greatly increase the productivity of the workers. This can only mean further attacks on their conditions. Union acceptance of the initial productivity deal has led to increasing slavery on the shop floor, in return for a bonus that has not been paid.

PAY FREEZE

Hoppe's excuse for not paying the bonus has changed from one of insisting that the required productivity increase has not been reached, to one of blaming the government's pay freeze. These are two distinct issues, and Hoppe's attempt to confuse them is designed to absolve himself and his management from any blame. He has offered a wage increase of £2.50 and a new productivity deal, ignoring altogether the already promised bonus. The men will not negotiate a new pay rise until the question of the bonus is settled. The Tory wage freeze is making it impossible for the shipyard workers to close the gap between themselves and their British counterparts who in some cases earn up to £15 a week more!



But the question is not as simple as it might at first appear. The steelmen's outlook and approach are riddled with contradictions which have in the past prevented them from advancing their own interests as workers.

The steelworkers were exclusively Protestant until a number of Catholics were taken on as trainees, among a total of 600 men known as 'dilutees'. Part of the steelworkers' complaint is that Hoppe's calculation of productivity includes the 'dilutees' who are naturally much less productive than the experienced men. Initially there was a great deal of resentment that a section of the yards, which has always had its own Orange Lodge, should be penetrated by Catholics, and although this hasn't come into the open in the present dispute, it is still there beneath the surface.

The steelworkers have also always been very exclusive and elitist in the past. For example, they refuse to send their representatives to the meetings of the Works Committee, the shopstewards' body which brings the various sections together. They have made little or no effort to win support from other sections in this dispute.

The tactics adopted by the men did not counter the sacking of the first batch of steelworkers by organising more militant action among those left on the job, but rather accepted the sackings as inevitable. So they could hardly call on other workers to support them when they were doing nothing about it themselves. The result has been that all the steelmen have been paid off, the jobs of everyone else are in jeopardy, and there has been no concerted effort to fight back.

The steelmen have been further isolated by the fact that one other section, the outfitters, have already negotiated a pay deal with Hoppe, which will give them a weekly increase of £8 spread over a considerable period.

MIDDLE MANAGEMENT

Instead of trying to overcome their isolation even at this late stage, the steelworkers have unfortunately, tried to line up with a section of the management who resent Hoppe's dictatorial ways and who see their own promotion prospects fading as he moves in Scandinavian 'whiz kids'. This section of middle-management has traditionally been the backbone of Orange supremacism in the yards, and they are, ultimately, among the worst enemies of the workers.

Sandy Scott, leader of the steelworkers, has taken up the case of the local managers. His present attitude stands in sharp contrast to what he was saying late last year about the new managers. One newspaper, claiming that there was 'growing discontent' at the Scandinavian takeover, went on, "leading shopsteward, Mr. Sandy Scott, said he had come in contact with several of the Scandinavian 'boffins' and he regarded them as being capable, competent people ... A lot of confidence has come to H&W since Mr. Hoppe had taken over, he said, and he had done much to create a new dynamic spirit."

For all his militant talk, Scott's vacillations and opportunism have prevented any step up in the struggle of the steelworkers to win their bonus.

The attitude of the executive of the Boilermakers Society, led by Dan McGarvey, has been even worse. They have consistently refused to support their members, and McGarvey has personally intervened on several occasions to try and stop the dispute on Hoppe's terms. He has accepted Hoppe's refusal to pay the bonus; he has accepted the Tory pay freeze; he has regurgitated the arguments of the ruling class, that for Northern Ireland workers to fight for better wages and conditions, is to jeopardise the political stability in the province.

-and that man Hoppe



Ivor Hoppe on the left

When Ivor Hoppe, the Danish lawyer, took up the job of Managing Director of Harland and Wolff, his arrival on the scene was treated as if God had sent him! He was the man who made the Odense shipyards in Denmark work for a profit. Hopefully he would do the same for Belfast's yards. No-one stopped to ask just how he had carried out his miracle at the Odense yards.

The yard which Hoppe managed for over ten years is owned by Maersk-McKinney Moller, whose father, had set up the second largest industrial group in Denmark. Moller bought concessions from the Danish state in 1962 to explore for natural gas in Danish waters. To carry out this business Moller set up a subsidiary company, the Danish Underground Consortium (DUC). Hoppe was also Managing Director of this company.

Moller's company knew there were oil deposits in the North Sea - resources which all the major oil companies like Esso and Texaco, were anxious to get their hands on, but which were to be kept in Danish hands.



Sandy Scott

The lessons from this struggle for the men in the yards should be clear:

1. No more productivity dealing.
2. The Unions must be made to fight for parity with Britain, defying the freeze to do so.
3. Sectional loyalty and elitism must be overcome and genuine links built with other sections in the yards so that the isolation that has marred this fight can be avoided in the future and all claims can be pursued with maximum unity.
4. No credibility can be given to trade union bureaucrats like McGarvey. Rank-and-file control over the unions must be fought for.
5. Ruling class ideas about 'political stability' must be resisted. They are concerned only about the stability of the capitalist system under which all workers suffer.

Finally, it must be made clear that one other major factor is holding back the shipyard workers, and indeed loyalist workers as a whole, in their industrial struggles: their conscious association with British imperialism. These workers will never win major struggles so long as Union Jack-waving bigots can lead them to believe that their loyalty to the British connection goes before their loyalty to the class to which they all belong.

MIKE MILLER May 7th 1973.

The great increase in the demand for super-tankers which followed the closure of the Suez canal, gave Hoppe an idea. He would sell off shares in the DUC to the major oil companies in exchange for orders for super-tankers in 'his' yard. The scheme worked. Hoppe was a success. The yard made a profit. So Hoppe's reputation was built on a piece of shady double dealing of the mutual back-scratching variety.

Insatiable

But Hoppe's guile was to be his own downfall. Just as no-one ever asked how this man made Moller's yards profitable, it was never asked how he came to be so willing to take up a new position in Belfast. It was assumed that he was a great find in the world of high-powered management. But this is not so.

