

the worker

Paper of the Socialist Workers Movement

There's a revolution going on

"THE Socialist Workers' Movement? Sure, that crowd's gone mad on Portugal! Meetings, leaflets, pamphlets, posters - all you ever here is Portugal, Portugal, Portugal. You'd think there was a revolution going on!"
There is.

THESE SOLDIERS and workers may soon be part of the only worker's state in existence - or they may have died in the attempt to build it. Our fellow workers in Portugal have opened a road to workers' freedom that can only be closed again by massive right-wing repression. What's happening in Portugal can not be over-estimated. The crack in the Portuguese ruling class which allowed the workers to open the door to socialism was a product of the crisis facing the ruling class in all countries. Portugal was merely the most vulnerable.

To be a socialist in Ireland without paying the closest attention to the events in Portugal is a contradiction. A victory for the workers there would change the political face of Europe. A socialist Portugal could not survive in a sea of capitalism, yet its very existence would be an example and encouragement to workers in other countries - including our own - and the fight to defend it against the political and economic attacks of international capital would advance the struggle for socialism in other countries.



On Page 7 there's a report on the events in Portugal from an SWM member recently returned from there, and a report on our fraternal organisation in Portugal, the PRP-BR.

KILL THIS BILL!

'WHAT ABOUT the bombers?' was the shout from the hall when a speaker at the Labour Party Conference attacked the Criminal Law (Jurisdiction) Bill. By such crude methods the Coalition government and its supporters want to make us forget what's at stake in the Bill.

The dwindling democratic freedoms in Ireland will be reduced even further if the Bill becomes law. And the government aims to ensure that it will be law before Christmas. Like the heckler at the Labour Party Conference, or the party leader, Mr Corish, delivering his hairshirt-Budget and law and order speech, they try to make out that all opponents of the Bill are 'condoning murder' or supporting terrorism.

which last July urged the dropping of the Bill because it contained 'unrealistic clauses with regard to the giving of evidence at a trial in the South in connection with an offence committed in the North'.

During November, trade union opposition to the Bill was taken several steps further when dozens of rank and file representatives supported a call on the Labour Party TD's to vote against it.

The resolution went on: 'We believe that the passing of the Bill would strengthen the repressive machinery of the state which may be turned against the working class and trade union movement at a time of increasing economic difficulties.'

'We consider that the provisions of the Bill represent an intolerable interference with the rights of the citizen by allowing arrests and searches without warrant, allowing evidence to be given in the absence of the accused, and increasing the penalties for a range of offences.'

'We are opposed to the closer co-operation with the Northern courts and RUC which this Bill proposes.'

The Bill originated in the Sunningdale agreement of two years ago. The lurches to the Right since then mean that the Dublin government is writing formally into the statute-book full-scale co-operation with any future Loyalist-dominated government in the North.

There is, of course, no justice in capitalist society other than the justice which protects the interests of the capitalist class. When their control is threatened, justice becomes rougher.

Even though it may not be successful, the trade union opposition to the Criminal Law Bill underlined that, whatever confusion the government, or indeed republicans, may wish to introduce into the matter, repression is a class question. A stronger state is a stronger weapon for use against the working class.



Read inside:

Industrial reports on: Dobson's Fibres; Unidare; Siekemans; Mackies; Smurfit's etc.

Reports on The Resources Protection Campaign; ANCO; Irishwomen United; The Republican Feuds.

Portugal; the Lebanon; etc. etc.

Long cold winter ahead

United action against freeze can warm it up

AT LEAST two recent reports on the economy—by the National Economic and Social Committee and by the Central Bank—have, very conveniently, come up with the one cure for the economic crisis—pay restraint, of course. These reports give a 'scientific' gloss (suitable for use in newspaper headlines) to the government's call for a pay pause in 1976 and the crude threat of legislation to enforce that pause.

wages fall

For the first time the OFFICIAL figures show that wages have fallen below prices. And since the official figures have underestimated the fall in real wages for years, we get some idea of the damage done to the pay-pocket by the last Wage Agreement and the present one. About a quarter of a million workers have had wages frozen for months.

The bosses are firing, or aiming, more artillery at the workers than ever, as they scramble to get capitalist Ireland in on the hoped for economic 'recovery'. Thousands of workers in the private sector have been hit by the 'inability to pay' clause and the government cynically uses this as a reason why they shouldn't pay 'special' increases to the 'favoured' and 'secure' public sector. But there is absolutely no way that a wage cut by an ESB worker can induce an employer in, say, Callins International of Shannon, to pay a wage increase. Now the government have pleaded inability to pay (anybody but the

TDs and Ministers, that is) which prompts the question—since when do governments have to be 'competitive' and 'viable' as if they were selling socks or something.

Bank workers are to have their wages curbed by the law. Yet the banks are recording profits of over £100 per week per worker. And throughout industry workers are to be asked to kindly take a pay cut while profits start to pick up again: Barrow Milling—£146,000 for the last six months (a 62 per cent increase over the previous six); Irish Ropes £529,411 for the past year; Finlay Packaging £91,000 for six months; Lyons Irish Holdings £267,026 for six months (75 per cent increase); the TMG group had double the 1974 profits in the first half of 1975 and Smurfit's had their second best year ever (getting rid of 750 workers in the process).

Socialist and trade union activists must immediately prepare the ground for a campaign against any wage freeze, voluntary or legislated. Without a doubt the trade union leaders will push the next thieving pay package and we must build up local Shop Stewards Committees and the opposition within the unions so that, this time, they will be defeated. Even now, all strikers that break the Wage Agreement or look for increases due, must be given solidarity and pressure must be put on the full-timers to make these struggles official.



Our views on terrorism are explained inside (page 4). Terrorist methods are not socialist methods. But all socialists, whether in the Labour Party or outside it, must oppose a move which puts such drastic powers in the hands of the bosses' state.

There is, says Mr Cooney, 'a great yearning in this island for peace,' and so he proposes to add to the repressive (violent) machinery of the state to bring it about: millions of pounds on new prisons; the army recruiting 40 new members a week; massive deployment of troops on the streets at the slightest provocation.

The biggest organisation opposing the Criminal Law Bill can hardly be accused of terrorism. It is, in fact, the slumbering giant of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions



The Northern crisis has spilled over into Britain in a similar way. Quite apart from the passing of the Criminal Law (Jurisdiction) Act there, the more recently proposed anti-terrorist legislation allow for arrest, detention and interrogation in conditions which make a mockery of everything 'British justice' is supposed to stand for.

Lame Labour Left

THERE ARE people who even after that circus in Dun Laoghaire in November continue to believe that it is possible to fight for socialism through the Labour Party. More than that, they assert it as the only possible way. But their demonstration at that Conference of how this is to be done was very unconvincing. They knew that the show would be stage-managed and manipulated yet they seem hardly to have prepared and co-ordinated their efforts.

Liaison's public meeting in Dublin days before the Conference was a general discussion of political traditions in this country. Only SWM members at the meeting raised issues of immediate agitational relevance. Mattie Merrigan wanted us all to work on getting the best out of the worker participation proposals from O'Leary.

At the chaotic Liaison meeting held during the Conference he presented the 'Left' strategy inside the Labour Party, to win nominations for left-wingers to stand for Labour at the next General Election. But

according to Corish that Election is 18 months away. So what do the 'Lefts' do all that time?

If they were to follow the advice of the 'Militant' group inside the Labour Party they would get branches to hold meetings on unemployment and invite trade union leaders like Mickie Mullen to speak at them.

What purpose would that serve? It would strengthen Mullen's credibility as a left-winger even though his union sells jobs every week. But it would not strengthen the organisation of the rank and file to fight redundancies. Indeed, the Labour 'Lefts' do not even raise that problem.

In order to justify their position inside the party they point to the party's growth. In another breath—and for another argument—they have to admit that the new members are mainly middle-class and place-seekers, or both.

They say that they can point their ideas to 1000 delegates. And then they admit that most of the delegates have had their minds made up for them by

somebody else.

They say that it has been proved 'time and time again' that the working class turns to the Labour Party. Nothing of the sort has been proven. And even when many radical workers did join the party six and seven years to turn it left how was it so easy for the leadership to rat on every agreed position?

In all the talk about getting the party to adopt a 'bold socialist programme' the Labour Lefts do not offer a single idea how such a programme is to be brought to workers, how they are to fight for it, and where it came from in the first place.

It is certain, as the Labour Lefts say, that the worsening economic situation will place great strains on the next Coalition government and on the Labour Party. Their 'absolute perspective' that the party will turn left under the pressure is neither absolute nor a perspective. It is simply a pious hope.

R.P.C. NOT ALL

Praise for state companies

ROSY

THE EASIEST possible answer for a trade union official to give to the massive unemployment is to say: it would all be different if the state had control of our natural resources. But to the unemployed worker, or to the worker in a backward industry living under the threat of the sack, it is no answer at all.

Yet this is the answer which quite a number of union leaders and some left-wing groups have latched on to. In supporting the Resources Protection Campaign, they also go on to say that state enterprise in this and other areas can answer the economic crisis.

The Resources Protection Campaign demands that the state should take full control of the development of oil and mineral resources and of industry based on the raw materials they would supply. Their National Promotion week during November was held under the slogan, 'Irish Resources and Irish Jobs'. It strongly

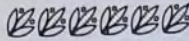
emphasised the employment potential of an industry based on the resources.

The potential exists — that is certain. But to put it forward as an answer to present unemployment is not just misleading, it's an effective "blind" from the real and immediate answer: to fight to defend every existing job and to shorten the working week. In that fight the strength of the employed workers must be brought to the aid of the weaker unemployed.

Michael Mullen, General Secretary of the I.T.G.W.U., frequently attacks the government for their failure to halt unemployment, but while he goes on to talk about how jobs could be created through nationalisation of natural resources, he doesn't make a single proposal about tackling the present unemployment and redundancies.

The Resources Protection Campaign public meeting held in Liberty Hall early in November turned into a

hymn of praise for state companies. It was actually started with a promotion film for Bord na Mona — made over ten years ago — showing Charles Mitchell in the part of a Bord executive with short back and sides. It wasn't meant to be funny, either.



Several of the state companies had co-operated in the R.P.C. exhibition in which the displays informed us that the state-owned Irish Steel Holdings, for instance, had taken over a bankrupt private firm in the 1950's and built up to a firm employing 1000 people in 1974. True — except that in 1975 the plans were implemented to cut the work-force down to 670.

CIE plan to cut back by 1800 jobs; ESB have stopped recruiting and are using "natural wastage" to cut jobs. In several state companies there have been wage-cuts or a pay pause is threatened.

