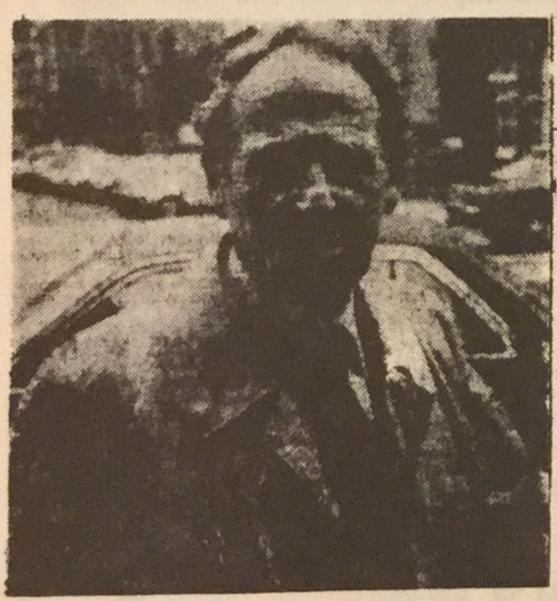


# TO BE OR N.A.T.O. BE ?!

ABOUT 500 PEOPLE MARCHED LAST SATURDAY, NOV. 7TH, IN DUBLIN IN SUPPORT OF THE 20 MILITANTS WHO HAVE BEEN ARRESTED AND CHARGED, FOLLOWING THE MASSIVE ANTI-H-BLOCK DEMONSTRATION IN DUBLIN LAST JULY. THE COMRADES, PICKED INDIVIDUALLY AND OVER A LONG PERIOD OF TIME, FACE A MAXIMUM OF 20 YEARS JAIL IF CONVICTED. THEY HAVE BEEN CHARGED UNDER A RARELY USED SECTION (7) OF THE OFFENCES AGAINST THE STATE ACT SOMETHING TO DO WITH 'OBSTRUCTING THE POLICE ON THE EXECUTION' ETC. THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT THE 20 PEOPLE MAKE UP AN 'EXEMPLARY' ATTEMPT BY THE COPS TO MAKE THE MOVEMENT PAY FOR ITS AUDACITY...FOR DARING TO FIGHT BACK. THE TRIALS, SET INDIVIDUALLY FOR EACH COMRADE, WILL BEGIN LATER IN THE MONTH. WE ARE ASKING ALL OUR READERS AND SUPPORTERS TO DO ALL THEY CAN TO SUPPORT THE EMBASSY 20. (See Editorial, p.12.)

no. 47 20p.



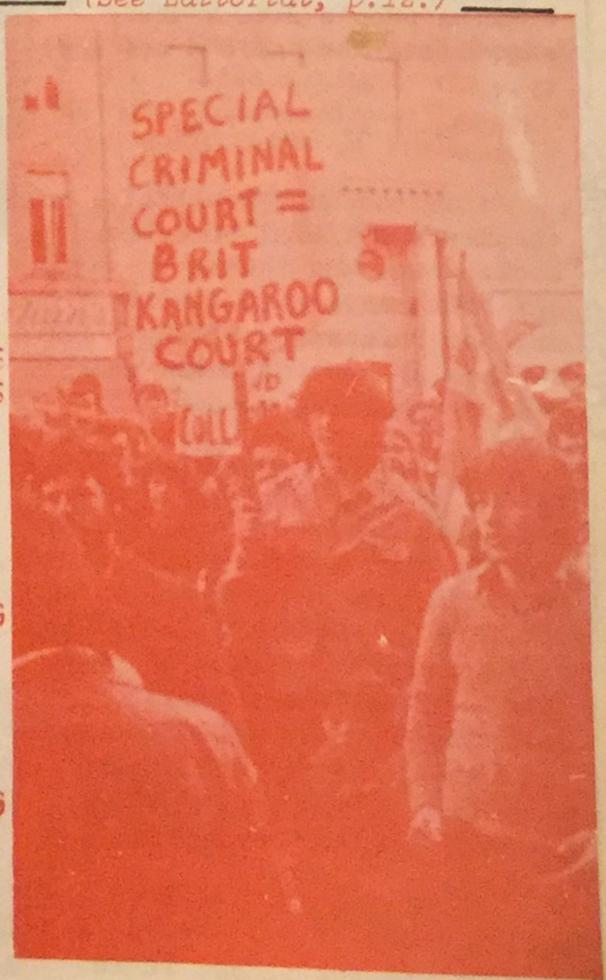
*Rebel*

## Wage Deal Ruined

AS THE FRANTIC TO AND FRO OF GOVERNMENT PEOPLE, EMPLOYERS AND TRADE UNION ADMINISTRATORS TO TRY TO PATCH UP A NEW WAGES PACT HAS COME TO NOTHING DISCUSSION ABOUT HOW TO PROCEED FROM NOW ON IS HOTTING UP IN MANY WORKPLACES THE GOVERNMENT AND THE EMPLOYERS HAVE DRAWN THEIR LINES ON A 7% PAY LIMIT, WITH INFLATION RUNNING AT OVER 20% THIS WAS CLEARLY NO BASIS FOR DISCUSSION. NOW IT LOOKS LIKE THAT FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE 1971 WORKERS WILL HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO FLEX THEIR INDUSTRIAL MUSCLE.

C.I.E. WORKERS HAVE BEEN THE FIRST TO TAKE THE LEAD WITH A WAGE DEMAND OF 25%. MOST OTHER UNIONS ARE ADVISING THEIR PEOPLE TO LODGE CLAIMS OF NO LESS THAN 20%. AS THE PRESENT NATIONAL WAGE AGREEMENT (UNDERSTANDING THEY CALL IT) IS RUNNING OUT FOR MOST PEOPLE, 1982 WILL MOST CERTAINLY BE A VERY EXCITING YEAR ON THE INDUSTRIAL FRONT.

REBEL WILL TRY TO DO ITS BEST TO KEEP ITS READERS INFORMED OF THE STRUGGLES WHICH BREAK OUT ACROSS THE COUNTRY. WE ARE ASKING ALL OUR COMRADES ALL OUR READERS TO SEND US NEWS OF ECONOMIC STRUGGLES, . . . AND ALSO GET INVOLVED AND SUPPORT WORKERS STRUGGLES FOR A LIVING WAGE EVERYWHERE THEY BREAK OUT.



(See articles in p.2,3 and 4.)

IN THE LAST ISSUE OF KEBEL WE LOOKED AT THE STATE OF THE ECONOMY TO SHOW THAT THERE IS NO BOOM AROUND THE CORNER. THE ARTICLE BELOW LOOKS AT SOME OF THE SAME QUESTIONS FROM A DIFFERENT ANGLE



## Irish Economy

The Allied Irish Banks in their recent 'Economic Review' make the point that "the present downturn of the world economy is long-run and structural not short-run and cyclical...". In spite of the talk of 'job creation' and 'foreign investment' (and it's not only talk either: between January and July 1981 £650m. worth of new projects were started in the 26 Counties), the Government appointed specialists now tell us that there will be 300,000 officially unemployed in the 26 Counties before there is any chance of the dole queues levelling off. This would make a 32 Counties figure of over half a million !! (In a country where the total population is not even 5 million !!). If all proportions are kept, that figure would mean that Ireland's jobless rate is DOUBLE that of Britain. and they're talking of hunger marches over there !

These figures alone are a clear indictment of the class system under which we live. For us, they are a clear demonstration that peoples needs CANNOT BE MET by the capitalist system .... State or otherwise. They are a clear proof that only the development of new organisational forms of political power can help the working people attack their exploiters and build a new society.

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In the last week talks on the new 'National Understanding' broke down. Why? What is capital and State trying to achieve? How are the Unions responding? Let us look at some of these questions in a serious way.

The nature of the current crisis is generally expressed, in bourgeois terms, as one of slow growth, high unemployment, excessive inflation, unacceptable level of State borrowing and a balance of payments deficit. As to the causes of all these 'ills'.... well, they are the world recession the increasing demands of our growing workforce and our loss of international competitiveness.

From these key factors, 'world recession' is obviously an 'external factor'. So it is

SYSTEM CANT WORK

argued, we can't do anything about that. So, we have to tackle our 'uncompetitiveness'....which means that 'our costs are too high'. And what makes up our 'costs'? Raw materials and wages....well, raw materials are an 'external' factor so, what are we left with? WAGES....which means increased profitability, increased competitiveness, increased productivity, reducing the balance of payments deficit, reducing external borrowing....all of these will materialise if workers accept a cut in their living standards.

And then they come and tell us that Marxism makes no sense at all; it's dead. Modern conditions are gone beyond Marxism they keep saying. Listen to the man himself:

"Capital, therefore, is not only...the command over labour. It is essentially the command over UNPAID labour. All surplus value, whatever particular form (profit, interest or rent) it may subsequently crystallise into, is, in substance, THE MATERIALISATION of unpaid labour. The secret of the self-expansion of capital resolves itself into having the disposal of a definite quantity of other peoples unpaid labour.."

Capital. Vol I . p500

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The Coalition Government, which according to Noel Browne's new discovery is led by "the most radical of all Parties: Fine Gael", has made a heavy commitment to reducing the budget deficit and foreign indebtedness in the coming years. This is being done, according to the Coalition, in order to reduce the possibility of having to devalue the Ir £ and avoid austerity measures being forced on the economy by our creditors and especially the World Bank and the International Monetary Bank.

But this commitment is in contradiction to two other major issues: the reduction of the taxation rate (also promised) and the next public pay increase. A public sector pay increase of the order of 20% would cost the State a straight £400 m. On the other hand, the promise to cut down direct taxation is being balanced with increased indirect

taxation, VAT etc. With almost 90% of tax receipts coming from PAYE workers, and an unwillingness of banks, big firms and farmers to pay tax, it is difficult to see how the State can meet its commitment to simultaneously cut taxes and reduce borrowing.

While this juggling act goes on, it is certain that both State and capital intend to further reduce the living standards of working people, both at and out of work, through pay pauses, refusal to pay negotiated and agreed increases, reduction in the rate of pay and welfare increases, introduction of new technology and work practices at the lowest possible cost.