Hoppe's apparently insatiable desire for power in the Moller empire had led him into conflict with not only Moller himself, but with all sections of management and men. He had a passion for sacking men who failed to work overtime. Any

member of lower management who was blamed for some little mishap could be told that his promotion prospects were at an end. The hatred of the man and his methods led to a great increase in absenteeism among the men, and a subsequent drop off in productivity.

Moller sacked Hoppe from his post in DUC and was trying to get him out of the shipyard as well when the job came up at H&W. Hoppe jumped at the chance. His desire to make the yards run for a profit had led him into his old ways again. He lied openly about the nature of the steelmakers' dispute. He runs the yards as if they were his personal property.

But let no-one be in any doubt that Hoppe is personally responsible for the troubles of the yards. We live in a capitalist system, and that is where the fault lies. Hoppe is just a personification of some of the worst aspects of that system.

Foot note: Stanley McMaster, right-wing Unionist M.P. for East Belfast, the shipyard constituency, has been one of the most vociferous of Hoppe's supporters. Shipyard workers take note.

HANDOUTS FOR THE RICH

In July 1971 the British government took possession of 47.6% of the shares in Harland and Wolff, and at the same time pumped in £7m in aid. At that time the yards were valued on the Stock Exchange at £14m. So the government could have bought them outright five times over! But rather than nationalise them, they chose to take a minority shareholding and give a massive hand-out to the private owners of the yards, to men like multi millionaire Aristotle Onassis, with his 14% holding.

In May 1972 a further £35m was pumped in for a major expansion programme, designed to double the output of the yards. Most of this came from the taxpayers' top of this a further £14m was given to the ownership of the yard remained the same. On increase in the value of H&W shares on the Stock Exchange, and a further boost to the wealth of men like Onassis who have not had to life one finger to earn it.

Since 1971 when H&W shares were valued at a mere 12p, there has been a 500% increase in their value! Immediately after the latest government handout in May last year, share prices rose to 62p!!

Without government money the shipyards would have been bankrupt a long time ago, and the shares of the handful of capitalists who own the yards would have been worthless. Today they are worth a small fortune, because the money we pay in taxes is handed over as a free gift to those who are already bloated with their ill gotten wealth.

The answer to this disgusting state of affairs is simple: HARLAND AND WOLFF MUST BE NATIONALISED UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL.



Harland and Woolf have asked contractors who are getting some of that government money for building jobs in the yard not to say how much the contracts are worth to them. George Wimpey the building contractors are getting £2,000,000 for their contract in re-equipping the yard. So there.

O'HILDERS v CHIGGINS

-or is it?

They both want to be a figure-head for all the nation; they both want to use the Presidency as a forum for all Irish people; they both want to stand above the differences.

But it's not just that there is little to choose between Tom F O'Higgins and Erskine Childers. The differences are very slight indeed; what they are, however, is their in-born conservatism, their contempt for working class people, and the hypocrisy and dishonesty which makes them try to convince us that they can represent us. O'Higgins was a teenage Blueshirt; Childers, 'the most Conservative deputy to enter the Dail'. There's no choice at all.

Childers thinks that Ireland as a whole is 'left wing' - because of the amount of state enterprise. O'Higgins thinks the Labour Party is too left wing but is happy to use its support.

The Labour Party leaders of course have been only too keen to offer that support. Perhaps they have forgotten that after the General Election in 1969, O'Higgins took up his time on the first day of the new Dail attacking viciously the people who would not play a constructive role, the people who were out to wreck the country and the fogmatists. And who do you think he was talking about? Why, the Labour Party. But, true to his Coalition form, Brendan Corish was there on nomination day to get into the picture beside O'Higgins.

Maybe Conor Cruise O'Brien has forgotten a little exchange between himself and O'Higgins in the Dail on 2 July 1969? O'Brien - 'On a point of order. I am not a member of the Government which is under discussion'. O'Higgins - 'And you never will be'. Well now, O'Brien is the Minister for Posts and Telegraphs, and he'll be making sure that O'Higgins gets good coverage on R.T.E.

CRUTCH

Maybe O'Higgins has forgotten what he said about Labour on that day - 'We intend, without any Labour crutch, to ensure that when this Dail finishes its work, as it will in due course, the next Government of this country will be a Fine Gael



Government'. Or perhaps he hasn't forgotten. He could even be right; it is a Fine Gael Government, but with a Labour crutch.

It was Declan Costello, the great white liberal hope of Fine Gael who said during the 1966 Presidential election campaign, that 'the O'Higgins name will be honoured so long as Irish history is written and understood'. It will be remembered, certainly. It was uncle Kevin who

was shot. It was Father Tom who founded the Army Comrades Association (later the fascist Blueshirts). He said: 'No country in the world needs order knocked into it as much as Ireland'. It is Tom, Junior (Junior!) who kept up the opposition -from-the-right to Fianna Fail when they were in power, and was responsible for the setting up of the Voluntary Health Insurance Scheme when he was Minister of Health - a man who looked after his own middle-class kind.

FRUGAL

This is what Childers thinks of this country: 'the level of political patronage is one of the lowest in the world'; 'there is relatively little extreme poverty and a fair amount of frugal living'. When you can't afford meat, cheese, butter, fresh vegetables, and a few other things, because you're living on a pension or on the dole, that's what he calls 'frugal'. Mr. Childers has said that the 'root cause of many of the social ills are irresponsible husbands who habitually gamble and drink' (Irish Times, 18.11.72). 'Root cause', mind you. It's not that the drinking and the gambling themselves might be symptoms of worse social ills.

STAKES

But what of the stakes in the race - the Presidency itself? The elections for it are profoundly undemocratic - you need the support of four county councils to get nominated to stand. When you have packed the county councils with the help of your political machine, that's not too difficult, of course. But only once in the history of Presidential elections has there ever been a third candidate - in 1945.