State companies operate within a private enterprise system and under the pressures of that system. The

R.P.C. is doing rank and file workers no service by pretending that they are something different. Of course, they can be put under mass political pressure more easily than private companies. But that pressure is only as strong as the mass organisation of the working class, particularly those in the state sector. The present line of the R.P.C. and its trade union supporters is a recipe for passivity on these problems.

The R.P.C. has usefully documented the scandalous way in which the potential of the oil and mineral resources has been placed in the hands of profiteering speculators. But you can't beat the power of international capitalism with nationalism and state capitalism. The demand for state enterprise in this area must be linked to the demand for workers' control in that enterprise.

"Star" speaker at that Liberty Hall meeting was Scottish miners' leader, Mick McGahey. His comrades from the Communist Party of Ireland were there to applaud his every word. In their reverential enthusiasm they may not have noticed how he unwittingly delivered a warning to the Resources Protection Campaign.

"After the war", he said, "the British state took over the coal-mines, and we thought everything in the garden was rosy. We were wrong. Everything was not rosy".

Clipping wings in Waterford

DOBSON'S Fibres, on the Industrial Estate in Waterford, is typical of the fly-by-night vultures attracted to this country by the Industrial Development Authority, over the years. The Dobson workers have been trying a little wing-clipping on this particular vulture.

The benefits of investing in Ireland are advertised by the IDA in the international trade magazines, offering such irresistible incentives as: factories completed and ready for occupation (now, there's a thought); high development and machinery grants; tax-free holidays, and last but not least — "a fully trained adaptable and disciplined work force". Not surprisingly, the quick buck brigade of international capital are not blind to the opportunities for easy profits and, sure, couldn't they always pack their bags when the tax-free holidays finished — or if the workers lost their "discipline".

Many workers did, and the Industrial Estate has seen long and bitter struggles as in Douglas Overton Gears Co. etc. The workers in Dobson Fibres are the latest to demonstrate some "indiscipline", and no wonder. The male day workers get £30.40p per week, while the females get £2 and shift-workers get the princely sum of £39 for a 42 hour week including week-end shifts. This is all before tax.

The ITGWU full-timer didn't seem too pushed about the situation, and when the workers tried negotiations through their shop steward they got the remark that the company's Irish and English directors were, "too busy for such trivial matters". So, early in November, they struck. This development induced enough interest in the ITGWU official to bring him down to the picket to inform the workers that their action was contrary to the National Wage Agreement, and that they should return to work and let the matter go through the "proper procedures" to the Labour Court.

SHUT DOWN

Now, in the first place the Dobson workers hadn't received the 1975 NWA increases. The second reason the strikers didn't want to go through this drawn-out process throws some light on the strange production methods of firms such as Dobsons. It seems that since the company was set up six years ago it has been normal practice to close down around summer and Christmas each year. (The factory re-opened several weeks ago after a five-month shut-down). The workers feared that they would be put out for their winter hibernation period before the wheels of the Labour Court would grind out any decision. And there was the possibility that the leaders of the strike action might not be re-awakened for duty when the factory re-opened. The manager warned the workers some time ago of his inclination to get rid of the rebels and replace them with yarn workers laid off from a similar type factory.

The ITGWU do-nothing stance seems to be in the hope of a weakening of some of the strikers, thus causing a split — possibly on a male/female basis. In the absence of official backing the strikers see clearly the need for contact with shop stewards and other workers in other factories, the need for solidarity with all workers fighting the bosses attacks, and for moral and financial support to help resist any weakening or split among the workers.

O.CASEY

Unidare pinches pennies

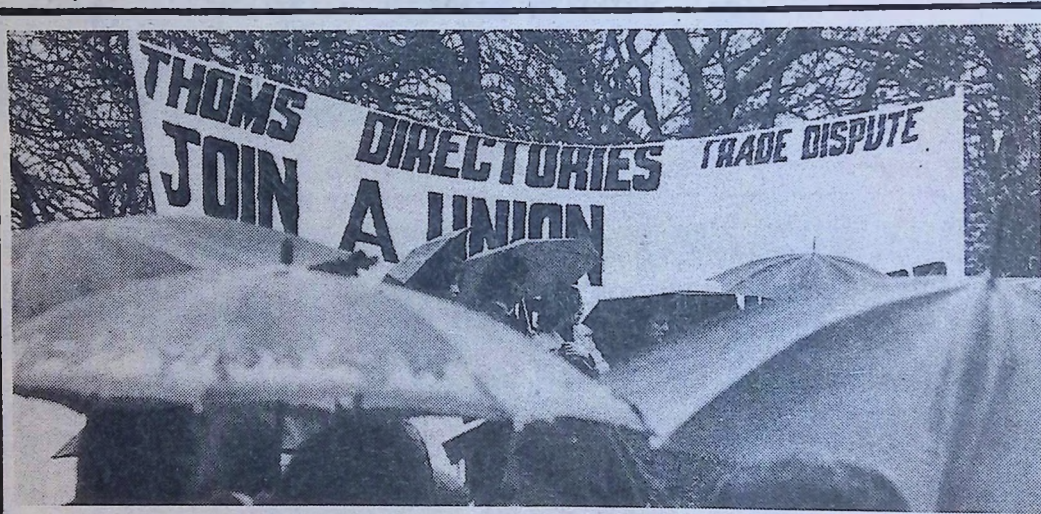
A STORY circulating around the Unidare site recently, when a top manager Mr. Gillespie began to drive to 'work' in his magnificent green and black vintage Rolls Royce, was that his 'everyday' car (a Rover) was crashed by a visiting Dutch industrialist who had borrowed it. It's not good weather for Dutch industrialists. This one (probably a representative from Philips — who control Unidare) crashed two hired cars before Mr. Gillespie's. So the story goes.

Anyway the point is clear. Some people are making enough out of the company to drive two big cars. There are five cars altogether in the same man's family. Are we trying to stir up envy? No, we are trying to stir up a thirst for justice. Because side by side with such wealth the workers of Unidare must do without their December phase of the National Wage Agreement. Because we see cases like that of Paddy Dowling, a boilerman in Unidare who retired recently with £4 per week after years of service.

And Unidare are continuing the cut-backs, penny-pinching and lay-offs. In his 'Queen's Speech' to the new Section Committee (No. 14 Branch ITGWU), the General Manager, Mr. Bright spoke of the need for "more labour adjustments", "realistic manufacturing standards" and "a more viable firm".

While 27 workers have left under the voluntary redundancy scheme, there have been compulsory lay-offs among office workers. In September management sought fresh redundancies in Tinsley (where there had been high overtime) and Oerlikon. The Section Committee got these redundancies tied into the voluntary scheme, but without consulting the general membership.

In Tinsley management also want to do away with a trade — the Wireworking trade — and downgrade a number of Wireworkers. Tinsley have been advertising a type of wirework NOT done by Wireworkers. Compensation has been offered but the men and the union (ITGWU) have stood firm to keep the trade. Management's overall plans for Tinsley, where some machinery has been let run down, are still a secret.



"WE NEED your help, every man, woman and child", said the ITGWU shop steward at Thom's Directories at the solidarity demonstration held in Dublin during November. "For fifteen weeks we have been walking up and down outside that office, in the cold and the wet. We have got to win. And it's in your hands. We are small, but you are large".

Speaking of about 500 trade unionists outside the Thom's office in Merrion Square she stressed again and again how solidarity could help them win. There were eight girls in July when the strike

started; there are now six. But they are determined not to let John Leslie Wootton, the South African who owns the company, get away with sacking people just because they join a union.

It's not the first time No. 2 Branch of the ITGWU has been in dispute in order to defend the right to organise female clerical workers. If this strike is lost it will certainly not be the last one. If Wootton wins, and if he gets his directories printed and distributed with scab labour, it will be a big set-back for the drive to organise this

traditionally weak sector.

Trade union solidarity marches are rare things in Dublin these days. It should not have taken fifteen weeks to organise one in support of the Thom's strikers. There have already been demonstrations of support by ESB workers who also work in Merrion Square. After the march it becomes easier — and more urgent — to organise collections and physical support for the pickets in order to make sure this strike wins.

TEDDIWEAR'S PICKET

FOURTEEN MEMBERS of the ITGWU have been on strike since 30 October in Teddiwear, a clothing company in Capel Street, Dublin.

There are two issues involved: full payment of the National Wage Agreement; and reinstatement of a girl sacked without previous warning for lateness.

The strikers are mainly women. One of them told The Worker, 'Mullen, the owner, signed an agreement with the Labour Court to pay us an 8 per cent increase, but when it came to paying he told us that since we were working piece rate and getting £28 a week we were not entitled to the increase.'

There are ten other people — non-union — still working inside, but the strikers have received support from other trade unionists. Teddiwear products have been blacked by workers in Arnott's and Clery's, and Post Office and CIE workers will not handle them. However, Hamill's, which is Teddiwear's biggest customer, is not organised and the fact that business continues with them in the normal way has undermined morale and the effectiveness of the picket.

The strikers will need solidarity from all trade unionists and the blacking must be extended to all stores selling Teddiwear clothes.

In Wire & Cable, new machinery has meant less bonus earnings and the transfer of five workers to other factories. Workers in this section have rejected £60 compensation as too low for loss of earnings. The number of Drivers has been reduced and longer trailers have been introduced without extra pay.

When the Transformer workers won a higher rate of bonus for certain work the company simply wouldn't let them work that rate. So many of them are working non-standard all the time. The number of Alidare workers on the extrusion lines has been halved yet about the same amount is being produced.

Overtime and twelve-hour shifts have been in full swing where and when it suits the company.

At the Annual General Meeting of the Unidare Section, held in Liberty Hall in October, the discontent of the workers — with their union leaders as well as management — burst forth. A resolution was passed blacking many items being imported by Unidare which are usually manufactured by Unidare workers, to prevent Unidare Ltd. being turned into a "major warehouse". At the following Section Committee meeting it was decided to take action against foremen doing our work.

The first action to come out of the Section Committee decision was a short stoppage in Anodising when the Factory Superintendent refused to stop erecting a scaffolding. Then the Section Committee decided to call a series of two-hour stoppages if the Chargehand Greaser continued to do the work of the Boilerman, who had retired and hadn't been replaced. Management had at first offered this job to a general worker, then they declared this job was no longer in existence. A few hours before the first strike was due management backed down.

