

the worker

FOR A WORKERS' REPUBLIC AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM



BOSSSES CUT JOBS AND WAGES

THE MEN in the picture above can control the fate of millions of people. Ten of their demands can have more of an inflationary effect than a thousand wage demands.

They are dealers in 'commodities'—gold, silver, lead, zinc, copper, and so on—and the picture actually shows them doing their work!

A small ring of those men can control the world market, keeping countries which produce the metals permanently under-developed. In the industrialised countries, their speculation in 'commodities' pushes prices up throughout industry, and in the shops.

Privately, financiers and economists admit that these activities are a major cause of inflation. But none of them ever suggest curbing them. The only way they know to deal with inflation is to make the workers pay.

And we are paying—through the nose! Last month, the state-sponsored economic and social research institute published a report saying: 'It is necessary to convince the public that total real incomes will be lower than last year.'

Anybody who's tried to stretch the so-called cost of living increases in the national wage agreement to cover the astronomical price rises won't take much convincing. And it's the lower-paid who are being hit worst. A 15 per cent increase in the cost of living for some workers can be a 25 per cent increase for the lower-paid, because they spend a greater part of their earnings on food.

The whole working class is being made to pay the price of a crisis which is caused by the tiny minority who own and control the wealth. We are being made to pay not only by soaring prices but also increasing redundancies.

More and more firms are 'rationalising' or are being forced out of existence by the sharper competition in a period of inflation.

The current issue of the Dublin shop

stewards committee's paper, The Trade Unionist, details jobs lost at Paul and Vincent, Weyenberg in Dundair, Clamico-Murray, and the threat to jobs at Fiat, British Leyland, Reg Armstrong and Williams and Wood.

Inside, on page 3, we give details of other redundancies. All of these are of the bosses' making, and no amount of co-operation with the bosses will stop it. Workers should never be conned into accepting their talk of a 'dying trade', or whatever. We can't look to the government either.

Under a coalition government which promised to 'halt redundancies' the rate of redundancies has now reached the same level (4500 in the first half of 1974) as two years ago when everybody was talking about a 'jobs crisis'.



In the North, too, redundancies are increasing. The extra state money for Harland and Wolff means less for other areas, which could mean less new jobs. The Belfast-Heysham line is threatened with closure. The British-based Bentley group plans to close its Co Antrim needle factory—but the workers have said they will 'sit in' to stop it.

There is increasing talk of co-operatives as an answer to redundancies, in Chairs of Ardee and in Clamico-Murray for instance.

It's an attractive idea because it seems to leave things in the workers' hands but it also leaves the financial liabilities in their hands—and the job of making the factory competitive and inevitably running them in more or less the same way as capitalists. We can't build islands of freedom in an unfree society.

There is a way the running of the factories—the decisions about manning, speeds, hiring and firing—can be left to the workers, without the other drawbacks: nationalisation under workers' control. That's the demand that workers in threatened firms and industries must take up—and sit tight on the bosses' property in order to enforce it.

Redundancies and inflation could divide the working class. The need is to find demands to unite it: An end to national wage agreements, a national minimum wage and full freedom to fight for increases enough to keep ahead of rising prices, and: Nationalisation under workers' control of factories and firms threatening closure, and work sharing on full pay where they plan partial lay-offs.

read inside

REPORT FROM PORTUGAL

WHOSE SIDE IS THE CHURCH ON?

Reports on sackings at Pye, Cantrall & Cochrane, and Fine Wool. Second part of the series of articles on the Workers Union of Ireland.

READ ALSO: Socialist Workers Movement pamphlet on 'The Working Class and the National Question'. Send 15 pence (inc. postage) to the address below.

all
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native to the SDLP. The Provisionals' failure to provide this lies in their blindness to the economic nature of British Imperialism—the super-exploitation of the working class by the multi-national firms. In the North 85% of industrial wealth is owned by foreign interests. Wages are 15% lower than in Britain.

CONT.
ON
BACK
PAGE

Contraception— TDs ignore facts of Irish life

SCORING CHEAP political points at the expense of the living conditions of hundreds of Irish families—is sordid. Yet the TD's and political parties had their eyes firmly fixed on their votes and their images during the contraception debate. They showed themselves individually and collectively, as incapable of taking a decision in principle on the issue.

Fianna Fail opposed the Bill because it was "unworkable" and got the government off the hook. They offered no alternative. Maybe TD's don't realise that 20,000 women have visited Dublin's Family Planning Clinics, that hundreds of requests for contraceptives reach Family Planning Services each week. These are some of the facts of Irish Life and the politicians haven't caught up with them yet.

QUALITY

Ireland is the only EEC country without contraception. Ireland is top of the unemployment league in the EEC. Ireland has some of Europe's most overcrowded housing in Ballyfermot. In Dublin 3 people, on average, live in one room. Ireland spends the lowest percentage of its GNP on social service. And Oliver J. Flanagan along with other TDs and the Bishops praises "the quality of Irish life". Women are beaten, wives are deserted, children suffer, not because we caught England's permissive cold, but because we have some of Europe's most appalling living conditions, low wages, soaring prices and institutionalised hypocrisy as moral standards.

Those who are the biggest victims of these conditions are those who most need and want family planning. They are also the ones who have least access to the facilities which already exist. Dessie O'Malley worries about the government's duty to stop "fornication". We should be worried about the everyday lives of

Irish working people. They must be able to make the essential choice about how many children they will have.

The Minister for Labour promised a series of anti-discrimination bills to follow his first bombshell, the Equal Pay Bill. The Contraceptives Bill put forward by the government would have increased discrimination against women. The Labour Party opposes discrimination against women—as part of the Coalition they gave this lousy bill their support. The unmarried mother is entitled to 6 miserable pounds a week—the unmarried woman trying to buy contraceptives would have been entitled to 6 months in jail.

CAMPAIGN

As the Socialist Workers' Movement said in a statement: "The Bill was a bad Bill, designed to define more categories of criminals, not to facilitate much-needed family planning. It was repressive and restrictive", and Mr. Cooney paraded it as such.

Full contraceptive facilities with proper medical services must be available to all Irish men and women. Dail Eireann threw out this bill because it was *too liberal*. Only a mass campaign can force anything better. Tenants associations, trade unions, Labour Party branches and women's organisations must take the initiative in such a campaign.

The Minister for Education opposes contraception. He wants our kids to be educated in a Celtic twilight of immaculate conceptions. But the demand for contraception has to be linked to a demand for adequate secular sex education. Irish people are denied the knowledge and information necessary to make crucial choices affecting their lives and the lives of their children. The politicians are hiding behind the skirts of the bishops. Only mass action can flush them out.

Provos: No clear political goals

AFTER the lull during the Ulster Workers Council Strike, the Provos have returned to their main strategy of blasting the British Army out of Ireland. They have resumed the bombing campaign in the North and apparently in Britain. Beyond that they have no clear political goals. At the moment, however, the Provos stand alone, if support for demonstrations and meetings is anything to judge by.

The Catholic working class is confused. The new-found strength of the Loyalists threatens more terror. This condition allows the

SDLP, despite their cynical hypocrisy over things like internment and repression, and their inability to "deliver the goods" on housing and jobs, to gain votes and a passive following. The British Army understands this situation only too well and is determined to demoralise the last remnants of support for the Provos among the Catholic working class—the youth. And the Provo's approach does nothing to bring people together in a mass movement to resist this harassment.

The new bombing campaign does nothing to provide a political alter-

Why Internationalism

SOCIALISM is not possible in one country alone. That is the basis of working-class internationalism. It is a political necessity — the necessary answer to capitalist internationalism. It is not merely a question of moral support for struggles going on in other countries, not merely "anti-imperialist solidarity."

"Each week Ministers go from Dublin to London and Brussels and further afield. E.E.C. representatives, British politicians and warships of NATO countries are frequent visitors here. That is the only internationalism which is permitted, it seems — the co-operation across borders of bosses, capitalist politicians, and their military forces."

That was part of our statement on Sinn Fein's Anti-Imperialist Festival. However, we went on in that statement to question whether Sinn Fein and the other organisations at the Festival represented real working class internationalism because they place the national struggle over and above the international working-class struggle. And for us that is central.

INTERFERENCE

Nevertheless, we condemned the interference in the anti-Imperialist Festival by the British and Irish authorities. We see the importance of revolutionary and radical groups from different countries meeting and exchanging experience. More than that, however, we know that an Irish socialist revolution surrounded by a hostile world would be overthrown by outside force or degenerate into bureaucratic oppression unless the British and Continental working classes came to its aid. And the best help they could give would be to make the revolution in their own countries.

The bulk of delegates at the Anti-Imperialist Festival did not represent the working class in struggle but student-based Irish solidarity organisations. Even where they came from organisations with more of a working-class base — i.e. from European Communist Parties — they supported the way in which the Russian leaders tried to build "socialism in one country".

HISTORY

Lenin, the architect of the first worker's revolution, based his hopes for that revolution on the possibility of working-class uprisings in other countries. He, like all great revolutionary working-class leaders was an internationalist through and through. Connolly's internationalism is, unhappily, the part of that man that is most forgotten today.

Working-class organisations have a history since 1864 of organising on an international scale. The First and Second Internationals collapsed, though the Second has been revived in the form of the social democrats' so-called Socialist International. The Third International (the Comintern), founded by Lenin in 1919 to organise and group the new workers' parties arising from the ashes of the old, fell through defeat and error under the dictatorship of Stalin. The Fourth International, founded by Trotsky in 1938 at a time when "the death agony of capitalism" appeared to have arrived, was organised in anticipation of mass working-class parties emerging. But none of the six sectarian groupings who now claim its heritage has any claim to mass support.

PRACTICAL

A genuine workers' international can only be built on the foundation of mass workers' parties in the various countries. Pending such a development the Socialist Workers' Movement maintains fraternal contact with organisations in other countries who share this aim with us, despite differences which are inevitable at this stage.

But the S.W.M. has also engaged, to the fullest extent of its resources, in the practical international work which can be done now: the exchange of experience and information between employees of multi-national companies in different countries. It is on the basis of such living work, together with practical assistance in times of dispute, that working-class internationalism can be fought for today.

SOCIALIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT
STANDING COMMITTEE

SMILES FOR 40p

WHEN SOMEONE like Michael O'Leary starts getting worried about working conditions in hotels and restaurants, then how much more worried and active should workers be!

Working as a waitress in one of Dublin's trendier, more expensive restaurants was certainly an eye-opener for me. Dobbins — the "wine bistro", as the management prefer to call it (e.g. a cheap bottle of plonk with your meal costing five times the usual price) — was a haven for the monied "gentlemen" of the executive bracket — and the Michael O'Leary's of this world. It had the usual boring "trendy" image, with soft pop music in the background while the pretty, young "dolly" waitresses were encouraged to sit and be "friendly" with the trendies when they weren't serving or dancing attendance on them.

The reality behind the image is not so congenial. 40p an hour, without insurance or tax-forms, is the pay for the girl students and young married mothers who work on a part-time basis and are hired and fired at the managers whim. The hours and conditions of work change weekly for no apparent reason. We would often arrive in for work and if business wasn't too good were sent off home again. The 10% service charge paid by the customers goes, not to the waitresses who earn it, but straight into the management's pocket. This is not unusual in this kind of kip.

Why did we tolerate such lousy conditions? For one thing, the management is very hostile to the idea of trade unions. THE WORKER has already reported on the victimisation of hotel workers who stood up to management or tried to introduce trade unionism.

Also the work is largely seasonal with a high turnover of staff, mainly young people who have had little experience of the trade union movement, and who unfortunately feel it would not be worth the effort to organise since they will only be there a short time.

But the long hours, low wages, and lack of job security will continue in the Hotel and Catering industry until workers there see the need to organise and fight against this exploitation. And one thing is certain — it can't be left up to the union leaders who "sound off" about hotels and restaurants this time every year — and then quickly forget they said anything.

R. McD.

LOYALIST UNITY BREAKS UP AGAIN

THE ULSTER Workers Council strike achieved for Loyalism what many socialists and republicans believed impossible since Stormont had fallen and the Assembly seemed to stand some chance of success. It brought the restoration, in part, of Orange unity, or what has been called the "Orange monolith". But since the strike there have been all the signs that this "monolith" is breaking up again.

For socialists, the most significant feature of this Orange bloc was that it tied the Protestant workers materially and ideologically to the state. This relationship has posed the major problems for socialists in their attempts to achieve working class unity for the overthrow of capitalism and imperialism in Ireland.

The Protestant worker's relationship with the state had two functions: to give them ascendancy over Catholics in jobs, housing, and status, and to give the capitalist class ascendancy over them. The Protestant workers were prevented by their ties from using their full economic power in their own class interests — or prevented from ever seeing they had their own class interests in the first place.

However, when they were faced with a situation in which their parliamentary leaders could not even use an overwhelming election victory to change British plans, they were forced to use their economic power. The ascendancy positions within industry were their platform for an attack on Sunningdale and defence of the Protestant state.

In doing this, they revealed to many Protestant workers, the economic power they have as workers, and the clear differences between them and the loyalist politicians.

It is these differences, which are class differences, which underlie much of the confusion and disagreement between loyalist organisations, para-military forces, and politicians. The bloc which was temporarily restored in struggle against Sunningdale is breaking up again, this time along lines that are more clearly recognised by socialists.

ASCENDANCY

But, although the splits and differences can be seen to have a class content (i.e. "working class against middle class"), none of the organisations has distinctly working class aims. Each in their different state of sophistication, experience, confusion and even innocence seeks to restore the ascendancy, no matter how "human" or "Irish" they appear.

The 12th July marches brought these things out more sharply. All the major political speakers came from the established political parties or groupings. Each of them thundered against any betrayal of the "Protestant heritage". At the same



Orangemen on 12th July: they were warned about the 'enemy within'

time they warned of "communism in our midst" and "atheism" — a clear attack on any attempt to put class before religion. It was aimed at isolating those groupings who have seen through the cynical opportunism of the loyalist leaders and want now to talk with "the enemy" in order to bring "peace".

But those who are now opposing the loyalist leaders cannot put an effective alternative because they do not see that it is "loyalism" itself which continually undermines their own class interests, and any attempt they make to break from their old leaders.

As long as they have a "pro-Union" or "pro-Protestant state" attitude as the basis of their position, they will always put loyalism first, and class second. Independent socialist politics cannot develop within the Protestant section of the working class as long as this is true.

Whatever the straws in the wind — and these are important as signs for the future — clear working class

politics are not yet emerging from among the Protestant workers. Whatever else comes out of talks between loyalist organisations and republicans or SDLP representatives, it will not be the basis of working class unity.

Protestant workers will have to play an active part in the struggle for socialism in Ireland if that struggle is to be successful. But they will not do so as long as the Six County state exists — backed up by the British Army — and provides a focus for traditional loyalist aspirations. But nor will they do so as long as the leading forces within the Catholic section of the working class, North and South, are not presenting a clear alternative to the gombeen republic of the 26 Counties.

NEIL BELL

SWM

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

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

Send to: TOP FLOOR, 95 CAPEL STREET, DUBLIN 1

70 JOBS LOST AT C&C

DURING the month of July, Cantrell & Cochrane (Dublin) Ltd., sacked 70 workers, most of them from the casual workers, who make up nearly half the work-force. But this is the peak season for soft drinks. Why should the management be sacking people at this time?

Managing Director Law has given the answer — it is his "unilateral" action in response to the many strikes in the factory. He is carrying out his threats. As well as that, the company have brought a new loading machine into action which has led to the loss of 40 jobs.

Early in July the management proposed a productivity deal to the transport section (loaders, drivers, etc.). It would have meant cutting out the third man on the trucks, and flexibility of labour — if you returned from a four-hour run after three hours, you could be made sweep the floor. The men threw the deal out, so the management, to show they meant business sacked 28 men in the section.

propaganda

Later, they scored a success when men on the night-shift accepted, under severe pressures, to come off night-shift to work a new £½ million loading machine. The compensation the men got for this move is less than their loss of earnings over a year. The company cut loading gangs from six to four — and following a Labour Court hearing the unions agreed to accept this for a three-month trial period.

Others who had been working on loading were moved into the factory — to work on lower bonus rates and in worse conditions. The men left on the smaller gangs quickly discovered that they were being asked to work beyond their capacity. They stopped work in protest — and immediately management threatened dismissal for anybody taking unofficial action.

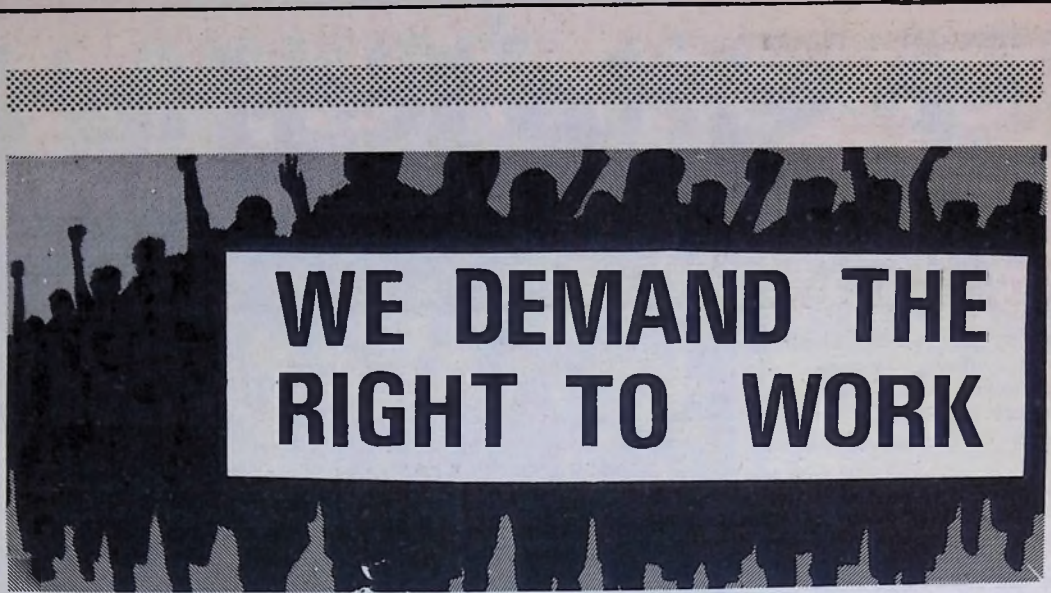
The management's propaganda machine was working at full tilt. As soon as the workers took action, they put out a leaflet to all the employees, trying to make scapegoats of the strikers. The latest production from the propaganda machine had not been distributed at the time we went to press: a little booklet published as an introduction to the company. On the first page it welcomes the new employee to the firm hoping that they will have a pleasant association with the company, etc.

sell outs

Our last report in THE WORKER on C&C spoke of the solidarity that had been shown between different sections of workers. But that has not been built on — and the union representatives on the job seem to have little interest in doing anything about it.

Some of them — representatives of ASTMS, who are supervisors, have in fact done the opposite. At the end of July they called a meeting of all workers — the first occasion in recent times that the Company allowed a union meeting on company premises and in company time. The message they gave at that meeting was: stop the unofficial action; give the management a chance; don't upset the company's ten-year-plan. In fact, they were simply repeating the Managing Director's warnings.

C & C workers have not been taking unofficial action for the hell of it. They are not being properly represented by their stewards and the Works Committee. The first thing the workers must do to face up to the management's threats is to elect representatives who will defend their interests. And their first interest is to end the system which allows management to carve them up: the system of casual labour.



Headline from the 'Trade Unionist', published by the Dublin Shop Stewards Committee. The second issue carries several reports of redundancies and closures, as well as other articles on topics concerning all trade unionists.

PYE SACKINGS

WORKERS at Cabinets Limited and its controlling company, Pye (Ireland) have been hit by redundancies in the last month: at Cabinets due to technical production changes and at Pye due to what the management calls a 'slump in the industry'. With the help and blessing of the union, Pye's management have also been trying for some time, to introduce a productivity deal which would mean more work, worse conditions and less jobs.