STUCK

The office itself is highly paid. The President does not stand above everybody else, and their petty differences. He is just higher paid than most. Like any other political figure, like every other state office, he is firmly stuck into the class system. The state is not neutral; there is no common meeting place for the classes, where differences can be resolved. By plugging this at us throughout the Presidential election campaign, the political parties hope also to soften workers up for schemes of partnership and contact with the bosses.

DON'T VOTE

The answer is: DON'T VOTE. And, if by the time you read this, you have voted that won't make any difference. It doesn't matter at all which one of those two goes up to Phoenix Park to live with the Orang-Utans and the Papal Nuncio.

L.A.W. AND MAY DAY

The Loyalist Association of Workers has always been involved in anti-working class, anti-trade union actions. Although it is made up of workers it plays the role of disrupting the trade union movement in the interests of the enemies of the working class. Its attempted actions on May Day in Short Brothers and Harland, Belfast, are a clear indication of this.

In April L.A.W. announced that it was not going to participate in the May Day stoppage against the Government's wages freeze. They said this was a purely political stoppage and that they could not go along with it. They have never been shy of using their industrial strength in the past for political purposes. The difference is that a stoppage over a Tory wage freeze is a progressive political strike whereas all the issues they have struck over in the past have been chosen for ultimately reactionary reasons: for internment and against the ending of one-party rule.

When a mass meeting was called in Shorts at lunch time, the L.A.W. members were prepared to disrupt it. They used the intimidating tactics for which they are now so infamous. But a motion calling for a stoppage for the rest of the day was successful, and in spite of L.A.W. threats the strike was 85 per cent successful. A number of known members of the para-military Ulster Defence Association joined the strikers, much to the consternation of the L.A.W. thugs. One man was heard to say that he was a trade unionist first, and a UDA man second.

The strength of L.A.W. has been gradually declining since the last loyalist strike in protest at the detention of two Protestants. On that occasion they could only ensure a close down of crucial areas of industry by using armed gangs of intimidators. The stoppage at Shorts is a significant indicator that their influence is further declining.

NO CHOICE NO CHANGE

A young Waterford worker made redundant in January, with many others from Dunlops, was so frustrated and depressed in his search for a job that his mother went to see a local T.D., Mr. Ed Collins, (F.G.) to see if anything could be done for him.

The T.D. told her to send the boy to see him. When he arrived the words of advice and moral boosting he got were: "THIS TOWN IS BAD, BUT IT'S GOING TO GET A LOT WORSE. Go into AnCO for yourself."

This happened only one week after the Coalition had won the General election. Mr. Collins, who holds a degree in Economics, among other things, can obviously see that nothing can be done within the capitalist system to fulfill the promises of the 'Statement of Intent' of the Coalition to halt redundancies and stop unemployment.

It is only when we have a system which is based on human needs and not profit can we do away with unemployment and redundancies and the other evils inherent in the Capitalist system.

BEATEN UP IN KESH

Margaret Shannon and Ann Walsh are two of the female detainees in Long Kesh. On Wednesday, 25 April, they appeared before the Special Commission which deals with the cases of detainees.

Evidence to the Commission is given in secret. The witnesses stand behind screens which hide them completely. But Margaret became so annoyed at the evidence being given against her that she rushed over to tear down the screen in front of the witness.

She recognised the person behind the screen as an army captain - Captain Ball - who had once threatened to kill her. Two soldiers grabbed her, thumped her, pulled her down by the throat, and then carted her off out of the court. This all happened in full view of the judges.

Ann Walsh heard the commotion in the corridor when Margaret was dragged away. She went to her assistance, and was immediately set upon herself. She was beaten against the wall, and lost her sight for about 15 minutes. She had to be tended by the prison doctor.

They were both taken back to Armagh Jail in a state of shock - to the cramped conditions, "inadequate toilet and washing facilities, and appalling treatment", which women prisoners there have recently also complained about.

Such are the methods of the peace-loving British.

Overcrowding and poor amenities in East Wall

To look at East Wall, you might not think that it was over-crowded. Most of the houses are neat and clean. There are, in fact, over 8,000 people crammed into this compact area. There is a lot of doubling up in the houses. Young couples live with their parents until they have 'produced' enough children to get re-housed.

At the same time, there are pockets of land in the area which are suitable for housing development. There must be ten acres on the site of McMahon's timber yard which was destroyed by fire over a year ago. There are houses lying vacant, too.

This is a crazy situation, when there are so many of the people who want to stay in the area, and in the close community life.

On the edge of the area is the Gouldings fertiliser factory which causes very heavy pollution. This is an issue close to all of us, residents and workers, in the area. The pollution has on occasions caused mini-epidemics of sore throats; it affects particularly anybody with lung complaints or bronchial ailments. There have been complaints - even strikes - about this pollution for some time. The local authorities and the company have done precisely nothing to cut down on the filth and stench.

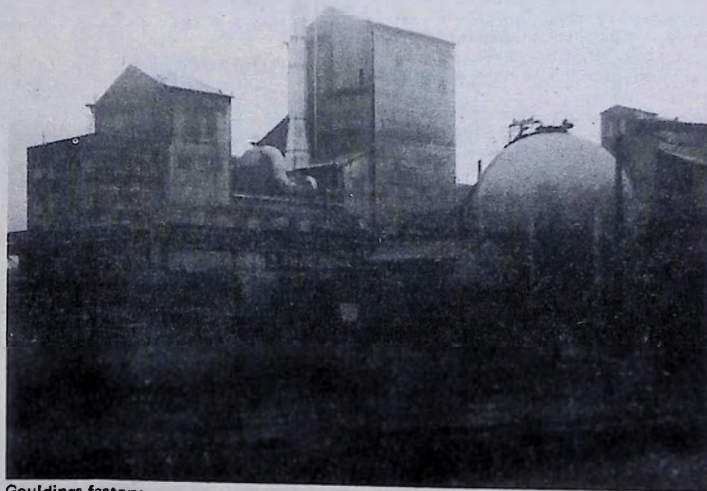
TRAFFIC

East Wall is close to dock-land, and many transport companies operate from the area. The heavy trucks of such firms as Kosangas, Lep

Transport, Roadstone, the container lorries from the continent, and the big oil tankers come through the narrow streets of East Wall. The danger to children and old people is enormous. Only several weeks ago, a young child was killed by a lorry in the Sheriff Street area which is close by. The people took action, and blocked the roadway. All the authorities did was to make the street one-way. There are two major roads leading to the docks which avoid the residential areas. Traffic could be diverted to them.

