

the worker

FOR A WORKERS' REPUBLIC AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM



NEW DIRECTION NEEDED IN NORTH

The Newry blast which killed nine people is a tragedy from two points of view. Not only did it kill civilians accidentally, including three IRA volunteers, but it also demonstrated that the Provisionals have not learned from the mistakes of the past. The whole incident has provided an unexpected, but welcome, cover for the British Army which has intensified its search-and-arrest activities in the nationalist areas.

Many people in those areas were stunned by the massive military invasion but the resistance is reviving. The arguments between the people on the streets and the troops are becoming more frequent; the younger people are stoning again (some had never stopped).

The British Army is still attempting to keep a 'low profile' in spite of the original massive show of force to breach the barricades. The notices beside the road blocks 'apologise for the inconvenience'. The officers are unconvincingly polite to drivers whose cars they search.

But there are still many more among the troops, and many among the other security forces, who do not understand the purpose of Whitelaw's operation. He is attempting to beat the resistance by stealth as well as the force of thousands of troops (only slightly less than were deployed in the whole of Ireland during the 'Tan War'). Whitelaw has not yet won the battle for the minds of the nationalist population; he has not even won the conscious support of 'his own men'.

A patrol of soldiers goes down a Creggan street late at night shouting 'We are the Professionals', and call forth a stream of abuse. The U.D.R. road-blocks, manned by ex-B Specials, display the old, crude anti-Catholic bias. The R.U.C. co-operates openly with the U.D.A. in harrasing Catholics. These incidents fan out the flames of resentment on the old familiar lines.

Out of individual encounters with the troops, as well as from the meetings in the estates, the nationalist areas are winning back their confidence. In the Bogside, a man refuses to be searched, and a crowd quickly gathers, all refusing to be searched. The children throw stones at the armoured cars rushed in from the Middle East. Many of the young people at the meetings in Belfast are too busy throwing stones to worry about the speeches.

The Provos have shown that they are ready to take up the campaign again. In Derry, the riots must start again soon. The republican papers headline: RESIST. But does this mean we are back to the old style? The Newry bombing confirms the worst suspicions; we have gone back even further to a border campaign.

In Free Derry some have been stunned by the invasion. They follow the British Army's request to remove pro-IRA, anti-Army stickers from their windows. Many are wondering just how it was possible that the impregnable fortress could be taken.

TIMING

There is an immediate task of systematically building the confidence of the people. The Officials have been visiting houses in Derry asking people not to take down the stickers and posters. (They had them distributed within 24 hours of the invasion.) The Provos organise nightly sit-downs outside Army posts in the Creggan and Bogside. The news-sheets repeat the resistance message, but none of them care to ask why the invasion was possible and what Whitelaw's present strategy is.

The Provos' timing of their big push was their main mistake. It brought retaliation from the British

Army just at the time when the Nationalist population was least able to take it. It gave a further excuse for the SDLP to parley with Whitelaw, arguing that the Provos were deliberately keeping up the campaign in order to maintain internment.

LYNCH THE ALLY

The British Tories have won a temporary advantage. They have got the SDLP talking. Whitelaw's all-party conference has deluded some people that he, and the politicians who will talk to him, can deliver the goods. Whitelaw hopes to re-integrate the nationalist population into the system through the local elections. At the same time, Lynch, Whitelaw's most powerful ally, has regained strength from the mid-Cork by-election, and is continuing the harassment of republicans in the South.

This is not a situation which people can simply shoot and bomb their way out of. Enough shooting and bombing can only postpone a conference. But to make it completely ineffective would require greater political confidence and stronger organisation among the people.

If many in the nationalist areas have been intimidated by the military invasion, and if there are people who believe that the SDLP can squeeze real changes out of Whitelaw, then there has clearly been a failure of political leadership. Now, more than ever the Provos are forced to consider the political content of their military campaign. The Officials will have to ask themselves if their attempt to get back to the old Civil Rights-type agitation is likely to fire the imagination; there is little sign that it has done so.

LIMITATIONS

There are many who see clearly the limitations of the republican movement's strategies. They are members of both wings, and of none. They must now make their presence felt. They must call for an end to the

(continued on back page)

BUILD RANK & FILE OPPOSITION IN UNIONS ~ STOP COLLABORATION

We are beginning to get used to pictures of smiling trade union leaders meeting smiling industrialists and politicians. But what lurks behind the smile on their faces? It is the hope of the ruling class that they can use their 'friends' at the head of the trade union to solve their problems.

The bosses have found some valuable allies in their attempts to cut workers' living standards. The attacks are made necessary by a world-wide economic crisis which can be seen in financial disturbances and trade wars.

The role of the trade union leaders has been highlighted in the dealings on the National Wage Agreement. The second proposals were pushed through at a time when many workers were on holiday; the poll in the union ballots was lower. The information given out by some of the unions was totally misleading. The union bureaucrats managed to convince members that the second proposals were significantly different from the first - something that was quite untrue. Some officials who sounded 'principled' in their opposition to the first proposals suddenly discovered they had no principles at all. And all because the bosses said 'Boo'.

SAVIOURS

This role makes trade union officialdom a first obstacle to be overcome in organising to defend living standards and improve conditions. More and more the union chiefs are

presenting themselves as the 'saviours' of the National Economy. They are trying to use the credit they have among the working class in order to integrate them into the existing system. They see the organisations they lead as 'national unions' rather than class unions. To save the 'national economy' under the present system means to take an active part in attacks on the working class. The union bosses are more and more coming to play that part.

The very fact that the Irish ruling class is seeking the co-operation of the unions shows that they no longer have the resources to make any significant reforms. Their crisis should give us the opportunity to take big steps forward.

Why don't the trade union leaders take that opportunity? Their salaries, their cars, their frequent meetings with the bosses on the bosses' own ground, means that they come to belong to their world more than to ours.

CONTROL

The ruling class holds out the bribes of government appointments and other status jobs in order to tempt them. Although many officials have started on the shop-floor, they gradually become tamed. The very structure of the trade unions encourages this too. There is no effective (that is, daily and hourly) rank-and-file control. Literally thousands of meetings take place between union representatives and bosses of which the workers have no report.

The rank-and-file can only make its presence felt by consistent and unrelenting pressure. Too often we see workers in struggle give up after a few clashes. They face not only the state machine and the bosses, but also the guile of the union leaders. It is clear that without organisation they cannot win their battles - never mind the war. Without their own press to counteract the lies of the bosses' propaganda machine, they re-

main exposed. Without a clear idea that it is possible to change things, they retreat.

It is necessary to build an organisation of workers, active within the working-class movement, and independent of capitalist influence. It cannot be built in compromise with the bureaucrats who sell themselves for thirty pieces of silver. It will have to be built against them.

ALTERNATIVE

Without an alternative being made clear to them, many workers will remain loyal to the established organisations and leadership, however inadequate they are. The job which trade union activists must do is to build up pressure in the unions for democratic control and for militant policies. Unless this is done, we could face another defeat worse than the National Wage Agreement.

The trade unions are workers' organisations; they must be made to act in the workers' interests. The officials must all be elected, and subject to recall by the members. Their wages should be no more than the average wage of the workers they represent. All negotiations they take part in must be subject to the scrutiny of the members.

There are clear tasks for a rank-and-file opposition. But they cannot be confined to purely internal matters. The object must be to make the unions more democratic in order that they can better fight against unemployment and wage-freezes, for better social services and for political freedoms.

The campaign within the unions is a part of the struggle for socialism. In order to achieve workers' power - socialism - the working class needs its own political organisation active in trade unions and elsewhere. That is what we are building.

READ INSIDE: Productivity and Profits SEE PAGE 2

PRODUCTIVITY AND PROFITS

The parties recognise that they can contribute to the attainment of these objectives by encouraging co-operation between employers and trade unions in measures designed to raise productivity and by improving industrial relations.' (National Wage Agreement).

Productivity is a word that comes up more and more often in the speeches of politicians and industrialists. It seems to be a new god to whom all our working and living is dedicated.

The second National Wage Agreement - pushed through by some productive trade union leaders - is committed to increasing productivity. Productivity agreements or agreements with productivity clauses are becoming very common. Workers at the Santry plant of Chrysler (Ireland) recently accepted such an agreement; which brought them a £6 rise - but with big changes in working conditions.

Under the National Wage Agreement, where straight increases are limited, workers and trade unions may be tempted to accept productivity deals. Although the habit has been catching on in the last few years, the trade unions have done little or no research into the effects of these deals. Indeed, some union officials seem more than anxious to negotiate them - whatever their effects.

Trade union leaders, like the bosses, seem prepared to accept that wages should be tied to productivity: a dangerous trend, and one which can only be reversed if the rank-and-file take the initiative.

In 1971, real earnings in manufacturing industry went up 3.9% that is, after we have allowed for price increases and other deductions. In the same year, productivity went

up 5.7 per cent. Thus, the increase in workers' earnings was only two thirds of the increase in each workers' output. Small wonder, then, that profits have been climbing again.

In fact, this has been going on for a long time. The value of each industrial worker's production has increased 4½ per cent every year since the late 1940's. During the 1960's the rate of increase was even greater - about 5½ per cent each year. Needless to say, the standard of living of workers in industry did not rise at the same rate, whatever the bosses say about "wage inflation".

What does this mean? It means that employers have been able to reduce the part which wages take of their costs. It means that they constantly wring more out of each worker. It means they increase the profits from their companies.

The capitalist system is based on exploitation of workers but it also makes competition between bosses necessary. Every industrialist and every financier has to compete with the next one in order to survive. They have to increase returns on investments constantly. Each capitalist country has to compete on an international scale. Of course, if the system is seriously threatened they find their common interest quickly enough. But from day to day the bosses are constantly trying to outdo each other.

And who pays for all this? You guessed it - the working class. In order to compete, the capitalists have to increase their profits - and they can only do so at the expense of workers' wages.

That is what lies behind all the smooth talk about increasing productivity. The bosses can't always win by sheer force; they have to use persuasion as well - backed up by force.