Forty workers at Cabinets Ltd. — a company making television cabinets for the electronics industry — were made redundant during July as a result of the introduction of a new vinyl covering for their cabinets.

These redundancies were accepted without a murmur of protest from the unions who did nothing to get compensation for their redundant members. As a result of the change-over the members of the five craft unions involved demanded compensation for the new work and an increase in wages. They were offered £100 compensation, plus a wage increase, which they accepted.

However, members of the ITGWU were offered nothing so a claim was lodged by their Branch Secretary. When Transport members blacked the new cabinets, they were accused of blackmail by the manager O'Neill. Management now refused compensation to the craft unions and threatened to close down the factory. At this the craft union members handed in their notice to quit and demanded their cards by Friday 19th July unless they were given the agreed compensation and wage increases.

O'Neill thought again and offered the ITGWU men £25 compensation and a £1.80 wage rise. The general workers accepted the increase in wages but demanded £50 compensation. O'Neill offered £35 and they accepted.

While all this was going on the workers in Pye (Ireland) were faced with the introduction of a productivity deal suggested by — of all people — Ruairi Mac Eoghan, secretary of the No. 13 Branch ITGWU.

Management called a meeting with all the shop-stewards for Tuesday 9th July. It was assumed that this was to discuss the productivity deal but there was much more on the agenda. O'Neill talked of a general slump in the industry and said he had to lay off 60 workers. The redundancies were to take place on the first day of the holidays — a classic management trick to prevent workers taking any action against them.

GALWAY CRYSTAL: NO ACT OF CHARITY

THE LAST-MINUTE announcement that the British firm of Wedgwood Ltd. were to take over Galway Crystal must have been designed to make the workers eternally grateful to the I.D.A., the Bank of Ireland, Robert Molloy, and Wedgwood themselves. But the workers owe none of them any gratitude even though their jobs have been saved. It was no act of charity by Wedgwood. They have been buying up smaller companies in the last few years — and Galway Crystal fits in to their plans neatly. They bought it for a £¼ million, and must be rubbing their hands about the bargain.

expanding

Wedgwood started over 200 years ago making pottery and ornaments for the British aristocracy, eventually becoming "Potter to Her Majesty". In recent years the company has been expanding in several countries, and now has plants in Australia and Canada, as well as Britain and Ireland. The company employs 7000 people in Britain alone.

Wedgwood's profits have gone up six times over since 1966 — from £643,000 to £4 million. Last year's sales reached £23 million. Wedgwood can well afford the £½ million investment which it is thought is needed to get Galway Crystal going again — and they can afford to make substantial improvements in working conditions while they're going about their "restructuring".

The company is not only inheriting a skilled work-force; they will also get into their hands a completed report by P.A. Management Consultants designed to increase their output. Thousands of workers throughout the country have had the benefit of P.A.'s wisdom — and could have done without it. P. A. reports have been used in Waterford Glass, for instance, to drive the pace up.

If the workers go in with the attitude that Wedgwood must be given a chance, the company will not be slow to take advantage of them.

The Wedgwood take-over can be used as a source of new strength. Contact must be set up with workers in other Wedgwood plants in Britain, and the best in conditions there taken as a basis for negotiation. Wedgwood can well afford to provide better canteen and toilet facilities, a decent wage all-round, and, in particular, better rates for apprentices. But only effective shop-floor organisation can make them pay.



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FROM WORKER BOOK
SERVICE.

Fine Wool: Brendan's bluff

IF YOU wanted an example of how the Government plays its hand in the case of redundancies, or, if you prefer, "rationalisation", you could not find a better one than the closure of the Fine Wool textile plant in Wexford, which employed nearly 350 workers.

For some time before the liquidator was called in, it was obvious that the company was in very bad trouble, if the management did not know it then everybody in the town did! And yet the management continued to give out watches to faithful employees and look confident. They didn't give a word of warning to the workers that their mis-management was placing the entire workforce in jeopardy.

Eventually the mess could not be covered any longer, and in a skillfully organised job and with the help of a local T.D. Brendan Corish, the I.D.A. and the unions, chiefly the I.T.G.W.U., the men were laid off in separate groups, with rumours being circulated that things would be righted shortly and all would be happy again.

Needless to say, such hopes were to prove entirely without foundation, but they achieved one notable result. A week or so before the local election — a mere coincidence, of course — Big Brendan moved in and personally announced that an American firm Venice Industries, had agreed to buy the factory and that the contract would be signed in the near future.

Branch Secretary MacEoghan's immediate action was to telephone his secretary, asking her to tell all other companies in the industry to stop recruiting, as workers would be available from Pye. So much for the slump in the electronics industry.

At a meeting on 12th July, called to announce the names of those made redundant, MacEoghan told the workers that only 30 were being laid off — as if we should be on our knees thanking O'Neill.

fight

The names of those to be made redundant were announced and Mac Eoghan cried his crocodile tears but several workers criticised the union for not putting up a fight and trying to get the redundancies postponed at least. The productivity deal was brought up and Mac Eoghan said he had been trying to get this for years. In this the policy of a union that is supposed to represent workers? Do they defend workers by getting productivity deals which cause redundancies and hardship?

The feelings of the workers in Pye (Ireland) Ltd. are running very high at the moment and they have called for the setting up of a floor committee to fight for better conditions and the protection of employees.

The workers feel insecure and are totally disillusioned by the 'leadership' given to them by the ITGWU. They want their interests defended — not sold down the river. When they return from their holidays they will continue to fight any attempts by the management to introduce productivity deals.

PYE WORKER

You can take it that it had nothing at all to do with the fact that Brendan's young son and heir, Philip Corish, a former work-study officer and now redundant worker from Fine Wool, was offering his name in the local elections.

SOUR

Then with the electioneering finished the promises began to turn sour, forcing question were they ever on. Venice Industries pulled out of Ireland all together, leaving many Cork workers redundant too.

The undertakers were brought in again, and the Government announced that the IDA was going to purchase the plant, and with their usual great confidence they said that they had numerous interested parties — but the redundant workers still wait, and the way things are going they'll wait a long time, for they are getting little help from their old union, the I.T.G.W.U., who wait from the word from the leader Brendan — and we could not embarrass him, could we?

platitudes

If the I.D.A. is able to buy the factory now and if the government is at all concerned about workers' jobs, why did they not put the money up to keep the factory in production — with the workers in control? We hear a lot of platitudes from the Minister for Labour about the placing of workers on the board of directors but when it comes to the crunch it never happens.

The Workers Action Committee was, like everybody else, too concerned not to embarrass Brendan Corish. It should have taken a much firmer approach, and it should not have disbanded after the factory closed, even though some of the men are probably forced to emigrate.

A couple of years ago a leading shop steward in the Anglo Irish Weavers textile plant in Tuam, which was closed down too pointed out that it is no use workers running away from the area and giving into the system, which forces them to follow profits, but rather they should stay and struggle for the opportunity to work in their place of choice, and struggle for workers control so that redundancies do not occur as they have in Wexford and Tuam and all over Ireland.

The experience of Fine Wool should have one good result for Wexford workers: it will teach them not to place their hopes in T.D.'s.

whose side is the church on

ON A WALL in Belfast, at a time when masses of people were out on the streets struggling against the miserable conditions in which they lived, somebody wrote: "Is There A Life Before Death?"

In Cork City each year crowds at the Our Lady of Fatima Novena pray like this:

PIEST: "Our Lady of Fatima, save us from the dangers of Communism".

PEOPLE: "Our Lady of Fatima, save us from the dangers of Communism".

The headline of the *Evening Press* for 25th June this year roared out the Bishop of Derry's words: "Provo's Are the Agents Of The Devil."

These three small items show why socialists come up against the Church and its teachings. The Belfast slogan asks what kind of life have we *here and now*, says that we should *do something* about suffering, poverty and oppression in this life, asks us to give our attention to the living and the living conditions and not to be looking over the wall of death into another life.

The prayers of the Cork faithful and Bishop Daly's denunciation of the Provisionals shows how religion is used as a weapon against socialist ideas and the struggle of the oppressed.



Above: The Church's blessing on the multi-million pound Gulf Oil terminal at Bantry. Below: 'Irish Press' of 4 March 1935, announces Bishop's hostility to socialism and republicanism.

BANKS, STAMPS AND BUILDINGS

THE CHURCH'S stake in capitalism can be partly seen in the wealth that it holds. According to Italian tax figures for 1967 the Vatican investment in shares in Italy can be estimated at over £600 million. This represents industrial wealth only and only central Vatican finances. It does not take into account the wealth of the different national hierarchies (in Germany the State collects a tax for the Catholic and Protestant Churches), the wealth of the Vatican in buildings, art, donations, Vatican stamps, etc. Nor does it take into account the industrial wealth of the Vatican outside Italy.

According to Corrado Pallenberg in 'Vatican Finances' (Pelican, 1973), the Church has close connections with the Rothschilds, the U.S. Hambros Bank, the Zurich Credit Suisse, the Chase Manhattan Bank, etc., and it has shares in General Motors, Shell Oil, Gulf Oil, General Electric, Bethlehem Steel, IBM and TWA.

The Church of Ireland gained £825 thousand from land, business and securities in 1967 and £614,000 from voluntary subscriptions. It is likely that the area of Catholic Church land in Dublin and Dunlaoire, not being used for social or educational purposes, is 5,000 acres. In the biggest single property transaction in the history of the Southern state the Irish Sisters of Charity received £1½ million from the sale of St. Vincent's in Stephen's Green.

Protection

Throughout its history the Church has taken the side of the bosses and has been in turn used by them to keep hold over the subject classes. It opposed the French Revolution, supported Franco in the Spanish Civil War, received money and protection from Mussolini and aided in the liquidation of Croatia Orthodox Believers during the Second World War.

The continuous flow of anti-socialist statements from the Papacy, from Leo XIII onwards, has now been replaced however, by a liberal, half-way house social teaching, which at times can sound like "socialism". The Encyclical *Populorum Progressio* (1967) declares: "Freedom from misery, the greater assurance of finding subsistence, health and fixed employment; an increased share of responsibility without oppression of any kind... these are what men aspire to now when a greater number of them are condemned to live in conditions which make this lawful desire illusory."

