

# the worker

Paper of the Socialist Workers Movement

THEY TALK ABOUT SACRIFICE BUT

THEY KILL FOR MONEY

THESE MEN have killed for money. They will do it again and again. As long as there is money to be made they will manipulate, speculate and hoard commodities. They are part of an international community of financiers and speculators.

Rice is a commodity. The fact that it is the only thing which keeps a large portion of the population of this planet alive is neither here nor there. It is bought and sold like any other commodity.

At the start of the seventies the price of rice had dropped slightly. By about three per cent. There was a lot of it being grown. This was bad. So, investment was withdrawn, planting was cut back. Rice became less plentiful. By the mid-seventies the price had increased by over 500%. And a lot of people died of starvation.

### CONTROL PRICES

Now, Mr. Lynch, tell us again about how you will control prices. Tell us how you will solve unemployment. When these men and others like them, from London to Detroit, juggle with the price of commodities—to the extent of starving people to death—with such ruthlessness. When our home grown "men of enterprise", from Cork to Belfast, juggle their investments to protect their profits from the chaotic lurches of a system based on greed.

The politicians who promise to stop the decline of our living standards—on condition that we continue to accept wage restraint, to forget about equal pay, to worsen our working conditions—are talking through their hats. And they know it. Their job is to adjust Irish capitalism internally, to see that the brunt of the economic crisis is borne by us, until the crisis "blows over".

But the crisis isn't a blow-in. It's not some natural disaster like a hurricane or flood. It's the inevitable result of increasing competition, of speculation and hoarding.

That is the essential, but almost incredible, fact to grasp: under this system, the price of everything, from food and clothing to land and housing, is based on a gigantic poker game played by a tiny class of gamblers. Scarcity or overproduction in one area or another is decided by the fortunes of the market.

And how many times over the past year have we been told that the crisis is over? It's almost a year since the Evening Herald printed three-inch high headlines saying "Things are Looking Up!"

### FREE ENTERPRISE

Rubbish! The employers and their cronies in this country have been having no more success in stabilising their own little part of the system than their counterparts internationally. They've avoided taking the full consequences of the anarchy of their "free enterprise" but only by conning workers into making sacrifices.

The international boom that was announced a few months ago is over already. And all the grand plans for the future of the economy which have been trotted out over the past few months will be buried as quietly as the ones trotted out in the past as they become just as irrelevant for coping with the continuing crisis.

Remember the sugar shortage? Look at the picture of the stacks of sugar being hoarded and you'll know why the "shortage" ended when the price went up. Coffee? Tea? The same. Look at the pictures of the cattle being shot, the tomatoes ploughed into the ground. Then listen to Jack Lynch grunt as he "wrestles with the problems of the economy."

The truth is that the class which controls this system, whether they be in Dublin or Detroit, are wrestling with the problem of stabilising the chaos they have created so as to extract more profit with less risk. They care no more about what this does to our standard of living than they do about the thousands whom they starve from time to time as they play their game.

The higher echelons of the



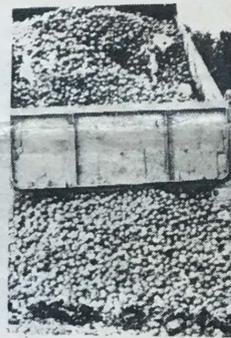
trade union movement, ever eager to protect their own privileges as the stockbrokers of labour, accommodate to the demands for sacrifice. Will we continue to accept it? Our answer must be to reject the demands for continuing sacrifice from a system which trades in deprivation and death.

We can express that rejection by fighting our corner on every issue where our interests conflict with theirs. On wages, on jobs, on equal

pay and by opposing the claims on "law, order and morality" from the supporters of a system steeped in blood and repression. The pages inside all carry articles on struggles being waged on these issues by workers in one area or another. That's what counts. ORGANISING the opposition. Otherwise, all the complaining about prices and unemployment or moralising about poverty is useless.



Calves slaughtered in U.S.A. to force prices up.