You will notice that all the talk about productivity emphasises co-operation as well. In the 26 Counties this is institutionalised in the Irish Productivity Centre, which is jointly run by the Federated Union of Employers and the Irish Congress of Trade Unions. Maurice Cosgrave of the Post Office workers' Union, is its President.

This body makes a grant of £27,000 to the Congress for education of their members and their affiliates in the holiness of productivity. It organises joint labour-management conferences, and aims to develop "climates conducive to increased labour-management co-operation and understanding".

1969-69 was "National Productivity Year", and the trade unions played an active part in it. The Labour Court Report for 1968 states that agreements of that year included "undertakings on the part of workers...to co-operate in measures to increase productivity".

In that same year the value of each industrial worker's work increased 11½ per cent and prices rose 9 per cent. Industrial earnings went up 15 per cent - nothing like enough to cover the increased cost of living and increased output.

6 COUNTIES

The situation in the 6 Counties is similar. In 1970, wages went up 15% but prices rose 7½%, and productivity rose 8%.

In spite of all the evidence to show that productivity has been rising faster than real earnings, the trade union leaders still hold out the hope that the two can be linked. In 1965, a resolution to the Irish Congress of Trade Unions stated "that workers have been gravely disappointed at the fact that they have not effectively participated in the growth in national income to which they have contributed by rising productivity and increased production".

The harsh reality of the system is that it is designed not to have workers participate in the benefits for employers. Even an economist like James Meenan, himself a director of Maguire and Patterson as well as other companies, has admitted that "to link wages to some concept such as productivity is neither as easy nor as satisfactory as may appear at first sight".

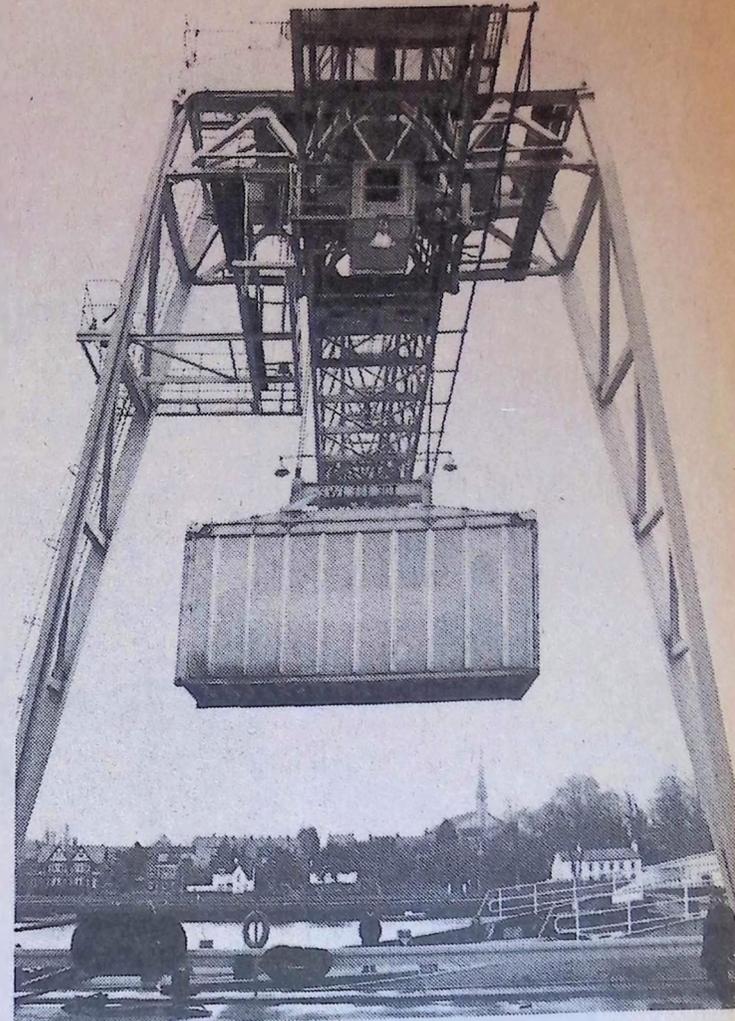
The trade unions go on accepting the need to push up productivity. This year's Conference of the Irish Transport Union heard Killeen, of the Industrial Development Authority, tell them that the way to better living standards lies in the achievement of higher productivity".

These methods are supposed to be "impartial" and "objective", but the real purpose is to prevent workers asserting any control over conditions themselves. How can you argue with a stop-watch?

But the stop-watches belong to management, and they are a means mainly of increasing productivity for the sake of profits. In the Chrysler factory at Santry, Dublin, the stop-watch has been used several times to increase the number of cars produced each hour.

JOB EVALUATION: This means fixing different categories of jobs, and rates for those categories. It might sound fair but again the effect is to tie the workers to a rigid system. The deal signed recently by the ESB Officers' Association for clerical workers in the ESB marks a big step backwards in creating a purely female category - with the appropriate low rates. How do you measure skill against speed? What's 'objective' or scientific.

NEW PROCEDURES: One of the ways workers have defended conditions and sorted out grievances is to say to the boss, "You straighten this out, or we stop work". Many 'prod deals' lay down long-winded and clumsy procedures, all of them designed to keep men at work, what ever else is happening. Long procedures always work to the advantage of the bosses:



Automation in docks means loss of jobs - the price of greater productivity

The point to remember is that, the capitalist system depends for its very existence on being able to push up productivity faster than workers' living standards. The threat of international competition is used to persuade workers to hold down wage demands and to increase output. We are told it is "in the national interest" but how can we have a common national interest in a country where 5% own 75%? The talk about co-operation and common interests is deduced to make us forget the big differences in wealth and power, to make us forget the fact of exploitation.

We do not want to see industry or agriculture remain inefficient. Every worker sees daily and repeated evidence of the inefficiency of the system. Indeed, we often hear workers say that the problems of this country could be solved with more efficient management. Nothing could be further from the truth; poverty and homelessness, unemployment and low wages will not be beaten as long as we live under capitalism.

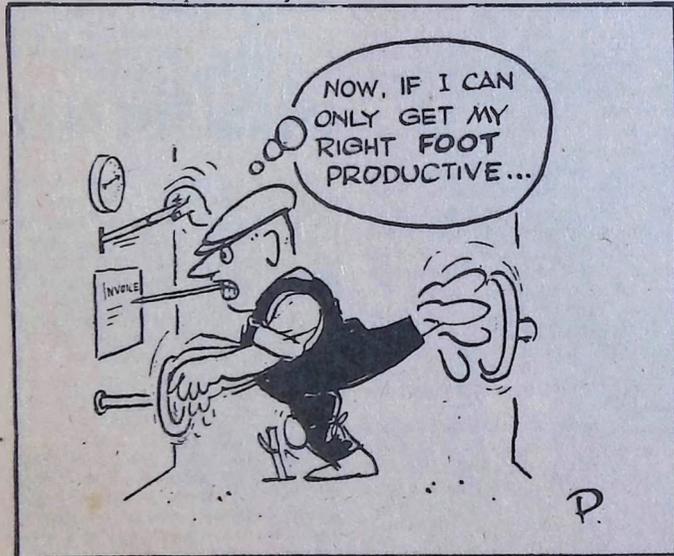
Some of the waste and inefficiency is actually necessary to the system at the crops that are destroyed to keep up prices. Look at the production of out-of-date models to keep up sales. Look at the millions spent on advertising that could be spent on housing and other basic needs.

Under capitalism production is for profit, not for use. Increased productivity is for increased profitability. It could mean shorter hours, more leisure, higher wages. Instead it means more shift-working, shorter meal-breaks, speed-up on the lines, and working under greater strain. It cannot bring real benefits until we have changed the system. Present technology and methods of production could guarantee a decent living for everybody, enough food for the people of the Third World - - - but only if the system was organised to satisfy social needs.

We are not against productivity as such. We are against a system which screws more out of the worker only in order to line the pockets of a few people who never work. In accepting the bosses' arguments about efficiency and productivity, we would only be co-operating in increasing the exploitation of the ordinary worker.

new form of dictatorship. It's done with the carrot, not with the big stick. The trade union officials have shown that they do not always respond kindly to the big stick - incomes policy and anti-trade union legislation. But they are taking the productivity and co-operation bait.

Joint committees and "participation" by workers hide the hook at the end of the line. Workers are being asked to join in reducing the number of jobs and therefore the total wage bill. The employers think they have a recipe for industrial peace. The price of a 150 per cent increase in redundancies is too high a price to pay for illusions of power. The rank-and-file must assert its own 'independent' (of union officials and of management) power; **NO PRODUCTIVITY DEALS!**



PROD. DEALS

Gouldings, ESB, Martin Mahony, Batchelors, Guinness, Unidara, CIE, are just some of the companies where workers are working under productivity agreements. These workers are a small, but fast growing section of the working class.

In Britain and the United States there are millions of workers who have experience of these deals. Their experience as well as that of workers in this country should be a warning to workers not to accept "prod deals".

What a productivity agreement aims to do is to give management full control over working practices and conditions, as well as wage levels. It aims to create a quiet and co-operative work-force, something for which employers will often pay some increase in wages. The aim is not always reached: recent strikes at Martin Mahony, of Blarney, and at Goulding's, in Dublin and Cork, have concerned the effects and the interpretation of productivity agreements among other things.

Usually, workers don't see their full content until they are operating. Management presents them as neat packages with apparent money gains for the workers. Very often, the deals are negotiated well away from the workers. Branch secretaries and management meet in plush offices and conferences rooms. The lia-

tenants of labour and the captains of industry decide the fate of the ordinary workers.

There are rewards too for co-operative trade unions. A deal signed recently at SPS, in Galway, promises the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union regular dues on a "check-off" system and a closed shop. But this is given in return for an agreement not to strike and to accept greater flexibility of labour.

This flexibility looks attractive to workers. Very often we're glad of a change from pulling and pushing at the same old machine all day. But the reason why workers have insisted on their own "custom and practice" in the past has been in order to safeguard jobs. When employers have created a multi-purpose worker, it's easy to see that the results will be redundancy. Often this concealed in "natural wastage"; that is, men leaving jobs are not replaced. But the end result is the same - fewer jobs.