Faced with this situation, State and capital do not want the type of agreement which operated in the 70s. Even last time round, the employers were unwilling to negotiate but Haughey pushed them hard IN ORDER TO POLITICALLY STABILISE the country. This time, they reckon that a lot of workers will moderate their claims in order 'to protect their jobs'. Many employers feel that they'll get away with carrot and stick tactics, with sob stories, with threats faced with inexperienced factory floor negotiators who many don't even know how to put in a claim after ten years of centralised pay bargaining. Many bosses also feel that they will be able to extract productivity agreements and deals on the introduction of new technology from the local people. FUE is pushing the line that pay increases must be tied up to productivity. Both State and capital are also anxious that all stipulation of increases for the low paid, the unemployed and the handicapped be got rid of.

So workers will be faced with a single figure pay 'norm' and demands for 3-6 months pay pause. The Government will most probably play a forceful role in disputes....

As negotiations are now slowly proceeding, the employers hope that a de-facto pay pause will actually be put into operation. The National Economic and Social Council recent Report argued for "an income pause for 18 months or as long as possible".

**THIS IS WHY ALL DEMANDS MUST BE BACKDATED TO COVER THE ENTIRE PERIOD SINCE THE END OF THE NATIONAL UNDERSTANDING.**

The employers are also anxious to see what kind of leadership the Coalition is going to provide in order to enforce the 6.5% pay guideline....they are anxious to see how they are going to respond to the 25% demand of the C.I.E. workers which is already in.

**THIS IS WHY THE BUSMEN MUST BE SUPPORTED WITH ALL MEANS AT OUR DISPOSAL WHEN - AND IF - THEY GO ON STRIKE.**

And what are the Unions and workers thinking? How are they responding to the pressure? This will be the theme of our next article in this series.

Material for Analysis

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EIGHT WORKERS FROM THE HOURS THIS WEEK AS THE SITUATION AROSE OUT OF THE FIRM LAST WEEK AGAINST THE FIRM IN THE BLUEBELT



Six of the eight spend one night in purged their contempt to the Court. They were freed the following after a deal was worked between the Court, Union (AGEMOU) and themselves.

The sit-in and inter-Union squabbles workers decided to who had a 'deal' with Management and join. They had been on strike months when they more drastic action.

The AGEMOU did not sanction though they were given new members and all publicity.

DUPONT is a 8 miles from D has recently installed equipment into one. This equipment is special reinforced concrete recognised as being THE NUCLEAR INDUSTRY

There was great that the firm may produce elements towards the making warheads. This cost weight to when the the factory is ex Security Forces

Material  
for  
Analysis

# working class struggles

EIGHT WORKERS FROM THE AULT & WIBORG (LTD.) FIRM HAD TO SPEND SOME WORRYING HOURS THIS WEEK AS THE HIGH COURT SENT THEM TO PRISON FOR 'CONTEMPT'. THIS SITUATION AROSE OUT OF THE DISOBEYING OF AN INJUNCTION GRANTED TO THE FIRM LAST WEEK AGAINST THE WORKERS WHO WERE SITTING-IN IN THE PREMISES OF THE FIRM IN THE BLUEBELL ESTATE, DUBLIN.



## Workers Jailed

Six of the eight had to spend one night in Mountjoy. Two *purged their contempt* by apologising to the Court. The other six were freed the following day, after a deal was worked out between the Court, the firm, the Union (AGEMOU) and the men themselves.

The sit-in arose out of an inter-Union squabble, when the workers decided to leave the ITGWU who had a 'deal' worked out with Management and join the AGEMOU. They had been on strike for two months when they decided to take more drastic action.

The AGEMOU, apparently, did not sanction the sit-in; though they were glad to get the new members and all the resulting publicity.

A mysterious *third party* paid the Management £300 for some damage done to the property and all the workers walked out from the Court free. The firm accepted AGEMOU, the ITGWU 'relented' and everything goes back to 'normal' in Bluebell. Who said that action does not pay?

Incidentally, Rebel readers may find the remarks made by the judge, Miss Carroll, quite interesting:

*"...Contempt is a very serious matter; if the orders of the court are not obeyed there is no point having courts at all..."*  
Wise words, miss justice !!

The Taoiseach offered some important pieces of his mind for public consumption when he spoke on the 'Poverty' Conference in Kilkenny. He said: "Ireland is a half-drugged matriarchal society..". He didn't specify what he was for and what against but he was applauded by the roadies. Strange!

## Polaroid Mystery

POLAROID is an American multinational which opened in Newbridge in the wake of laying off 200,000 people in the States. The company received a special EEC grant and most of its IDA perks and set up shop in a special complex in Newbridge Co. Kildare. The town welcomed the multinational as it was offering 1,500 badly needed jobs. Newbridge was hit quite hard by unemployment created when other subsidised multinationals left town when their tax-free period ended.

Today, confusion reigns in the town over this massive *white elephant* as it has become known. Looking at POLAROID from the road one must wonder how such a building could house 1,500 workers - it is deceiving. Inside, it has the BIGGEST factory floor space in the country. Underground there is an amazing complex web of pipes, for transporting chemicals...the size of a small town. However, today 75% of this space is empty and idle.

POLAROID, despite the wild promises, employs 200 people 80 of which are Management#Administration 40 of which are American. These people have set up home here at the firm's expense. Those who have not yet been housed stay at a Grade A Hotel, *the Keadeen*, at the firm's expense. Rumour has it that these managers also receive 'inconvenience' money for 'having to live' in Ireland.

The remaining workforce of 120 are local people who have been instructed not to discuss their work. Some have been sent to the States for training. None of the workers whom we have approached will talk about the chemicals they use, the product they manufacture, conditions, nothing. Fear of the Big Brother is massive.

What is POLAROID up to? What are they making? Why is this huge building only 25% in use? Is anything being stored there and if so what? Does anybody know? Does anybody in the country care except than the multinational itself that knows no country?

Some Newbridge comrades

## Dupont Riddle

DUPONT is a massive complex 8 miles from Derry Town. It has recently installed some new equipment into one of its units. This equipment consisted of special reinforced piping which was recognised as being used only in THE NUCLEAR INDUSTRY,

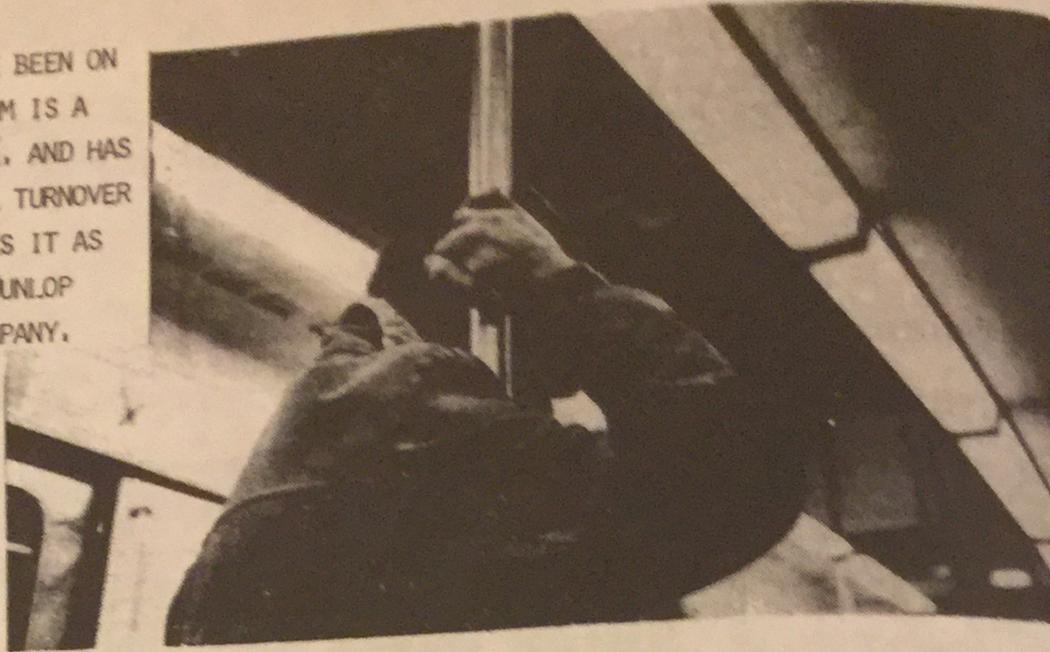
There was grave concern that the firm may be starting to produce elements that would go towards the making of nuclear warheads. This concern was added weight to when the siting of the factory is examined. The Security Forces can observe any

movement of people for miles around. Helicopters are in constant use around the place. People who don't 'belong' to the area are harassed and hassled by the soldiers.

Is DUPONT another hot spot in our 'neutral' country?



WORKERS AT DUNLOP'S IN CORK HAVE BEEN ON STRIKE FOR THE LAST 11 WEEKS. THE FIRM IS A WHOLLY OWNED SUBSIDIARY OF DUNLOP U.K. AND HAS BEEN IN CORK SINCE 1935. ITS 1980-81 TURNOVER WAS OVER 30 MILLION PUNTS WHICH RANKS IT AS THE 26 COUNTIES 87TH LARGEST FIRM; DUNLOP ALSO RANKS AS CORK'S 10TH BIGGEST COMPANY.



# DUNLOP'S

## Strike Goes On

DUNLOP'S is situated in the Marina Industrial Estate, right next to FORD'S who purchased the 300 acre site which used to be a popular public park, including a race course and boating.

The firm is highly protected by Trade Agreements, Tax Concessions, grants etc. When it first opened DUNLOP'S made everything from golf balls to mattresses and exported tyres to over 50 countries. At the beginning, the firm employed 800 women and 1,000 men. Now, the total working there is 984...half the original figure. Between 1967 and 1970 the company re-organised and restructured its production concentrating on tyre production alone. In 1978, their Report says that they lost £28 m. on sales; at that date the workforce numbered 1,450 and was progressively cut following a long and bitter dispute where Rebel comrades got involved in support of the workers for the first time.