Above, the EEC dumps tomatoes; below, sugar is stored till prices rise.



## TRADE UNIONISTS FIGHT REPRESSION

THE RESOLUTIONS on "civil liberties" passed at the recent annual conferences of the ITGWU, WUI and Local Government and Public Service Union are a hopeful sign. But possibly also deceptive.

Hopeful because they appear to show a late awakening by the trade union movement to the dangers of the accelerating slide into repression.

Possibly deceptive because the unions have a record of leaving their commitment to opposing repression at the level of worthy resolutions.

Although Congress did issue a lengthy statement last September at the time of the "Emergency" debate in the Dail, and a short statement in November opposing capital punishment, such issues did not feature at Congress's annual conference in Limerick.

And without a push from the centre the union officials and executives are all too happy to let the matter rest untouched.

Some unions and their leaders look to the Irish Council of Civil Liberties (ICCL) to maintain a "responsible" vigilance on the state's increasing powers and abuses of those powers.

But the first annual conference of the ICCL was a complacent affair, arguing that the TDs "reconsider" their emergency legislation and continuing to press the government to order an inquiry into prison conditions rather than taking any initiative to set up an independent inquiry.

Further, the ICCL has just two union affiliations (and one of the affiliated unions, ASTMS, did not even appear to be represented at the AGM)—and no way for individual trade unionists, or branches, to become involved in its work.

This is where the Trade Union Co-ordinating Committee Against Repression (TUCCAR) comes in to draw together those individuals, sections and branches within the trade union movement into a national organisation and push the unions into using their strength more directly to halt the rising repression. Where necessary, TUCCAR will also be able to take its own independent initiatives to further that struggle.

After a slightly hesitant start.

(Continued on page 3)

## WHAT DID THE JURY SAY...?

FOUR MEN were taken into court. The police produced statements made by the men which incriminated them in robbery. Clear cut, obviously guilty. Right?

But, said the men, we were beaten up. Those statements were 'thumped out of us. We were knocked around until the blood flowed. They had us screaming in the police station. We were covered in bruises.

Rubbish, said the police. One of them fell down the stairs, that's where the bruises came from. We can't remember whether he fell forwards or backwards, or rolled down the stairs. But he fell somehow. There were no screams. They made the statements voluntarily.

And there's no significance at all in the fact that our photographer forgot to use a flash bulb taking the picture of the guy who says his face was smashed. Just

one of those things. What's all the fuss about anyway, people fall down the stairs all the time.

No, said a doctor. Those bruises were not received from falling down stairs. They are consistent with an assault. And it's true, said a cop from another station, there were screams, I heard them. And I saw one of the men looking pale and scared, with a cut on his nose.

And other cops said they had seen bruises too.

Nonsense, said the judge. Police beating statements out of suspects? Unheard of. The men are obvious liars. The other witnesses must have been confused, or something. . . Guilty, right?

The jury said nothing. It wasn't there. It's a Special Court, so they don't need juries. And it didn't happen in Russia or Uganda. No, in Dublin, just a few hundred yards from O'Connell Street. It will happen again and again. Until the Special Courts and the thugery which feeds them are eliminated. How much longer can we let the judges ignore the screams?

# Thinking About Capitalism

## Poverty

FOR THOUSANDS of people in Ireland poverty is part of their everyday lives. No capitalist country in the world, including this one, has been able to cater for people's needs. That will be a job first on the list when capitalism is dismantled and socialism constructed.

The reality of poverty and want in the bosses' profit system is best seen when we look at some facts. In one relatively small area of Dublin for example, 12,000 out of a population of 64,000 are living below a defined poverty line. The area comprises Clontarf East, Raheny, Edenmore and extends to Howth and Baldoyle. It is in fact the Dublin-Clontarf constituency.

Politicians define the Irish poverty line as follows: Man, wife and

three children on £24 a week. A single adult on £9.40. Below this line in this north Dublin area there are 5,000 old people, 650 deserted wives, 3,200 adults who are unemployed with 2,600 dependent children. This is only one area but is a good example of the bosses' system in all its reality.