Productivity deals usually include a few other basic features.

NEW PAYMENT SCHEMES: Work study, job evaluation and time and motion studies become the basis for payment.

In the October issue of 'The Worker' we will start an important series on the history of socialism. There will also be a major feature on the republican movement. Make sure of your copy. Take out a subscription now. See page 5 for subscription form.

MEAT PACKERS SACKED

Workers in the two factories of International Meat Packers face massive redundancies and a possible closure of both plants. The first signs of this came in March when the Leixlip factory, one of the largest and best of its kind in Europe, cut unemployment to three days a week. At that time, a spokesman for the company said that the short-time working would only last until July.

In July, however, the company called representatives to a meeting but refused to tell the unions what the meeting's purpose was. The Workers' Union of Ireland officials demanded to know what the business was before they would agree to attend. The management relented, and revealed that they proposed to sack 213 workers at the Leixlip factory and 117 in Grand Canal Street, Dublin. The sackings were to affect clerical staff, general workers and butchers.

The company announced that the proposed redundancies were recommended in a report by a time-and-motion study team which had been employed by the firm some months earlier. George Keegan, Branch Secretary in the Workers' Union of Ireland, demanded to see the report and the people who compiled it.

When the management refused his demand, he instructed members of the W.U.I. at Grand Canal Street to reject the redundancy notices. The union is insisting that it will maintain this stand until a report is produced which can be scrutinised by trade union representatives. It is now clear that no such report was ever prepared.

Meanwhile, the redundancies were taking effect in the Leixlip factory. The Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, of which most of the men there were members, had accepted the sackings, thus breaking the possible solidarity of the workers throughout the company. Already 120 of the men have been let go in Leixlip, and more will be laid off soon. The I.T.G.W.U. has only quibbled about the severance pay, making little or no effort to protect the jobs.

International Meat Packers was set up in 1967 out of an amalgamation of the International Meat Company and Irish Meat Packers. Two years later the company was taken over by Cork Co-operative Marts, who now own over 90% of the shares. Frank Quinn, the founder of the company, continues as chairman of an enterprise whose shares are worth £2 million.

In spite of this kind of backing, the company insists that it is in a serious financial situation, unable to pay overheads, and now losing money. Grand Canal Street, the smaller of the two factories, has a capacity for 1,000 cattle per day, but it is only taking in 300 per day at the moment.

The trends in prices have upset processing for export. Expansion on the home market has been halted. A Cork-based firm, Cadbury's Distributive Ltd., is taking supplies for hotels from Grand Canal Street. But this will not solve the problems of I.M.P. workers.

The Common Market countries recently reduced the external tariffs on meat by 20 per cent. This has encouraged buyers from Europe to come in increasing numbers into Irish markets. There is, in fact, a scarcity of beef on the world market, but it is taking effect in increased exports of living cattle. Exports of processed and chilled meat have remained static or declined.

Prime beef is scarce on the Irish market, too. Prices have been pushed up, and firms like International Meat Packers have thus been left in a weak position to compete internationally. The government has refused to restrict exports of live cattle, having previously given out big subsidies for breeding to build help up stocks.

Cork Co-op Marts don't lose in this situation. They can still supply the export markets for live beef. The losers are the workers in the I.M.P. factories. The crazy roundabout of quotas, tariffs, and soaring prices, is more than just a game. It is an anarchic economic system designed to boost profits for private enterprise.

Of course the bosses blame the workers. In each country they use threat of international competition to make the workers pay. In Limerick, the management of Clover Meats is blaming the pork butchers for supposed losses. 300 workers could lose their jobs there. The management has succeeded in setting one group of workers against another.

In the case of the I.M.P. the attitude of the Irish Transport Union has helped them to do this. They accepted the redundancies without a squeak, although they know the Workers' Union of Ireland was prepared to put up some opposition.

The only defence against these threats is for workers to build works committees in individual plants and in companies with several plants. This should be done immediately in Clover Meats. Apart from the threat to the Limerick factory, 58 men were laid off in the Waterford plant last year.

Workers in the meat industry must insist that their unions adopt a policy of total opposition to redundancies. They must take action to prevent the export of live cattle and the run-down of the processing industry. This only lines the pockets of the big-farmer friends of Jack Lynch and the boys. The workers must not pay the price of Common Market entry. Organise now to defend your jobs.

David Lloyd

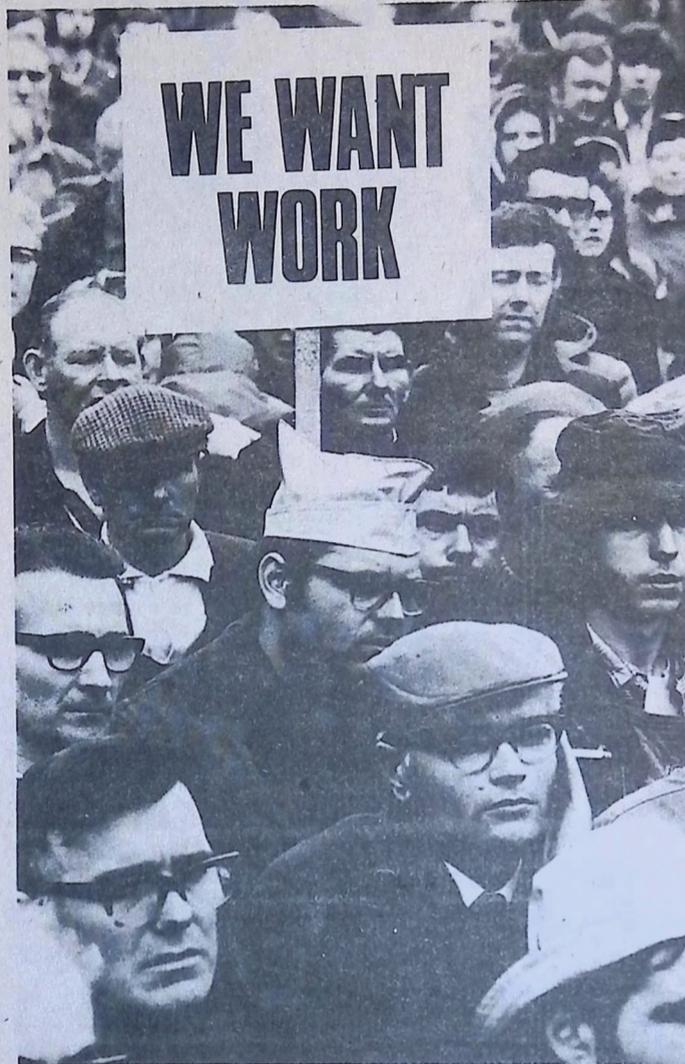
GALWAY FACTORY CLOSURE

The sacking of 30 workers in the Modes Modernes hat factory in Galway highlights once again the vicious turn of the crisis in the capitalist system.

This factory was opened in 1933 by a Mr. Phillipson, and was controlled by a small group of shareholders and a government nominee. Operations were directed from an office in Dublin.

In the early 1940s the factory

was employing about 250 workers, who were being paid the more-than-generous sum of 10 shillings for a 45-hour week. Thirty years later a week's work in the factory brought the workers £17, unless, of course, you were a woman on £10, or unskilled, on £13. Some time earlier when Phillipson divided the workforce into skilled and unskilled, he managed to avoid paying proper skilled rates — and he got the support of the Labour Court in this.



Sunbeam lays off again

Following hard on the heels of their closure of Mulcahy's hosiery and knitwear factory at Clanbrassil Street comes the sacking by the giant Sunbeam Wolsley group of 78 young workers at Bray, County Wicklow, plant of their Industrial Yarns subsidiary.

The management has used two tactics to persuade the 350 workers to accept this action. First, Sunbeam circulated copies of company reports showing that Industrial Yarns had a 'bad financial year'. Militants in the factory demanded a full

inspection of the company's books but this was not acted upon.

Second, Sunbeam served redundancy notices on a 'last in, first out' basis. This makes it seem as if the company is being fair, but it is also an old trick for dividing workers and making them accept the principle of redundancies.

The management spread the idea that workers could protect their jobs by accepting these redundancies. Most workers saw through this insult. They recognised that the first sackings were the only thin edge of the wedge.

All the signs are that Sunbeam will be cutting down on its wage bill by any means possible in order to face competition in the Common Market. More redundancies and closures in the Sunbeam group are on the agenda. Workers in the 22 subsidiaries, and in the main factory at Cork, should be prepared.

The management will explain that it is all due to the international recession in textiles. But workers will also have noticed that, recession or not, the bosses

By 1972 the work-force had dwindled to 30; the numbers had been falling steadily since 1963. It hardly came as a surprise when the final sackings were announced.

In June of this year, however, the factory had been working flat out. The company was actually having to turn away orders. Then, in that same month they went into voluntary liquidation. However profitable the firm may have been, Mr. Phillipson was not getting enough out of it for his own satisfaction.

The factory is on a valuable site. As soon as production stopped, site and factory went up for sale. It was bought for £67,000 by the Connacht Mineral Water Co. — a subsidiary of Arthur Guinness. This will help them centralise operations in the West. For a small-time capitalist like Phillipson the chance of £67,000 was too good to miss. No doubt he will be settling down to an affluent and peaceful retirement.

He will be engaged in a little bit more profit-making, too, however. Together with a former employee he is setting up production in Dublin of the same hats as were produced in Galway. The 'new' company bought the machinery from the 'old' company for a bargain £25,000. They will be selling to a well established market.

Phillipson can certainly look forward to a more comfortable future than the redundant workers in Galway. Some vague hopes were held out that they might save their jobs. But when no action had been taken by the end of June, when the machinery was moved out of the factory, it was clear that the workers had lost their strongest bargaining weapon — the occupation of the factory and the control of the machinery.

Only one of the redundant workers has found a new job. The others must demand, as an immediate step, that the Guinness subsidiary, Connacht Mineral Water, take them on. The company had a big part in their sackings, having persuaded Modes Modernes to sell. The workers should be prepared to picket the factory to force this demand on Connacht Mineral Water Co.