### Present strike

The present strike by DUNLOP craftsmen, which is entering its 12th week, began when general workers were sent in to do maintenance work normally done by ETU members. The ETU workers were planning to do this work AFTER their annual holidays...the Management disagreed. Pickets went up and the two other craft Unions, NEETU and AUEW supported the ETU workers: 70 craftsmen in all. On the contrary, the general workers who are members of the ITGWU, have been instructed to pass the pickets, which they are doing regularly. The I.C.T.U. has not heeded an AUEW call for an all-out strike.

General workers have gone one further step and carried out maintenance work usually done by craftsmen; this work, done under the supervision of senior staff and under a lot of threats, has not gone without hitches. The antagonism between craftsmen and general workers appears deep and wide. Around the 5th week of the strike when Management refused to budge, those general workers who were carrying out the craftsmen work had their houses painted SCAB and picketed. There were Court injunctions and some small scale sabotage of trucks was also carried out

About two weeks ago, during the 10th week of the strike, Management and the 3 Unions involved seemed to agree on some settlement. The offer, which included a £750 interest-free loan from the company, was accepted by NEETU and AUEW members but was rejected by the ETU people. Workers say they could not accept to borrow off Peter to pay Paul after 10 weeks on strike pay and debts mounting up.

So the strike continues. The company has intensified its old song of "the strike will have serious consequences for the future of the firm...". As if these serious consequences were not already evident as DUNLOP'S close factories all over the place, lay people off and move to more profitable locations...and thank you very much for the last 45 years profits. But the threat is having an effect among general workers who have become really hostile. Divisions are rife and Union competitiveness does nothing for the unity of the workforce. Despite that though, as a comrade put it, "you can't let them hold the threat of closure like the

proverbial sword over your head, paralysing action..."

The craft workers we spoke to are wary of publicity at this precise moment. They have declined our offer to have a long and detailed interview published. Though they agreed to discuss the lessons drawn later/or when the situation becomes less fraught.

Rebel respects their decision although we are not, obviously, in agreement with them. We regard divisions among our class, like the ones which have developed at DUNLOP'S, as the greatest scourge of the revolutionary movement. We are well aware that most of these divisions are reproduced and encouraged by capitalism and as such they are inevitable. But we also believe that the dynamic of our struggle should lead towards the destruction of these divisions and not their reinforcement.

We invite all workers who read REBEL, general workers or craft workers from DUNLOP'S or any other firm, to comment or expand on the above article.

## Gerry Building

They're going to build a new Ireland. Hurrah. Who is the builder this time? Is it the Limited Company of Garret, Charlie & Hume? When did they start? When Charlie went to visit Maggie last year. He drew up the plans. But he had to get planning permission from Maggie and she had to see Paisley because he is the surveyor. And he said they were on very shaky foundation; and is opposed to the building.

The Provos said they'd be into building a new Ireland. But Prior said they'd have to stop blowing this one down. Garret said if he can't get a new Ireland with a face lift he will carry out a few structural changes to satisfy the incoming tenants. But they said they would prefer their own house rather than live under slum landlords like Charlie or Garret.

Since they were evicted from Stormont, Westminster says it only has place for twelve. It wouldn't put them up. But the heads in Leinster House said



they would do anything to facilitate them. They said the Forcible Entry Act wouldn't apply to them. They would only use Kinsale gas and Kerry butter.

O'Malley said builders should not be allowed to use the Mansion House. The CP said it was all a plot. Reagan said he was interested and Haig was misunderstood. The Labour Party said it was all a great shame. PD argued that it was all up to the national question.

And we all laughed.

John Sisk.

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D.A.R.T. A.G. (Dublin Radiation and Toxic Action) took the initiative in bringing together activists in Tenant Groups, Residents' Groups, Anti-Toxic Collective, various journals and newspapers, womens groups and environmental groups. The first very important meeting of this co-ordinating committee was held in the new NUI building in Glasnevin.

DARTAG presented a history of their struggle. Trinity College plans to build an incinerator for low-level active waste in Santry (Dublin). The Trinity College the result of local opposition have now been put on a back burner although not completely.

The Finglas Toxic Group related the history of their battle against the waste dump in Dunsink. They are planning a blow by blow action and manoeuvrings of the residents from the Ballyfermot, near Ballyfermot. The situation confronting people in that area is that levels of lead content in the atmosphere is threatening health. Other organisations sent in the meeting

- \* Camac Park Residents
- \* North Circular Road
- \* Friends of the
- \* Red Herring
- \* Rebel newspaper

The mood was... and the numbers of... indicated a desire... tion and long term... Agreement was reach... a new issue within... ve Times # Toxic... This new Bulletin w... the situation in Ba... concerning lead, in... the waste dump and... issue of low-level... All groups will di... the various commu... up meeting was tak... the C I S Hall of... as we were going t... \*\*\*\*

The second... nation was called... ary Struggle, as... strategy of nation... tion to toxic ind... jects were propos... organisation on a... by those opposed... try:

- (i) A national Conference
- (ii) An Anti-Toxic examining and oppos... the count

ORGANISATION WITHIN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST TOXIC INDUSTRY REACHED A NEW AND EXCITING LEVEL THESE LAST FEW WEEKS. ( FOUR DIFFERENT OCCASIONS, AND AT TWO SEPARATE LEVELS, CO-ORDINATION MEETINGS TOOK PLACE : THE FIRST LEVEL INVOLVES A WHOLE NUMBER OF LOCAL ACTION GROUPS IN THE DUBLIN AREA.... THE SECOND IS A NATIONAL CO-ORDINATION WHICH IS DEVELOPING A WHOLE SERIES OF INITIATIVES AND PERSPECTIVES.

# Anti-Toxic Struggles

D.A.R.T.A.G. (Dublin Anti-Radiation and Toxic Action Group) took the initiative in calling together activists in various Tenant Groups, Residents Associations, Anti-Toxic Collectives, various journals and newspapers, womens groups and environmental groups. The first very successful meeting of this co-ordination was held in the new NIHE complex in Glasnevin.

DARTAG presented a short history of their struggle against Trinity College plans to site an incinerator for low-level radioactive waste in Santry (North Dublin). The Trinity plans, as the result of local opposition, have now been put on the long finger although not withdrawn completely.

The Finglas Toxic Action Group related the history of their battle against the toxic waste dump in Dunsink Lane, giving a blow by blow account of the manoeuvrings of the Co.Council and the antics of the politicians. Residents from the Bluebell Estate, near Ballyfermot, explained the situation confronting the people in that area where lethal levels of lead content in the atmosphere is threatening their health. Other organisations present in the meeting were:

- \* Camac Park Residents Assoc.
- \* North Circular Rd. Womens Club
- \* Friends of the Earth
- \* Red Herring Journal
- \* Rebel newspaper.

The mood was very serious and the numbers of people present indicated a desire for co-ordination and long term-strategy. Agreement was reached to produce a new issue within the *Radioactive Times* # *Toxic Times* series. This new Bulletin will discuss the situation in Ballyfermot concerning lead, in Finglas with the waste dump and the general issue of low-level radiation. All groups will distribute it in the various communities. A follow up meeting was taking place in the C I E Hall of Marlborough St. as we were going to print.

\*\*\*\*

The second level of co-ordination was called by Revolutionary Struggle, as part of our strategy of *nationalising opposition to toxic industry*. Two projects were proposed, involving organisation on a national basis by those opposed to toxic industry:

- (i) A national open Anti-Toxic Conference for early 1982.
- (ii) An Anti-Toxic pamphlet examining toxic/industry and opposition to it across the country.

Again, a good number of comrades, discussed this project for two meetings. A lot of enthusiasm among people to get involved has given a cautious optimism that these plans may in fact materialise.

Plans on the Conference, now planned for next March, are beginning to concretise. It will bring together collectives, local action groups, Trade Union Safety Committee activists, researchers, militants and others in a two-day event with counter-information, workshops, plenary sessions, films, video, discussion and exhibitions. The site for the Conference is most likely to be Cork....a large mailing list has been put together.

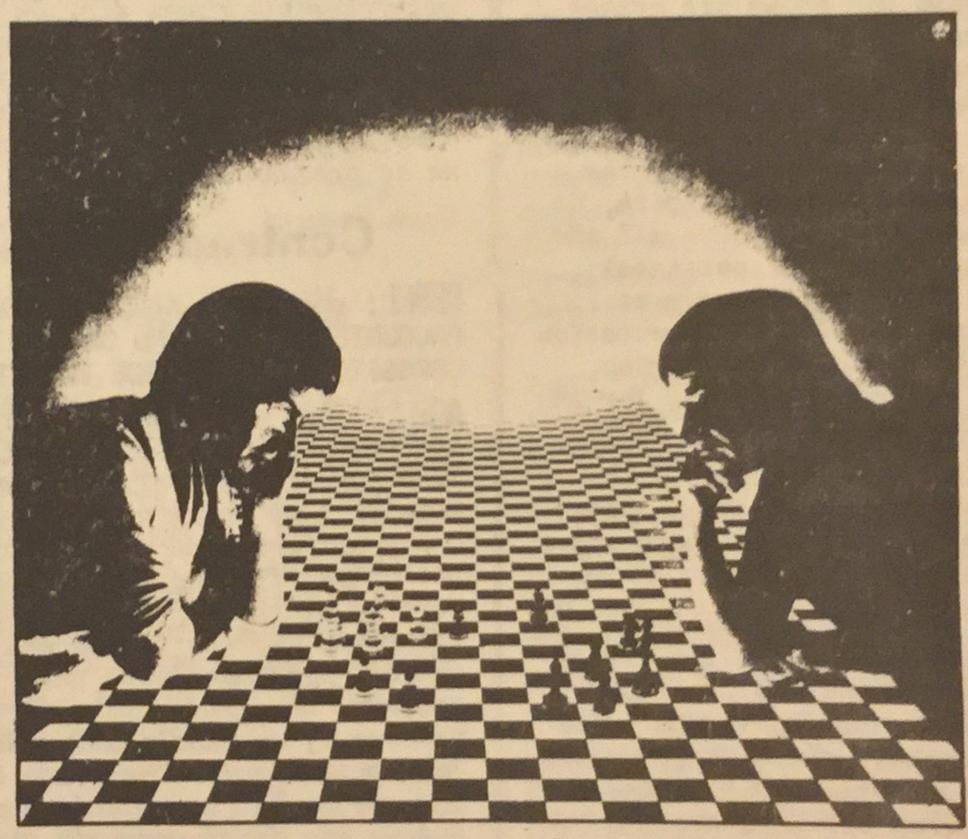
The collective which has been set up is now calling itself A S H (Alliance for Safety and Health). Comrades are organising

an independent address and some Dublin people are drafting a one-page statement about the Conference, its objectives etc which will go to the Press and all the various Action Groups around the country inviting wider participation.