Unidare workers are fighting a continuing battle to maintain their jobs, earnings and rights. As seen in the case of the Chargehand Greaser A UNITED, ORGANISED STAND THROUGHOUT THE SITE CAN ENSURE A VICTORY. But our union officials are not always willing to give such a lead. We ourselves, the ordinary union members, must make sure that we know what is going on, that there are strong links between the workers in the different factories on the site and, above all, that we have the confidence to act, when necessary, without the approval of our conservative union officials.

~~Divide and Rule~~

UNITE AND WIN!

WORKERS' UNITY has always been regarded by socialists as the best weapon in their armoury, in the fight against the bosses. This was proved once again — if proof was needed — in the Siekemans dispute, on the Waterford Industrial Estate.

The management had tried to scrap a job on the night shift by insisting that one of the general workers should replace a wheel on a machine, which was always regarded as a fitters job. When the fitters, members of the A.U.E.W., heard about it they approached the management pointing out that under no circumstances would this practise be tolerated. However the company refused to step down and they made it clear that they intended to go ahead with their plan.

The fitters had no option but to go into dispute. The strike was made official by the A.U.E.W. immediately. The general workers members of the I.T. & G.W.U. lost no time in declaring their support for the fitters, and within hours the whole factory came to a halt.

Because of the mens' solidarity and determination to stick together the management were compelled to concede within one week, and accepted responsibility for the strike, but in order to save some sort of face, scrapped their plan to introduce the night-shift working.

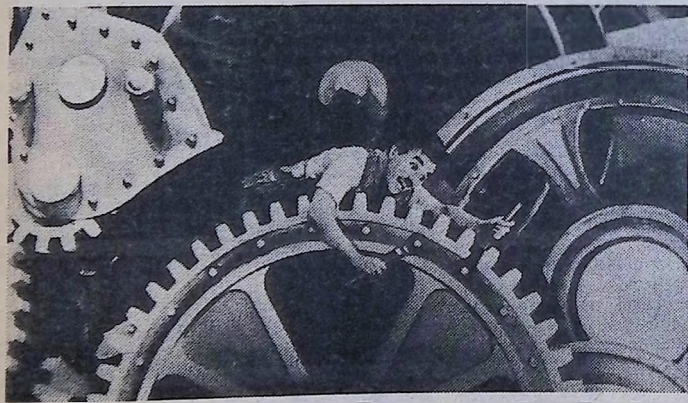
Quite obviously this victory was achieved because the general workers supported the craft workers in the dispute and the management realised there was no way they could isolate the craftworkers and force them into submission.

It is certainly refreshing to see that the old divisions which exist between craft-workers and general workers can be overcome. There are important lessons for all of us to be learnt here.

S.W.M. has always argued that a shop stewards committee, inter-factory as well as inter-section, would help to break down these divisions that exist between workers. Such committees would also help in many other practical ways, for instance, in this dispute members of the I.T. & G.W.U., although out on strike, did not receive any strike pay, nor were they entitled to any social security. Had there been in existence an inter-factory shop stewards committee, collections could have been made in all the factories on the estate, and around Waterford.

A shop stewards committee could also have organised support by getting the dockers to black all containers, it is this kind of action that wins strikes, by putting as much pressure as possible on the bosses.

These are but a few of the areas that a well organised shop stewards committee could operate within. How many more lessons do we need to learn? The time is now ripe for the building of a proper shop stewards committee in Waterford.



ANCO; Making square pegs for square holes

ANCO has a "nice uncle" image, as the body which retrains workers and places 80% of its trainees in new jobs. The reality is a lot different, as described here by a former trainee.

THE underlying philosophy of Anco emphasises that the "well-being of the economy depends largely on the success of business". So, it is not surprising to find that the employer-dominated Anco Council and Advisory Committees pay no regard to workers rights. So, it is not surprising to find that the employer-dominated Anco Council and Advisory Committees pay no regard to workers rights. On the contrary, it reinforces the old rigid, repressive, divisive system so well-known to workers everywhere.

"Clocking in" was introduced — in spite of trainees opposition — because as a member of the Galway Council explained, "Industry demanded it". Files recording the progress, behaviour and history of each trainee are handed over to their employer. This practice had serious repercussions in the case of a Chilean refugee — a former trade union leader in his own

country — when he applied for a job with an American company. He was bluntly told that Anco had informed the company that he had been an "agitator" in Chile. He didn't get the job.

Attitude To Unions

By far the most disquieting aspect of Anco is its attitude to trade unions. Apart from a couple of fun-poking pages in the introductory manual which laers at the role of shop stewards, the unions are never mentioned. It is known that in some centres the attitude of those in control is hostile to the formation of even "skeleton" union structures. Isn't it strange that



Real output was significantly lower than last year and we were consequently compelled to reduce our overheads and employees — we have 750 employees less than this time last year — a truly saddening aspect of the current position.

Chairman's Statement

DECISIONS which affect the working lives of nearly 10,000 workers in Ireland, Britain, Nigeria and the USA are made by a small number of men in that building above. It is the headquarters of the Smurfit Group in Santry, Dublin. The Jags, Mercs, Audis and BMW's outside are witness to the large sums creamed off by the company's chiefs.

The members of the Smurfit family, mainly the sons of Jefferson Smurfit, the man who founded the firm, do their best, of course. Michael Smurfit, the Managing Director, takes out over £300,000 in a year from fees, salaries, dividends and a commission on profits which is part of his contract. And this company has been refusing payment of the National Wage Agreement to some of its employees!

In just one week, Smurfit's were pursuing a possible £2 million take-over of the Creation printing and publishing business; they opened a £½ million paper sack factors in Co. Cork in conjunction with one of the biggest paper, printing and publishing business in the world, Reed International; they landed a multi-million pound contract from the government to print the telephone directory for five years; they increased their share-holding in an American paper company, Time Industries.

For this, and much more of the same, the Smurfit company was recently awarded a European Management Award for "entrepreneurial flair". Translated, that means knowing how to seize an opportunity to make a quick buck. The workers are treated as production costs; some are sacked here; others are taken out there. It depends on the markets.

Of course, the sackings and the failures don't make the news. Like Smurfit's adventure with a

corrugated paper factory in Cork. The plant was opened last year — and closed again. Machinery which had been moved from Dublin at a cost of £90,000 is to be moved back again. The state gave out £220,000 in grants. The 50-odd workers are back on the dole again.

It's only when the workers threaten a dispute that the company chiefs see them differently. It's only then that the men in the Mercs go down to the factories. In the many take-over operations by the Smurfit Group thousands have lost their jobs. Others have been moved around. Yet others taken on. And the whole thing concentrates more power in the hands of a few.

The take-over of the Tremlett's group in Britain was the biggest such operation ever by an Irish based company. We're used to hearing "take-overs by foreigners" denounced. That's how it will look to the Tremlett's workers. There are also a couple of Smurfit factories in Lancashire run from the Dublin base.

Parochial attitudes by the British workers against the Irish boss will be no more help to them than similar attitudes by Irish workers against British bosses. In the Smurfit empire it is more obvious than in many other companies that the power of the workers must be co-ordinated across plants and across national boundaries.

A combine committee of union representatives from all the factories would begin to convince Smurfit's that workers are not just pawns in a profit game. In a future issue THE WORKER will look closer at the Smurfit empire. We aim to provide the information, arguments and perspectives on which a combine committee could be based.

Fine Gael mayor of Galway being surprisingly "chosen" for a welding course, opportunities are few indeed for women. One woman who got A's in each section of the aptitude test and was recorded as being eligible for all of the courses was put on a two week electrical assembly training programme. Opportunities for jobs for women coming from Anco are confined to the usual menial, badly paid jobs reserved for women. One girl who trained in Galway is now earning £14 a week on piece-work in a local factory.

Of the £2,479, 300 of EEC Social Fund money which went into Anco last year, little found its way into trainees pay packets. But then, workers welfare is hardly the idea behind Anco. The government's policy would appear to be two-fold: (1) to keep down unemployment figures artificially by cushioning the fall from employment to the dole with a minimum wage; and (2) to provide a conditioned, submissive work-force for industry if and when capitalism needs to call upon it.

In other words "Uncle Anco" is just another channel through which workers are moved in the direction needed by the bosses and government.

A.B.

SWM

SOCIALIST Workers Movement members from Dublin, Galway, Belfast and Waterford met during October in a National Conference which dealt with perspectives in the North, on the trade unions and the building of the organisation. The Conference was firm in supporting the drive to expand the S.W.M. in order to better put forward the case for a united front against repression and for a strong rank and file movement in the unions.

Resolutions were passed on the struggle against oppression of women, on Portugal, on the development of 'The Worker' and on other subjects. It was agreed by all to have been a particularly productive Conference.

WATERFORD S.W.M. members are gathering support for the formation of a Chile Solidarity Committee in the town. A meeting is planned for late November at which one of the Chilean refugees will speak.

DURING NOVEMBER, Dublin Branch of S.W.M. held a discussion with a dozen non-members on our perspectives on the National Question. The discussion ranged over assessment of the loyalist splits, relations between socialists and republicans, and the nature of a revolutionary organisation. Further such meetings are planned on: Is there a role for socialists in the Labour Party? And: The building of a revolutionary party.

THE SITUATION in Portugal was the subject of a meeting held by S.W.M. in University College, Galway, during November. Speakers dealt with the development of workers' control in many areas of Portuguese life. The meeting was especially privileged to hear one of the Chilean refugees now in Galway draw from his experience as a revolutionary in Chile to consider the current situation in Portugal.

The Galway Branch of S.W.M. held a public meeting in the town during the following week. The subject was: Crisis in the North — the Socialist Answer.

AT THE S.W.M. National Conference during November one member was expelled, and two members in Galway, one in Dublin and one in Belfast resigned in support of the expelled member. For a year and a half this group had carried out an opposition to S.W.M. in all major areas of work. It had become difficult to establish any common ground between the S.W.M. majority and this group.

The opposition group held positions close to, and used the sectarian methods of "orthodox Trotskyism". That is a tradition with which the S.W.M. has broken; our organisation does not adhere to all Trotsky's positions to the letter, but more to the spirit of his revolutionary orientation to the working class and his internationalism.

Tactics on the united front, the demand for a sliding scale of wages, the perspective of the imminence of civil war in the North, the methods for building an International, and the approach to drawing up a programme were all areas where there was disagreement.

The method of the expelled member and supporters was not that of S.W.M. and their opposition had come to the point where it blocked both public and internal work. The decision was made for that reason, and was made in accordance with democratic centralist principles — the members under suspension were allowed to circulate documents through the central organisation, they were allowed to address branches and the National Conference.