RECREATION

There is one small recreation centre for youth in the area, but it is inadequate to deal with the demands of all the many young people. The same goes for old folk; there is a large number of them, but no amenities at all. The people of East Wall have made great efforts to help both the old and the youth, but they often feel they are being given charity in return. What they want is independence. There is an urgent need for a community centre where each can 'do his own thing'.



Gouldings factory

Everybody is aware of the problems we face in this area. What is needed is a local action group to draw up a plan of action and organise pressure on the local authorities. We should demand that houses be built in the area; that empty houses be made available; that a community and recreation centre be built with all the necessary amenities, including a swimming pool; that the local authorities force Gouldings to spend

some of their vast profits on controlling the pollution from the factory.

The Socialist Workers Movement has distributed two leaflets in East Wall outlining these problems and stressing the need for organised action to solve them. A public meeting will be held to discuss the problems - and the solutions.

Ken Quinn.

Snooping about

67-year-old pensioner Simon Keogh, of Dublin, worked as a night-watchman for the Department of Posts and Telegraphs. For the privilege of spending all night guarding cables in the streets, Simon earned 35 pence an hour. To get a decent wage from this, he worked from 4.30 p.m. to 9 a.m., seven days a week — 115 hours.

On 3 April, Simon Keogh died from pneumonia due to burns received a month earlier, when, it seems, he dozed off and fell on to his brazier. The City Coroner, Professor Bofin (no joke), said at the inquest that there was 'no direct evidence that working 115 hours a week had been instrumental in bringing about the death.' The Department of Posts and Telegraphs is paying no compensation. They did not even send commiseration to his widow.

The parish priest of Edenmore, Raheny, in Dublin, has adopted a new method of guarding a school which has been attacked by pupils who obviously find it a delightful place to study in. Every evening,

four guard dogs are left in the grounds. They are tied to long chains which leave them plenty room to roam around. The priest has refused to take the dogs away even after a 14-year-old boy was bitten by the dogs, and in spite of mounting protests from local people.

Contraceptives are hard to come by in the 26 Counties, and you pay through the nose to get them. Now 'Jonas Systems Ireland', a Swiss-based concern, have made what they call a 'breakthrough in natural birth control'. Just the thing for people in this country frustrated at trying to get artificial devices.

The Jonas method has to do with 'cosmobiology — the study of cosmic radiations and their effects on living organisms'. The company has published a pamphlet in which they claim that these cosmic influences have a direct effect on women's fertility. 'Every woman has a second, hitherto unsuspected fertility cycle'; but they don't explain what it is.

Jonas claim that, worked along with the rhythm method, it is the safest means of birth control.

There are a few snags. For example, once they have worked you out an individual chart, you can only use it in the area it's made out for. If you move, it seems your cosmobiological influences change!

It doesn't pay to move; therefore, because the price of the chart is £10 for a 12-month calculation. Of course, you also have to sign a paper saying that if you get pregnant, it's not their fault!

The Rotary Club has as its objective 'the fostering of very high ethical standards in business and professions!'. The Dublin Rotary recently heard a lecture from the head of the organisation in Ireland on the very subject of ethics. His name is James Trewsdale, and he is headmaster of Lurgan College, in the Six Counties. He was going on in particular about the need to get good ethics into young people.

For example, he said, there was a young teacher at his school who didn't wear a tie. Later, he revealed that — horrors of horrors — the man didn't shave. But, he assured his very ethical audience in very ethical manner, 'He won't be with us much longer. Of course, he doesn't know that yet'. So, one hundred businessmen and professional men knew that the teacher was to be sacked before he himself knew.

The news on television is where we hear about the wars, disasters and struggles of people around us, and with a few exceptions, it tends to be an account of the sufferings inflicted on the human race. But R.T.E. treat the news as a competitive programme striving for box-office success.

On 5th June, R.T.E. intend to cut the 'Tonight at Ten' programme by ten minutes in order to compete with I.T.V.'s 'News at Ten' and to increase the TAM ratings. It's not the viewers that R.T.E. were thinking about, but advertisers who

were reluctant to book time during the programme.

Business interests determine the form as well as the content of the news.

Last month's article in THE WORKER on conditions in Waterford Glass provoked an interesting reaction from Managing Director, Noel Griffin. He objected to two statistics in the article. Firstly, the profits which were given as 'nearly £2½ million', are the pre-tax figures, says Griffin; the net figures are lower. Pre-tax figures are always taken — even by the establishment newspapers — as the basis for estimating how efficiently a company is screwing its employees. So, no apology needed. Secondly, says Griffin, it is not true that the workers' share-holding scheme only gives the workers a 1% holding in the firm. If all the shares are taken up, he insists, the workers will own a total of 1.6% of the shares. And everybody knows that 0.6% could make all the difference.

WRITE NOW!

from a
belfast
schoolboy

Dear Editor,
I have recently read the March edition of 'The Worker'. I was very impressed by what I read and as I had never heard of the 'Socialist Workers' Movement' beforehand, I would be grateful for more information.

Although I live in a middle-class area I am fully aware of the terrible slums both Catholics and Protestants have to endure in Belfast. However in the North the only true Socialists are the Republican Clubs. But they face an impossible task in trying to win over Protestants while remaining associated with the I.R.A. I therefore think that an organisation such as yours is the only one that can unite workers.

Although I am yet too young to vote I have tried to become as politically aware as possible and long to be associated with some true Socialist group.