Another little sub-group is preparing an outline for the pamphlet ....Rebel is inviting its readers to support this initiative...especially comrades involved in local opposition to toxic industry. There is another co-ordination meeting planned for Saturday Nov.21st....there is also a social organised to raise some money that evening.

Info on all this from your local Rebel contact or our address:

P.O.Box 1103  
29 Mountjoy Square  
Dublin 1.



## From the horse's mouth-

There are some interesting revelations in a new book 'Radiation and Human Health' written by Dr. John W. Gofman. Gofman is the scientist who isolated the world's first workable quantities of plutonium for the Manhattan Project that produced the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs. Co-discoverer of Uranium-233 and a physicist and doctor of nuclear physical chemistry, Gofman is no apologist for the nuclear industry. He states:

"...It should come as no surprise that the doses predicted and projected by the nuclear industry may be seriously questionable....one does not

promote a product by predicting that it is likely to cause serious epidemics of leukemia, cancer and genetic diseases...."

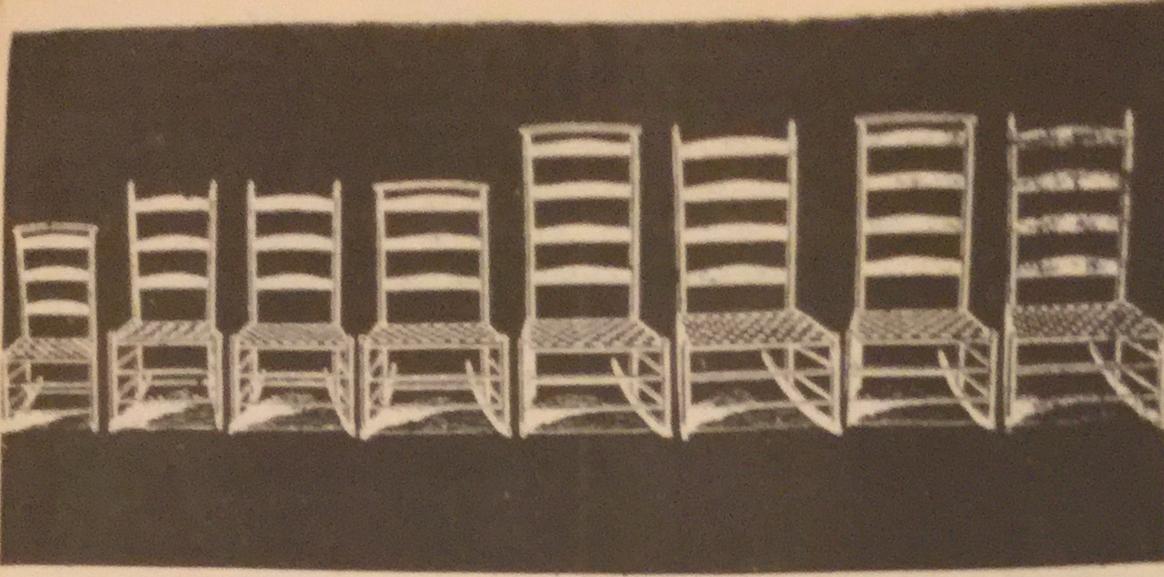
On safe limits, he states: "Industry and Government estimates are hardly worth the paper they are written on...".

Gofman also believes that there is NO safe dose of radiation because "...radiation is cumulative..". On nuclear waste disposal he states "...If containment is only 99.99% perfect (which it is not) tens of thousands of extra cancer deaths will occur each year in a fully developed nuclear-power economy..."

ITALY WAS THE SUBJECT OF A LONG AND DETAILED INTERVIEW IN REBEL LAST FEBRUARY ( ISSUES 27 AND 28 ), IN THE DISCUSSION TAKE UP SOME IMPORTANT THEMES RELATIVE TO THE ITALIAN SITUATION. THREE COMRADES FROM AUTONOMIA OPERAIA (WORKERS AUTONOMY) WHO VISITED OUR COUNTRY.

# ITALY

## entering the eight



### Interview

**REBEL:** WHEN WE SPOKE TO YOUR COMRADES FROM GENOA LAST XMAS THEY DEFINED THE PRESENT STAGE OF CLASS STRUGGLE IN ITALY AS A VERY DIFFICULT PERIOD FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT. DO YOU AGREE WITH THAT ASSESSMENT ?

**AO:** Yes. 7th April 1979 was the date when the State took the initiative and begun its attack. They wanted to, they had to, seize back from the revolutionary movement and the proletariat in general all the gains made as the result of the struggles of the last 10 years. To begin with, it was a political attack - all the arrests etc. of the political subjectivity of the movement. Then came the slow implementation of the economic restructuring. Repression opened the way for the unimpeded implementation of that project.

**REBEL:** COULD YOU EXPLAIN A BIT MORE THE SPECIFICS OF THOSE PROJECTS ?

**AO:** Politically, it was a two tier operation. First the attack was directed against the known leadership of the movement - its vanguards were eliminated. Mostly they were imprisoned - some were killed. Then slowly started a wider process of generalised repression and intimidation...to eliminate the widespread social antagonism.

When they sacked the 61 revolutionary militants from FIAT, and the Trade Unions showed no visible signs of resistance, that was the sign of the continuation of the 7th April operation inside the factories. The process ended with the massive redundancies last Dec. '80 when 24,000 FIAT workers were thrown on the dole.

Economically, their aim is to reduce the cost of production as much as possible. As the result of struggles over the last 10 years wages had gone up... capital could not live with that. They militarised production, they introduced new technology to increase control and productivity - robots are now doing the work carried out by militant shop - floor militants only 3 years ago.

**REBEL:** AS FAR AS YOU ARE CONCERNED, IS THIS THE END OF THE LARGE MASS FACTORY, LIKE FIAT ?

**AO:** Yes. On the one hand, the restructuring of industry has meant the growth of smaller and diffuse factories, clustered around the place, doing part of the job which was done in one location in the past. It has also meant the development of part-time employment, illegal 'black' work, women doing work at home with terrible wages etc. On the other hand, it freed the hand of big capital to invest abroad. FIAT, for example, is investing massively in places like Argentina at present.

### Contradictions

**REBEL:** HAS THIS KIND OF PROJECT ENCOUNTERED ANY KIND OF POLITICAL OPPOSITION FROM INSIDE THE STATE ?

**AO:** No. Although this was the brainchild of big capital, like Agnelli of FIAT, it found a more or less total acceptance among all sections of capital and the State. The two traditional Parties of the Left - the Socialist Party and the Communists are in full agreement with this project. They refer to this process of rationalisation as 'modernisation'. The Trade Unions were a bit more ambiguous, but in the final analysis they did NOT oppose this project.

Stripped from any real strategy of opposition the Left has been barricading itself in 'moralistic' campaigns...like the earthquake, the financial scandals and the latest saga of the Masonic sects etc. They argue that the Christian Democrats are "corrupt" etc. but they have no real project of opposition.

**REBEL:** TO SUMMARIZE, HOW DO YOU SEE THE PRESENT SITUATION INSIDE THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT ?

**AO:** This restructuring has smashed class unity to bits. The new emerging social vanguards have been hit so hard that it will take a long time before they emerge to the forefront of the political stage: the unemployed, the marginalised youth, all the other sectors who had shown so much promise a few years ago are now on the defensive. Our move-

ment bears a certain responsibility for this situation for we were unable to put forward a real united oppositional front.

The needs of all of us have increased dramatically, but we have been unable to assert these needs politically. We don't think it is realistic to expect a generalised offensive for quite a while yet.

**REBEL:** DOES THIS MEAN THAT YOU DON'T SEE THIS NEW FIGURE (operaio sociale - socialised worker as it was called in Italy) AS THE CENTRE OF YOUR POLITICAL WORK ?

**AO:** No, it's not the centre anymore. We continue to work around that particular section of the class, but we now think that one cannot put exclusive emphasis on only one section. Repression and restructuring have transformed the situation dramatically. There are new areas of work opening up...new vanguards emerging.

### The Armed Ones

**REBEL:** O.K. LET US NOW LOOK AT YOUR ANALYSIS OF THE ROLE OF THE ARMED ORGANISATIONS - PARTICULARLY THE RED BRIGADES. HOW DO YOU SEE THEIR RELATIVE RE-EMERGENCE OVER THE LAST FEW MONTHS ? AND IS IT TRUE THAT MANY OF YOUR OWN COMRADES HAVE JOINED THEM ?

**AO:** There is no problem in our evaluation of the BR. Our position is clear - our evaluation of them is clear. Those who have left us to join them have left in silence...there have been no debates. All of us agree in our evaluation of the BR as messengers of death and little else. The BR are external to the social movement today...they are outside it. Even inside the prisons there has been a total rupture between the BR prisoners and our own.

**REBEL:** MANY COMRADES IN IRELAND ARE STILL CONFUSED ABOUT THE SPECIFIC DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE AUTONOMOUS MOVEMENT AND THE RED BRIGADES. WOULD YOU ELABORATE ?

**AO:** There are a number of very significant differences. First of all in our method of work. We argue that revolution is only possible through the slow and painful process of political

maturity - rising of the people. In this we reject delegative politics. On the one hand we see ourselves as representatives of the people. That's why we are armed revolutionaries.

Then, there is a question of ideology. They are constantly a constant their hegemony...a class dominated by them. They think that this kind of thing stinks. Then, because they are outside the class they don't understand the conditions taking place. They are still stuck in the old notion of the work in the big factories which

Look also he dealing with the question of the so-called 'desertion' of their organisations. They have recently joined with the brother of one of the people - PEGI - who has left the oops. For the DESERTION. You leave to join the enemy - there is any notion of the reasons involved. Are the relatives of 'desertion' not stop 'desertion' that's what it is.