Such decisions always cause difficulty for a socialist organisation, unwilling to lose members at any time, but in this case it has strengthened S.W.M. politically and cleared the way for more determined public work.

all correspondence to 95 Capel St Dublin 1

I.R.S.P. STALL ON UNITY

IN THE NORTH, with the Republicans split three ways, the British Army have freedom to maraud through working-class areas, to maltreat those arrested, to shoot without fear of punishment by the courts, to keep hundreds interned and more imprisoned for political offences.

In the South, the government campaigns on law and order. It cynically used the Herrema kidnapping for a clampdown on those who had nothing to do with it. It imprisons those who try to assist the anti-imperialist movement. It uses the Offences Against the State Acts against republicans and trade unionists. It brings forward the Criminal Law (Jurisdiction) Bill to increase penalties for political type offences and to imprison republican refugees.

VITAL

Never was the need greater for united action of all working class and anti-imperialist organisations against the repression dictated by the two governments, who act in collusion.

Since December 1972 the Socialist Workers' Movement has been calling for a united

front to be formed to organise action against repression. Such a united front does not, of course, mean amalgamation of the organisations involved: it means a co-ordinated campaign in which political and labour organisations keep their freedom of speech but add their strength to each other. We have participated in attempts to build towards a united front, such as the Political Hostages Release Committee in Belfast and the Committee for the Defence of Women Political Prisoners.

INCONCLUSIVE

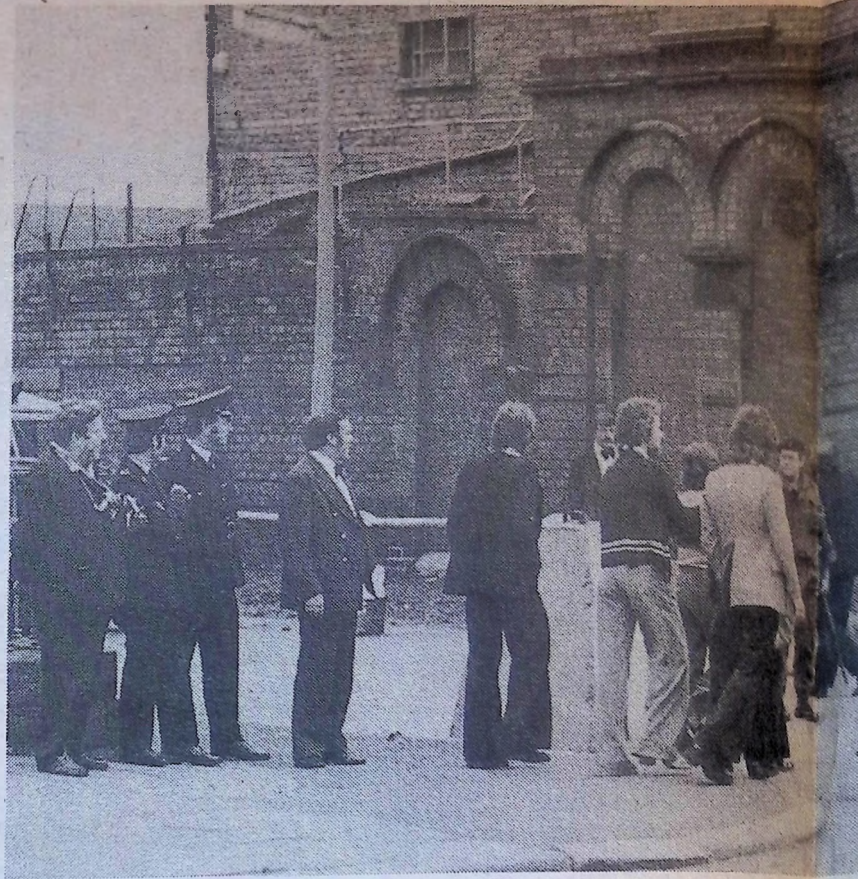
When the Irish Republican Socialist Party was formed a year ago, it called for a "broad front" against repression. The S.W.M. wrote to them then asking for discussions. Not until July did the I.R.S.P. agree to discussions. They were inconclusive, and the I.R.S.P. agreed to call another meeting. This they eventually did in October. The story was the same again. No united front could be formed without the presence of the Provisionals and the Officials. So as not to prejudice any discussions towards such a development, no united activities of any kind could be engaged in meanwhile. The I.R.S.P.'s participation in the Anti-Internment Committee in

Belfast was only a temporary dispensation, to commemorate the fourth anniversary, and the I.R.S.P. had therefore withdraw its members from participating any further. Not even a joint meeting against the Criminal Law (Jurisdiction) Bill could be considered.

URGENCY

The other organisations involved in these discussions, the Peoples Democracy and the Revolutionary Marxist Group, were in broad agreement with the need for united action. The I.R.S.P. stalls while one of the most draconian pieces of legislation, the Criminal Law (Jurisdiction) Bill, is put on to the statute-book. We are forced to question the I.R.S.P.'s sincerity in calling for anti-imperialist unity and refusing to do anything about it.

We are, of course, in agreement that the mere presence of the I.R.S.P. would not create a united front: a genuine united front must involve mass organisations. But it cannot be created out of thin air. Joint activities can be engaged in as a preliminary. We appeal to the members of the I.R.S.P. to realise the urgency of the threats which both governments hold over the working class.



POLITICS — NO!

HARDLY A DAY passes without some politician or some newspaper launching an attack on "the men of violence", the gunmen, the subversives. They have become the scape-goat for all our ills. These dangerous men are not the truncheon-swinging Gardai, Special Branch detectives who beat up prisoners, or the soldiers moving around the streets with heavy guns. They are the ones who challenge the state.

The "men of violence" who challenge law and order are symptoms of a society which uses massive state repression — state terrorism — in order to

impose its law and its order. It would be surprising if those who bear the brunt of this repression did not use violent means to change society.



Socialists want to change society, to root out the causes of violence. Only a classless society could be a non-violent society. The main means to bring about that change is the mass action of the working class. Physical force will be necessary, but used very differently from the way it is used by present-day "freedom fighters".

Trotsky, the Russian revolutionary who led the Red Army, put it this way, "To the terrorist we say: 'It is impossible to replace the masses.

Only in a mass movement you find expedient for your heroism."

The small groups of substitute themselves for masses and their actions generally have very little on the society in which exist. They seldom see the importance of political activity but it is that activity which provides the essential context for force action.



Marxists know that it is the real author of violence they also realise that only through a hard struggle to get workers fighting for socialist demands can lead to the overthrow of capitalist system. Its state machine included. Some people on the other hand have been so anxious to dis-

Battle for Belfast

"THEY'RE AT IT AGAIN"! That's the reaction of a great many workers, especially in the South, to the latest shootings between Republicans. "When they've no one else to fight with, they'll fight among themselves". These opinions are widespread among workers.

The Official's attempt to smash the IRSP and now the Provisionals' attempt to smash the Officials in Belfast, are products of the type of organisation a Republican party or army is, and the type of politics Republican politics are. Leaving aside all the left-sounding language ("we want a democratic socialist republic" — "the robbery of Ireland by foreign monopolies"), the politics of the Provisionals and the Officials are still rooted in a tradition of radical and armed nationalism. The IRSP too have failed to break out of the Republican tradition and into working-class politics.

GUN POLITICS

Because the Republican movements do not believe in, or work through working-class politics they do not represent the specific class interests of the workers and are very open to becoming the vehicles for power seeking elites. The emergence of the IRSP threatened the position of the undemocratic clique at the top of Official Sinn Fein/IRA. The growing political influence of the Officials in certain republican areas (plus of course their

physical influence in the form of Stickie checkpoints and disruption of Provo policing desires) threatened the influence of the Provisional leadership there.

ALTERNATIVE

In both cases the matter was resolved — or the attempt was made — by the gun. The Republican tradition is one of armed secret organisations. The emergence of the Officials from this — and into Civil Rights, not socialist politics — and of the Provisionals — in so far as Eire Nua, ICRA and the incident centres are political — has left their armies intact and in charge of their respective political parties. Political differences are not ironed out or brought to their logical conclusions by discussion and democratic debate within Republican groups, or by bringing them to the working-class movement, and testing them there. They are settled by the gun. The security needs of the IRAs (and PLAs) dictate that debate be kept secret. The threat of the sub-machine gun stifles criticism. No matter how brilliant a speech you make at the Ard Fheis it can be wafted away by the directive of the Army Council.

As democratic debate is stifled within the Republican organisations so it is between Republican organisations. Five are dead with scores more attempted assassinations, and that's just in the present battle.

But there is an alternative. Any attempt to change society and, in the process, to rid Ireland of imperialist domination does not have to be side-tracked into costly internal shoot-outs. It does not have to end up as

merely a change of masters.

The national struggle will not be resolved until the working class leads it. The alternative to Republican politics is mass working class politics. For workers to take the lead in the national struggle means for them to bring their power and consciousness as workers to bear on capitalism and imperialism. It means the subordination of the armed wing, necessary at one stage for defence and at a later stage for revolution, to the political control of the organised working-class.

MASS ACTION

As the physical force tactic and the Bill of Rights tactic have both failed to gain anything more than small precarious advances, the need for mass action by the working-class becomes clearer. Or rather it should, if not for the confusion caused by the SDLPs parliamentarianism, the collapse of the Convention, Craig's conversion, the Truce and the constant barrage of Doomsday Civil War perspectives from all sides.

This mass movement must be built by openly arguing for socialist methods and ideas within the anti-unionist working class and within the labour movement. As a beginning, a united front of anti-imperialist and socialist organisations against repression and the British presence, must be built, with the perspective of trade union involvement. This can only be built with a view to what unites the anti-imperialists and not what divides them.

And the job of placing the working-class at the head of the national struggle requires the building of a revolutionary socialist organisation representing the class interest of the workers. A workers party must be a democratic party, controlled by the rank-and-file with deep roots into the working-class. Otherwise it is not the WORKER'S party, but the party of the leaders.

It is absolutely not true that the present Officials-Provisionals feud is a shoot out between rival gangs, or, as Merlyn Rees would have us believe, that all recent violence is criminal and not political. It is political — but it is the politics of physical force. Its method is to burp off its rivals; the Officials their IRSP rivals, the Provisionals their Official rivals. The method must be rejected.

The right of the Officials to work and organise as an anti-imperialist and (self-proclaimed) socialist organisation must be upheld and defended by all socialists, republicans and workers.