This sounds very radical. But wait, things mustn't be allowed to get out of hand. Elsewhere *Populorum Progressio* declares: "recourse to violence is a great temptation", and "We know

however that a revolutionary uprising... produces new injustices, throws more elements out of balance and brings on new disasters.

In 1971 Pope Paul wrote, "Some Christians are to-day attracted by socialist currents and their various developments. Too often they fail to recognise the limitations of the historical socialist movements."

Religion eases the pain of the worker - giving meaning to his daily grind and his position on the social scale 'Blessed are the Poor' offers some joy, a false joy, to the mother of seven children existing on home assistance. The man who is 'let go' by the company after working there for twenty years feels less disturbed about it in the "knowledge" that he will sit at the right hand of God, in a better world than this one. Once false happiness is seen through, workers will demand real happiness.

'THE AUTHORITY OF THE STATE COMES FROM GOD'

ATTACKING Republicans in 1931 President Cosgrave (Liam's father) claimed: "The authority of the State comes from God and every organisation that seeks to destroy the State is subversive of morality and religion." His government had already introduced censorship of books and films, and banned divorce. Not to be outdone, Fianna Fail proceeded to write the principles of Catholic social teaching into the 1937 Constitution (not merely a "special position" for the Catholic Church).

Education

In this way a Catholic state for a Catholic people grew up. The holy alliance between Church and State kept in existence the church-dominated system of education. In 1935 the Bishop of Waterford ordered the sacking of a national teacher for membership of the left-wing Republican Congress. The Church taught the poor to be content with their lot through the Depression and the Economic War. And just to prove to the Northern Protestants that Home Rule was Rome Rule, Noel Brown's Mother and Child Scheme was brought down in 1951.

COMMUNISM AND IRRELIGION

Membership of I.R.A. And Congress Party Condemned: Road Blocking Reference

MOST REV. DR. COHALAN ON HOUSING EVILS

WARNINGS against Communism and against membership of certain organisations were contained in the Lenten Pastorals of the Hierarchy, which were read in the churches of Ireland yesterday.

Points made in the various pronouncements were:— No Catholic can lawfully belong to either.—Bishop of Kerry, referring to the I.R.A. and Republican Congress Party.

The changes that have since occurred in the Irish Catholic Church's relationship to the State did not start from the revised theology of the Second Vatican Council. They have been impelled by the changes in the Irish economy - the bringing-in of foreign investment, the need for a new modern image to match the increasingly industrial and urban way of life. New industries demanded more highly skilled and educated workers, and so under the Lemass and Lynch governments "free" secondary education was brought in, and the Church allowed comprehensive and community schools to be set up, and smaller schools to be nationalised.

But clerical management of schools has been kept, meaning separation of denominations and schools in bad repair - and despite pressure from the I.N.T.O., the Church refuses to hand responsibility for repairs over to the State, fearing the thin edge of the wedge. The "community" schools in fact mean a decrease in community influence, compared with the formally democratic control of vocational schools.

Censorship became more liberal as television made it nonsensical, and the Supreme Court "interpreted" the Constitution to make a breach in the ban on contraceptives. Church and State have had to adapt themselves to the needs of capitalism. And if under the Coalition government the process of change looks like grinding to a halt, it is more because of a desire not to rock the boat when capitalism is threatened with economic crisis, than because of Liam Cosgrave's Catholic conscience.

There is a link between economic interest and Protestantism also. In the South, a small Protestant minority, refused contraception and divorce by the State, and oppressed unofficially, through the low subsidies from the State to the schools, keeps assuring its oppressors that it is quite happy and has no complaints about its treatment. Why? In 1961, the Protestant 5 per cent of the population owned about 30 per cent of total wealth: a Protestant was 4 times less likely than the average person to be in the unskilled and labour class. The rich have few problems.

Landlords

In the North, since, 1834, when Henry Cooke brought the Presbyterian Church into alliance with the landlords, the Orange Order and the Church of Ireland, the United influence of Protestantism has been the entrenchment of sectarianism, in accordance with the economic interests of British imperialism and the Unionist capitalists.

Only in recent years, as the sectarian state has become a hindrance to British investment in the South and imperialism has tried to produce a new breed of Northern "non-sectarian" politics, have substantial numbers of the Protestant clergy dissociated themselves from the Orange Order and its control over society.

The Catholic minority in the North were driven to look to the priests for leadership. The Church has sometimes adapted itself by assuming a nationalist pose, just as in the South it has

CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM?

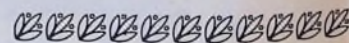
THE LEFT-WING priest Herbert McCabe has suggested reforms of the second Vatican Council meant that was abandoning feudalism and was catching up with capitalist society. It would certainly be a mistake to think the Church has become a progressive force in society and its ties to the civil Establishment, it remains the existing order. The liberalising forces in the Church trying to preserve the Churches' influence by new capitalism is looking for new ways to keep down class.

Socialists must support full freedom of religious expression and that involves fighting on such immediate issues as union and democratic control of schools. We do not enter battles in support of those capitalists who have similar Nor do we engage in the simple anti-clericalism which "First destroy the Church's power, then the working class ready for socialism." The working class must secularise because sectarianism is one of the tools the working class has to break down in the process of itself.

Miracle

Socialists do not bring the Church into the political arena already there. It is no longer possible to put socialism in water-tight compartments, as Connolly advocated. He thinks he is a socialist, but is expecting socialism through saying prayers for it to come, or is expecting from God to change men's hearts, then he has common with revolutionaries. On the other hand, if he is working for the working class to take power, he has departed from the orthodox teaching of his Church effectively joined the side of the revolution.

There are many sincere people who consider themselves Christian Socialists or who try to find a meeting-point between Christianity and Marxism. By their fruits shall we know such efforts try to enrol the working class behind a "Christian" section of the middle class - as the Parties seem to imply sometimes - they are waiting even end in the disaster of a Chile. But if Christians to the revolutionary struggle for socialism, they have a duty to make to the emancipation of the working class the liberation of humanity.



as patriots after their death, those whom it excommunicated while alive. But as Connolly wrote, "the British Government in Ireland on 21st January 1623, published a royal proclamation banishing all priests from Ireland, and in 1795 established a College at Maynooth for the education of priests, and found the latter course safer for British rule than the former".

Today the Dublin City Vocational Education Committee pays priests to teach apprentices Catholic social doctrine (such as the undesirability of strikes) under the guise of "social studies". The Jesuit College of Industrial Relations plays a similar role for workers. And to the extent that they play a role in deflating workers' militancy, they reinforce the belief of the Northern Protestant workers that the Southern worker with a lower standard of living is a slave to the priesthood and will never be able to join hands with him.

The Northern Protestant worker hears religious communities calling for a strike, and the Catholic worker, refusing to allow the middle class union leadership to lead them, bridges, but they are waiting even end in the disaster of a Chile. But if Christians to the revolutionary struggle for socialism, they have a duty to make to the emancipation of the working class the liberation of humanity.

JIM LARKIN'S ISOLATION

Part 2 of a series of articles by Ken Quinn on the Workers Union of Ireland, founded 50 years ago this year.



Jim Larkin's funeral—only a part of the enormous attendance can be seen.

IN THE first part of this series I discussed Larkin in America: the significance of his stay there comes out later in the syndicalist and political ideas which were to have their effect on the labour movement in Ireland. This is not to say that the present 'leadership' of the WUI, the trinity of Denis Larkin, Cardiff and Foster, are radical. But they do occasionally like to ramble down Memory Lane and in September of this year they will call to witness their inglorious deeds the ghosts of

'Young Jim' and 'Old Jim'. As the Civil War came to a close in 1923 the Irish labour movement was to be rent asunder by its own "civil war" which it has only just recovered from. At the centre of this 'war' were Jim Larkin and the WUI.

Larkin arrived home from America in 1923 to a tumultuous welcome from Dublin workers. As in the days of 1913 he spoke to the crowd from the window in Liberty Hall. Larkin then went on a tour of the country branches; the ITGWU had changed a lot since

his day. In 1914 the membership was 5,000 but by 1923 it had grown to over 100,000 with some 350 branches. On this tour Larkin found that William O'Brien was in a very strong position in the union and was able to manipulate it.

Larkin learned that delegates to Conference had been selected and not elected (a practice that is seemingly still carried on in the ITGWU). A change in the rules was being proposed which would give the Executive Committee and O'Brien virtually control over the union. Larkin appealed to the rank-and-file and secured the suspension of O'Brien and Foran.

On Monday, 11th June, 1923, a group of women from the powerful No. 1 Branch led by Barney Conway (known as Big Daddy) occupied Liberty Hall. Among them was "Appler" Farrell who to this day is resentful of "poopy-eye O'Brien" and "snuffy Foran" for depriving the workers and real owners of the union of their offices and of trying to eject their General Secretary, Jim Larkin — the man who had brought the Dublin working class from their knees. It took troops and armoured cars to get the members out of Liberty Hall. They were charged with illegal occupation and were fined £5. Some refused to pay and spent a month in jail.

Leaflet

Having allowed the situation go this far, Larkin then left for Russia on May 27th 1924, leaving Peter Larkin, his brother, in charge. On May 30th a leaflet was issued by the Gasworkers which attacked the E.C. of the ITGWU who had by now had an armed guard placed on Liberty Hall. They referred to the E.C. as the 'junta' and claimed that the E.C. had proven itself to be nothing but "the tools of the employers and the agents of the Government". Peter Larkin took it further and called on members to withhold dues. Through an editorial in the "Irish Worker" he stated that holding an ITGWU card was tantamount to "scabbery" and finally on June 15th 1924, at a meeting in Beresford Place, he formally launched the Workers Union of Ireland.

Over two-thirds of the Dublin membership came over to the WUI. None of the full-time officials came over. From then on disputes arose which were direct confrontations between both unions, with the ITGWU then siding with the employers in order to smash the WUI.