There can be no more waiting in the fight against redundancies. As the economic crisis starts to affect workers more brutally and more obviously, the fight must be taken up now.

Noel Grealy

SAME ONLY DIFFERENT

Victor Hanna's is a cosmetics firm in Dublin which employs about 35 girls at slave labour rates and in prison conditions. All work done is observed from a Long Kesh-style elevated glass platform. Any 'misdemeanour' by the girls is immediately noted.

There is a ban on talking and smoking. The toilets are off-limits for most of the day, and when they are open, they can only be used for three or four minutes before a supervisor comes looking for the girls. A refusal to work overtime or to work late more than twice a month can lead to suspension or even dismissal.

This firm not only treats its workers

like convicts, it takes the public for dupes. If it doesn't get young girls one way, it gets them another. The three types of face-powder produced in the factory are all the same. The only difference is in the containers. Yet the prices vary by more than 35 per cent, some of the cosmetic lotions are marked 'Made in Paris', although they are manufactured in Dublin.

Like all bosses, Victor Hanna is chasing profits at the workers' expense. The conditions in the factory only highlight again the plight of young woman workers throughout industry. They are perhaps one of the most exploited sections of workers — and one conveniently forgotten by the trade union bureaucrats.

David Lloyd

S.W.M.

The need for a coherent opposition within the trade unions was well proven during the manoeuvres on the National Wage Agreement. The most disappointing aspect of the whole affair was the failure of any political grouping with strength in the unions to organise against the sell-out.

The Socialist Workers' Movement did carry out a campaign on this issue. We produced a series of four leaflets which were distributed at union branch meetings, conferences, and at Congress. It is some mark of our success that one General Secretary was forced to condemn us publicly from the platform!

Our members argued opposition to the Wage Agreement in the union branches and sections, too. In the Clover Meats section of the Waterford branch of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, the opposition to the union's misleading leaflet and the recommendation for acceptance were successful.

A member of the Socialist Workers' Movement moved that the section reject the Agreement, condemn the principle of such agreements, and criticise the I.T.G.W.U. Executive for recommending it. This was carried unanimously — and in a section with no previous record of great militancy.

This is what a socialist organisation should be doing in the working-class movement — arguing and organising for militant policies. This is what we will go on doing.

Algerian clampdown

Imperialism can still exert a powerful influence on 'socialist' Algeria. This influence has been dramatically displayed in recent weeks.

Early in August a group of Black Panthers hijacked an American plane, and took it, along with a ransom of one million dollars to Algeria. The Algerian authorities have decided to return the money to America together with half-a-million dollars from an earlier Panther hijacking. It is possible that they may also deport the newly arrived hijackers.

A group of Panthers, led by Eldridge Cleaver, has been living in Algeria, at an expense of 500 dollars per month to the government for the past two years. They call their headquarters the American Embassy, and from it are organising the Afro-American Liberation Army. All the

Panthers there are on the run from the American police. America itself is denied ambassadorial status.

But since the latest hijacking, the Algerian 'socialist' state has moved on the offensive against the Panthers, with 15 police occupying their headquarters for three days.

The Panthers' illusions about the nature of Algerian 'socialism' have been rudely smashed. But why the about face from Boumediene? Do you think it could have anything to do with his government's new contract with the United States, to sell them liquid gas? The contract is worth two hundred and fifty billion dollars to Algeria!

More on Algeria — See Page 7.

'WORKER' SOCIAL with Folk, Blues and Fun

Friday, 15th September, 8.30 p.m.

Central Bar, Aungier Street, Dublin

Organised by Dublin S.W.M.

Gap between regions grows

The standard of living in the Hamburg area is nearly seven times as high as the standard of living in Southern Italy. That is the difference between the richest and poorest regions of the Common Market. Far from being 'common' to the whole population or to all areas, the prosperity which international economic links have brought has been confined to a small proportion of people in Europe.

The poor regions of the world are declining by comparison with the richer, more industrialised regions. This is no new development, nor is it confined to Europe. All capitalist countries draw wealth towards the centre, and towards the more developed areas. This is a process which began with the foundation of towns as commercial, and then, industrial centres.

The most extreme form of regional difference is the exploitation of the Third World. But even within the industrialised countries the same widening gaps can be seen. The prosperous metropolitan centres of Europe are situated around an axis running from Liverpool - London - Brussels - Rhine/Ruhr - Stuttgart/Munich as far as the industrial centres around Milan.

The outlying regions such as the North East of England, Southern Italy and, of course, Ireland, are starved of capital and essential services; schooling is poor, railways are shut down and the people are forced to emigrate. The agricultural potential of these regions is exploited to supply cheap food to the urban areas, but one of their most important functions is in supplying cheap labour for industries in the more prosperous regions.

The impoverishment of the regions on the perimeter of Europe is largely connected with the drawing off most of their valuable resource: human labour. Migrant workers from Italy, Greece, Portugal and North Africa make up 20 per cent of the work force in the EEC: a total of 8 million exploited industrial serfs, employed in the most menial and worst paid jobs.

The migrant workers do the dirty work for the affluent regions: a "cheap mobile work force" (Newsweek) which can easily be disposed of when a recession comes, as in Germany in 1967 when 400,000 foreign workers were sacked and sent home.

The economic advantages to the



Greek and Italian immigrants demonstrate in solidarity with fellow workers in Germany.

capitalist economy in employing cheap labour are considerable: the importation of ready-made workers constitutes a saving of between £8,000 and £16,000 for the importing country, since the cost of educating the worker - generally calculated as the value of between 5 and 10 years wages - is borne by the country of origin. There is also a further big saving for the host countries since most foreign workers in the EEC are young and don't have families who have to be educated and given housing. EEC policy ensures that older married men have little chance of getting jobs there.

There are two basic types of underdeveloped regions:

1. *Backward rural areas* (Spain, Greece, West of Ireland), where poor soil and overpopulation bring about a vicious circle of poverty and emigration.
2. *Declining industrial areas* (NE England, North of France, North of Ireland), that is regions whose economy is based on industries which are technologically backward and which are under constant pressure from the

more efficient industries in the advanced regions.

Inside these areas symptoms appear, which are generally a sign of their decline. Among these symptoms are: high unemployment, low income, inadequate services (roads, schools, etc.) and a high rate of emigration. Once these symptoms appear a vicious circle sets in: because services are poor and communications bad, capitalists are not willing to set up plants there, which again forces up the level of emigration.

Large sections of the EEC itself have been defined as underdeveloped and declining regions, the best known example being the South of Italy. On paper the EEC has a regional policy, from which the Irish government has promised much. But what has the EEC done about its own declining regions?

A recent EEC report comes to the conclusion that despite the existence of a regional policy, the poorer regions have become poorer in the last 20 years and the richer regions richer. The standard of living in the richest region - the Hamburg area - is almost seven times as

high as that in the poorest region - Southern Italy. More than a million Italians have been forced to emigrate to Germany, as well as hundreds of thousands from non-EEC countries such as Greece and Spain.

The attempts of the Italian government to develop the South shows the contradiction of a regional policy in a capitalist economy. The Italian government forced the state agency, IRI, to build a vast steel works near Naples and hoped that this, along with incentives which were if anything more generous than those offered by our own IDA, would attract firms to the South. But the expected flow of capital did not materialize - why should a capitalist build a factory far from the affluent centres where the markets are, when he can

The Directorate General for Regional Policy in the EEC estimates that in the period up to 1980 3½ million jobs will be needed in the regions of the Six (this figure will rise considerably with British and Irish entry). The cost of creating a job in these areas is estimated at £10,000 - most experts see this as an optimistically low estimate - which comes to a yearly investment rate of over £3½ million. This means that around 20 per cent of all new investment will have to be in the regions!

Not only is this impossible - what capitalist is going to invest 20 per cent of his available capital in the wilds of Mayo? - but it implies a drastic rise in the present rate of investment as the following table shows:

	New private investment required for regions	Annual Average	Total for whole country 1969.
Germany	11,608	1,161	15,836
France	17,500	1,750	16,224
Italy	52,500	5,250	8,490

(figures in millions of dollars)

force the poor of the South to come and work in his Northern factories? The steel works remain, as one Italian newspaper puts it, "A cathedral in the desert": a monument to the weakness of the state in the face of capitalist greed.

It is no accident that capital tends to concentrate itself in particular areas. Capitalism is based on the exploitation of the working class; the profit motive determines the behaviour of the bourgeoisie. There are compelling reasons, from a capitalist point of view, to site industry near the markets and where transport costs are low and other services are available. Along with this we see the increasing monopolisation of industry and its concentration into bigger units. The capitalist does not go voluntarily to the declining regions: he is not interested in dispensing charity and will only site his plant there if he is guaranteed a profit. Thus, 'problem regions' - such as Ireland are forced to bribe the capitalist to site his plant away from the markets.

The EEC is an organisation committed to increasing the profits of the large monopoly firms, and can, therefore, see no other way out of the problem of the declining regions than to bribe firms to set up plants there. As we have seen, these attempts have not met with success, but what of future plans?

Thus we see that the three countries listed (and the same holds for the other EEC countries) would have to increase their investment in the regions tenfold in order to reach the targets set by the officials in Brussels.

The evidence shows that there is no chance of closing the widening gap under the capitalist system. There are few economists - even those who support the system - who hold much hope for a successful regional policy.

In spite of this the politicians of Fianna Fail continue to pay homage to the idea of regional policy. They aim to confuse workers and small farmers that 'enlightened' state policies can solve their problems. The people of Southern Italy have shown their violent contempt for this attitude by rioting on the streets against the government.

What perspectives are there for Irish workers, especially those in the more backward areas? In the next article we will examine more closely the Irish economy in the context of the EEC and the attempts of the government and the Industrial Development Authority at regional development.

Jim Smyth.

'BUBBLY' BATHS FOR ALL?

A number of private properties have come on the market recently, heralded by glossy coloured pamphlets, quarter page ads in the national dailies, and full-page spreads in 'hobby' magazines.