Their recent that peoples' consciousness so advanced that mass communities, workplaces etc is basic a waste of time. On they have recruited people who don't want out mass work of the proposing. Clandestine occasional heavy action far more secure and

**REBEL:** TWO MORE THINGS ABOUT THE RED BRIGADES. FIRST EVALUATE THEIR INTEREST WHICH HAVE BEEN RECEIVED OUT ? AND, SECONDLY, THINK THAT IT IS IMPORTANT SOME OF THEIR SYMPATHISERS BEGIN DOING SUPPORT IN COMMITTEES OF EX-PRISONERS RELATIVES

**AO:** The debates are interesting - we read them among ourselves

Y WAS THE SUBJECT OF A LONG AND DETAILED INTERVIEW PRESENTED  
 LAST FEBRUARY ( ISSUES 37 AND 38 ). IN THE DISCUSSION BELOW WE  
 THE IMPORTANT THEMES RELATIVE TO THE ITALIAN SITUATION WITH  
 IDEAS FROM AUTONOMIA OPERAIA (WORKERS AUTONOMY) WHO RECENTLY  
 R COUNTRY.

# ITALY

## Entering the eighties



### Solidarity

Comrades in Milan tell us they organised a Solidarity Committee with the Irish Liberation struggle. They published a platform of their perspectives and activities. For further info you can contact:  
 COMMITTEE IRLANDA DI MILANO  
 c/o CENTRO SOCIALE "G. AMOROSO"  
 PIAZZALE DATEO, 5  
 20129 Milano.

Next issue of Rebel will present an interview with the Red Brigades - only the second time militants of the RB spoke about their politics since 1974.

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### med Ones

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maturity - rising consciousness  
 of the people. In this context  
 we reject delegation - we think  
 that self-activity is crucial in  
 politics. On the contrary, the  
 BR see themselves as the armed  
 representatives of the proletari-  
 at. That's why we call them  
 armed revisionists.

Then, there is the prob-  
 lem of ideology . They are seek-  
 ing constantly a concensus under  
 their hegemony....a silent allian-  
 ce dominated by themselves. We  
 think that this kind of politics  
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 outside the class dynamic, they  
 don't understand the transforma-  
 tions taking place. They are  
 still stuck in the old tradition-  
 al notion of the workers from the  
 big factories which they idolise.

Look also how they are  
 dealing with the question of the  
 so-called 'deserters' - militants  
 of their organisation who are now  
 co-operating with the Police.  
 They have recently killed the  
 brother of one of their leading  
 people - PEGI - who had deserted  
 to the cops. For them it's simple  
 DESERTION. You leave our Army and  
 join the enemy - they don't have  
 any notion of the complex social  
 reasons involved. And that kill-  
 ing relatives of 'deserters' does  
 not stop 'desertion' -- if indeed  
 that's what it is.

Their recent position is  
 that peoples' consciousness is  
 so advanced that mass work in  
 communities, workplaces, univer-  
 sities etc is basically dead and  
 a waste of time. On this basis,  
 they have recruited all kinds of  
 people who don't want to carry  
 out mass work of the kind we are  
 proposing. Clandestinity and the  
 occasional heavy action is thus  
 far more secure and less arduous.

REBEL: TWO MORE THINGS ON THE  
 RED BRIGADES. FIRST, HOW DO YOU  
 EVALUATE THEIR INTERNAL DEBATES  
 WHICH HAVE BEEN RECENTLY SEEPING  
 OUT ? AND, SECONDLY, DO YOU  
 THINK THAT IT IS IMPORTANT THAT  
 SOME OF THEIR SYMPATHIZERS HAVE  
 BEGUN DOING SUPPORT WORK OUTSIDE  
 IN COMMITTEES OF EX-PRISONERS OR  
 PRISONERS RELATIVES ?

AO: The debates are interest-  
 ing - we read them and discuss  
 them among ourselves...but real

political debate with THEM is  
 impossible. They don't want it .  
 They have a view of the world  
 that sees things in black and  
 white - you are either IN them  
 or you're against them. This is  
 an old problem of the Left that  
 they have not overcome.

As for the prisoners  
 committees - it's true, they're  
 doing some serious support work  
 in them. But again, they see the-  
 se committees as cogs in their  
 wheel...they hegemonise and mani-  
 pulate them. For example, they  
 don't want any debate about the  
 connections between political  
 prisoners and the so-called  
 'common' prisoners. It's very  
 difficult to be able to work with  
 them in an equal way.

### Perspectives

REBEL : NOW, LET US FINALLY LOOK  
 AT YOUR OWN MOVEMENT. YOUR ACTI-  
 VITY HAS TRADITIONALLY DEVELOPED  
 ON LOCAL INITIATIVES AND YOU HAVE  
 HAD BIG DIFFICULTIES BUILDING ,  
 INDEED, DISCUSSING THE PROJECT OF  
 A NATIONAL ORGANISATION.  
 YOU HAVE BEEN STRONG IN CITIES  
 LIKE PADOVA, ROME, GENOVA, BOLOG-  
 NA AND MILAN. HOW IS THE SITUATI-  
 ON TODAY ? ARE YOU OPTIMISTIC ?  
 WHAT ARE YOUR PROJECTS ?

AO: 7th April and what follow-  
 ed was devastating for our organ-  
 isation. We have over 2,000 com-  
 rades in prison...many more have  
 been ideologically smashed. A lot  
 of people have been lost to  
 heroin, other drugs etc. Two yea-  
 rs later, we are still counting  
 our losses.

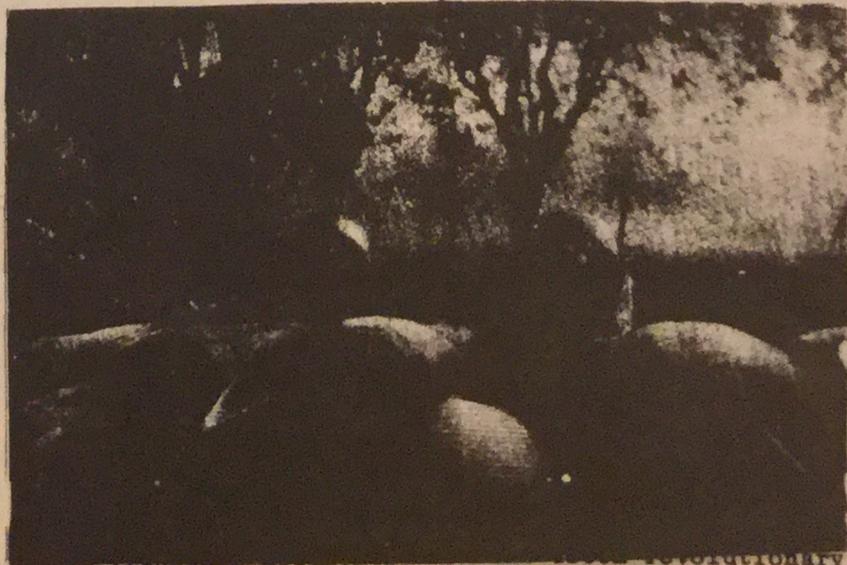
After the 1979 arrests  
 we developed a national network  
 of 7th April Committees and tried

to push forward towards our  
 objective for a national co-ordi-  
 nated movement. As we had outlin-  
 ed it in a document called For A  
 Movement of Workers Autonomy .  
 (This document has been translat-  
 ed by the Ripening of Time no.12  
 and is available to our readers  
 from our address ).

But this project only  
 lasted for a few months. The 7th  
 April Committees broke up because  
 we could not agree on strategy -  
 especially on how to respond to  
 the repression by the State. The  
 quantity and quality of violence  
 to be used always separated us .  
 Some wanted to attack militarily.  
 Others were arguing for a large  
 support front including democrat-  
 ic non-revolutionary sectors. The  
 tension was too extreme - the  
 Committees broke up.

1980 was a very difficult  
 year - but as local political  
 work took up again, so comrades  
 started feeling the necessity of  
 national organisation. Discussion  
 on this theme is very intense at  
 present. Clarification is taking  
 place. We don't feel that some of  
 the arguments put forward by that  
 mentioned document are valid any-  
 more....other parts are O.K.

There are new young for-  
 ces coming into the movement  
 bringing their particular experi-  
 ence and perspectives...especial-  
 ly from the South....Naples for  
 example. I suppose you can say  
 we're back where we were in 1975-  
 76. Organisationally at least .  
 But we are not down - we are work-  
 ing and fighting. Anyway, there  
 is nothing else except struggle .  
 is there ?



# On Neutrality

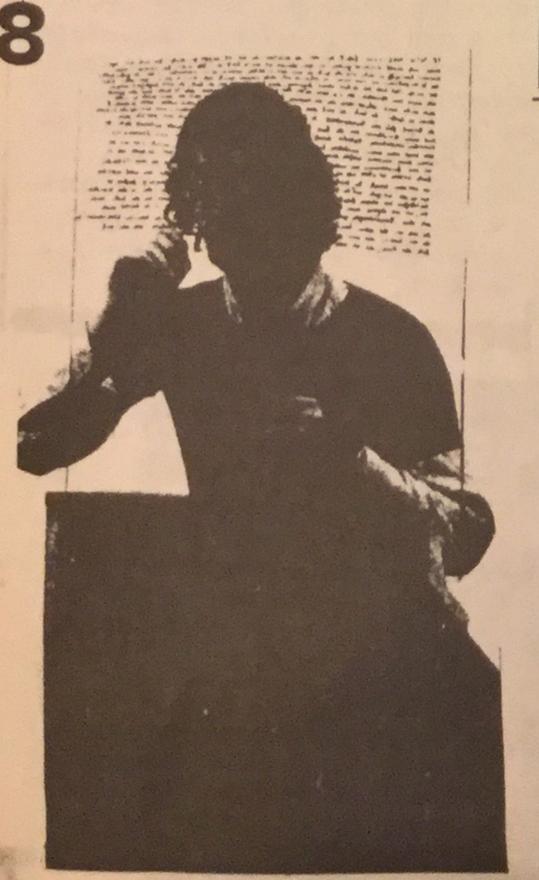
Neutrality has been a major issue in Ireland over the past two years - primarily because of the implications of the international initiatives designed to bring about a so-called "political settlement" to the ongoing national resistance to British occupation of the 6 Counties. It is clear that the USA, Britain, NATO and some elements of Ireland's political/economic/military ruling circles do not want a neutral Ireland

In a recent interview with the Sunday Tribune, Sir John Hackett, former Deputy Commander in Chief of the British Army, and retired Commander of the 'Northern Army' Group of NATO, made a number of very interesting comments. He stated that Ireland was 'vital' to NATO's interests 'in strategic terms', as he put it. This was, primarily, because of the 'Atlantic Air Bridge Plan' - which calls for the reinforcing of NATO ground troops in Europe, at short notice, by large numbers of USA soldiers air-lifted from America.