The confusion caused by the Provisionals' attempt to wipe out the Officials' political presence in Belfast comes at the same time as the confusion resulting, especially among Southern workers, from the Herrema kidnapping — itself a product of non-involvement of Republicans in mass action to get their own prisoners out. The results can only be a set-back for Republicans and the anti-imperialist struggle, and more ammunition for the "law and order" propagandists.

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The Irish Republican Information Service (Provo) recently slammed the 'Observer' newspaper for an editorial on the role the Dublin government should play in helping to smash the IRA. Fair enough. But in the course of the article, the IRIS accused the 'Observer' of 'attempting to subvert the Defence Forces and police.' We had always assumed — no, hoped — that this is precisely what the Provos are trying to do.

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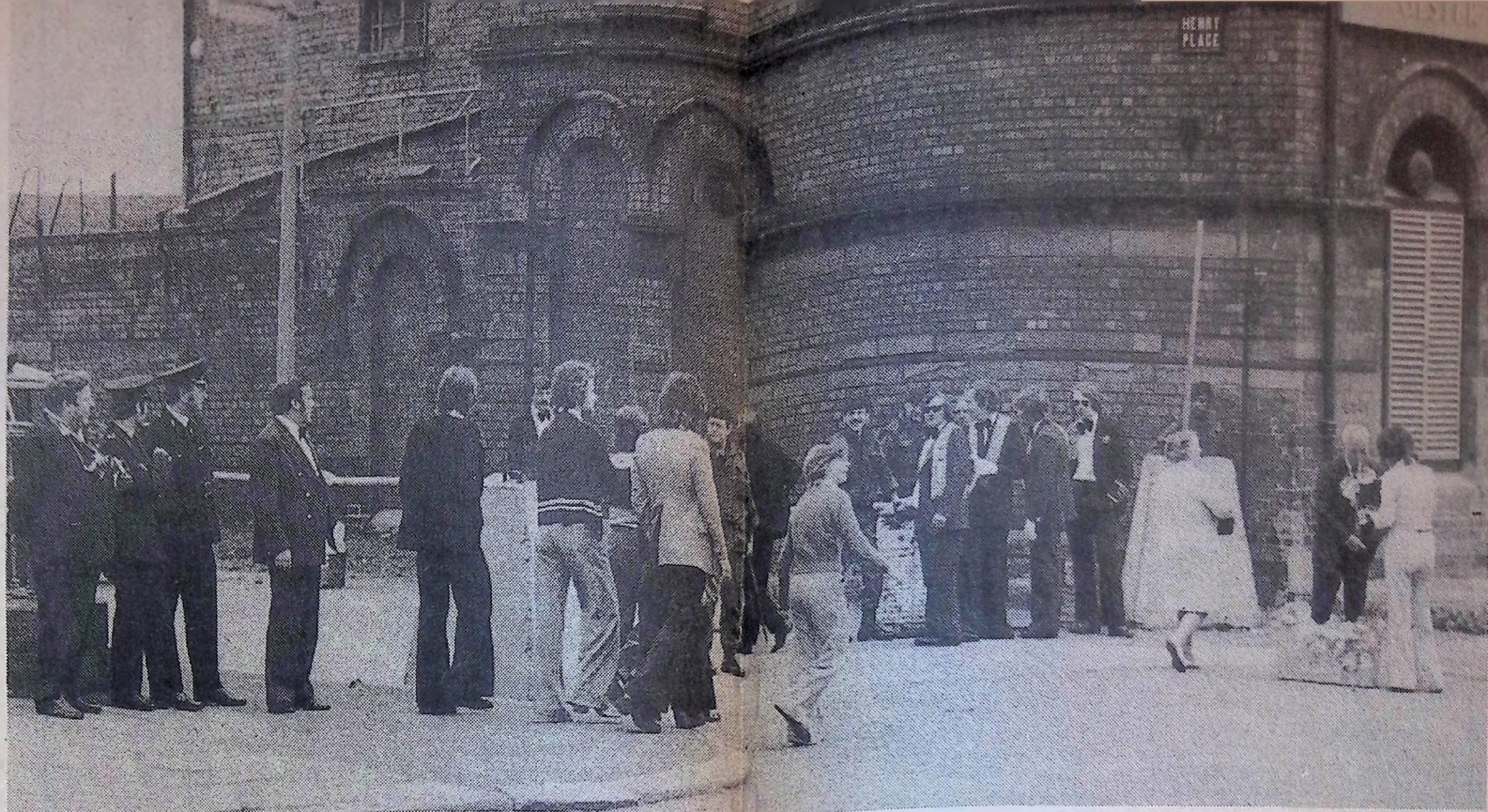
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Loyalists chat with British Army and RUC

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HARDLY A DAY passes without some politician or some newspaper launching an attack on "the men of violence", the gunmen, the subversives. They have become the scape-goat for all our ills. These dangerous men are not the truncheon-swinging Gardai, Special Branch detectives who beat up prisoners, or the soldiers moving around the streets with heavy guns. They are the ones who challenge the state.

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themselves from recent terrorist activity such as the Herrema kidnapping that they end up advocating repression against the perpetrators. That only be the intention, for instance, of the statement by the Socialist Party of Ireland that "Dugdale, Gallagher or their supporters are no more socialists than, say General Franco".



Few of us have much idea what the political motivation of people such as Gallagher and Dugdale is. But we do know what their actions are, and we can easily see that their purpose is very different from that of Franco's execution of five political activists in order to uphold one of the most repressive states in Europe.

Of course, the ruling class will use the violent actions of these isolated terrorists as an excuse to strengthen their repressive apparatus.

That's the most eloquent reason against this approach; it makes all forms of opposition activity more difficult.

But socialists must not rush to condemn and thus place themselves on the same side as the state. Every time we read about "the men of violence" we should recall just who it is who is holding the hundreds of political prisoners, who it is who is building a new military prison, who it is who is strengthening the state army as a pliable political instrument in their hands.

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CAN CRAIG UNITE LOYALISTS?

THE OVERNIGHT 'conversion' of William Craig from ultra right wing Loyalism to 'moderation' has caused a great deal of confusion on all sides and led to a great deal of speculation among political pundits about a possible 'compromise solution' in the North. Both Tory and Labour Parties in Britain see in Craig's proposals a way out of their dilemma, and the Southern rulers are falling over themselves trying to convince us that Craig is the greatest thing since sliced bread. In the North itself the Catholic middle class, represented by the SDLP, desperate for a share in the spoils of other people's struggles, have welcomed Craig's 'change of heart' and are willing to pursue his plans further, if given a chance.

Would-be moderate Bill Craig inspects his troops

WHAT THEN has Craig proposed that is so worthy of all this favourable comment. Do his suggestions hold out the hope of a solution?

Like the rest of his fellow Loyalists Craig's prime objective is the restoration of developed government to the North, but unlike most of his cronies he does not believe that the British will simply restore the old Stormont system of unimpeded Loyalist rule as demanded by the UUUC, led by Paisley. Craig fears that after the rejection of such demands by the British, direct rule will be continued, denying any local power to the Loyalists, or, worse still, that the British will begin the process of disengagement, removing the ultimate prop of Protestant power—the British Army. His proposals are an attempt to bridge the gap between the British insistence that any new form of government be acceptable to both sides, and the Loyalists' demands that they will run the show.



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sacked

What Craig has proposed is a voluntary coalition government which would involve the SDLP along with the UUUC. But the UUUC would provide the prime minister who would have the power to select the cabinet. At most the SDLP would have two seats out of eight, and would be bound to accept all majority decisions or leave the cabinet. They could be sacked at any time. The coalition would be for the duration of the present crisis only, with the main task of ending the threat to the Northern state posed by republicans and socialists. Once the real, effective opposition was wiped out, the justification for the coalition would be over and the SDLP could be dispensed with.

No socialist or republican is likely to be taken in by Craig, but with support from the British, the South and the SDLP, can his proposals be made to work?

expelled

Already Craig has been expelled from the UUUC. His Vanguard Party has split with the majority of its Convention members, and probably its rank and file too, going against Craig. Apart from the hesitant support from the leadership of the UDA (not the rank and file) he remains isolated in the Loyalist camp. His hope, like the Southern

bosses and the British, is that the Loyalists will realise the hopelessness of their present course and when their demand for a restoration of Stormont is refused will gradually come round to Craig's views. It is possible that some will, maybe even a majority. But even if that happens, it will be another thing to sell the deal to the Loyalist ranks. Through their umbrella organisation, the ULCCC, they have already drawn up plans for a seizure of power should the politicians fail to win their demands. But the divisions and internal struggles continue to make any real concerted effort from the Loyalists seem remote. There is great hostility to Paisley's usurpation of power, not only within the UUUC but, apparently, within the Ulster Workers' Council as well. Only two of the UWC's original leaders remain, and both are Paisleyites.

ceasefire

But as well as Loyalist intransigence there are of course the Provisionals. The British have managed to keep the ceasefire going for so long by telling them that when the Convention failed withdrawal would be considered. (What they didn't tell the Provos was that if they did pull out they would install a Loyalist junta first.) But now that Craig has given them a glimmer of hope that something might be pulled out of the Convention, they can no longer string the Provos along. The 'secret' meetings

between the British and Provos stopped almost as soon as Craig had emerged as a 'moderate'. Now the incident centres have been closed, and the SDLP who had been left out in the cold during the earlier part of the ceasefire are right back in the centre of British policy.

violence

It seems most likely that the ceasefire will end as soon as the last internee is released from Long Kesh which should be before Christmas. If the ceasefire ends before Craig manages to mobilise support among Loyalists for coalition with the SDLP, then Fitt and Co will have absolutely nothing to offer the anti-unionist workers in a period of increasing violence against them as the British step up the war once more.

unity

So, all in all, the odds against Craig's scheme ever being put into effect seem vast. But even if his policies were implemented, they offer no solution. All they offer is more violence and repression and continuing sectarian divisions with a little slice of the 'cake' for a few of the latest breed of Castle Catholics. The attempt to put Craig's policies in the running will mean ever greater repression in the South. That is a challenge which every worker must be ready to take up. The fight against it requires the broadest possible united action, North and South.



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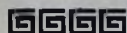
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Irish Women
United;
**WHERE
TO
NEXT?**

THE CAMPAIGN for free legal contraception launched some months ago by Irishwomen United has been gathering support steadily. The well-attended rally held in Liberty Hall during November was a big step forward. Irishwomen United have gone well beyond the small-group, "guerrilla" actions which marked their early beginnings.