"The house and amenities are imaginatively designed and planned and built throughout to a standard that will amply satisfy the most discerning taste". The brochures advertising the sale of the Long House, near Bray, are full of such mellow phrases.

The costs of advertising the house are more than the cost of building one Corporation dwelling. The price that some big businessmen will pay for it would build 100 Corporation dwellings. Many Irish families are finding it possible to live in half the space of this House's 'sunken living-room'. Few of them have a fully fitted kitchen with separate breakfast area.



Champagne Charlie

swimming people.

Thousands not only have no swimming pool; they have no bathroom, hot water, or inside lavatory. Some of the slums in Dublin today were slums fifty years ago. They have hardly improved.

Cornered between rent rises, and increases in the cost of houses, the worker looks at the luxuries of the few not with envy but with anger that these people can still utter pious words about "democracy" and the "national interest". He remembers, too, that it is precisely men like Charlie Haughey who carry the responsibility for soaring prices.

Speculators and builders are reaping the profits, while working-class families pay the price. Half of the tenants of Dublin Corporation are having to share their accommodation because of the waiting lists and because of the rents, Haughey, and others like him, who sell land at enormous profits to the Corporation, sound a bit hollow when they suggest what every family should have.

No doubt he puts that champagne in his swimming pool.



House prices have risen 76.8 per cent in five years, and land prices have risen over twice that amount. Mr. James Gallagher, T.D., Chairman and Managing Director of Abbey Homesteads Ltd., blames the 'wage earners - somebody always does. But Finbar Shanley, of the state-sponsored Foras Forbatha, has written ('This Week', 27 April, 1972): 'In 1960 an acre of potential building land cost £301 and developed land £1,110; in 1971 the costs were £2,500 and £7,000 respectively. We can safely say that the cost of developing the land did not increase from £800 to £4,500 per acre since 1960.

You can safely say that indeed; wages have certainly not gone up at that rate.



Somebody once said something about 'cherishing the children of the nation equally'. Charlie Haughey's horses are better housed than thousands of working-class and small farming families. He pays more on the

upkeep of one horse than the State pays in services for one person. The system only pays enough to keep a worker fit to produce more profits. Haughey once went so far as to suggest that everybody in the coun-

try should have a home, and that they should have a swimming pool near at hand. He can talk; he has a private swimming pool. Some of the estates in Dublin house 50,000 people; not one of them has a public

VICTIMISED!

WOMEN AND CHILDREN



Mrs Mary Magee lost her case in the High Court. She failed to retrieve a package containing contraceptive jelly which had been seized by the Customs. The jelly had been prescribed for her by a doctor, because Mrs Magee, the mother of four children, faces possible death if she has another child. In the face of this evidence, the judge continued to state that importing contraceptives into the 26 Counties was illegal. To Mrs Magee's plea that the Constitution talks about preserving the health of the citizen, Justice O'Keefe replied: "Irrelevant". To her argument that the State defends freedom of conscience, Justice O'Keefe replied: "Irrelevant". With impassive face, the judge re-inforced the position whereby contraceptives may be used, but not sold or imported.

SLAVES OF SLAVES

Two recent cases which were much publicised in the media have highlighted the plight of Irish women in 1972. Both took place in County Galway, but that is not to say that such discrimination is confined to any one part of the country.

The insults of Tony Scurrea, formerly of Ballygar, got more coverage than the cruelties against Mary Harrington, who, because she was forced to look after her children without assistance, was also forced to steal from the parish priest in order to feed her baby.

The power and wealth of Church and State were little use to 18-years old pregnant mother, Mary Harrington, who, because she was forced to look after her children without assistance, was also forced to steal from the parish priest in order to feed her baby.

For this she earned herself six months in Limerick jail. Even in Italy they have a law which forbids the imprisonment of pregnant mothers.

Judge Durcan, well-known for his class-biased judgements, delivered her sentence. Mary was just another victim of his justice, and of the discrimination against women. In delivering his sentence, Durcan remarked: 'I know your sort'. Recently he refused to sentence two young shoplifters because they came from 'good families'.

Oliver Flanagan and the Bishops everywhere see the family under attack by evil influences. There is none more evil than poverty and the arrogance of those who defend a system which produces it.

Last month, too, Mr. Tony Scurrea caused such confusion and resentment with his remarks about girls in Ballygar that he slipped away unnoticed with machinery and profits paid for and supported by the Industrial Development Authority.

It was the I.D.A. which had encouraged him to set up shop in Ireland, promising him that girls would work for £4 a week. Scurrea was scandalised when they wanted £6 or

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Too late! Too dirty! Too lazy!



£7 for a 45-hour week. He did not stamp their insurance cards. He had them trained by an Italian girl who could speak no English. He promised six months training, yet he was complaining when full production was not reached in three months.

Ballygar is only a more dramatic example of conditions for young women workers today. During the tourist season such discrimination is particularly widespread. Girls are forced to wash and clean hotels for a pittance. Anybody who talks about union organisation is out on her ear. This kind of exploitation helps Bord Failte boost the super-profits of the Ryan and Costelloe hotel groups.

Scurrea's exit is no loss. But the Ballygar girls can expect little better from the next 'industrial developer'. The I.D.A. has 'hooked' a factory for the town that will pay the princely wage of £8.50.

Men would not work for such money; and perhaps it's just as well for people like Mr. Scurrea. He might have got more than he bargained for.

The fight against this discrimination is a fight which all workers must take up. As long as employers can divide workers in this way, between highly and lowly paid they can weaken the ability of the whole class to resist. The I.D.A. must not be allowed to encourage the divisions with their cheap labour policies. The trade unions should demand to be present at all negotiations between them and industrialists.

Modern technology should mean that humans have more control over their lives. It gives us this possibility. It gives women the possibility of deciding how many children they will have - surely a basic right. Yet in this country a woman cannot even choose to avoid pregnancy if her very life is in danger.

Between minding children, looking after husbands, and working, thousands of women hardly have time to think about anything else. They do not have the chance to participate in running society. If they try to play active political and social roles outside of the home, pregnancy, and work, they find a thousand and one obstacles in their way.

Women are made to produce as if that is all they can do. They are told about the 'joys' of motherhood by people who have never experienced them, and who cannot experience them. They are told that contraception is murder.

But what does it really mean that two bits of watery matter do not meet to produce, maybe, a baby? It means a great deal to some women that they do not have another mouth to feed, that the children they already have don't miss out because there are more than they can afford. Sex should be an enjoyable part of a relationship between two people. For many married couples, it's a nightmare from which they never wake up. Celibate priests, cardinals and bishops use their powers to make it so. They force people to accept their ideas about unlimited families when

it should rest with each couple whether or not they will use contraception.

A person may feel it is morally wrong to limit their family, but it is hardly the function of the State to make sure that there is not a contraceptive in the length and breath of the land. Have you ever noticed how many other things are left to individual judgement? Church and State defend individual enterprise in business, but not in matters that are most intimate.

A recent survey by 'This Week' showed that 39 per cent of men and 29 per cent of women were in favour of universal contraception. Yet the State is so tied up with the Church that it enforces its code, and blocks peoples' freedom to follow their own consciences.

There will be few people found in the 26 Counties who do not condemn discrimination against Catholics in the Six Counties. We all recall how a Northern Prime Minister described Stormont as a 'Protestant Parliament for a Protestant people'. Yet in the 26 Counties we have a Catholic constitution, and a special place for the Catholic church. The Church itself has more political power in the South than any church in the North.

In 1951 the Bishops opposed Noel Browne's Mother and Child Scheme on the basis that each parent must have the freedom to do as they wish with their children. The scheme was intended to give mothers proper attention before birth and to teach them basic facts about the care of

CARE MEMO HAS NO ANSWERS

CHILDREN DEPRIVED, the Care Memorandum on Deprived Children and Children's Services in Ireland; Editor: Seamus O'Conneide. Price: 50p.

In 1970 the Irish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children dealt with 4,000 children in 'neglect' and nearly 400 who had been assaulted or ill-treated. What the I.S.P.C.C. deals with is a small part of the tip of an iceberg.

The glossy CARE memorandum sells a message rather similar to the aristocrat in 'A Tale of Two Cities' (Charles Dickens) who, when his horses nearly killed a poor child in the street, got down from his carriage and warned the staring crowd to keep their children of the streets for fear they might injure his horses! The message is not a strange one to hear from the tiny minority who own 90 per cent of the country's wealth.

It's more disappointing to hear it from people who otherwise have a rather different attitude. CARE's call for the reform of children's services goes: "If we are not moved by considerations of justice and charity there is a third argument which can be stated thus: the deprived children of today are the dependent adults of tomorrow; if we do not provide for them adequately today we will have to support them and their families tomorrow".

Good, sound capitalist propaganda - better to build improved houses (and prisons) now than spend more in safeguarding the property of the capitalist class in later years. There is no suggestion in the report that the children have a right to an equal



share of the wealth which has been appropriated from their forefathers by the ruling class.

The one good feature of this report is the gathering together of some horrifying facts and figures about the condition of working-class children in Ireland today. However, the facts are selective, and there is no attempt at explaining how they came about. Thus it is no surprise that the editor and the Council of CARE have failed to produce any positive and lasting suggestions for the ending of such horrors.

A salaried worker, with an income of about £2,000 a year, and with four children, can get a tax remission of £186 for his family. An industrial worker with an income of less than £1,000, and with four children, gets no tax remission.

It may not be immediately obvious, but there is a lot of hypocrisy and doublethink on the authors' part. At 50 pence the report is aimed at a middle-class audience. The writers didn't want to offend the managerial and professional classes who, they hope, can exercise some influence for mild change. At least, they have to hope that, because they belong to those groups themselves.

They would not like to suggest that there is any injustice in the fees charged by their barrister colleagues, except possibly for one or two cases. But on occasion those fees are equal to the annual income of a skilled worker. They do not wish to offend the District Court judge

their babies while they were in hospital. So apparently parents have the 'freedom' to look after their children as they wish, but not the freedom to limit their numbers. Of course, if you have money you can find your way round most laws (apart from the fact that those with money make the laws). A middle class woman can have the pill prescribed because the doctor will find that she has irregular periods or heavy blood loss. But it still acts as a contraceptive. Mrs. Magee couldn't use the pill because they don't have the doctor's fees.