NATO also needed communications facilities in Ireland, as well as radar and air-defence cover. Also Irish ports are vital for anti-submarine warfare in the Atlantic.

On neutrality he said: "But Irish neutrality would be impossible. If the Irish think that a declaration of neutrality would protect them, they are quite wrong. The only way Ireland could remain neutral in a future war would be to have someone tow it into the waters around Antarctica..." Clear enough !!

When asked if America would use nuclear weapons on Shannon in certain circumstances, he said: "Well, they're not going to use bows and arrows. Of course they would use nuclear missiles if they have it targeted".



# Branching Out

(Source: Irish Times Oct. 27-30)

\* All plainclothes Garda detectives now carry handguns in Dublin - Smith and Wesson revolvers.

\* Each of the 41 Garda stations in the Dublin Metropolitan area (DMA) has a group of armed detectives who are supposed to deal with crime investigation in their area.

\* There is also a Central Detective Unit (CDU) at the Castle which is about 90 strong and comprises 5 sections: fraud, drugs, stolen vehicles, criminal intelligence and crime prevention units.

The CDUs back up local detectives in their work, escort security vans; detectives of the various units of CDU may be lumped together to deal with a serious crime....the Crime Task Force is also made up by mainly CDUs and is intended to give short term assistance in areas where the volume of offences has suddenly risen.

CDU detectives complain that their unit's special radio wavelength is taken over every week-day afternoon so that another section can monitor traffic flow in the city. They also complain that they have no 'specialised' equipment of their own: ladders, clothes, vans and disguises. Finally, they also complain that they're expected to turn up to work with shirt and tie and given no freedom to 'look casual'.

\* The situation in the C.D.U. contrasts heavily with the freedom afforded to the members of the 'Security and Intelligence Branch'. These are the heavies under the control of the Assistant Commissioner Joe Ainsworth. This 'Branch' embraces the 'Security Branch', the 'International Liaison Section', the 'Special Detective Branch', the 'Security Task Force', the 'Intelligence Branch' and the 'Divisional Task Force'. These are 800 to 1,000 and every one would



be cautious about telling anyone what day of the week it was.

The Security and Intelligence Branch has its own computer facility and into it is fed info about people involved in politics Trade Unions, newspapers and the like...their movements and who they associate with. All Security and Intelligence Branch members are armed... and not just with Smith and Wessons.

## NEW PUBLICATIONS

The Dublin Unemployed Action Group have published their first issue of a new paper called 'Hard Times'. It provides very useful information on factory close-downs, encouraging people to fight redundancies and to organise for useful, well-paid work and for higher dole payments. It attacks the recent social welfare increases as being a gross insult to the unemployed when inflation is running at over 20%. 'Hard Times' is well worth buying at a cost of 5p and we hope to see many more issues. The DUAG can be contacted at the ATGWU offices, Marlborough St., Dublin 1, where they operate a weekly advice centre from 2.30 to 4.00 every Thursday.



### LIBERTIES REPUBLICAN

'Liberties Republican' is a new paper produced by the Frank Stagg Sinn Fein Cumann. The first edition carries local news on a dangerous stretch of road along the old canal, opposite Fatima Mansions, dangerous roadworks on Marrowbone Lane where people had to erect barricades to prevent accidents. There is also an article on the eviction of Pat Curran and his family by the Corporation. The paper sees its perspectives as to put the injustices in the 26 as well as the 6 counties in front of the people and to encourage and aid people to take what is theirs:

*Our country, no more or less.*

# W

Reports of unfocussed attention  
This year Ireland working on the development of agricultural co-ops  
The program Lesotho. The investment, sr Aer Lingus, Institute, the D and semi-sta Stokes Ken accountants a Corporation. Unhappiness Indeed some mentality dev

"Authority has no epic length written by prisoner of the state a life sentence. The p the author's preoccupa the cheapness of life in statements that his pair. Intertwined are ions on the reality of

*The blood lay fre the man lay arms outst twitched, a nervous qu you do this work, his buddies laughed, shouldn't he, for he 'hood' in another shre*

Nuclear power an referred to as an Arm people must organise:

*Arise and stop t easy to die when your brain is bu when your children be don't try it then, it*

Though the poem on despair, as was sa feelings toward bourg International 'terror killing is cleared up few verses:-

*Meinhoff Baader- Meirs Ennslin - barbarous, heind*

*Christians, dem Clamoured pious*

*Moro Schleyer - Carrero Neave - Liberating, deb Christians, dem Don't act the m*

The book of poe poem, written over a is well worth buying It comes from a much than the poems that Bobby Sands, and is revolutionary spirit under lock and key i The book is availabl is well illustrated his jail mates.

*Watch as time g pared to die they only mean will die but C.J. and Ma their values be*

*Hunger strikes what does it al A vile, malicio generals and pe priests, police authority has n*

PASOK victory would t

# WHAT'S LESOTHO?

Oct. 27-30)



Reports of unrest, sabotage, the killing by police of up to 90 people, and the murder of a cabinet minister, have focussed attention on Lesotho which is the main beneficiary of Ireland's new bilateral aid programme.

This year Ireland is spending £1.85 million on development projects there and more than 50 Irish people are working on these schemes. Irish involvement in Lesotho began in 1978. It was deliberately chosen as a development partner in Ireland's new bilateral programme, not because of any traditional ties, but because it was one of the world's poorest small states, and its experience was somewhat similar to Ireland's — a mainly agricultural country with few natural resources, living in the shadow of a powerful neighbour.

The programme consists mainly of the transfer of technical assistance through the placing of Irish experts in Lesotho. The projects are in such areas as agricultural development, the attraction and control of foreign investment, small industries and the setting up of an international airline.

Aer Lingus, the ESB, the IDA, the Department of Agriculture and the National Stud, the IIRS, the Agricultural Institute, the Department of Education, the Department of Transport and Tourism are among the Government and semi-state bodies involved in programmes in Lesotho, mainly through the secondment of personnel.

Stokes Kennedy and Crowley are helping set up a training institute for accountants in Lesotho, and Irish accountants are being seconded to key posts in several Lesotho Government departments and the National Bus Corporation.

Unhappiness has been expressed before now about the dangers of such over-concentration of personnel. Indeed some have spoken of saturation point already having been reached and of the danger of a ghetto mentality developing among some of our personnel there.

"Authority has no tears" is a poem of epic length written by Gerard McCrory, a prisoner of the state in Long Kesh, serving a life sentence. The poem meanders through the author's preoccupations with death and the cheapness of life in a war situation, in statements that hinge sometimes on despair. Intertwined are very lucid observations on the reality of Northern Ireland:-

*The blood lay fresh and warm in pools,  
the man lay arms outstretched, the soldier  
twitched, a nervous quirk, you get it when  
you do this work,  
his buddies laughed, he laughed out loud,  
shouldn't he, for he was proud, another  
'hood' in another shroud.*

Nuclear power and the arms race are referred to as an Armageddon against which people must organise:-

*Arise and stop the arming, it isn't  
easy to die  
when your brain is burned by radiation,  
when your children begin to cry,  
don't try it then, it will be too late.*

Though the poem seems to hinge often on despair, as was said, the author's feelings toward bourgeois attitudes to International 'terrorism' and all the killing is cleared up rapidly in the last few verses:-

*Meinhoff Baader - suicide  
Meirs Ennslin - all were tried  
barbarous, heinous - homicide*

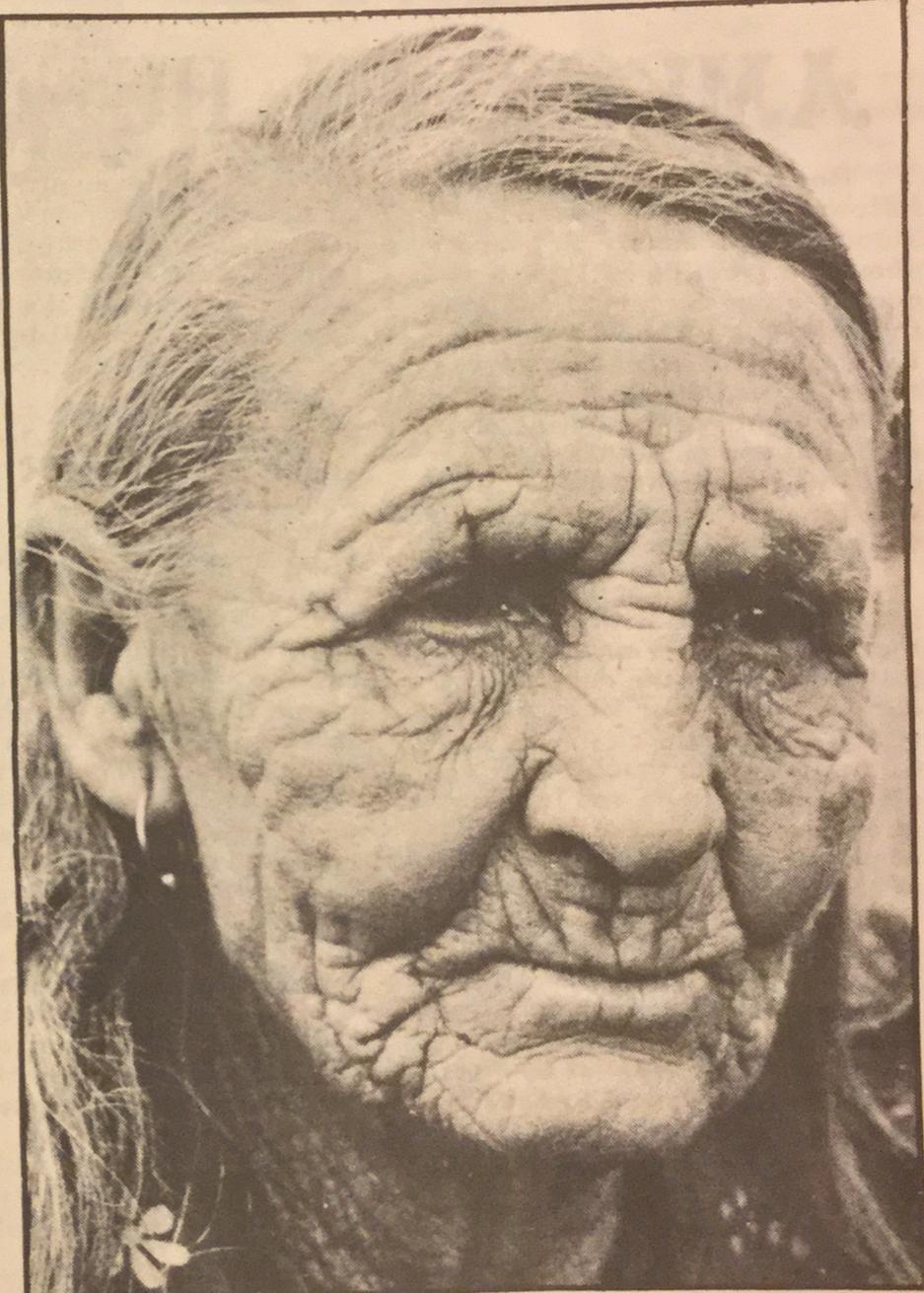
*Christians, democrats, fascists all  
Clamoured piously for their fall*