While they support Senator Mary Robinson's Family Planning Bill, which seeks to make a quite limited legal reform, Irishwomen United make much further-reaching demands: for "state-financed, community-run birth control clinics throughout the country", and for "a full, free sex education programme in these clinics, in maternity hospitals and schools". They quite rightly see the demand to legalise contraception as part of a wider effort to end the oppression of women.



Without the possibility for women to decide if and when to have children, other freedoms and rights are virtually meaningless. This is especially true of rights to work and to equal opportunities at work.

Unhappily, the meeting did not emphasise the connections as well as it could have done. The argument were not geared to convincing working class women. Many of these may already be using contraception, or they may favour its being made available, but they may not be hardened enough in their conviction to take part in a campaign to secure its legalisation.

The campaign needs to be taken to them. But there's second problem of the meeting: the platform gave no idea how the campaign was to be organised.

The enthusiasm of the meeting



carried them through it, against the persistent heckling of anti-contraceptionists (there were heard such cries as "purity for the young Irish girls"). It will not be enough to carry the movement through what could yet be a long, hard slog.

The capitalist class's interest in having a more mobile, more flexible work-force dictates that they legalise contraception at some stage. But they are divided about the timing, unwilling to oppose the authority of the Catholic Church because they have no ideology with which to replace theirs.

It will take a lot of pressure to ensure support in the Dail and Seanad for Mary Robinson's Bill. Recent polls may give the T.D.'s and Senators the excuse not to commit themselves. It's important that they should not be let away with it. Petitions and/or letters, as Irishwomen United propose, will not bring the necessary results. What is needed is a broad movement which can draw in mass support. At the same time, the moves to establish clinics and get round the existing law should go ahead too.

Irishwomen United have given a lead, now the fight must be taken up in trade union branches, in Labour Party branches, in women's organisations of all kinds.

THERE'S a new SWM pamphlet available from the address below. It's called "Which Way for the Left" and it costs 5p. A list of other pamphlets, books and magazines of interest to socialists and trade unionists is available from the WORKER BOOK SERVICE at the same address.

Abortion Bill opposed

MEMBERS of the Socialist Workers Movement were among a dozen members of the National Union of Journalists who signed this letter to the union journal, 'The Journalist'. Members of that union have been opposing the official stand taken in support of the Working Women's Charter against the Abortion (Amendment) Bill sponsored by James White, M.P., and in support of abortion being made available on demand.

ACCORDING to official figures more than 1,500 women go to Britain from Ireland every year to have abortions. No doubt that shocks the Irish colleagues who wrote complaining about the stand taken by the Union's Equality Working Party; no doubt they would prefer to forget it.

The effect of James White's Abortion Amendment Bill, if passed, would be to stop the Irish women having abortions as they have done up to this time, by placing residential qualifications on those permitted to have abortions in Britain. No doubt our colleagues would be happy about that.

But the truth probably is that it will not stop them having abortions altogether. Such a decision is not taken lightly, but only when a child is likely to make life

LEBANON

The bloody legacy of divide-and-rule

THE LEBANON has long been regarded as a model state, with the 55% Muslim majority of its three million population sharing power with the Christians. The reality is different.

Beirut, being the banking centre for the whole oil-rich middle-east, has benefitted the Lebanese workers and unemployed little. Last year inflation was fifteen per cent and the increase in Gross National Production was nil. A tiny five per cent of the population, nearly all Christian, gets more than half of the National Revenue through non-productive speculation on the finance market. Most of the smaller business and commercial classes are Christian too. The power that comes from this was never shared.

The wages of agricultural and industrial workers, who form 45% of the population, add up to only 12% of the country's total income. It is normal in the Arab community to be unemployed and totally dependant on money from emigrants abroad.

The stability achieved by the "power-sharing" con trick was upset when another 'Holy War' impinged on the state - the Arab-Israeli conflict. Homeless Palestinian refugees spread

the left-wing ideas and arms of the P.L.O. among the local Arabs. This is what led the right-wing Christian Phalangists to crack down on the Muslims this time, and the war began with the murder of twenty seven Arabs.

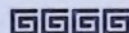
The 10,000 strong Phalangists are the paramilitary representatives of the Christian ruling class, who, while using anti-Muslim religious bigotry make no secret of their aim to crush all working class mobilisation and to end socialist politics and parties in the country.

The motto of the power-sharing regimes of the past might well have cynically been "unite to exploit", but the present, actually Christian dominated one, is benefitting from the old trick of "divide and rule". It tolerates the use of the paramilitaries to put down the Muslims because the rank-and-file of the Lebanese army, even the Christian soldiers, cannot be counted on to do this.

Israel-neighbouring Arab states and the U.S. and U.S.S.R. have given consideration to intervention. This is to protect their interests in the larger middle-east arena. And to put an end to the example of a working class fighting its own defence rather than as pawns in some international power game.

M. Mc C.

intolerable for its mother. The passing of the Bill will mean simply that women in this position will pay more to have abortions much more dangerously at the hands of back-street abortionists.



In Ireland, where sex education is non-existent, the sale and advertising of contraceptives illegal, and divorce impossible, unwanted pregnancies and unwanted children are even more likely than in Britain. It would clearly be preferable if contraception and family planning advice were freely available, thus allowing women to control their fertility and to choose whether or not to have children. Even then, abortion needs to be available

as a last resort, if pregnancy is not to be a penalty.

The NUJ's support for the Working Women's Charter, which includes the calls for contraception and abortion on demand, needs to be translated into action - most immediately in Ireland where the changes are needed urgently and where the trade union movement has done little more than pay lip-service to the notion of women's equality.

THE DUBLIN Shop Stewards and Rank and File Committee has renewed monthly publication of its paper "The Trade Unionist". It has a new format - smaller pages, but more of them - and contains articles on most of the important issues facing rank and file workers today. It's required reading. Available from D. Whelan, 38 Arran Quay, Dublin.

WHAT WE STAND FOR

SOCIALIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT

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

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

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

The working class - and only the working class - has the capacity to end exploitation and oppression. In Ireland its confidence and its strength

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

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

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

Moscow regime as we oppose those of Washington and Peking.

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

The SOCIALIST WORKERS MOVEMENT fights to unite the working class irrespective of religion and sex in struggles to cut back exploitation and improve living conditions. We fight to make the workers' organisations, the trade unions, completely independent and democratic in order that they may play an effective part in these struggles. As immediate aims we fight for a minimum wage of £30 for a 35-hour working week, for rank-and-file control of the trade unions, and we oppose all anti-trade union

legislation. We oppose redundancy, unemployment and lay-offs.

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

against military and sectarian attack. We fight for total separation of Church and State.

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

SWM

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

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

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

PORTUGAL:

EVENTS MOVE at a fantastic pace in a revolutionary situation. The past several weeks in Portugal has seen the political and military crisis sharpen dramatically as the right-wing attempted to reply to massive mobilisation of workers. On the left, the rank and file soldiers' movement SUV (Soldiers United Will Win) has assumed national proportions and has staged successful demonstrations throughout the country.

In late September 12,000 soldiers led 85,000 workers through the streets of Lisbon. The march culminated in a rally at midnight which then decided to go on to a military prison where two comrades were being held for distributing SUV literature. They got to the barracks about an hour later, having commandeered every available means of transport to get them there. Under this fantastic pressure General Otelio Carvalho had to call the commandant of the barracks to secure the release of the two soldiers.

Two weeks later soldiers evicted from the CICA barracks occupied the RASP barracks in Oporto, and in Coimbra 2000 soldiers led 15,000 workers through the streets of the city. On all these demonstrations the chant was the same: "Soldiers always on the side of the people".

STRIKES

In the working class itself the strikes continue. 200,000 metal workers held a national one day strike. In Setubal, south of Lisbon another newspaper fell to workers' control. Also in Setubal the most advanced assembly of workers, soldiers and tenants is being built through the Committee for Struggle, and is beginning to be regarded by the workers as an alternative to the government. In mid-November 20,000 construction workers won wage increases after having laid siege to the Sao Bento Palace — home of the Prime Minister and Portugal's National Assembly. It was the most serious attack yet on the Constituent Assembly.

It was followed by a huge demonstration two days later which observers agreed was the biggest seen in the country since the May Day march in 1974. Perhaps 300,000 workers, agricultural labourers, fishermen

LINKS OF SOLIDARITY WITH P.R.P.

THE PRESENT Portuguese crisis puts the revolutionary Left to the most severe test it has faced in any European country for many years. The eighteen months since the fall of fascism have been a short time to build up the political organisation which can lead the workers to power. The reformist and wildly opportunist Communist Party with its continuous tradition of struggle against fascism can still hold the allegiances of large sections of workers. While many of their own members often act independently of, or against, the party's lead, there is no mass revolutionary party to attract them.

The Revolutionary Party of the Proletariat (PRP) came out of fascism with less than 100 members and has

now about 2,000. The Socialist Workers Movement has maintained relations with it for over a year because it was the first to spell out clearly the need for workers' revolution. It has been the most consistent of the left organisations in stressing the need for workers' organisation at the rank and file; the proposals for revolutionary councils of soldiers and workers came from their initiative in March 1975.

Members of the PRP and of the Revolutionary Brigades (BR) with which the party merged, engaged in military actions against the Salazar-Caetano regime. They expropriated military maps and documents to pass on to the liberation movements in Portuguese colonies. They sabotaged military transports to the colonies. The only people to die in these, and other, actions were two members of the Brigades themselves; it was an essential part of their activities that they did not endanger the lives of others.

The Brigades have been maintained

and soldiers filled Lisbon's main thoroughfare carrying an ocean of red banners and accompanied by hundreds of lorries, cement mixers and military vehicles full of people.

But the demonstration was dominated by Communist Party slogans and policies pitched around that party's attempt to force a change in the composition of the sixth provisional government to their own advantage. The next week the government went 'on strike' in protest against the military leaders' refusal to support them. The military's response was a careful mix of concessions to the Communists and exhortation to the government to resume functioning pending a reshuffle. The still-born Military Intervention Group—intended to be a shock force of troops loyal to the government but in which all but a handful of troops refused to participate—was disbanded; a shuffle ordered at the top of the military command (stymied almost immediately by the failure of a right-wing officer to take up his post); a populist proposal for committees of alliance between the armed forces and the people was revived; and the Fifth Division of the army, responsible for propaganda, dominated by the Communists but dissolved in September, was reconstituted.

At the time of writing, it looked as if all this might give the various parties some breathing space: it will not stabilise the situation. On the big demonstration it was clear that the mass of workers were spontaneously going beyond the Communists' positions while the workers' economic struggles and the soldiers' independent organising were continuing. The danger is that the Communists are likely to regard the new package as sufficient concession to call off these mobilisations and to reduce morale. This in turn would give the right the time they need to pull together their forces. That is why an immense responsibility falls on the revolutionary left to develop their membership and penetration in the working class to project the struggles towards the taking of power.