Friel's play

Dear Sir,
Though I agree with a few points your correspondent made about the Abbey Theatre's production of 'Freedom of the City' in the last issue of 'The Worker', I feel the review was less than fair to its author Brian Friel, who, I believe, has made an attempt to understand the Northern situation, which has on the whole been either ignored or whitewashed by the bulk of bourgeois artists and writers.

Friel was faced with the difficult problem of having to say truth to an international audience, and let's face it, have been trying to shy away from the truth for the last few years. O.K., he didn't produce a Marxist interpretation, and the Abbey isn't exactly a centre of Marxist culture, but he did write a play which told a lot about what is actually going on in Northern Ireland that the

whole capitalist press with their herds of 'objective' reporters has ever written; for that alone we as socialists must be thankful.

One important aspect of the play which was sadly ignored in your review was Friel's excellent portrayal of the complicity of the so-called educated members of our community in the whole affair. From the sociologist who was depicted as living off the exploitation of the working class, and assisting in their oppression in his meaningless rantings about the sub-culture of poverty, to the doctor, a forensic expert, who openly complied with the Army's falsification of evidence.

Friel has opened some eyes to the reality that exists, we must encourage him to dig deeper and open more. We cannot expect generations of oppressive ideology to be smashed during the performance of one play. But if Friel continues to write with the honesty he has done in the past, a hell of a lot of lies and capitalist propaganda can be shown up. Let's hope he reads 'The Worker' and writes on!
Frank Murphy, Galway.

Dangerous driving

Dear Editor,
On T.V. there is quite a lot of talk about dangerous traffic. Throughout the country there are quite a lot of road accidents.

The Government seems to be all talk about dangerous driving, but yet in Galway there is quite a lot of drunken driving. It's only a waste of time talking about accidents, because in the coming year more accidents will occur because of bad roads and signposts.

Also in the housing estates throughout the country there are no go-slow areas and no zebra crossings for the old people and the young children playing. Unless there is something done about this, it's no good for the Government to be talking about dangerous driving in Ireland.

Talking won't solve anything as we've seen in the last couple of years. This is a problem which is going to very hard to solve in the coming years.

Martin Geary, Galway.

CALL ON I.C.T.U.

The Waterford Trades Council recently passed a resolution calling on the Irish Congress of Trade Unions to elect a sub-committee at its Annual Conference to draw up a plan for opposing redundancies. The Trades Council took the view that Congress should call a Special Delegate Conference to discuss this pressing problem and ways of dealing with it. Delegates to the Trades Council who are also members of the Socialist Workers' Movement have argued that the conference must be made of rank-and-file delegates only. It must also link up with the unemployed.

One in sixteen of all Waterford workers is unemployed. The feeling there is strong that there must be a national campaign by the trade union movement to

halt redundancies. One delegate to the Trades Council said: 'The policy of trying to make employers pay dearly for declaring redundancy by having the trade unions discourage them has failed. The employers have the money to cover it. In most cases redundancy is due to rationalisation which gives them bigger profits, with less workers to pay!'

Waterford trade unionists must bring pressure on their representatives to Congress to support this resolution and force the unions to resist redundancies wherever they occur. The demands of the labour movement must be 'Nationalisation under worker's control of all factories declaring closure; a 35-hour week with no loss of earnings; five day's pay or five day's work!'

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

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

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

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

Workers struggles

The Socialist Workers' Movement fights for:—

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

- officials, subject to recall;
 - all strikes to be declared official if supported by the majority of the workers concerned;
 - a minimum wage of at least £30 for a 35-hour week;
 - equal pay for women;
 - 100 per cent trade unionism;
 - opposition to all anti-trade union legislation;
 - opposition to all incomes policies under capitalism;
 - against unemployment, redundancy and lay offs. We support the demand: Five days' work or five days' pay;
 - repeal of all repressive legislation—e.g. Special Powers Act and Offences Against the State Act;
 - extension of the Civil Resistance Campaign in the Six Counties;
 - release of all political prisoners;
 - evacuation of British troops from Ireland;
 - defence of working class areas against military and sectarian attacks;
 - freedom of worship for all religious groupings;
 - total separation of Church and State;
 - an end to clerical control of education;
 - a secular and comprehensive education system controlled by teachers, pupils and parents;
 - raising of school-leaving age to 18;
 - free education to the highest level;
 - adult wages and adult rights for workers at 18;
 - free and comprehensive health service;
 - end to means-tested benefits;
 - minimum wage for the unemployed and pensioners;
 - one family—one house;
 - emergency housing programme and expropriation of all building land;
 - tenants' control of estates, including rents;
 - full social equality for women;
 - free contraceptive facilities with full medical services;
 - 24-hour nurseries;
 - income for small farmers and agricultural labourers on parity with industrial rates;
 - division of large estates under control of local farmers;
 - the building of a genuine co-operative movement among farmers and fishermen;
 - nationalisation of hunting and fishing rights.
- The SOCIALIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT** is a democratic organisation open to all those who accept its principles and objectives, who work in one of the units of the movement, agree to recognise its discipline and pay dues.
- "Internationalism; to some people this is the great bug-aboo which frightens them off from socialism" (James Connolly). The struggle for a Workers' Republic in Ireland is inseparable from the international struggle against capitalism. The Socialist Workers' Movement fights to build a mass party of the working class as part of a revolutionary international of working class parties.

AMERICAN 'DEMOCRACY' IN ACTION

The Watergate complex is one of the most exclusive buildings in Washington D.C. with apartments to lease starting at £20,000 and office space for rent starting at £800 a week. It was here that the "reformed" Democratic Party of George McGovern established its national H.Q., during the 1972 presidential campaign and it was here on the night of June 17th, 1972, that five men were caught planting listening devices in that same H.Q.

Four of those men were Cuban exiles who had participated in the Bay of Pigs invasion under President Kennedy and had since worked closely with CIA-supported exile groups in Miami. The fifth man was James McCord, chief of security for Nixon's re-election campaign committee and a former employee of both the CIA and the FBI. Shortly after, two White House aides, G. Gordon Liddy and E. Howard Hunt were also arrested. They had spent the night of the 17th waiting with walkie-talkies in a motel across the street from the Watergate.