*Moro Schleyer - suicide  
Carrero Neave - all weretried.  
Liberating, debt repaying - justified  
Christians, democrats, fascists all  
Don't act the martyr when we call.*

The book of poetry, or rather, one poem, written over a period of three years, is well worth buying at the price of 40p. It comes from a much different tradition than the poems that were smuggled out by Bobby Sands, and is another tap on the revolutionary spirit of the men and women under lock and key in Britain's hell-holes. The book is available from Just Books and is well illustrated by Gerard McCrory and his jail mates.

*Watch as time gets shorter whose pre-  
pared to die  
they only mean to scare us, only a few  
will die  
but C.J. and Maggie are both wrong,  
their values betray the lie.*

*Hunger strikes or workers strikes  
what does it all belie?  
A vile, malicious system of bishops,  
generals and peers  
priests, police and soldiers  
authority has no tears.*



## AUTHORITY HAS NO TEARS

40p. from Just Books  
7 Winetavern St. Belfast 1.

### LIMERICK SHOWS

There will be two shows of a brand new video film on the introduction of

**NEW TECHNOLOGY**

on Wednesday 25th November

- \* Lunchtime NIHE Students Centre
- \* 8.00 in the evening  
The Old Tom (upstairs) - Thomas St

All Rebel readers and supporters welcome.



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The excerpts below are from an excellent book entitled *American Hunger* written by the black American *Richard Wright*. ( paperback from Perennial Library, Harper & Row, London ).

The writer describes his life and political development in Chicago in the 1930s when he joined the CP-USA from which he was soon to be expelled. The excerpts we chose are from the section of the book where Wright witnesses the 'trial' of a comrade....recent events in Ireland bring *Wright's* comments into sharp focus....even if some labels need to be re-arranged. Otherwise all similarities are *not coincidental* at all.



# AMERICAN HUNGER

Ross' trial took place that following afternoon. Comrades stood inconspicuously on guard about the meeting hall, at the doors, down the street and along the hallways. When I appeared, I was ushered in quickly. I was tense. It was a rule that once you had entered a meeting of this kind you could not leave until the meeting was over; it was feared that you might go to the police and denounce them all.

Acting upon the loftiest of impulses, filled with love for those who suffer, urged toward fellowship with the rebellious, committed to sacrifice, why was it that there existed among Communists so much hate, suspicion, bitterness and internecine strife? I stood in the middle of people I loved and I was afraid of them. I felt profoundly that they were travelling in the right direction, yet if their having power to rule had depended merely upon my lifting my right hand, I would have been afraid to do so. My heart throbbed and I whispered to myself: God, I love these people, but I'm glad that they're not in power, or they'd shoot me.

In trying to grasp why Communists hated intellectuals, my mind was led back again to the accounts I had read of the Russian revolution. There had existed in old Russia millions of poor, ignorant people who were exploited by a few, educated, arrogant noblemen, and it became natural for the Russian Communists to associate betrayal with intellectualism. But there existed in the Western world an element that baffled and frightened the Communist Party: the prevalence of self-achieved literacy. Even a Negro, entrapped by ignorance and exploitation - as I had been - could, if he had the will and the love for it, learn to read and understand the world in which he lived. And it was these people that the Communists could not understand. The American Communists, enjoying legality, were using the methods

forged by the underground Russian Bolshevik fire, and therefore had to have their followers willing to accept all explanations of reality, even when the actual situation did not call for it.

I knew, as I watched, that I was looking at the future of mankind, that this way of living would finally win out. I knew that in no other way could the emotional capacities, the passional nature of men be so deeply tapped. In no other system yet devised could man so clearly reveal his destiny on earth, a destiny to rise and grapple with the world in which he lives, to wring from it the satisfactions he feels he must have. I knew, as I watched, and listened, that but few people understood the essence of Communism, its passional dynamics, but a few knew that Communism was more important than any of its individual parties, than the sum of all its tactics, strategies, theories, mistakes and tragedies. I knew that once this system became entrenched on earth, for good or bad, it could not fail....that the spirit of self-sacrifice that Communism engendered in men would astound the world.

I had wanted to tell others what these men felt. I understood their impulses, the long years' privation and hurt out of which they had come to Communism... Politics was not my game, the human heart was my game, but it was only in the realms of politics that I could see the depths of the human heart. I had wanted to make others see what was in the Communist heart, what the Communists were after, but I was on trial by proxy, condemned by them.

I had not challenged a single policy of theirs. It was my way of thinking and feeling that they feared. The conditions under which I had to work were what baffled them. Writing had to be done in loneliness and Communism had declared war upon

human loneliness. Alone, they said, a man was weak; united with others, he was strong. Therefore, they habitually feared a man who stood alone. Communism spelt the unity of human life, and when a Communist, newly risen from his oppressed isolation and feeling strange and lonely because of it, saw another man seeking seclusion, he became afraid of him. The Communism I looked upon was impatient of extended processes, of results that could not be obtained overnight, of an act that could not be performed within a day. This was how America had embraced Communism; this was America's first green fruit of materialistic rebellion.

The moment came for Ross to defend himself. I had been told that he had arranged for friends of his to testify on his behalf, but he called upon no one. He stood trembling; he tried to talk and his words would not come. The hall was as still as death. Guilt was written on every pore of his black skin. His hands shook. He held onto the edge of the table to keep on his feet. His personality, his sense of himself, had been obliterated. Yet he could not have been so humbled unless he had shared and accepted the vision that had crushed him, the common vision that bound us all together.

"Comrades", he said in a low, charged voice "I am guilty of all the charges, all of them".

His voice broke in a sob. No one prodded him. No one tortured him. No one threatened him. He was free to go out and never see another Communist. But he did not want to. He could not. The vision of a communal world had sunk down into his soul and it would never leave him until life left him. He talked on, outlining how he had erred, how he would reform.

"I am guilty, forgive me."

This, to me, it was a spectacle of glory, and yet, because it had condemned me, I felt it was a spectacle of horror.

I went into the dark Chicago streets and walked home through the cold, filled with a sense of sadness. Once again I told myself that I must learn to stand alone....but I'll be for them, even though they are not for me.

GREEK  
STA

Andreas Papandreu, leader of PASOK and new Prime Minister.



Under the peculiar electoral system, this 48% translates to over half in the 300-seat Greek Parliament. If one adds the nearly 10% popular vote received by the USSR Greek Communist Party and the 1.3% received by the Euro-Communist 'other' (of the interior'), one can safely assert that nearly 60% of the Greeks voted 'Left' - a pretty surprising - at first appearance - for a country coming out of an unintermittent period of Rightist rule since the return to Greece winning the election back in the 1820s.

The recent entry into the E.E.C., the strategically crucial step as a bridgehead to the East / Eastern Mediterranean, the political/cultural tensions which exist between Greece, Cyprus and their effect on the relations of both with neighbouring Turkey, make the election results a very interesting and analytically challenging proposition.

## NATO

To begin with, and only with fascination the story of the NATO General Secretary General Lunz, who two days before the elections had been expected to have said:

"A year has gone by since Greece re-integrated into the military wing of NATO. There are a number of problems that have not, yet, been solved. There is, primarily, the question of the status of certain islands in the Aegean Sea; the question of the control of the Greek-Turkish air-space; the question of U.S. bases on Greek soil. It is obvious that if PASOK wins the election the situation will worsen from our NATO point of view.

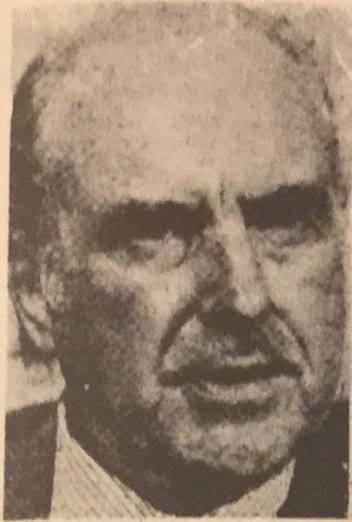
These unambiguous statements raised a storm in Greece. The Right interpreted them as an indication of how 'damaged' the PASOK victory would

# GREECE

A FEW MONTHS AFTER THE RESOUNDING VICTORY OF THE FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTY IT IS NOW THE TURN OF GREEK SOCIALISTS TO CELEBRATE VICTORY IN THE ELECTION WHICH TOOK PLACE ON OCTOBER 18TH. PASOK, WHICH STANDS FOR PAN-HELLENIC SOCIALIST PARTY, WON A COMFORTABLE VICTORY WITH 48,05% OF THE POPULAR VOTE.