Large families weigh particularly on working-class and poorer people. Very often the mother has to work thus increasing the burden. It is small wonder that one fifth of the children in the 26 Counties live in greatly overcrowded conditions.

Women have played an active part in the national and class struggles in this country. In the Six Counties they have been the backbone of the fight against internment and the continuation of the rent and rates strike. In the South they are especially active in the tenants' associations now battling with the government.

Have they done this to be informed from the High Court bench that a wife is her husband's property? Women are condemned to uncontrolled pregnancy. They are paid miserable wages.

Some men believe that they gain by this situation. But as more men than women are being made redundant, more of them are having to depend on the much lower incomes of their wives. No working man benefits from the way women are treated. Forced to escape from a home overcrowded with children, men, too lead a poorer life. Forced to work extra hours to feed extra mouths, he has little time for anything else.

They are saying in the North that British Imperialism can enter their homes and lives, but it can't enter their minds. We are allowing some destructive influences to occupy ours. As long as this continues, the freedom of the Free State is a figment of a perverted imagination.

S. Duncan

who has to survive his miserable £4,000 a year.

The child who has stolen because of poverty has little chance when he comes up against such affluent opposition, even when he is helped by the more charitable members of that class.

CARE cannot face up to the facts which are staring at them: deprivation, poverty, and cruelty are the products of a class society which systematically prevents the development of free, healthy individuals with sufficient standard of living not to have to commit petty crime.

The report has been out a few months. CARE sponsored a Day of Action to publicise the issues and win support for their campaign, since then little or nothing has happened. (Except that fair-minded judge No. 1, Cearbhall O'Dalaigh, has been packed off to Europe to give out international fair play at £17,000 a year!)

There are nearly 200,000 children dependent on parents or guardians receiving social welfare.

CARE believes in its own middle-class liberalism. It cannot take the fight for children's justice into the areas where it really matters, i.e. into the poor working-class areas of our towns, organising workers in the struggle for a society where the real crime will be exploitation, and where the real rehabilitation will be the freedom of the working class.

WHAT WE STAND FOR

SOCIALIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT

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

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

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

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

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

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

Imperialism

International capitalism operates in Ireland through British imperialism's military, economic and political

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

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

Irish capitalism, Green and Orange, is wholly integrated into the world system. Because of this, the mere unification of Ireland, or the removal of British troops, cannot in themselves mean the defeat of imperialism in Ireland. There is no independent republic this side of the Workers' Republic. Only by the uniting of the working class can power be taken from the Orange and Green ruling class minorities and victory be won over imperialism.

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

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

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

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

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

Workers struggles

The Socialist Workers' Movement fights for:—

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

- adult wages and adult rights for workers at 18;
- free and comprehensive health service;
- end to means-tested benefits;
- minimum wage for the unemployed and pensioners;
- one family—one house;
- emergency housing programme and expropriation of all building land;
- tenants' control of estates, including rents;
- full social equality for women;
- 24-hour nurseries;
- income for small farmers and agricultural labourers on parity with industrial rates;
- division of large estates under control of local farmers;
- the building of a genuine co-operative movement among farmers and fishermen;
- nationalisation of hunting and fishing rights.

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

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

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

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

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ACCIDENTS AT WORK INCREASE

It takes a tragedy such as the fire in Noyeks, where eight workers lost their lives, or the collapse of a trench in Balbriggan killing a worker to raise questions in our minds about safety in general, particularly about the physical conditions we have to work in.

When we suddenly wonder how we would escape if there were a fire of see some obviously dangerous machinery or procedures used day in day out, we realise that we don't know who is responsible for these things, or what channels, if any, are open to us to ask questions or voice an opinion. Unions seem uninterested, management is uninterested, and which of us has ever come across a member of the Industrial Inspectorate?

One person who doesn't seem to have any doubts about who is to blame is Joseph Brennan, Minister for Labour. In the introduction to the latest Report of the Industrial Inspectorate he says "... workers are not taking the precautions necessary for their own safety, a matter which is altogether separate from the responsibility of managements".

The blame is laid clearly at the workers' feet. He is involved in accidents which kill or maim him out of 'carelessness, indifference and bravado' according to Mr. Brennan. Not a mention of the Department's responsibility of seeing that workers are

getting the protection which the Factories Act, the Office Premises Act and the Mines and Quarries Act are designed to give them.

The Report informs us that the number of premises to which the Factories Act applies is 17,567; the number of mines in the country is 12, the number of quarried 759. The number of Inspectors provided by the Department of Labour to visit all of these and report on contraventions of any Acts, is ... 33!

Legal proceedings were, in fact, instituted against 22 factories, 1 mine and 7 quarries and were proven in all cases. Unfortunately, we have no way of knowing from the Report whether these proceedings came about as the result of an accident which had already resulted in death or injury to workers.

As for the trade union hierarchy, one wonders who's side they are on. John Carroll, Vice-President of the I.T.G.W.U. had this to say when he addressed the Annual Conference of the National Industrial Safety Organisation: "We in the trade union movement have got to pressurise our members into due observance of the safety code as laid down to govern work methods and also govern our general conduct in the workplace".

And management? Is it not their responsibility if a worker in Galway falls over a 2½ ft. "barricade" into a tank of water with a temperature of 220°F (boiling point is 212°F)? Who is to blame if the scaffolding

register (which a contractor must keep, by law) states that a scaffolding round a 15-storey building is in "good order" when after it collapses they discover that only 26 ties connected it to the building instead of 148 — the minimum deemed necessary?

"As a rule managers ... are too concerned with production to pay sufficient attention to accident prevention and are blinded to the waste in accumulated loss of time and damage to facilities that is going on around them". For 'production' read 'profit' and notice that it is taken for granted that managers would not be worried about loss of or damage to workers. Money that doesn't go into safety requirements goes into someone else's pocket ... and it's not the worker's.

If the rate of increase of fatal accidents continues — and it is recognised that "the position is getting worse rather than better" — then 72 of us will die in the next year, and probably because of some risk which we are expected to take as part of our normal duties. Some months after the fire in Noyeks, the following insert appeared in the newspaper, and a similar letter sent to all clients and customers:

Mr. Sam Noyek and Mr. Ivor Noyek and families wish to convey their sincerest thanks for your very kind concern and consideration at the most unfortunate circumstances resulting from the recent fire at the premises of Messrs. A. Noyek & Sons Ltd. Dublin.

The large number of enquiries and expressions of sympathy received on this tragic occasion have been most deeply appreciated by all members of our staff and management. To be indisposed is to be owner of a factory where eight workers are killed in a fire. Make sure your boss is not 'indisposed' — refuse to work in unsafe conditions!

M. McADAM

MORE POWER IN HANDS OF FEWER

Ben Dunne buys Cassidys; Quinns-worth, Powers, Penneys and Brown Thomas link up; Goulding and Fitzwilliam Securities merge. Those of us who predicted that entry into the EEC would speed up the rate of mergers and takeovers can hardly have expected that the change would be so immediate and so dramatic. Entry into the Common Market gives access to one of the largest and fastest growing markets in the world, but it also opens Irish industry to fierce competition — not only abroad, but at home as well. Irish businesses must consolidate and expand, faster than ever before if they are to compete with the enormous corporations and cartels.

Small firms have little chance in that race. Their weak position makes them an even more likely target for the larger firms to swallow them up. The giants gain further control of markets and increase their profits in one blow.

This concentration of power in the hands of fewer people and fewer firms has been accelerating in the last decades. It is an inevitable part of the profiteering system.

Mergers and takeovers concentrate assets such as capital, finance, land, labour and in the hands of the large companies. The most common type of merger is the buying up of a smaller company by a larger one operating in roughly the same industry. Some of the gains for the capitalists can be seen in the fact that Gouldings shares doubled in value immediately after the merger with Fitzwilliam Securities.

The Sunbeam Wolsey group started a buying spree in 1965 when it took over Salts (Ireland) Ltd. It bought several textile firms in the following years, but now things have been turning sour. The company is 'shaking out' subsidiaries which are

causing problems — Mulcahy's, Woolcombers, and Industrial Yarns.

The intention of mergers and takeovers is to increase a company's ability to stay the course, but in this case, the international textile trade is in recession. It has to compete with synthetic fibres, produced more cheaply. In this anarchic system, the workers pay the price — Sunbeam have laid off an average of two workers every working day of this year.

Mergers give companies more capital, and they usually use it to increase automation and cut wage bills. The result is again lay-offs and closures. Production is made more "capital-intensive", that is, it uses less labour.

Some workers seem tempted to oppose mergers in isolation from the rest of the system of profit. But a call on capitalist governments to stop monopolies is a call for them to act against the most powerful interests in society. Legislation against trusts and monopolies in a capitalist country is never so harsh as to really threaten them.

It makes no sense to talk of fighting monopoly capitalism without opposing the system in all its aspects. Labour Party, Communist Party and Sinn Fein supporters often seem to be saying that this is possible. What they are really saying is that workers must limit their demands in order to work with small businessmen.

One effect that mergers do have is to concentrate workers in such numbers that they can come to recognise their own power. It is only the collective force of the working class that can change the system where technology and automation are used against people not for their benefit

WORKERS' CONTROL IN ALGERIA?

Ten years ago, Algeria achieved independence. After eight years of bitter struggle and great sacrifices the National Liberation Front (FLN) seemed to have led the fight against French imperialism to a successful conclusion. The Evian Agreements signed with the French government sealed the issue.

Even as this was happening other big changes were taking place in Algeria itself. Workers and peasants occupied factories and estates. These led to the workers' self-management experiments, formalised by Ben Bella leader of the new regime, in 1963. Some people have seen these experiments as evidence that the Algerian revolution was a socialist revolution and that Algeria today is a socialist country. This is far from being the case.



To understand the experiments in 'workers' control' we should start not from the decisions of Ben Bella, or the political orientation of the National Liberation Front, but from spontaneous offensive of the workers in the town and in the countryside during the summer of 1962. This followed the flight of the European minority from the country, who left estates and properties vacant.