This campaign included the infiltration of various anti-war organisations, the burglary of the offices of a psychiatrist who had treated Dan Ellsberg (chief defendant in the Pentagon Papers case), the falsification of documents, letters and phone calls relating to the Democratic Party contenders including Kennedy, Muskie and McGovern, the disruption of campaign rallies and much more which is only now coming to light.

Richard Kleindienst, the new Attorney General and a long time protege of John Mitchell, promised an impartial investigation in the wake of the Watergate arrests. He then ordered Patrick Gray, acting head of the FBI to do it. Gray got together with the White House counsel, John Dean, and together they, along with Nixon's top domestic aide, John Ehrlichmann and White House Staff Chief, H. R. Halderman decided how best to keep the White House name clear of any involvement with bugging case.

POLLUTION

Gray was given incriminating files from Liddy's White House office and the suggestion was made that he dump them in the Potomac River. But Gray, a declared foe of water pollution, burned them instead in his private office at the FBI.

The Justice Department then issued a report clearing top names of any involvement in the Watergate case. The only problem left was the seven defendants. Mitchell and Dean attempted to buy their silence with cash and a promise of Presidential pardon for any jail sentences



John Mitchell being accompanied from giving evidence to the Federal Grand Jury. He was a former Attorney General who headed Nixon's re-election campaign. He resigned from the campaign on 19th June 1972, two days after the Watergate break-in. Not until April 1973 did he admit to knowing about a plan to bug the Watergate offices.

SABOTAGE

The Watergate break-in was but one aspect of a million dollar sabotage campaign directed against the Democratic Party and the anti-war movement, funded by former Secretary of Commerce, Maurice Stans, and directed by none other than John Mitchell, head of the Committee to Re-elect the President, recently retired Attorney General, Mr. 'Law and Order' himself.

imposed. Cash payment was made in hundred dollar bills delivered by Mrs. E. Howard Hunt. On December 8th she was killed in a Chicago plane crash. When her purse was recovered from the wreckage it was found to contain 10,000 dollars (£4,000) in hundred dollar bills.

Of the seven defendants it was James McCord, the spy, who finally lost faith in his employers and began to tell a grand jury all he knew. Within a matter of days top White House officials were informing on each other in an attempt to save their own skins.

The conspiracy had gone on for months. It involved Nixon's best

friend (Mitchell), his top aide (Haldeman) and at least a dozen members of his personal staff. It would take appalling innocence to believe his claim that he knew nothing of what was going on around him. Throughout his political career Nixon has won elections through lies, slanders and corrupt practices.

His problems are far from over. The Pentagon papers case is revealing more filth; the judge in that case has disclosed that he had been offered the post as head of the F.B.I. Nixon has said he will root out all the evil-doers and bring them to justice. But with "justice" like that, he need have no fears.

U.S. PROVOS

What are the Provo supporters in America up to? While the Provos conduct a (hap-hazard) anti-imperialist campaign in Northern Ireland, in America their supporters line up with imperialism. A contingent from the Irish Northern Aid Committee, the Provisionals support group in America, marched in the pro-war 'Home with Honour' parade.

This parade was held in New York as a tribute to war veterans. It was condemned by all wings of the anti-war movement. In 1970 the American Provos backed the conservative candidate for the Senate, Senator Buckley.

They call for pressure from the (imperialist) U.S. to help Ireland. The Provos support Kennedy's resolution on Ireland and state in a Northern Aid ad., 'the United States of America ... continues to this very day to be the inspiration of the peoples of the world.' Well really!

Last year the New York City Policy Emerald Pope Band played at a Provo concert. How respectable can you get?

The Provisionals lack clear and comprehensive politics and these are kind of actions they are bound to fall into. Also, the grim reality is that the Provos depend for their finances largely on their right-wing supporters in America.

MAY DAY AROUND THE WORLD

May Day, international labour day, was celebrated the world over by demonstrations, rallies, and strikes.

In SPAIN, thousands defied the ban on marches and assemblies. A Catholic priest was hit with an iron bar by right-wing extremists, and a policeman was stabbed to death during riots in Madrid. 6000 Barcelona people, including locked out workers at the SEAT car plant, slipped out of the city to a small town 11 miles away, held a march and rally, and got out of the town again before cops and troops arrived.

In DOMINICA, seven were injured when police broke up an illegal assembly.



took part in Paris demonstrations. The executive-suited union leaders led the march, along with middle-class socialists and radicals. The slogan at the front of the parade was 'One Solution, the common programme' (the election manifesto of the Socialists and Communists); at the back of the march, the slogan was 'One Solution, Revolution'.

SALUTE

In ALGERIA, 30,000 people, including Palestinians staying in the country marched past the dictatorial salute of Boumedienne, the President.

Further south in DAHOMEY, the President entertained trade union leaders in his palace, and joked about the fact that the car-park was jammed up with the trade unionists' big cars.

In CHILE, President Allende used the occasion to warn people that they still had a fight on their hands against the far Right. The law, the armed forces, and, as a last resort, the 'popular forces', would have to be called upon to push back the fascist threat.

In MEXICO, two students were killed by police during riots at Puebla University.

In CHINA, the guests of honour at the official parade were Shirley MacLaine and Candice Bergen. Chairman Mao did not appear in public.

In BELGIUM, 1500 dockets who were on strike for a month, organised a rival demonstration to the official trade union parade.

In JAPAN, a total of 7 million attended May Day meetings. At a meeting in Tokyo, 300,000 people 'adopted' an anti-government statement. Dockers' unions decided the same day to start an indefinite strike for an increase of £6 a week on 9th May.

In CANADA, 20,000 Montreal workers celebrated the release from prison of three trade union leaders who had been imprisoned for leading a strike last year against the government's pay laws.