## STARTING TO SIZZLE

Andreas Papandreu, Leader of PASOK and new Prime Minister.



Under the peculiar Greek electoral system, this massive 48% translates to over 170 seats in the 300-seat Greek Parliament. If one adds the nearly 11% of the popular vote received by the pro-USSR Greek Communist Party (KKE) and the 1.3% received by the more Euro-Communist *other* KKE (named 'of the interior'), one can safely assert nearly 2 out of 3 Greeks voted 'Left'. Which is pretty surprising - at least in appearance - for a country emerging out of an uninterrupted period of Rightist rule stretching back to Greece winning independence back in the 1820s.

The recent entry of Greece into the E.E.C., the country's strategically crucial position as a bridgehead to the Middle-East / Eastern Mediterranean and the political/cultural connection which exist between Greece and Cyprus and their effects to the relations of both with neighbouring Turkey, make the recent election results a very far-reaching and analytically interesting proposition.

### NATO

To begin with, one can study with fascination the comments of the NATO General Secretary, General Lunz, who two weeks before the elections, was reported to have said:

" A year has gone by since Greece re-integrated into the military wing of NATO; but there are a number of problems which have not, yet, been solved. There is, primarily, the question of the status of certain islands in the Aegean Sea; there is also the question of the control of the Greek/Turkish air-space and the question of U.S. bases on Greek soil. It is obvious that if PASOK wins the elections, the situation will worsen in that part of the Mediterranean, from our NATO point of view..."

These unambiguous remarks raised a storm in Greece. The Right interpreted them as a clear indication of how 'dangerous' PASOK victory would turn out

to be. The Left raised all sorts of questions from 'outside interference' to 'national independence'. Things were not made any easier when a couple of days after the elections, a number of statements coming from Washington made the American position very clear.

### AMERICAN POSITION

President Reagan said:

*The fact that the new Government is planning to leave NATO is a very bad thing indeed.* " And the Secretary of Defence Weinberger clarified: " *Western Defence will weaken as a result of the change in Government in Greece. We just hope that a strong mass movement grows in Greece which can convince the new Prime Minister that leaving NATO is a not-so-wise-course.....Anyway I draw hope from the fact that pre-election projects and post-election realities usually clash for the benefit of the latter.* "

These type of remarks not only demonstrate clearly the deep worry that reigns in Western political circles about Greece's future, but also underlines a dominant reality in Greek political life: imperialist domination. After all, it was only 14 years ago, in 1967, in a rather similar situation with elections pending and a victory for the centre-left appearing imminent, that a CIA-backed section of the Greek Army rumbled its tanks into the streets and took power. The military dictatorship lasted until 1974; it was replaced by a right-wing Government which ruled Greece until two weeks ago.

But what type of politics make up PASOK? Is this relatively young Party born in 1974, a 'revolutionary' alternative to the rule of capital? Or is it, as some would have it, merely the 'left-wing of capital'?

Debate on this and other related questions are raging in Greece at the present moment.

Comrades of Rebel who have recently visited Greece and discussed with a large number of Greek comrades are in the process of preparing a wide-ranging study of the Greek situation which will be presented to Rebel readers in the near-future. For the purposes of this present article let us conclude with a few introductory remarks:

### ECONOMY

The Greek economy, and society in general, is presently experiencing a very acute internal tension/crisis. This is brought about not only as the result of the international crisis but also has an infrastructural basis in the outdated and rather backward structures of the State/legislation/education/Trade Union/Social Welfare areas. Greek civil society, the State, have to be brought to the 20th century, as a leading PASOK ideologue put it recently. It has been the inability of the right-wing to modernise and re-structure Greece, that has set the main foundations of the socialist victory. The dominant fractions of the Greek bourgeoisie who are part of the most advanced international division of labour, are faced with a series of antiquated legislative, social and infrastructural set-ups.

So they are faced with a risky alternative: either accept the rightist status-quo and be choked by economic regression, or take the risk of a 'modernist' PASOK which can set the wheels of 'change' turning furiously. This 'gamble' has a clearly contradictory aspect. It is based on the massive entry of subordinate social classes which support PASOK onto the political stage. PASOK is not 'only' a bourgeois modernist PARTY...it is also a mass of people with a deep-seated and radicalised desire for a society free of blatant foreign interference, clientelism and cultural/ideological control.

To the extent that popular feeling for 'change' can be controlled by the dominant interests, to the extent that it can be channelled into institutional reforms....to that extent capital has a chance of carrying through its risky modernisation process. On the other hand, to the extent that the working people and the communist organisations manage to develop mass organs which would put the question of proletarian autonomy from State and capital on the agenda....to that extent this new phase could backfire on capital and its allies and become the beginning of a revolutionary transformation of Greek society.

# editorial

(This was not an easy Editorial to write. For many reasons. One, because we do not want to accept that mistaken line which argues that the greatest enemy of the revolutionary movement are the repressive forces...this line, carried around by Republicans in this country, leads to incorrect tactics. Two, because as RS we have already been targeted by special units of the repressive forces and we have no desire to be seen engaging in a 'war of apparati'; our main struggle today is not with the cops. Three, because we believe there is no unity INSIDE the police force on strategy and tactics and, as examples from many countries and Ireland, show the revolutionary movement must refrain from activity which unites THEM and divides us. Nevertheless certain things going on in Dublin have been so bad lately that certain things have to be said.)

## repression

For 12 months now, since the first hunger strikes began and especially since the Coalition was returned to power, Garda harassment in working class communities has taken new forms and increased proportions. Alongside their 'normal' picking up, following and hassling of young people and activists, the uniformed cops, the Branch and the younger trendies of the Task Force have been subjecting people to 'special' treatment. This development is particularly evident in Finglas, in Ballyfermot, in the Liberties and in Dun Laoghaire...all without exception strong and politicised proletarian concentrations.

This 'new' type of harassment now involves visiting 'suspects' families and undermining relationships, visiting workplaces and spreading rumours so that 'suspects' lose their jobs, arresting and jailing of people under no pretext at all and the liberal use of the Section 30 lark, and even more sinister methods. Youths at Finglas have been taken with their heads completely covered for 'long drives' to desolate spots and interrogated about activists addresses etc. Guns are being used to threaten people....young people painting slogans have been arrested at gunpoint by soldiers. ARMs of people have been broken. The infamous heavies of the Crumlin Garda Station have also been at work.

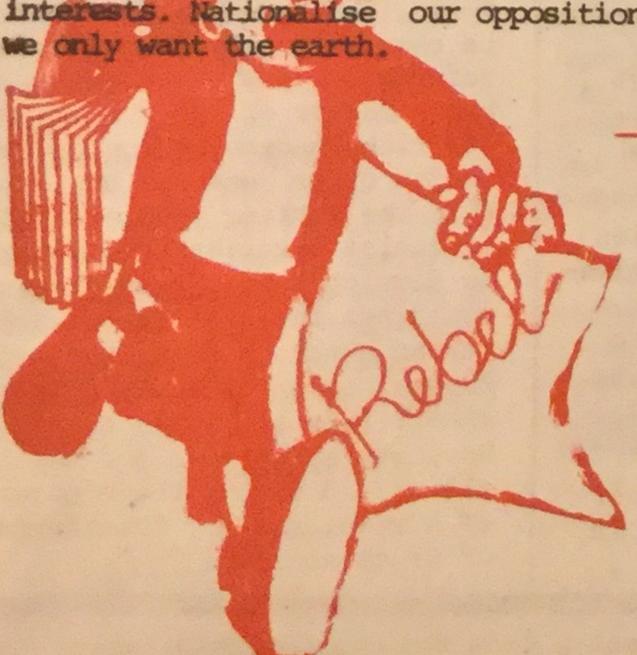
We do not believe anymore that these are isolated excesses of a few black sheep. Somewhere up in the hierarchy decisions are taken which bring about concrete results. The training of Irish cops by SAS and German officers also is a factor in all this. These are concrete instances of a conscious policy by parts of the ruling class which intends to criminalise political and social opposition in order to easily marginalise and repress it. These are Italian, German and French examples transposed to the Irish situation.

\*\*\*  
The target of this offensive are NOT leading Republicans. Are NOT leading Trade Unionists. Is NOT the Labour Party or the Sticks. It is NOT Noel Browne, Kemmy, BICO and Co. No !!  
The targets are young militants, activists of the rank-and-file level, communists, socialists, anarchists and republicans.....the REAL opposition.

The immediate direction of this embryonic autonomous opposition has been its support of the prisoners and the war...but not exclusively. Building independent working class organisation is also a constantly emerging necessity and theme. And that's where the cops are hitting at the hardest. Any example of emerging political organisation and the presence of the cops becomes inevitable.

To localise the focus, to label it, to file it, to disorganise it, to marginalise it, to criminalise it, to repress it. This seems the pattern followed time after time.

We must understand this <sup>\*\*\*</sup>offensive by parts of the <sup>\*\*\*</sup>State in all its complexity and implications. Only then can we envisage diffuse organisation against it. Localised attempts to defence and counter-attack will inevitably occur. We must defend them but also guard ourselves against adventurism and impatience. There is no short-term/shortcuts to this struggle. The only real solution is to dig our roots deeper among the people....the more implanted we are the harder it becomes to unearth us. We should resist the temptation to 'be' different or 'look' different. Repression of the type mentioned above becomes counter-productive for State and capital when revolutionary opposition is really part of the people. The situation in Poland, in El-Salvador and in the ghettos of Belfast and Derry shows that. So use your imagination. Don't centralise too fast. Don't set up localised centres too soon. Be disciplined, be open, be closed to the State and welcoming to your class. Argue for your ideas forcefully but leave the arrogance and the bullshit to those who deserve it. Make one good move at a time and build on it - don't rush, hastiness is a synonym for failure. Build organisation which is not synonymous of building RS. Organise yourself and the struggle. Defend our gains, our imprisoned comrades, the peoples interests. Nationalise our opposition, the war, our hate of State and capital. And don't forget- we only want the earth.



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