Deputation

On his return, Big Jim gave much of his attention to the political scene. He sent a deputation to Eamon De Valera and his newly formed political party Fianna Fail. He wished to set up some sort of united front against the repression along with the Labour Party, the National League, Sinn Féin, and with the ITGWU. But nobody except Dev and Jim Larkin turned up. It would seem that Larkin, although he was not a member of the Young Irish Communist Party, took the official communist line of supporting the petit-bourgeoisie.

In 1927 Larkin sent a letter to Dev urging him to enter the Dail. This he later did. In the 1927 elections Larkin stood as a member of the Irish League, as did his son, 'young Jim' and Lawlor. The press accused them of being communists, but despite this Larkin won while Lawlor and young Jim split the Labour vote.

Larkin was unable to take his seat however, because he was a bankrupt. All this activity was carried on outside the WUI which Larkin kept separate from the political battle. But the union had a generally radical approach.

In 1936 when the Spanish Civil War began the E.C. of the WUI passed a resolution forbidding any full-time members from speaking on pro-Republican platforms. But industrially, the WUI was in an unhealthy state, 10,000 was the number of its membership. Larkin had spent all his energy on politics without bringing the union with him. The WUI was also outside the mainstream to some extent — and the ITGWU attached to the Labour Party and the Irish Trade Union Congress, was happy to keep it that way.

Membership

Larkin had applied for membership of Congress but had been blocked by O'Brien of the ITGWU in 1941. Big Jim joined the Labour Party along with his son "young Jim". In the general election of 1943 Larkin attempted to secure the Labour Party nomination for Dublin North East. But the Administrative Council of the Labour Party, which had a large number of ITGWU delegates, blocked him.

The Dublin Executive Committee of the Labour Party still went ahead and nominated him. Although he was successful, as was young Jim, it caused further division in the Labour movement. In 1945 the ITGWU broke away from the Irish Trade Union Congress and with 60,000 trade unionists formed the Congress of Irish Unions. Larkin was then admitted to the ITUC which was much weakened by the withdrawal of the ITGWU.

In 1946 Big Jim took ill and entered hospital where he died on 30th January 1947. As one old militant said it was as though the lion of the North had come to usher out the lion of the worker. An era had come to an end. Big Jim had laid the basis of general trade unionism and popularised the belief in One Big Union.

Sad to say Denis Larkin Big Jim's son, does not live up to his father's name or aspirations. The false division of the trade union movement weakens the working class and leaves all the political jobs to the mediocre social climbers of the Labour Party who are only too happy to use the leadership of the unions to sell all the rubbish of "national interest".

The third part in this series will bring the history up to the present time.

SPECIAL COURTS FOR TRADE UNIONISTS TOO

EVERYBODY knows the Special Courts were set up in order to get republicans behind bars. But did you know there are cases which could only involve striking workers which have to go to the Special Court?

The reason given two years ago for needing non-jury courts was that juries were open to being influenced and intimidated. The Fianna Fail government gave a list of offences which were "scheduled offences". So anybody charged for instance, under the Malicious Damages Act, the Explosive Substances Act, Firearms Acts, and the Offences Against the State Act, would have their cases referred to the Special Court.

That was in May 1972. And since then hundreds of republicans have been jailed for sentences of anything from six months upwards by the Special Court.

But in November 1972 the Lynch government made a second order concerning "scheduled offences". Charges under the Section 7 of the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act of 1875 — which is still law in this country and in Britain — were also deemed to be scheduled offences. The 1875 Conspiracy

Act was designed to deal with workers picketing in an industrial dispute. In England it was used last year against building workers who had picketed during the summer months. And in May of this year Section 4 of the 1875 Act was threatened against the County Council engineers in Tipperary who picketed county council installations in furtherance of their recognition dispute.

Section 7 concerns "violence" and "intimidation", "watching" and "besetting" in picketting — but as we all know, the police can have very broad ways of understanding those things.

There have been enough signs that the police are being told to be tougher with picketers these days. But are we going to have to see the first strikers in the Special Court before the unions protest about it? Some of the union leaders in Dublin go on about repression in other countries, or even in the North. Here's a case on their own doorstep which they should be forced to take up. It is also a reminder to all of us that state repression against republican is a threat to us all.

UNIDARE UNION OFFICIALS BLOCK ACTION

THE BEHAVIOUR of the Unidare Works Committee in preventing action in support of two claims has angered many Unidare workers. The claim is for £1 increase on the basic wage and 25% shift allowance. Unidare have shown their customary generosity by offering 50 pence on the basic and 25% shift allowance for night work only.

A leaflet, which was distributed by 'Unidare Workers for Action' was distributed around the factories last month. It explains what happened. "On Sunday 23rd June a well-attended meeting of Unidare workers passed a resolution that if the company did not improve their offers a work-to-rule would begin two weeks later." Two Sundays later "Arthur

Kelly, the Branch Secretary (No. 14 Branch, Irish Transport and General Workers Union) and the whole Unidare Section Committee denied that the resolution had been passed and it had not been entered into the Minutes Book."

Resolution

At that second meeting, the work-to-rule resolution was ignored, and amid great confusion, a new resolution was wormed through — that the claim would go to the Labour Court. A few minutes earlier Arthur Kelly had said that four similar cases had been turned down by the Labour Court. Again he preached the National Wage Agreement as if it was given to Moses on two tablets of stone and couldn't be broken.

'Unidare Workers for Action' have called for meetings in each factory to discuss what action should be taken in support of the claim, and for the election of a new, truly representative Works Committee as soon as possible. A further leaflet has called for a rank-and-file General Meeting immediately after the holidays in August.

Report

Meanwhile, the Irish Transport and General Workers Union Annual Report for 1973 claims that steps have been taken on Safety in Unidare. REALLY? Then how come the fume, noise and dust levels are so high? How come the first-aid boxes are half-empty? How come the paint-shop is in such an unhealthy state?

Without any consultation with the workers involved the women and young workers have been unceremoniously dropped from the Unidare sick-pay scheme.

Many of them have been paying into it for some years. At Transformers, the men are still refusing to work the bonus scheme.

JUST TO rub salt in the wounds, Unidare announced their profits for the first half of 1974 on the first days of the holidays — they showed a 77 per cent increase over the 1973 figures on an increase in sales of 39 per cent. Profits for the whole year should go well over the £1½ million mark. And all we're looking for is a miserable £1 a week, when they're going to make a profit of £20 a week out of each one of us this year . . .

WORKING IN FUMES AND FILTH

PALM GROVE Ice Cream is produced at Santry, Dublin, by Palmer Bros. It's made in a dirty factory, and adult workers are paid £26.50 a week for making it. About 60 workers are employed in summer and many of these are young kids. A Palm Grove worker told THE WORKER that 14-year-olds pushing heavy rubbish trollies were coming out with £5 at the end of the week. "The 'jax' is in a deplorable state", he also said, "and you have to clock out for the 15 minute tea-break".

One 16-year-old was sacked last year because he wouldn't work overtime. The young workers are regularly put clearing out a dirty yard with open sewerage nearby. Carbon monoxide fumes from the lorries, which drive into the factory area, drift into the factory where the ice-cream is made. Fridge men work in freezing temperatures much of the time. "You'd be lucky to get a coat", were told, "I didn't".

Ice-pops lying on the fridge floor are re-packed and sent out to the shops," he went on. "The canteen is over the fridge and you're inhaling ammonia fumes. Young workers who make mistakes like letting boxes fall are shouted at by Pat Maguire in front of their fellow-workers".

One man was asked to work from seven in the morning until six (p.m.). Then he was 'given-out' to by the Manager for doing this. There are no fire extinguishers in the factory. In Perri, the crisp factory beside Palm Grove, which is also owned by Palmer Bros., a fire started recently and there were no fire extinguishers available.

"People living near the factories complain about the rubbish and the fumes. Washing has been destroyed. Old crisps are piled 3 feet high at the back of the factory and rats 'live' here. When residents call the manager, whenever he is in the yard, he turns away."

A bake-shop was built on to the factory which was condemned by the factory Inspectorate. There was no ventilation and the heat was excessive. But the bake-shop is still being used and whenever the factory inspector comes around it is locked up - whether or not there are girls at work inside. With the doors locked there is less ventilation and no means of escape in emergencies.

Mr. Cafaldi, the head of the family which owns the factory, used to come in drunk now and again on these occasions

he would sack a machine operator that he disliked. The permanent workers members of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union have had to strike one occasion to have the man re-instated who was fired in this way.

No such action is taken on behalf of temporary young workers. The union does not approach them to join until they become permanent. The only way ALL Palm Grove workers are going to get better conditions and job security is by them ALL being in the union - and by making sure that the union fights for them in cleaning up Palm Grove. In some years workers are temporarily laid off at Christmas, when there is less demand for ice-cream. This must be fought against, and the time to fight is in the Summer when business is booming.

GAINS IN GREECE FROM CYPRUS CRISIS

Right: Archbishop Makarios



CYPRUS has once again become the focus of conflict in the Eastern Mediterranean. During a two week period in late July, Archbishop Makarios was overthrown by the National Guard, which is led by Greek officers; Cyprus was invaded by Turkish forces; the Greek military junta collapsed because it could not control a situation which it had itself played such a major role in initiating.

PAUL GILLESPIE

In an area of such strategic importance to the Big Powers, the United States and Russia, along with their respective NATO, EEC and Warsaw Pact allies were all immediately involved. At the time of writing, a cease-fire agreement has just been signed between the British, Greek and Turkish Foreign Ministers - without the participation of any representatives from Cyprus. Small wonder that Cypriot workers were demonstrating in London demanding that the Turkish Government, the Greek Government and NATO all get out of Cyprus.

The impact of the Cyprus crisis on Greece has been drastic: the military junta has been replaced by a combination of right-wing and centrist politicians, and an amnesty for political prisoners has been proclaimed. The labour movement comes out of seven years under the yoke of the junta disorganised, and is still being closely watched by the armed forces. But Greece has on occasions had 20 per cent left-wing vote: the working class could still decide the fate of the country.