A number of industrial and commercial firms, as well as big agricultural estates, were occupied by the workers. They took control of them and started production on them again. This was the expression of a deep and authentically revolutionary phenomenon, which by its own logic questioned the content of the Evian agreements and the capitalist regime in Algeria. What Ben Bella sanctioned in 1963 was an accomplished fact.

Mohamed Harbi, who was the 'left' theoretician of Ben Bellaism, has described this phenomenon. After talking about the death throes of the ultra-right wing OAS, the exodus of the European owners, the disintegration of the National Liberation Front, and the absence of an organisation coming out of the resistance movement which would have been able to take over, he went on to say:



"This had always been the dream of the masses: the seizure of the property from which they had been expropriated and defrauded, was within reach. The limiting clauses of the Evian Agreements did not bind them, and those that were bound by them were no longer there to stop them. THEY HAD BECOME THE POWER. By taking over the abandoned property the working people

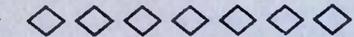
expressed their wish to come on to the economic and political scene and to become the governing force"

(Chartre d'Alger)

"Self-management is the conscious codification of this spontaneous revolutionary process, born in August 1962 during a period of social crisis in Mitidja and the plain of Orleansville" (May 1965 issue of *Economie et Politique*).

Of course, the masses had not become the power but they had gone a long way towards setting up the embryo of their own power. At the same time they were beginning to organise along class lines in the General Union of Algerian Workers (U.G.T.A.). The National Liberation Front had always declined to organise the workers in the towns.

The Management Committees were the first rough version of Workers' control over one sector which by force of circumstances was then to be nationalised and become the property of the State. But of which State? Of the one being rebuilt, on the bayonets of the national army and which, to use M. Harbi's phrase, was bound by the Evian agreements. It was being built precisely to guarantee the main terms of these agreements.



The fate of the self-management committees hinged on the struggle which took place over the five years between 1962 and 1967, the struggle between the working class and the new bourgeoisie. With the development of the consciousness of the workers grew the new ideology of 'State Capitalism' - the ideology of the dominant class. This group had to clash with the rising working-class whose interests at every level were hostile to those of the bureaucratic elite. The gradual stifling of autogestion ('workers' control') and the elaboration of the whole machinery of State control represented a victory for the new bourgeoisie.

With the election of the new assembly in 1962 and the formation of a new government, Ben Bella consolidated his personal position as head of the Government. At the same time the exodus of the Colons (French settlers) left over two million acres of land unoccupied, a thousand industrial enterprises, thousands of small shops, and over 200,000 housing units in Algiers alone. The workers and peasants (fellahs) began to occupy them.

The political leaders were completely unprepared for the mass exodus of the colons, and even more for the swift action of the Algerian workers. The Tripoli programme had assumed there would be a gradual and orderly transfer to Algerian capitalists. It was obviously important to



French 'paras' in operation during the Algerian War - the people's tenacity drove them out

them to create well-defined and permanent organs of management under the control of the Government. They could not allow key sectors of the economy to remain in confusion and uncertainty. The Government had to gain control over these groups which had acted spontaneously and outside the framework of legal government. But it was also important - to retain control - to elaborate an ideology that would hold in the spontaneity of the workers.



In a speech to the National Assembly Ben Bella remarked: "These management committees, democratically elected, will allow a real economic and social improvement for the workers, who will, under this system, be closely associated with responsibility for their concerns."

In March '63 came the famous decrees which handed over all vacant enterprises to Workers' management. All this was no more than responding to the existing situation, and in time this 'power' of the workers had been nationalised and credit was in the hands of the State.

This same state when it had been set up, started by banning the Parti de la Revolution Socialiste (P.R.S.) and the Algerian Communist Party in November 1962. It consolidated the National Liberation Front as the sole representative national organisation.

The leaders of the UGTA (Algerian General Trade Union) wanted that organisation to remain independent, and to represent the interests of the working class. However, they saw this purely in terms of trade union activity, believing that the working class could achieve power through such activity, and not recognising that it was necessary to bring the workers involved in self-management into the political field. The workers themselves had, after all, taken over on the economic front, but because they did not see the connections with politics, they did not take the fight into the political arena and resolve the question of dual power. They dallied for too long.



In January 1963 the UGTA held its first congress at which the leadership expressed its opposition to a 'State Socialism' which allowed "the petit-bourgeois spirit to persist and ...the exploiters to profit from the situation, re-inforcing their privileges and consolidating their hold on the banks, discount houses etc., and slowly but surely squeezing the life out of the self-managed industry".

This began officially in April 1966 with the creation of the National Bank of Algiers which was responsible for credit to the self-managed sectors. The credit was controlled by the Government. They could with-

hold credit, precipitating a financial crisis for the workers and giving themselves a 'legal' excuse to take control of the factory. By this method the Algerian Government began taking away the hard-won gains of workers.

The lessons from the experience of the Algerian workers in self-management are enormous, not only in themselves, but also for the workers of the world. It proves that mere spontaneity of the workers is not enough. A truly revolutionary organisation was needed, which could have brought the struggle forward from the battle on economic issues to the direct seizure of power. To have gone beyond that, the Algerian workers would have needed a revolution in France, but there, too, there was a vacuum. There was not even any French left-wing groups calling for solidarity with the Algerian workers. There was no attempt to expose the terms of the Evian agreements. Indeed, the French Communist Party condemned some left-wing opponents of French policy in Algeria.



The task that faces the Algerian workers today is the creation of a revolutionary organisation of their own, one which would take power on their behalf and which would allow them to carry on the fight to make Algeria a Workers' State.

KEN QUINN

ELECTION PACT IN FRANCE

The French Communist Party and the Socialist Party have agreed on a 'common government programme'. They intend to put it into practice if they win a majority in the next General Elections due to take place in Spring 1973.

The reasons for the agreement are simple: the 'Union of the Left' is the way for Francis Mitterand's Socialist Party, and even more for the Communist Party, to win government places. It's a narrow path - and it is not even paved with good intentions.

Since 1947, the French Communist Party has been systematically excluded from any ministerial appointment, even though its candidates have regularly won 20 and 25 per cent of the votes. Since 1958, all

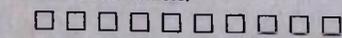
non-Gaullist politicians have been excluded. The Constitution of the Fifth Republic set up a semi-presidential regime, and the laws on elections have allowed the Gaullist Party and its allies to preserve a monopoly of power up to now.



In these circumstances, the non-Communist Left tried to win away Communist voters without making any concession to the Communist Party. The Communist Party, however, saw the problems one of finding men or parties who wanted to 're-integrate the party into the life

of the nation'. In other words, they wanted somebody to enter an alliance with them so that they could have government positions again.

Thus in 1965, Mitterand, who at that time belonged to a small group to the right of the Socialist Party, and who stood against De Gaulle for the Presidency, got the support of the Communist Party because he announced that he did not intend to exclude Communists.



Mitterand and the Communist Party have to do two things: they have to make themselves credible to the voters (even if only just credible), and they have to remain firmly on the grounds of the capitalist system.

This makes them afraid even of the ideas which their own slogans about 'changing life', and 'living better' might encourage. A programme which really proposed to do these things could arouse and mobilise the workers. That's not what they want at all.

They have taken great care not to write anything but vague promises into their programmes. They do not promise any fundamental answer to the problems of the working class, whether on questions of wages, hours of work, or working conditions and living standards generally. The only precise promise that they make that there would be a minimum wage of 1,000 francs a month. But the majority of workers today are earning more than 1,000 francs. Even Chaban Delmas the Prime Minister who has just been replaced by Messmer, promised the same thing to take effect over the next 18 months! All the other promises are made in the vaguest terms, with a repeated insistence that they can only be put into effect gradually or at some unspecified future date.

It is still quite possible that this programme could arouse some hopes among French workers. They certainly want big changes. The danger is that they will see in this programme not what the party leaders have actually put there but rather their own demands and their own hopes.



This is already true of the rank-and-file militants of the Communist Party and their supporters. If in the coming months this programme does find a big echo in the French working class it will be the task of revolutionaries to persuade workers to extract precise and detailed promises from the Communist Party and the Socialist Party, and to get workers organised to prevent the parties which claim to represent them from betraying them.

SYLVIE FRIEDMAN (LUTTE OUVRIERE)

LOYALISTS DIVIDE

BY MIKE MILLER

In mid-August, in the Standard Bar, deep in the loyalist Shankill area of Belfast, was blown up, and 60 Protestants injured. One week later, the UDA was back in the streets of Belfast to voice its lack of faith in the Army's Operation Motorman designed to contain the Provos' bombing campaign.

The organisers of the march pre- that 20,000 would answer their call. Only 5,000 turned up. The reason for the poor response is not hard to find. The British Army, the police, and the Ulster Defence Regiment are carrying out many of the UDA's demands. Many loyalists are willing to wait and see how far the state forces are prepared to go before they risk any show-down with the troops themselves.

At the same time the splits within loyalist ranks over aims and tactics have widened over the past weeks and months. The supposed united front has fallen apart.

The collusion between the British Army and the UDA is as solid as ever and Whitelaw's refusal to call in any of the 106,000 guns legally held by Protestants has further cemented that alliance. The road-blocks are jointly manned by the UDR and UDA, whose members sport their guns openly. This, along with the failure to arrive at a coherent political perspective for the loyalists, has sown the seeds of confusion.

The divisions have been expressed, to some extent, in crude class terms. The excerpt from the 'Orange Cross' gives an example of how grass-roots Protestant thinking is being

shaped. Some people have mistaken this for a turn to socialist politics. A prominent Vanguard and Young Unionist member, Frazer Agnew, warned his colleagues that "the present mood of Northern Ireland Loyalists could result in a Loyalist Socialist revolutionary movement. The Loyalist working class can no longer trust the Unionist middle class. They realise that they have been exploited for nearly fifty years and as a result of their loyalty the social conditions of the Protestants of the Shankill Road are no different from those of The Roman Catholics on the Falls Road".