In PORTUGAL, a bomb caused considerable damage to a Ministry building in Lisbon. A Maoist group claimed credit.

Closer to home, in BRITAIN, 2 million workers struck against the Tory Government's pay 'freeze'. The T.U.C. had called the stoppage but did nothing to organise it. Several unions opposed the stoppage. The papers all said it was a 'flop'. The 'Economist', a bosses' paper, said it was a 'huge success for the nation' - meaning that the 'nation' is against the workers. 'Socialist Worker', published by the International Socialists, thought 'May Day was a great achievement'. The strikes and demonstrations were in defiance not only of the Tory Government but also of the pussy-footing trade union leaders.

In FRANCE, a total of 50,000

Repression in Turkey

Half a million Turkish workers work in the Common Market countries. In Turkey itself 2 million out of a total of 9 million workers are unemployed. This is the background to the recent spectacle of the Turkish parliament taking several weeks to elect a new President.

Faced with a country where the majority of the population are peasants, yet where workers are in a fighting mood, the Turkish ruling class have decided that the liberal niceties of parliamentary democracy are not for them, and so the Army steps in every now then to lay down the law to Parliament.

The main Turkish trade unions are subsidised by the American Central Intelligence Agency (C.I.A.). More militant trade unions organised the setting up in 1961 of the Turkish Workers' Party. A party which advocated parliamentary democracy and not revolution, it was nevertheless banned in 1971 when, following strikes and sit-ins, the major industrial cities were put under martial law.

Using the excuse of fighting terrorists, the Army has now locked up 4000 people and tortured many: a lot of these political prisoners are working-class militants. Inflation is so high that in 1971 workers' wages fell by 6% in real terms, and in 1972 by another 6%. The generals will continue to keep a watching eye on the politicians, to make sure that they continue beating the working class into the ground.

Rio Tinto Zinc

Rio Tinto Zinc have been getting a lot of publicity lately for their badly paid African workers. This giant mining company has a yearly income of £600 million, much of it from South Africa. At the annual general meeting of shareholders last month, the chairman of the company, Val Duncan was asked about conditions for their black workers. 'The houses we are now building for Africans,' he said, 'are now much better than they were, and almost up to the standard of the house of the lower-paid Europeans.'

GALWAY: HOTELS EXPLOIT CHEAP LABOUR

Galway has always produced two main types of local businessmen. On the one hand, you have the old merchant and trading family firms like Naughtons or McDonoghs. On the other, you have the businessmen who combine interests in the catering and tourist trade with property speculation, continually buying up their rivals. Their names are not so well known - Hanlon, Hession, and Lydon are some of the families involved.

The main source of money for this second type is the tourist attraction of such names and places as Galway Bay and Connemara. Salthill has long been the entertainment capital of the West. It is also one of the dearest places to live in. In summer, the price of dances goes up from 60p to 70p. A glass of milk could cost you up to 15 pence.

The businessmen of Salthill exercise a powerful influence over the whole of Galway. One case is enough to show their power. Two or three years ago everybody in Galway thought that the proposed swimming pool would be built near the Claddagh, a predominantly working-class area. That site would have been central to the whole town and the industrial estate. But the power of money talks loud.

The swimming pool was incorporated into a new recreation

centre in Salthill on the orders of Bord Failte and the local hoteliers. The whole recreation centre, which is meant to attract even more tourists to the hotels, is still being paid for from the rates paid by Galway people. The pool, incidentally, is just twenty yards from the beach.

The hoteliers and their henchmen have one argument to justify all this. They say - 'whatever helps Salthill will help the whole of Galway. But it is not true that 'everybody benefits' from the employment they 'provide'. There has been a lot of publicity recently for working conditions in the hotels. Out of a total of 35 in Galway, only three have union organisation. The consequences of this can be seen dramatically - a worker who has spent all his working life in the catering trade started on £2.50 per week, and has risen now to £7.50 -

with no overtime paid. In one of the unionised hotels, the Great Southern, wages average £20, but only - as the shop-steward has said - because they were prepared to fight for it.

CHEAP LABOUR

The hotels employ the cheapest labour - school-children and students. The Wimpy restaurant pays £4 a week to students during the summer. Hotels like the Rio, Odeon, Oslo, and Sacre Coeur employ child labour. The children are often less than 16 years old. They are not always working class kids, either. Some are middle-class - and they plough the wages they earn straight back into the entertainment scene in Salthill.

The effects of this cheap holiday labour are obvious. They

Lydon's strike
- see page 3

undermine any attempt to get unions going. There are always other casuals waiting to take the place of the person who gets sacked for trying to organise on the job. Experienced waitresses will get refused a job in preference to a convent school-girl. School-girls are cheaper.

The whole tourist trade - and the profits for the local businessmen - is based on cheap labour and victimisation. Hours are never laid down. Hotel workers may find themselves cleaning up till two in the morning. You take orders from your 'superiors', or get out. The task of organising workers in these circumstances is difficult. In small hotels, there is a great danger of victimisation. It is up to the workers in the bigger hotels to give a lead.

No one place will be organised on its own. Workers will have to support each other. We had an example of this recently, when the staff at the Great Southern Hotel blacked bread from Lydon's bakery where there was a strike.

Hotel workers must fight for 100% trade unionism in the hotels, for full union rights, and for union rates to be paid to all. They must fight for a decent living wage, and an end to depending on tips.

Another summer must not pass so that bosses can spend winter holidays in the Bahamas on the takings from the £8-a-week workers.

K. Allen.



cooney goes for his rod

DERRY: ESSEX MOVING?

Two months ago we reported in THE WORKER that there were fears that the Essex International factory in Derry, which employs 300 people, would close. Those fears are still strong. They were strengthened on Thursday, 3rd May, when it was discovered that some rolls of wire were being shipped to Scotland from the Derry factory.

for Chrysler models were to follow on Monday, 8th May.