Cyprus is one-eighth the size of Ireland and has a total population slightly less than that of Dublin. About one quarter are of Turkish origin, and the rest are Greek-speaking.

The conflict goes back a long way. Its modern history starts in 1878 when the British took the island over for the Turks. As nationalism rose, the two communities developed opposing goals; the Greeks were looking for union with Greece - "Enosis". The British played one off against the other. They had an interest in staying there, particularly later, when they had withdrawn from Israel and Egypt. In the 1950's fighting broke out between the communities.

A guerrilla movement developed from within the Greek Cypriot community, which the British fought with their customary viciousness. Turkish resistance blocked the movement for union with Greece. The affair was settled in Geneva in 1959. An arrangement was made for an independent Cyprus under a power-sharing regime. But in the 1960's fighting broke out again, the United Nations came in - and the possibility of union with Greece receded into the background.

Still, the right-wing among the Greek Cypriots kept this ideal, and their hopes were fanned according to the strength of the Right in Greece itself. Makarios', at the head of the independent government, came to rely more and more on the Cypriot Communist Party, AKEL, based largely on the Greek Cypriot working class and lower middle class. The party supports independence for Cyprus on the grounds that Greece is a member of NATO.

The Greek regime had a use for the "Enosis" demand - it could whip up nationalism in Greece itself in order to cover up its own instability. And in the late 1960's it needed to do this. Colonel

Grivas returned to Cyprus to re-organise the EOKA guerrillas who have carried out occasional military actions in the last few years. EOKA got the support of Greek officers, in the Cyprus National Guard.

Eventually, this led to Makarios' ultimatum to the Greek government to withdraw the officers by the end of June this year. This provoked the officers - with the junta's support - to overthrow Makarios.

The United States government was immediately placed in a dilemma - it has consistently supported the Greek junta - and was not at all enthusiastic about Makarios' reliance on AKEL. But they could not be too committed to the junta - otherwise they would be isolated from European NATO countries, who have, on the whole, been in favour of a return to a normal bourgeois political regime in Greece.

The Americans were let off the hook, because the junta could not stand the strain and Karamanlis was brought in. But he is no less of an anti-Communist than his predecessors, who have held working class militants in jail for years. The armed forces who are under orders to watch the working class activists closely are not going to be impressed by the ridiculous appeals of the Communists that to their better nature. Will the lessons of Chile never be learned.

new left

Nevertheless, the soaring prices and the relaxation of repression should give the Left in Greece a big opportunity to organise independently of the Communists - and quickly.

The new Cypriot government, under Clerides, looks like stabilising itself. So the main gain from this has been the collapse of the Greek junta. The urgent work for socialists in the area is to consolidate their positions so that they can resist any renewed attempt at victimisation. But beyond that they will have to match the "internationalism" of the imperialist powers with a working class awareness of internationalism which can cut across the national issues which have been used to throw sand in the eyes of the workers - and prop up the most vicious and reactionary of regimes.

WHAT WE STAND FOR

SOCIALIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT

The SOCIALIST WORKERS MOVEMENT is a revolutionary workers' organisation, which aims to organise the working class in the struggle for power and for the overthrow of the existing social order. All its activities, its methods and its internal organisation are designed to achieve this purpose.

The system under which we live, capitalism, is based on production for profit, not for human need. It is driven by the capitalist's need to amass more and more profits. This makes capitalists compete with one another for markets and for political control, both nationally and internationally. The fruit of that competition is seen in war, poverty and crises.

The capitalist class controls this society by its ownership and control of the means of production; that in turn is based on their exploitation of the working class. The capitalist class is a tiny minority governing the lives of the majority, and claiming to have 'democracy' on its side. In Ireland, 7 per cent of the population own 70 per cent of the wealth.

The working class - and only the working class - has the capacity to end exploitation and oppression. In Ireland its confidence and its strength have increased enormously in recent years, and the working class is now the largest social class. What our class lacks, however, is a political leadership with the influence to resist all ruling class pressures on our actions and to point the way clearly towards socialism as the only solution to the working class's problems, and those of any social group oppressed by this system.

A working class organised independently of the middle class in its own fighting organisations in the work-place, and in its own democratically controlled socialist party can create a society based on production for human need. The establishment of a Worker's Republic the necessary goal of the class struggles, would not mean merely state control of investment and of industry, but workers control, from the bottom, of all aspects of society.

That kind of socialist society does not exist anywhere today. The attempts of the Russian working class to build socialism were halted by the failure of their revolution to spread, and by the actions of the Stalinist rulers, who established a new type of society based on exploitation and oppression. We oppose the Moscow regime as we oppose those of Washington and Peking.

Because the capitalist system itself is international, and the world economy is increasingly dominated by a couple of hundred companies, the fight for socialism must be organised on an international basis too. A Workers' Republic in Ireland could not survive without the aid of the British and Continental working classes. In supporting all genuine anti-imperialist struggles, in Ireland or anywhere else, we hold that imperialism and capitalism can only be defeated by world-wide worker's revolution. For imperialism is simply the form which capitalism takes today.

The SOCIALIST WORKERS MOVEMENT fights to unite the working class irrespective of religion and sex in struggles to cut back exploitation and improve living conditions. We fight to make the

workers' organisations, the trade unions, completely independent and democratic in order that they may play an effective part in these struggles. As immediate aims we fight for a minimum wage of £30 for a 35-hour working week, for rank-and-file control of the trade unions, and we oppose all anti-trade union legislation. We oppose redundancy, unemployment and lay-offs.

On the national question, we believe that the present leadership of the anti-imperialist movement has shown itself incapable of maintaining a consistent approach because it is incapable of recognising the class content of the question. The national question can only be solved in the working class's struggle for power, and that can only be won by a united working class. As immediate aims, however, we fight for an end to internment and to repressive legislation North and South, and for the withdrawal of the British Army from Ireland. We support the self-defence of working class areas against military and sectarian attack. We fight for total separation of Church and State.

The SOCIALIST WORKERS MOVEMENT is a democratic centralist organisation open to those who accept its principles and objectives, who work in one of the units of the movement, agree to recognise its discipline and to pay dues. Along with revolutionary organisations in other countries, with whom we have fraternal links, we are striving to build our own organisation to gain such support as to work meaningfully for a revolutionary international of working class parties.

The Cancerous

REVIEW

"The Sovereign State". By Anthony Sampson. Coronet Books. Paperback 50 pence.

THIS BOOK reads like a thriller. It's got espionage, murder and wholesale robbery. The victims are you and me and the millions of people throughout the world whose lives are manipulated and, in some cases, ended by the machinations of ITT. The International Telephone and Telegraph Company seems an unlikely name for a villain of such magnitude, how can a bloody telephone company be evil?

Well, ITT does more than make telephones. It's a multi-national company, a huge network of businesses employing 400,000 people, spread across the world and dealing in everything from dog-food to transistors. The oil that keeps this huge machine running is exploitation, but also bribery, corruption and subversion.

blackmail

Originally just a telephone company, founded in America in 1920 by Sosthenes Behn, a personal associate of Hitler and Goering, ITT grew as the communication business grew. They soon expanded across Europe, branching into different industries so that during the Second World War US ships using ITT equipment were being bombed by planes made by ITT.

Apart from their "legal" blackmail of governments and their exploitation of

WHICH WAY WILL PORTUGAL GO?

PORTUGAL could still move one way or the other – to the right or to the left. That is the view of a comrade who sends us this report from that country in the last week of July.

SINCE THE coup which ended Portuguese fascism on 25th April, the workers have been making up for the last 48 years when all strikes have been illegal. Immediately after the coup fascists were driven out of management by strikes which also demanded a national minimum wage of £25 per week paid holidays, and a wide range of improvements in conditions.

The Government has been forced to establish a national minimum wage of £15 per week but many workers have won much more than this and strikes are continuing on this issue. At the moment, 800 workers in EFACEC (a subsidiary of Westinghouse, who own the ACEC factory in Waterford) are occupying their Lisbon plant demanding a £25 per week minimum wage.

During the three week occupation they have been producing a daily strike bulletin, which states:

"Today we see as well as the strength of the working class that we are a majority which is exploited. We can become a force able to alter the history of humanity and to construct a new world where exploitation of man by man will not exist."

The Bulletin deals with other workers in struggle and different kinds of struggle, and there is continuous political discussion in the occupied plant where revolutionary films like 'The Battleship Potemkin' are being shown.

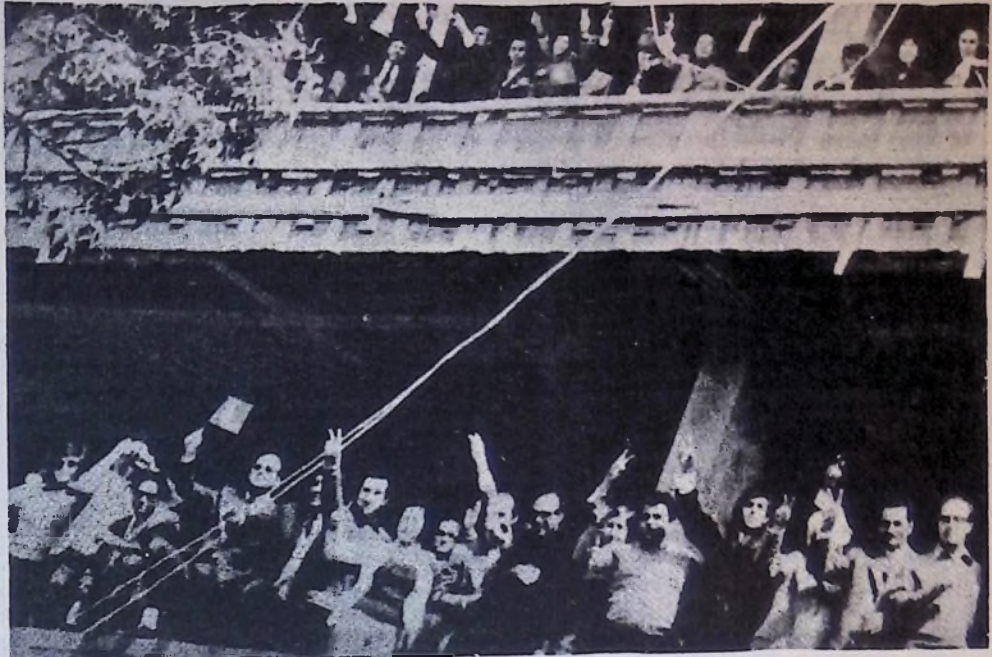
The wave of strikes – which has hit Renault, Toyota, the post office, Pfizer, Electrolux, printers, dockers, etc., etc., is entirely unofficial. This

is because the Communist Party of Portugal (PCP) which controls much of the trade union leadership is part of the Coalition Provisional Government, and wants the strikers smashed.