However, the Right has been busying itself in the meantime for an attack on the workers and soldiers. Several weeks ago the right-wing command of the air forces opened up airports for fighter planes, and has equipped civil aircraft and helicopters for military purposes. There has also been a build-up of US warships off the coast of Portugal.

Government 'on strike'

The right-wing has also resorted to terrorist activities. The ELP, a clandestine fascist army, has been responsible for the planting of car bombs which have exploded in Lisbon — fortunately with little damage.

One of the most important incidents in the escalation of the trails of strength between left and right was that of Radio Renascença. The radio station, liberated from its former owners — the Catholic Church — has been a foremost symbol of workers' power. It played a crucial role in freeing the media for workers' use and was important in its ability to mobilise people onto demonstrations and the restoration of Renascença to the Church was an important part of the latest government's plan for a return to "normality." The tug-of-war for the station saw 50,000 marching on the radio mast at Bucaca, outside Lisbon, to force its return to the workers after it had been occupied by right-wing commandoes. Unable to hold the station, the government could only put it off the air by sending a shock troop of 60 paratroops of the AMI to blow up the mast.

So the struggle continues. The Right are testing their muscles for a possible counter-attack and workers will only hold the gains they have made by taking state power. The alternative may be another Chile. Whether a civil war or an insurrection takes place the stakes are high. A defeat for the Portuguese working class is a defeat for us all. Their victory will bring our own that much nearer.

KEVIN DOUGAN



representatives. Years of clandestinity have bred habits which are hard to shake off. Their public style, their propaganda, their attitude to the building of the party, have, we believe, hindered their progress. Our criticisms in these respects, and of specific political decisions, come within the framework of fraternal relations.

The PRP is a workers' organisation with its main centres of strength in the Lisbon area and the industrial belt to the south of the river Tagus. They are a force in many of the major industries including the Lisnave and Setenave shipyards. But they are still tiny in relation to the tasks facing them, and are hesitant to recruit openly.

DANGER

The party's influence, however, goes far wider than the organisation itself. As with the rest of the revolutionary Left, it has increased in the army in recent months. But there is a danger that the revolutionary soldiers would move too far ahead of even the most advanced workers. The focus on the army can lead to an

under-estimate of the unevenness of class consciousness among workers. They will not follow an insurrectionary lead unless politically and organisationally prepared to do so.

Precise and up-to-date information is hard to get. From our comrades' several visits to Portugal, we are convinced that the most reliable general view is given by the PRP-BR. When others were looking for "democratic" and "popular" solutions, they stressed the central role of the working class. When others were making demands on the Armed Forces Movement as if it could be a united bloc they were working to open up the class divisions which ran through it. If a revolutionary organisation didn't make mistakes in Portugal today, it can only be because it is tiny or irrelevant.

The Socialist Workers Movement has invited the PRP-BR to send a speaker to Ireland for a series of meetings. At their request — or as they put it, "due to the delicacy of the situation" — the tour has been postponed. Keep in touch with S.W.M. members for information. Watch out for posters and leaflets.

the worker

Paper of the Socialist Workers Movement

NEED FOR SOLIDARITY UNDERLINED

FOUR THOUSAND engineering workers from Mackies' factories in Belfast have gone back to work after a ten week strike, with only minimal gains. The Mackies family is the longest established in the Belfast engineering industry. They have three factories in Belfast as well as interests in textile production and land. Their operations stretch around the world, and £10,000,000 would be a very conservative estimate of their wealth. This is all owned outright by the family with only a handful of outside shareholders and all of them loyal servants of the Mackie dynasty.

The average basic take home wage of a Mackie worker before the strike was £24. In a year when prices rose 26 per cent they had been given a 9 per cent rise in pay. And if management had got their way that would have been the only increase in 19 months. The bosses hid behind the British governments statutory £6 per week maximum pay rise policy to justify their blank refusal to even consider the workers' demands. Mackies' workers reckoned they needed £14 per week to bring them up to the level of other Belfast engineering workers.

DEMANDS

The strike began on August 26th and was never made official. Negotiations were carried on by two senior union officials, Andy Barr and Jimmy Graham, who are both leading members of the Communist Party. From the very outset Barr and Graham told the men that they had no chance of winning their demands and that they should be prepared to settle within the government's limits. There was a great deal of militant sounding speeches, with marches and so on, but behind the scenes Barr and Graham were busy preparing a miserable sell out.

Although Mackies' workers have no established record of militancy, the strike was 100 per cent solid and the mood of the men was determined. They need not have been alone in their fight either: the government was

busy cutting the wages of workers in Standard Telephones by up to £15 per week, and workers in Ulsterbus (who only won their present wage awards after an eight week strike last year) were also facing actual cuts in their pay. The C.P. union leaders made no efforts to unite these struggles or to mobilise any other workers in a determined struggle which could have smashed the government's pay policy. Instead they preferred to 'put pressure' on the TUC through letters and lobbying, all of which of course had no effect whatsoever.

BETRAYAL

After convincing the men that they had no chance of winning the £14 and reducing the demand to £6 back-dated to August 3rd, Barr and Graham began the serious work of negotiating the final betrayal. The men were finally ordered back to work on November 3rd with the promise that their demands had been met. But the 'terms of settlement' circulating among shop stewards states quite clearly that 'the offer will be effective from the date of resumption of work' and not August 3rd. The point of the struggle over the date of settlement was that it would determine the date of next year's rise. If the settlement was agreed for August 3rd the men were entitled to £18 back payment (i.e. £6 a week for the three weeks after August 3rd when they were still at work), but the terms state clearly that the £18 was an 'ex gratia bonus'. Many of the workers at Mackies are convinced that they have been led up the garden path by Barr and Graham. Most of them are completely unaware that the two officials are members of the CP, and regard them simply as typical union bosses whose main interest is to ensure industrial peace.

The lesson of the strike is clear for all workers: if you want to win, rely on yourselves and your own rank and file organisations; support the officials only so long as they support you; and beware of the militant phrasemongers and false leaders whose main interest is in winning and keeping comfortable positions at the top of the union ladder.

Crown Controls:

Strikers vote to fight on

THE SEVENTH MONTH of the Crown Control's strike, in Galway. As the crunch-point seemed to be approaching, our 'socialist' Minister, Michael O'Leary scented some credit to be gained and jumped in Needless to say, he didn't land squarely on the side of the workers. The 'new' offer which resulted from his intervention was rejected.

THE STRIKE came in the wake of 80 redundancies early this year. A militant shop steward, Martin Daly, was sacked for using 'bad language' to a supervisor, and the strike for his reinstatement followed. It has since become a trial of strength between boss and worker on the issue of shop floor organisation, and basic trade union principles.

Some of the Crown workers split from the union, the AUEW, and scabbed on the strikers. Management used scab lorries to get goods in and out of the factory, eventually bringing them in by night in order to avoid pickets. The police, of course, weighed in on the bosses' side by harassing the picketers and preventing them from following the scab lorries to trace and black them.

Over the last few weeks the strikers have gone on the offensive. They set up a varavan at the Crown site in order to maintain night-time pickets and have now adopted a policy of putting pickets on any factory supplying

materials to Crown. When Crown attempted to move into an IDA warehouse on the industrial estate the strikers immediately picketed there too. Although no leaflets had been produced before the picket to explain the reasons, workers at Unilocomotive called a stoppage. Within two hours the IDA had refused Crown permission to move.

In contrast to this solidarity the inactivity of the Galway Trades Council and the local Labour Party is disgraceful. The Trades Council hasn't even issued a statement of support—let alone organised collections and support—although now various trade unions around the town have passed resolutions calling for an emergency meeting to discuss the issue. And it is only recently that the Labour Party has come out openly in support of the strikers. Their shining light, M D O'Higgins has been conspicuously absent in offering his support.

But a petition by the Galway Shop Stewards and Rank and File Committee calling for the immediate reinstatement of the shop steward and the freezing of all grants to Crown until his reinstatement got hundreds of signatures. It is important to realise that simply petitioning will not of itself have much of an effect. This support must be translated into action. The Crown strike is on an issue of basic trade union principle—the principle of the right of workers to shop floor organisation. A defeat for the Crown workers will be the go-ahead for bosses in Galway to try preventing the building or organisation at the point of production which is at the very heart of trade unionism. This is why it is important to break the present deadlock, which can only be done by workers around Galway giving active support to the strike. The effects of the stoppage at Unilocomotive and the picket on the industrial estate point the way. Half-day or full-day stoppages by sections of Galway workers would put the pressure on other bosses and show that attempts to smash shop floor organisation will be resisted.



'Part of the march of 250 people in support of the Crown strikers in November. On the same day the ICTU gave consent to an 'All-out picket'—seven months after the strike began.'

If the Crown bosses' threat of closure is put into effect it must be answered by a massive march of trade unionists to the Crown factory on the day before the proposed closure. The Crown strikers have fought a long and courageous battle, the outcome of which will have a bearing on the future of all workers in Galway.

WE RECEIVED the following letter from a woman living in Walter Macken Flats, Galway, whose husband is on strike at Crown Controls.

AS THE WIFE of a striker from Crown Controls, I have often been asked my opinion of the strike. Firstly the effect it has on my two children and I financially. My husband receives £6 strike pay and I receive £6.60 home Assistance. I have no need to tell any wife with two children the hardship involved in trying to make ends meet on a total of £12.60. I simply cannot.

But this does not deter me from my resolve to stand beside my husband and the other strikers till justice is done. Also I would like to say to the wives of strikers anywhere in Ireland that the strikers can win any dispute with your full support.

Keep warm by working

WORKERS on strike from the Dobson Fibres factory, Waterford, point out that the oil-fired heaters installed in the factory by the IDA have never been used during the six years the place has been open. Apparently the Dobson bosses are more careful with their money than the IDA is with ours. But then, if those bloody workers would just get on with the job and worked harder they wouldn't need heaters to keep warm. And oil is expensive these days, so why waste money molly-coddling workers? It makes sense if you're a boss.

There's a full report of the strike on page 2.

Labour for sale—or rent

THE PHONE rang and interrupted my conversation with the ITGWU Branch Official. His eyes rose when the caller told him he was inquiring about opening up a business and wanted to know the unions position. "Well, we'd want to see you had the right number of people employed and that you were paying the proper rate."