CONFUSION

Loyalist workers recognise that Unionist Party and Orange Order leaders have different class backgrounds from themselves. They consider that they have 'betrayed' them by collaborating with the British government whose interests they now also see as different as their own. But they are not making any direct connection between the class nature of the leadership and the 'betrayals'.

They imagine that 'loyalism' has been betrayed — and not the loyalist section of the working class. They see themselves as the only inheritors of true loyalism. That is why they criticise the middle-class Unionists. It would be utopian to imagine that they could go any further without a conscious revolutionary socialist presence among Protestant workers. That could only come from an

organisation which has shown itself willing and able to oppose all aspects of imperialism in Ireland, in particular the Southern ruling class's collaboration with the economic and political domination of the whole country.

The failure of the republican movement on this central question has made it unable to get across to Protestant workers. The absence of a real alternative explains why there is such confusion in the loyalists' break with the old leadership.

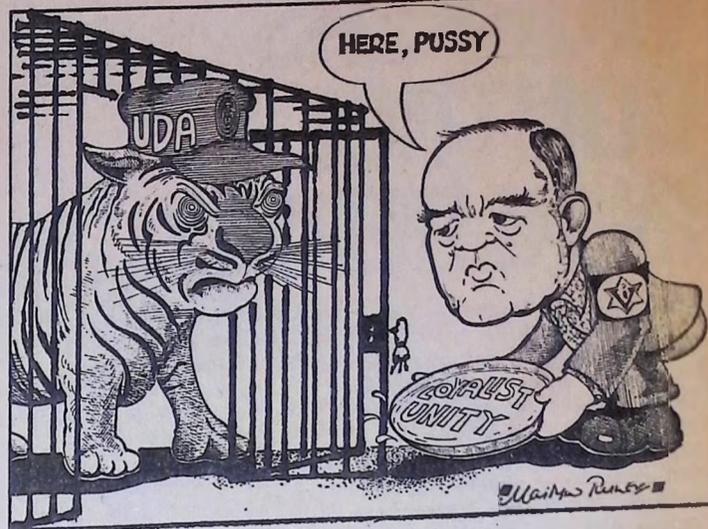
METHODS

The divisions within the Unionist ruling class itself have meant that it is unable to unite the loyalist bloc. There are those who find salvation within the British perspective for "more rational" political and economic system in Ireland as a whole; There are others whose future depends on a return to the corrupt Unionist control. The 'unity conference' founded on those divisions. The Unionist leaders could not agree on methods of dealing with their rank-and-file organisations. They need them — but they also fear them.

There may still be temporary united fronts among loyalists on very specific demands — as, for instance, on the no-go areas. But the issues on which such an alliance might be built are running out as final decisions on the Six Counties come closer.

PERSPECTIVE

To turn the working class disillusionment with middle class politicians in a socialist direction requires the intervention of a movement with a perspective for immediate socialist struggle in the 32 Counties. This would mean spelling out the alternative to Provo sectarianism and the sterile, middle class social policies. It would mean going beyond the Officials' limited perspective for bourgeois democracy in the Six Counties.



Robin Kinahan is a so-called Orangeman in the well known Eldon L.O.L. No. 7 and has not a good reputation as being very brotherly. Robin is also a Unionist and we wonder just what kind of Unionist he is and we don't wonder that Stormont has been disbanded because of such men in our ranks. Our old friend Mr. Money seems to play a very important part in Robin's life and it could well be that he must guard his very large interests in Free State breweries and other businesses. Yet Mr. Money speaks all languages — even that dead and decadent tongue Gaelic. Yes Chairman of the Ulster Bank, Inglis Bakery and Bass Charrington is well represented in the shape of Robin Kinahan but are the Loyal Ulster People? Where are the working class spokesman or women on this commission? Need we really go thru' with this farce — this charade — this HYP—OCRISY. We reject it out of hand as being composed of yes men (and women) and as being an illegal body constituted as a negation of Democracy.

— Reprinted from the 'Orange Cross', "the voice of the Loyalist Political Prisoners".

From the 'Orange Cross'

At last we have seen the creepy-crawlies come out of the wood-work to take their place in Willie Whitewash's Commission and we ask you as sensible people who on earth (never mind Ulster) do these well-fed middle-of-the-road — moderately represent?

Can they speak for you on the Shankill or Ballymacarrett or Sandy Row? What do they know of your troubles, your fears or your heartaches? How can they purport to speak for those when they don't even know? Their homes are well out of the troubled areas and invariably they have a 'Country House' as well as one on the Malone Road or some such other affluent district.

British Workers on the move

British dockers have voted to go back to work, but by the time you read this a national strike of building workers could be in progress. Over the last few months, in industry after industry, workers have responded to the Tories' attack on wage levels and living standards with a militancy Britain has not seen since the 1920's. In the face of working class opposition the Tory Government's policies are beginning to crumble. The response of the working class had been the opposite to what the Tories expected. Already in the first six months of this year more days have been lost in strikes than in any full year since 1926.

ATTACKED

A drastic drop in profits and the need to prepare British capitalism for entry into the EEC led the Tories to make a two-pronged attack on workers' living standards. Unemployment was shoved to over a million, the 'Fair Rents' Act which will double council rents in the next four years was rushed through parliament, prices in the shops were encouraged to soar to EEC level, and the Welfare State has been cut back enormously. This was a direct attempt to solve the problems of British capitalism at the expense of British workers.

Workers' organisations were also attacked. The Industrial Relations Act — which followed the lines of a similar Bill by the Labour government — tried to smash industrial militancy. By taking power away from shop stewards and factory floor organisation and by strengthening the power of the trade union bureaucracy the government aimed to weaken the trade unions.

The government's policy of keeping wages down to a 'norm' of 7 per cent has been clearly smashed; miners, railwaymen and teachers are among those who have received rises well above this 'ceiling'.

'FLYING PICKETS'

Building workers are the latest group to come out against the Government's



Dockers in a heavy sea of police founder on Transport House

pay 'norm'. They are calling for a basic £30 for a 35-hour week, and longer holidays, for all building workers. Already more than 200,000 workers are on strike. The trade union leaders tried to confine the strike to a few selected sites, but flying pickets have spread the strike all over Britain. In many places the flying pickets have even brought non-union sites out on strike. Rank-and-file pressure may force the unions to call an all-out national strike of building workers. UCATT and IGWU, the two main unions involved, have now started using their 'flying pickets' in order to prevent the strike getting into the hands of the more militant workers.

Workers are increasingly using more aggressive tactics in the strikes. Earlier this year the miners, since the war one of the least militant groups of British workers, won a rise of 22 per cent. Mass picketing and the help of other workers in sympathy strikes closed a number of power stations and were a major factor in the miners' victory. Factory occupations have been a key weapon in a number of successful struggles against redundancies.

The use of the Industrial Relations Act against the dockers particularly sharpened the struggle. By jailing four dockers the government brought the T.U.C., pushed by rank-and-file pressure, to threaten the first general strike since 1926. This

threat lead to a quick government retreat. In the national dock strike that followed the use of 'flying pickets' by dockers was a key weapon. Co-ach-loads of strikers toured the smaller ports which were still working and closed most of them down. Although the dockers have accepted the latest employers' offer and have begun to return to work, it's clear that major trouble will continue in the docks in the coming months.

TENSION

Even groups like women night cleaners, one of the most exploited and least organised groups of workers, have taken militant action recently. Night cleaners at a Ministry of Defence building in Fulham have just won a rise of £4 per week, and a big improvement in conditions after a 2½ week strike. During the strike blacking by other trade unionists who service the building brought the Ministry to the point of having to close the building if a settlement wasn't reached. The strike has now spread to cleaners in other government buildings.

The trade union bureaucracy has played a very ambiguous role in most of these struggles. Although the Trade Union Congress threatened a general strike they have repeatedly warned against 'inflationary' wage claims', and are at the moment engaged in talks with Heath about an incomes policy. Over the coming months rank-and-file committees will have to take on the trade union bureaucracy as well as the employers and Government. In the dockers' strike we have already seen growing tension between rank-and-file militants and unions leaders.

URGENT NEED

The general attack on the working class, in particular the use of the Industrial Relations Act, has made the relevance of socialist politics to the working class more obvious than at any time since the 1930's. There is an urgent need to build a revolutionary socialist party within the working class. In the coming months the immediate job of socialists will be the building of Councils of Action of industrial militants and delegates from Tenants' Associations in each area to unite the workers' struggles in the area.

NEW DIRECTION NEEDED IN NORTH

(continued from page 1)

counter-productive attacks on civilian targets. They must ensure that the armed struggle is controlled by the need to rebuild the mass resistance movement. They must ensure that the movement is given clearer political tasks, and that the goal of a 'Workers' Republic', towards which so many say that they are aiming, is made a real live issue.

The resistance movement and the socialists within it, have always been under pressure to answer the most immediate questions, and deal with the most recent repression. Its perspectives have been effectively limited to the ghettos. It is possible and necessary to go beyond this.

While Free Derry is under military occupation, industry in the Derry area is also on the decline. Jobs are being lost in the shirt factories. Recently a textile firm, Ewart's, closed in Belfast, leaving over 300 people without jobs. In July the deep-sea section of Belfast docks were on strike for a week over bonus payments. The Whitelaw administration is talking about new foreign investment to 'create new jobs'. The ruling class is concerned with broader things — so must the resistance movement.

The officials talk daily about 'socialism' and 'non-sectarianism'. If they were to be taken seriously in this, they would for instance link the fight against repression with the fight against unemployment. The widening class splits in the loyalist front make it even more imperative. If they had fought successfully for this perspective, they might be able to use the local elections as a platform for socialist ideas. As it is, their willingness to take part in the elections marks a further slide into reformism.

The forces to re-orient the struggle exist within the republican movement and among the population which supports it — not, we believe, in the purely militarist leadership on the one side and the reformist leadership on the other. Both, in their different ways, have middle class nationalist perspectives. These have led to defeat in the past. They can lead to defeat again. They must be opposed by the rank-and-file of the movement with a clear call for socialist politics in the struggle against imperialism.