The PCP has denounced strikes and factory occupations as being "reactionary" and "pseudo-revolutionary". At a recent PCP rally, to welcome the new Government, however, there were obvious signs of discontent from some PCP members who disapprove of the policy of coalition with capitalist parties in government.

The new Provisional Government is dominated by members of the Movement of the Armed Forces (MFA), the officer's organisation that arranged the April coup. The MFA programme of pure democracy, decolonisation in Africa, and help for the workers, is very popular and massive rallies have been held in support of the MFA.

But the MFA's role could change – if the appalling economic situation does not improve. Inflation is running at 30 per cent and prices are as high as in Ireland. Unemployment is rising and emigrants' remittances, which play a large part in the Portuguese economy, have dried up. The strikes and the granting of a national minimum wage may bankrupt many firms. If this continues, it is likely that the Right will become stronger, winning support among army officers. At the moment, the right wing is tremendously unpopular and is disorganised – consisting of some 16 tiny parties.



Lisbon building workers greet a May Day demonstration

Portugal can only move sharply to the Right or the Left – it cannot stay in its present uncertain state. Either the strike and the workers' committees emerging from them will be co-ordinated into establishing worker's control throughout the economy. Or a right wing anti-worker regime will take over.

To the left of the Portuguese Communist Party the two small Maoist groups insist that this stage of the struggle is for democracy; socialism is for the future. The only organisation of any strength fighting to lay the basis for worker's control now is the Proletarian Revolutionary Party (PRP). Up to last year they were an urban guerilla group. But now they are having some success in developing workers' councils out of the strikes. Their paper *Revolucão* is widely read and sold in shops and factories. Much of the future of Portuguese socialism could depend on the PRP.

Portugal today is an exhilarating place. Factory occupations, revolutionary slogans on every wall, political discussion in every cafe and bus, shops full of socialist books which are being widely read. It is a tiny glimmer of what socialism could be like. Only the organisation of the working class in its own interests, can make that glimmer become a permanent glow.

J. RAFTERY

CALIFORNIA FARM WORKERS STRUGGLE



THE GRAPE harvest has begun in California and with it the battle for recognition which the United Farm Workers Union has been waging for nearly ten years now. The majority of the farm workers are Mexican Americans who have for too long served as a supply of cheap labour for the big land-owners of America's West Coast. Working conditions are appalling – fields have actually been sprayed with insecticide while workers were in them, resulting in horrible rashes and skin diseases. The long and bitter struggle to bring independent trade unionism to the fabulously profitable agricultural industry has been resisted at every turn by employers and trade union bureaucrats alike.

In 1967, rather than negotiate with the striking U.F.W., the employers brought in the right-wing Teamsters' Union to cross the pickets and do scab labour. The Teamsters' Union, whose head was Nixon's chief labour backer in the last elections, has since been expelled from the American trade union congress for corruption in the leadership. But that hasn't prevented them from undercutting the U.F.W. wage demands, robbing them of their contracts with the grape and lettuce growers and giving employers and politicians the opportunity to label the issue as another "inter-union dispute".

Two U.F.W. members have already lost their lives and thousands more have been beaten up in clashes with police and scabs. But the union is still fighting, now with another weapon, the boycott, a weapon developed in Mayo during our own Land League struggle. Cesar Chavez, the farm workers' leader, has been crossing the country telling people not to buy Californian lettuce and grapes unless they bear the Aztec symbol of his union.

Meanwhile the international solidarity which is so vital to the farm workers' struggle is being organized here in Europe. The Transport Workers' and Shopworkers' unions in Britain are blacking Californian grapes and lettuce, and unions in Norway, Sweden and Denmark have taken similar action. American grapes don't come on to the Irish market until just before Christmas, but we must be ready to play our part in the international link-up by boycotting the fruits of scab labour.

Growth Of I.T.T.

workers ITT has found it necessary to indulge in such other activities as bribing Nixon administration (doesn't everyone?) and conspiring in the downfall of the Allende government in Chile with the resultant slaughter of thousands of workers. At the same time as they were working with the CIA against Chile, ITT were negotiating business deals with the Russian rulers. Obviously they find the "socialism" of Russia compatible with their own methods.

Anthony Sampson's book does much to expose the working of giants like ITT but it has two serious flaws. Firstly he attributes the expansion of ITT to its President Harold Geneen. Undoubtedly Geneen is a kind of Godfather, exercising vast power, but the machine has a momentum of its own and is too big to be controlled by one man. The need of every capitalist to expand has ultimately led to the growth of these industrial monsters. While Geneen decides in what way ITT will grow he has no control over the fact that it must grow. The big fish eat the little fish and the only way to survive is to keep growing.

Secondly, Sampson ends on a note of bewilderment about how control can be exercised over the multi-nationals, and with a hope that governments, sometime, somehow, will curb their excesses. However, the size and structure of multi-nationals make them immune to control by any government. Workers themselves will have to recognise their presence and strength and organise against them on an international scale. We cannot simply cast a vote every few years and hope the politicians will look after us when these corporations exert so much influence over governments every day.

Multi-nationals are an outgrowth and extension, the natural progression of the capitalist system, and like all capitalist businesses are most vulnerable to attack from below. The prime need for this attack is international co-operation and support across national borders among workers. It happened in a small way in 1971 when strikers at ITT's Spanish com-

pany SESA were arrested and workers in France, Germany and America held meetings and collected funds. It has happened at many other times but it will need to expand beyond individual cases and become a by-word of workers' action.

For this to happen we must become more aware of the presence of multi-nationals and make sure our fellow-workers become so too and develop an international outlook to combat them. It all comes back to where it starts – the workers. All capitalism, multi-national or not, rests on our backs, and only we can overturn it. By organising, educating and agitating amongst ourselves. By reviving our trade unions and organising our independent socialist workers' organisation.

G.K.

the worker

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Officials Try To Hide Confusion

THE EXPULSION OF Seamus Costello makes it clear that some Official Republican leaders are determined to purge every dissident voice from the membership. Costello's expulsion follows the removal of dissidents in Limerick and Galway and the resignation of several prominent members in the North who are increasingly disillusioned with policy-confusion and lack of internal democracy.

The confusion was never more messily expressed than during the UWC strike. Official Republican spokesman in the North, Jim Sullivan, said that the strike was fascist and the workers involved duped by "fascist politicians". The Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, which the Official leadership fully supports, called on the Army to move against the strikers to ensure essential supplies.

But Ann Harris, writing under the pseudonym "Ann Devlin" in the Irish People, glorified the strikers and pronounced: "When the southern capitalist press screams for the forcible suppression of working-class Protestant people by the British Army, that is fascism."

Confusion can go no deeper: one section of the leadership of an allegedly revolutionary organisation characterising the position of another section of the same leadership not just as unrevolutionary but just as reactionary; but as fascist! Yet to date there has been no authoritative statement from the Officials' HQ telling us, and their own membership, which of these positions is correct. (Actually neither is correct.)

It is this confusion at the top which makes it necessary for the leadership to snuff out any remaining internal democracy. If the movement was allowed to discuss such questions fully, and to ponder the glaring contradictions, the Lord knows where it would all end...

So anyone loud-mouthed enough to ask awkward questions has to be stamped on. In the circular announcing Costello's expulsion, cumainn were told that "he continued to contact cumainn and clubs on the question of an extraordinary Ard Fheis despite being directed on a number of occasions that he was not entitled to do so."

This comes from a movement which claims to believe in democratic centralism: the revolutionary-socialist form of organisation: and an essential part of democratic centralism is the guaranteed right of dissident, minority groups to organise within the movement for a particular point of view, or against a plan by the leadership to discipline or expel a member or group of members.

Whether Costello's disagreements with the Official leadership were justified or not from the Socialist point of view, and whether he was guilty of the offences originally alleged against him, is not the crucial point here. The crucial point is that democratic centralism supposedly guarantees precisely his right to "contact cumainn and clubs" to argue that he is not guilty, or to seek support for a special Ard Fheis or whatever.

The Official Republican Movement is not democratic centralist. Increasingly it is all centralism and no democracy — because that is the only way its leaders can defend their politics against argument from the

NATIONALISE THE GAS CO.!

FOUR OUT of five Dublin households use gas for heating or cooking, or both. Every week between 600 and 1,000 potential new customers come to Dublin Gas Co. for new appliances. But for months now the Gas Co. has been turning them away. The last few years have each seen new records for the company in sales of new appliances and the demand is still increasing. But the company is not trying to meet the demand.

Not only that: Dublin Gas Co. is actually turning down contracts to supply gas to new houses. At a big County Council housing scheme in North Dublin the pipes for mains were already laid when the Gas Co. decided to pull out. No explanation has been given. The company is handing customers over to ESB who have just been given another 16 per cent increase in prices.

Gas prices are rocketing up too. Bills have gone up nearly 200 per cent in less than two years. Residents' associations have started organising protests against high gas prices.

Dublin Gas Co. is not only treating its customers in a high-handed manner, however, it is also threatening its workers' jobs. As we reported in the last issue of THE WORKER, the unions have been asked to co-operate in making the company more efficient — and that means "rationalisation". But Mr. Allen, the General Manager, has put it more dramatically. In 'Business & Finance' he is quoted as saying that there could be "widespread redundancies" if the company does not expand at the same rate as in the last few years. And yet the company does not want to expand to new customers...

So what the hell is going on?