How many people?
"Now that would depend. The size of the place, where it would be located and the hours of business".
The caller gave some details.
"Yes, well, in that case you'd need... let's see... four and three... then another... let's say about twelve. Pardon? No, that's not an awful lot, it's the usual staffing. Of course we're open to negotiation, these things could be gone into in details. You wouldn't find us too tough."

Now I was raising my eyebrows.
"Yes, hold on, I have the rates here."

He read out the wage rates for the different grades.
"No, no, these are the normal rates. Of course, again, when we get around the table we can talk about this. You'll find us very reasonable."
The phone conversation finished soon after and ten minutes later I left the office half convinced that



somewhere in Liberty Hall there's a large container marked, "Labour". The union officials genuinely do their best to sell this to the bosses. If the boss wants eight yards of workers, the union official will try hard to sell him ten yards. But he'll never refuse a sale because the price is too cheap, and he'll trim the product to suit the bosses needs. The official may feel uneasy that his job is to sell workers' labour but to question the system is to threaten his own position.

At the moment there are 105,000 on the dole and that container is overflowing. So the Official has lowered his price. The bosses want a pay pause next year and the official may even agree to give-away prices for his product.

HARDLY a week passes by in the Limerick and Shannon area without it being announced that a group of workers have been made redundant or that a whole plant is to be closed down. This state of affairs has been caused basically by two factors; Ireland's entry into the EEC and the present recession in the capitalist economy. Once Ireland's admission into the EEC was decided the fate of the traditional industries in the region was that of decline and fall. But not only has the economic crisis accelerated this trend it has also led to a widespread contraction and rationalisation of employment in the modern factories established recently by the multi-nationals.

This has resulted in a sharp increase in the reserve army of the unemployed in North Munster, an army which can pose a threat to the fighting spirit of the working class. It needs no crystal ball to predict that these cutbacks in employment will herald savage attacks on the living standards of workers.

Unfortunately the leadership given by the trade union officialdom has not been particularly inspiring and they have been unable to adequately defend workers against the assaults launched upon them by the employers.

In response to this situation a new working class paper has hit the streets

DOG BITES BOSS

Dave Lee

and factories of North Munster. Calling itself 'The Bottom Dog' it has set itself the modest task of developing a militant rank and file movement among workers in the area which can reply to the bosses attacks with a counter offensive.

The aims of the paper are to highlight and support the everyday struggles of working people. Wherever possible the Dog will build active solidarity with those who find themselves in conflict with their "masters".

While the main emphasis of the

paper is on practical activity and to develop The Dog as an 'organ of action' the editorial board realises that it is just as important to Educate as to Organise. Therefore this publication will feature articles on such topics as the Social Services, the Economy, Women's Rights. Also articles are to be printed that analyse past struggles in North Munster with the object of extracting lessons from these experiences.

The Bottom Dog is brought out every two weeks by a group of trade unionists and it is definitely not a platform for any individual or a front for any political party. Contributions for the Dog won't be written by a small clique around the editorial board for the columns of the paper are open to workers to air their views on issues such as strikes, unemployment and redundancies. Nor will the Dog concentrate solely on the organised industrial worker but will pay attention to the unemployed, agricultural workers and small farmers, housing and unorganised earners.

The Bottom Dog has set itself some difficult tasks and the editorial board will have to surmount many problems but because of their enthusiasm and determination to succeed the paper may well become a permanent feature in the life of North Munster workers. In that case — "Employers, Beware Of The Dog".

"Clipping Wings In Waterford" - from page 2
 CUR REFERENCE to occupation in the article on Dobson's (page 2) was meant to be humorous. But as we went to press over a hundred workers from the Waterford Industrial Estate entered the factory and stopped production in support of the four workers from Dobson's Fibres who had maintained an unofficial picket for five weeks.

WITH THE ITGWU official, Micheal O'Brien doing everything in his power to isolate the men, and with the Dobson workforce split and confused, management was in a strong position. On Friday 28th November the strikers distributed 400 leaflets arguing their case to the other factories on the estate. The following Tuesday workers from several factories gathered at the picket line to show their solidarity. Six women from BDI joined the picket and received a round of applause - they had been threatened with the sack as they left their factory, but were determined to show their solidarity.

At about 9am, after two hours in the cold wind and rain, the picketers decided that they would be in a stronger position if they occupied the factory - and besides, it should be warmer inside!

The gate was soon barricaded with a van and the machines stopped. The workers from the other factories goggled at the one-bar electric fence that was supposed to heat the whole factory, including the night shift. It wasn't that much warmer inside after all. The workers used the bosses' phone to contact other factories and others left their jobs to join the occupation. Reidy, another ITGWU official arrived. He ignored the workers and walked right

through to the managers office. He soon emerged to order the workers back to work. Some hope. Another official, John Dwan, had the same luck after telling his members to be reasonable - they had "made their point".

The occupation only ended after much discussion among the workers during which several things were agreed:

- (1) Production would remain stopped.
- (2) The Dobson workers would meet Reidy that evening at the union office.
- (3) All the shop stewards on the estate would be called to a meeting that evening in another room of the union office. There they would elect a Shop Stewards Committee and if the Dobson workers were not satisfied with the result of their own meeting they could call on the Committee to take further action.
- (4) They would stand no victimisation.

Miraculously, the directors of Dobson - who "couldn't be contacted" during the strike - came out of hiding and agreed to meet the workers for negotiations. The Shop Stewards Committee was formed that Tuesday night. The officers of the Committee are recallable and the stewards agreed on a militant stand on wages, redundancies and equal pay. As one worker said: "We are not setting up a rival union. We will fight within our union to make it support our struggle. We support the officials as long as they support us. If they don't they can stand aside - we, the rank and file - ARE the union."

The Waterford Industrial Estate Shop Stewards Committee has made a strong start. All the actions taken on that long, eventful day were freely and democratically decided. After years of bureaucratic carry-on by the union officials the workers have shown how militant united action can shake the bosses in their boots. The strength of the Committee will be enhanced as it grows to include all factories on the estate, and if the Dobson bosses carry out their threat to close the factory the Committee can demand that it be nationalised under workers' control.

PORTUGAL: "WE HAVE LOST A BATTLE BUT NOT THE WAR"

THAT WAS the headline in the worker-controlled paper, 'Republica', on the events of the last week in November. It is clear that the purge of left-wing officers which has followed the failed paratroopers' rebellion is a significant defeat for the revolutionary forces in Portugal.

The military Left had played a key role during the past few months. Militant rank and file soldiers had been able to resist the attempts of the Sixth Provisional Government to restore the old order in the armed forces. Their defeat increases the confidence of the ruling class to start disarming workers' groups and to push through austerity measures against the working class.

But the working class is not smashed. Throughout November it showed its strength in a number of strikes, including two general strikes, and demonstrations, including one of the biggest ever seen in Portugal on clearly anti-capitalist lines. The workers will fight back against any attempts to make them pay for the country's economic crisis.

(CONTINUED OVERLEAF)

THE I.R.S.P. SPLIT

IT WAS ONLY a matter of time before the differences within the Irish Republican Socialist Party strated to break up that organisation. When it was formed exactly one year ago the party resented itself as being open to all shades of left wing views. But, as THE WORKER pointed out at the time, many were recruited to it on a traditional republican basis. It increasingly looked like the other republican organisations.

One thing the history of republicanism proves: you can't pour socialist working class politics into a republican mould. For all their left-wing phrases, a part of the IRSP leadership was more committed to traditional republican ideas and methods than to anything socialist or working class. They defended the old notion of a separate and dominant military organisation.

As a consequence of all this, the IRSP has never become involved in working class struggle.. It has had no way of distinguishing itself from Officials or Provisionals. It has echoed some of the reformist ideas of the first and tried to get involved in the others military adventures. In spite of repeatedly calling for a "broad front" against imperialism, the IRSP has refused to join in common action with left-wing groups against repression North and South.

Over the past year, THE WORKER has been pointing out these inconsistencies with the IRSP's claim to be socialist. We argued that the claim would be meaningless if the party did not break with the republican tradition - both in political and organisational form. The criticisms from the eleven members of the National Executive who resigned at the end of November covered many of the same points.

But they and their supporters still have to face up to the major problem: how is the revolutionary working class organisation to be built? They see the need for a programme; they see the need for a "revolutionary movement"; but they do not face directly the need for a socialist organisation which works in a coherent way withing the working class movement and the national struggle. They have differences among themselves which will not be resolved in discussion alone - just as the socialist programme will not be worked out in discussion alone.

There are many issues facing the working class and anti-imperialist movements which require immediate common action of all socialists; opposition to the Criminal Law Bill; the building of a rank and file opposition to wage restraint and redundancies; solidarity with the Portuguese workers - and so on.

To those who have left the IRSP we say: You must find a way of becoming involved in those struggles immediately, and you must see that the organisation which can provide consistent leadership in these and longer-term struggles has to be built openly in the working class and outside the republican tradition.

The Socialist Workers Movement remains convinced that the only way in which we can prevent more demoralisation and defeat in the anti-imperialist struggle is to build a united front of working class and anti-imperialist organisations against repression. We will continue to work for that and we will continue to press the IRSP to take up that fight too.

The crisis of republicanism, which is cracking up all the republican organisations, could lead to greater clarification of ideas and policies. But it could also lead to deeper demoralisation - unless the right lessons are drawn, and drawn quickly.

PORTUGAL (continued from page 1):

The paratroopers' "revolt" came as a response to right-wing manoeuvres in the army, including the sacking from his post of General Carvalho. It was not a full-scale attempt at a seizure of power. It appears to have been launched by the Portuguese Communist Party, who got the support of a number of revolutionary groups.

But no sooner was the rebellion started, and the FCP had called out workers in support, than the Communist Party leaders opened negotiations with the President and government parties. They negotiated from this position of strength and won concessions from them. They urged an ending of the rebellion 24 hours after supporting it, and even left their own supporters among the military in the lurch.

By this manoeuvre they succeeded in isolating the revolutionary left. The FCP is now, apparently, on the inside agreeing repression against revolutionary groups, although during past weeks it has led many demonstrations and strikes along with them. It was precisely that show of their left face which made it all the easier for them to rat on the rebellion.

Now, more than ever, it must be clear to socialists in Portugal and those supporting them in other countries that the struggle for workers' power has to be based on the strength of the workers themselves. As we explain on page 7 of THE WORKER, there was always a danger of the revolutionaries in the army moving too far ahead of the workers. In spite of the set-back, the fight must be stepped up to build a revolutionary leadership openly within the working class to take up the coming political and economic battles.