RUMPUS

Even as the talks were going on, attempts were made to sneak the wire out of the factory, but a rumpus was raised and the moves were stopped. Gerry Ainsworth, the factory manager, met representatives of the local branch of the A.U.E.W. and told them that there would be no pay-offs, and that the Scottish plant would not affect production in Derry.

Most of the branch accepted his word, and materials connected with production of Chrysler models were allowed to go to Scotland. Shop stewards are now demanding, however, that a couple of them should be sent to Scotland to see the situation there for themselves.

Before this latest development in the Essex story, many workers had been struck by an exceptional leniency on the part of management. There were fewer checks on time-keeping, and the pressure of work slackened a lot. It looked suspiciously as though the whole factory was being phased out.

SUPPORT

The local branch of the main union in the factory, the A.U.E.W., has pledged support for the Essex workers, promising that any action taken by them to avoid a closure of the factory will be made official.

The Essex workers must seek contacts with the workers in Scotland and get assurances from them that they will not



Essex workers must build links to Ford workers.

accept any work now being done at the Derry factory. They must seek their support, and that of Ford workers in Dagenham (the main plant supplied from Derry), for any action to avert lay-offs or closure. The contact to the Ford workers is also especially important, as

management may be able to convince the Essex workers that this or that dispute is going on in Fords which makes lay-offs necessary without them knowing anything to the contrary. Workers must not accept that anything makes lay-offs necessary.

WATERFORD (1923):

RED FLAG OVER THE GASWORKS part 2

Two months ago we wrote in "The Worker" about the workers' occupation of Waterford gas-works in 1923. At that time, we did not know how the dispute ended. Now we have more details.

On Saturday, 10th March, 1923, two weeks after the occupation started, Free State troops took over the gas-works and kicked out the 'occupying' workers. The eleven men who were working there at the time - 8 o'clock in the evening - left the works stating that under no circumstances would they work under the manager of that time.

Earlier, a representative of the Free State Ministry of Commerce had tried to persuade the workers' committee to hand the gas-works back to the management. They were met by a blank refusal, and a unanimous vote to go on running the works.

When the troops took over the gas-works, gas supplies to homes,

factories and shops were stopped. Graham's foundry works was closed down, print workers were laid off, and others had less work.

Three weeks later, however, the men did agree to work under the manager. By that time the inter-union dispute between the I.T.G.W.U and the Dockers Union, which had been the initial cause of the dispute, had been settled.

SACKINGS

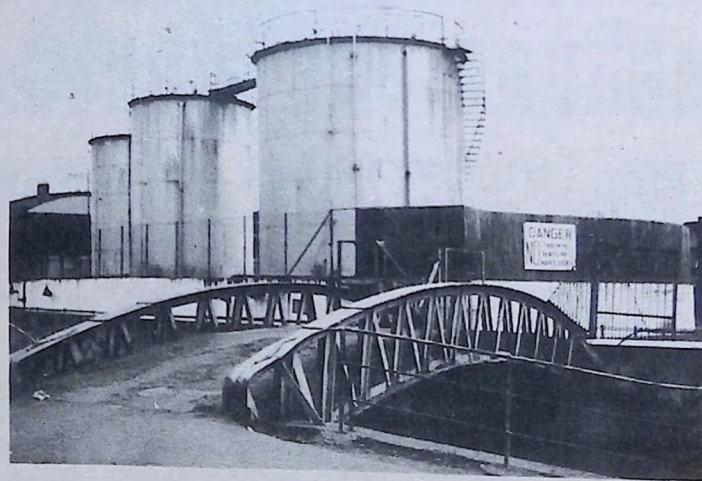
It then transpired, however, that the management had for some time wanted to sack 14 workers. As terms for resuming 'normal' work were being discussed, the management proposed to take back only 30 men. The workers rejected this, and the dispute became a lock out, as the men were refusing to accept management terms.

In early April, the management announced that they expected the

reduced work-force to work a 12-hour day when they returned to work. They sent out individual letters to 24 workers offering to take them back on this basis.

On his return from America, Jim Larkin was brought down to speak to a meeting of the workers. He was unable to offer any real assistance to the locked out men. Instead, he castigated the dockers for not joining the I.T.G.W.U.

The following week, another prominent official of the I.T.G.W.U., Tom Johnson, was in Waterford to raise support for the Labour Party in the forthcoming elections. The question of support for the gas workers was raised from the floor, and Johnson replied simply that the Labour Party needed the votes of the gas-workers, as well as the farm-workers (then on strike too), and that the Labour Party was behind the men on strike. His speech was interrupted by boos and hisses from workers in the hall who



strike against a cut in wages. Eventually, however, - and mainly due to lack of support - the gas-workers were forced to end the dispute, and accept that only 40 men be taken back (excluding the two strike committee leaders), with 10 shillings compensation being given to each of the men not taken back.

CONFERENCE

The terms for resuming work had been negotiated in a conference between the two sides arranged by the Waterford Corporation, one of whose members, Alderman Connolly, thought it a 'great pleasure to be the means of bringing about such a happy consumation'.

When work was resumed, the management took over the money collected during the occupation by the workers running the plant. In spite of advertisements put in the local newspapers by the management urging gas consumers not to pay bills to the workers committee, many consumers had done so. And in spite of not receiving dispute pay from their union, the gas-workers had left the money they collected untouched. They had opened a bank account for the payment of bills, and let consumers and collectors pay in to the account.

Waterford gas workers did not win a victory in 1923, but they did show that the working class constantly tries to gain control of its own situation. They used a tactic - the occupation - which can be very valuable for us today. By their partial failure they also demonstrated that the success of this tactic depends on using the occupied works as a base for winning wider support. For all their determination, the gas-workers seem to have stood alone.

BRIAN TRENCH

MASS PICKET

In mid-June, the gas-workers organised a mass picket on the works to press their case. The management then offered to take back 40 men without any cut in wages. This offer was again refused, because two of the strike committee leaders were left off the list.

By mid-July, the dockers in Waterford were out on strike in an unconnected dispute. Indeed, they had refused to supply coal to the occupied gas works. The farm-workers in the area were still on