The Gas Co. has gone to the government for a second time looking for capital to finance its development. It is already trying to pay back a £2 million loan. Obviously the government is insisting on greater efficiency as part of the bargain.

But the Gas Co. directors want more from the government than just money. Earlier this year they got the government to force Esso to stick to their contract for naphtha supplies to the Gas Co. Now they want an assurance that they can get in on any natural gas that may be found off the shores of this country. As it is, some of the company's directors have already got their fingers in that

particular pie — John Reihill, head of Tedcastle's, and James Davy, stockbroker and director of the Bank of Ireland.

The Gas Co. directors want public money to help provide a public service — which they are doing less and less — but they are also involved in their own private deals. Reihill, for example, tried to negotiate a deal for Tedcastle's to supply oil to the Gas Co. when the Esso contract nearly broke down.

There's a particular difficulty about knowing what those private deals are because directors of the Gas Co., unlike the directors of any other privately owned firm, do not have to state what their other directorships are. The Gas Co. does not even have to lodge its records in the Companies Office.

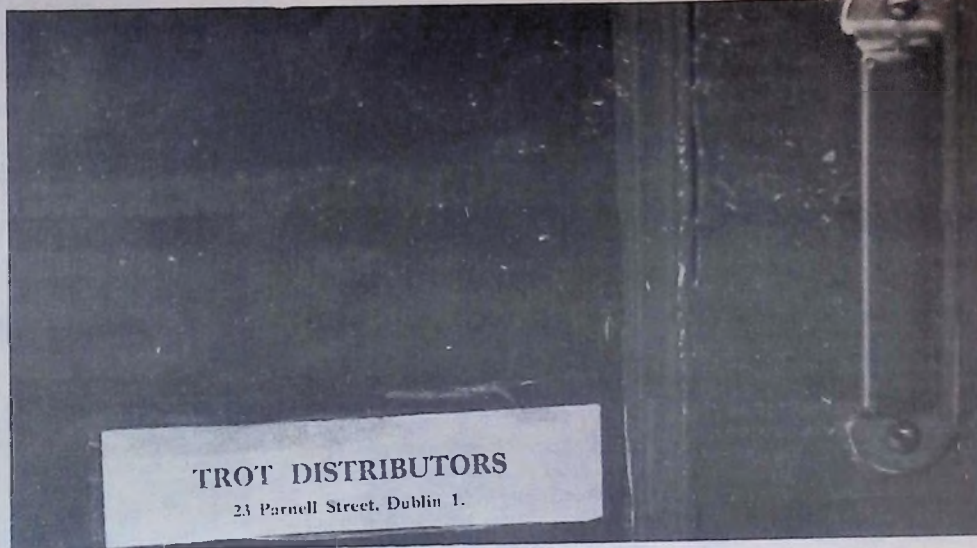
In the past couple of years the company's directors have done at least one deal designed to better their position, but nothing to do with bettering their service to the public.

They took a 50 per cent interest, along with Calor Gas, in the United Gas Co., which buys up town gas companies in some of the smaller towns, closes them down, and then supplies bottled gas to the area.

So, on that record, it may be that the Gas Co. directors are saving expenditure on installation work, and looking for government money, to finance their leap into off-shore resources. Meanwhile, they are toying with thousands of customers, and gambling with hundreds of jobs.

It is a scandal that a company on whom so many depend for basic services and for jobs should be able to operate so secretly. The unions representing Gas Co. workers — the Workers Union of Ireland and the Marine Port and General Workers Union — must demand that the books be opened immediately for a trade union inquiry into the company's affairs.

More than that, they should take up the call now being made by Noel Browne and Micky Mullen — of all people — for the nationalisation of the Dublin Gas Co., and make sure that it is not nationalisation with rationalisation of jobs and services, but nationalisation and worker's control over the running of the company and a Gas User's Council with delegates from tenant's and resident's associations with effective powers.



SOMETHING HERE FOR ANN DEVLIN...

rank and file.

The Officials' problems, in their present form, result from the attempt, over a number of years, to impose a phoney "socialist" perspective on to a traditionally nationalist movement. The move away from mindless militarism in the mid-sixties was a genuine swing to the left. But the ideology borrowed from the Communist Party, which came to dominate the thoughts of some of the most prominent members could not explain the traumatic events of 1969 and afterwards, nor could it, in the midst of those events, point a way forward for the membership at large.

The result was a widening gap between "theory" and practice. While dogmatic statements about the "stages" of the revolution came in profusion from Dublin, the rank and file, unable to relate these to the reality of the situation, drifted without direction, involved in everything from guerrilla war to the organisation of kiddies' play-grounds.

Constantly justifying its own position re-writing its own history and refusing to admit that it ever was wrong about anything, the leadership then reacted to inevitable expressions of disagreement and discontent by insisting on ever more rigid adherence to "the line". And "the line" became so close to that of the Communist Party that it takes a microscope now to discern the difference.

Which brings us to the thorny question of the "Stalinism" of the Officials. When Marxists make this allegation we do not mean that all, or a majority of the members regard Joe Stalin as their Guru. Very few do.

Stalinism refers to a political philosophy, and it is not necessary to believe that Stalin was a fine man in order to accept the philosophy. Tomas Mac Giolla and Cathal Goulding, for instance, do not think of themselves as Stalinists. But whether they like it or not — and for the sake of argument we will accept that they do not — their politics can be traced directly to Stalin's theories.

Stalinism lays down rigidly that revolutions happen, MUST happen, by "stages" and that it is "ultra-left" or "adventurist" to try to "skip stages". In the Irish context this means, first democracy in the North; then national unity; then socialism. In Chile it led to the disastrous alliance between the Communist Party, Allende

and the military. In Portugal it has led to the same alliance being constructed and we may eventually see there a reanactment of the Chilean tragedy.

In Ireland, in the North particularly, the stages simply did not correspond to the reality. As a result "dissidents" appeared, and were dealt with, not by open discussion of the issues involved, but, as has been said, by demands that they stop "rocking the boat" or get out. Some got out.

Those who defied this authoritarianism and still insisted on speaking for contrary ideas were isolated, vilified and slandered. All conception of fighting in a principled socialist manner gone, some leading Officials became dab hands at running whispering campaigns. This group of dissidents were common criminals, that group agents of a Trotskyist conspiracy and so on.

CRIME

Costello, for example, has been widely represented as a right-wing gun-man who is "against politics". This is just not so. Whatever his deficiencies, his voting record at successive Ard-Fheiseanna, and the record of those groups whom he has influenced, places him to the left of Gardiner Place. His real political "crime", was that he insisted on the continuing relevance of the national question when the movement's theoreticians decreed that we had not yet reached that "stage".

None of this is to deny that within the Official Republican Movement there remains a substantial body of hard-working people genuinely committed to socialism, and genuinely convinced that it is through the Officials that revolutionary change will eventually come. That goes for some people quite high in the movement.

Some of them will (privately) agree with much of this article, and claim that they are "staying in to fight" and that if they left they would have nowhere to go but the wilderness. Sooner or later they will have to realise that they are not dealing with the intransigence of a few individuals; that it is not a question of convincing a few bureaucrats based in Gardiner Place that such and such a decision was unjust, such and such a policy wrong.

The composed ideas and undemocratic attitudes of the Official leadership stem from a single source: pro-Moscow, Stalinist politics. And pro-Moscow Stalinists are not about to be convinced by reasoned argument that they have been on the wrong track.

Those who are convinced that it is best to "stay in and fight" must organise to fight. They must get themselves together: otherwise they will be picked off one by one. The other alternative is to get out and join a real socialist organisation.

Time will tell which of the alternatives works better.

EAMONN MC CANN

FESTIVAL

PUBLICISED in the British gutter press as a "terrorist gathering" with courses in "bomb-making" or "plane hijacking", the Official Sinn Fein's Anti-Imperialist Festival turned out to be a remarkably tame affair — so tame in fact that foreign correspondents were leaving after two days.

For Revolutionary socialists, the most obvious feature of the Conference was that, although it wasn't a "terrorist" gathering, neither was it a genuine attempt at extending links between socialists fighting imperialism. Delegates were overwhelmingly representative of orthodox Communist views. No delegates of trade unionists or shop stewards committees were represented.

The nature of the conference organisation — with tight control of questions (written and submitted to the chairman) and no questioning from the floor, meant that the delegates were merely 'spoon-fed' great dollops of Official Sinn Fein policy with little chance of critical or democratic discussion. This became too much for some Swedish delegates who wanted better replies than statements from Eamon Smullen, Sinn Fein Director of Industrial Affairs, that Sinn Fein have policies on redundancies and productivity deals, without any elaboration on how they were to be put into effect.

PROVO BOMBS CONTINUE... FROM PAGE 1

This is the basis of imperialism and so only working class politics can beat the influence of the SDLP over the Catholic workers. Instead of more bombs the needs is for an organised campaign against wage control and redundancies, support for strikes and rent agitation, a united mass campaign against repression, fights for democracy in the unions and womens rights, and the organisation of the advanced workers into a socialist organisation. All these things bring the workers up against the state and imperialism and form the basis for united working class action across religious lines.

The bombing campaign has had a much less effect on British power than a general industrial stoppage

would. The UWC strike was reactionary but it did show what workers action can achieve. Sunningdale was pulverized. The five-year bombing campaign has cost £65 million in compensation for damage to property (paid by the tax-payer) while the fourteen day UWC stoppage cost the economy £225 million. Northern Ireland has enjoyed excellent industrial relations. The number of man days lost due to industrial action per 1,000 workers last year was 152 while the figure in Britain was 328. The bombing campaign has by-passed the essential area of rebellion against monopoly capitalism — the shop floor.

The bombs have hardened the attitudes of the Protestant working

class against the anti-imperialist struggle. The campaign itself was not sectarian, but without political aims that meant something to Protestant workers, the bombs appeared to be directed at them when they blasted the Orange state that guaranteed their slight privileges.

When working class politics, among Catholic and Southern workers, could have won over Protestant workers in common struggle for higher wages, jobs, houses and an end to repression, the Provisional bombs have only angered the Protestants. There is a time for bombs as a tactic, but not as an overall strategy that divides the working class.