Socialists understand that it is the internal workings of the capitalist system which cause poverty and want in our society and throughout the world. The pious attempts by religious groups, while they prop up capitalism at every corner, to "help the poor" as it's called are a sham.

It is the drive for profit that turns man against man, causes unemployment (the labour army which the bosses keep in reserve) and keeps thousands living in pov-

erty so as to keep wages down and competition for jobs high. While capitalists own the machines and the buildings for producing goods, a situation where 5% of the people own and control 70% of the wealth is inevitable, and so is dire poverty in the midst of plenty.

In the less advanced capitalist countries the situation is even worse. In South America, countries like the United States extract raw materials, crops etc. for their home markets. The result is a one-crop culture such as in Brazil where the sugar industry has stripped all available land and covered it with sugar cane, because American businessmen will make more profit from sugar than they will from properly grown food crops for the workers and peasants. The result is mass-

ive poverty.

In India 25% of the people are without housing. There are 11 million unemployed, most sleep in the streets. Of the 4,000,000,000 people on this planet only 1,500,000,000 are properly fed.

But what about prosperous America, the "land of the free", many will ask. Here are some facts. 19% of all Americans earn below £42 a week, with two to four children to feed, and this situation is getting worse, as inflation and crisis hits Uncle Sam as well as here. One thing is clear also. It is not shortage of raw materials and food that causes hunger and poverty.

For example since Hiroshima the U.S. has been spending 40,000,000,000 dollars on operation nuclear annihilation to def-

end capitalism. Ten times the world's present population could live comfortably on that lot.

The U.S. federal government has about 2,500,000,000 dollars tied up in stored wheat. The U.S. government buys crops from farmers and stores them, using taxpayers' money. The worker then "enjoys" higher prices in the shop shops.

The government discourages the growing of certain crops, and gives millions to big farmers to take land out of production.

The cause of this situation and of world poverty whether here or in the so-called Third World countries is the drive for higher and higher profits on every article including food and clothing at the expense of people's needs.

Pious statements are useless without a firm hatred of a system which exists on people's misery. Workers themselves can move forward and wrest the wealth of this and other countries from the boss bosses by organised action. Only within a workers' republic will people cater for their own needs through planned co-operative action.

DERMOT BYRNE

## 'ESCAPE' TO NEW ZEALAND

THE NORTHERN Ireland Peace Movement has opened up what it calls an 'escape route' for anyone wishing to flee from the troubled Northern province; One of their escape routes leads to New Zealand where a new and better life is promised. But the experience of one man, John Matthews, gives the lie to this empty promise.

John, from Coventry, worked in the Chrysler Engine plant until Christmas 1975, when he was made redundant. He and his brother, Joe were arrested by the Special Branch in March '76 under the Prevention of Terrorism Act. John was detained and interrogated for 48 hours then released without charge. After several weeks his brother Joe was deported to

Belfast.

'I couldn't get any work in Coventry', John told The Worker, 'so I decided to try for a new life in New Zealand. I couldn't be admitted as an immigrant, and I couldn't afford the fare for a year's stay, so I went on a six month visa on the off chance. I have family there so I thought it would be OK'

'And things looked OK at first. I got good job working at Auckland University. But after only four weeks in the place the police were on to me. They came to the house and asked to see my passport. They wanted to know what I was doing in New Zealand, who my friends were, and when I was leaving. The British police had told them to check me out because of my IRA connections - I'm not just making that up,

that's what they said to me. And I want to make it clear that I have never been politically involved, not in Ireland, not in Britain, and certainly not in New Zealand. But the fact that I had been picked up under the Prevention of Terrorism Act meant that I was a marked man.

'No matter how far away you go it seems that the long arm of the British law still gets to you. And it stays with you as well. One day when I was out shopping I passed a demonstration against an American nuclear arms ship which was cocking in Auckland, and who should I find walking next to me? The detective who came to 'interview' me! 'Hello, John', he said, you're not thinking of getting mixed up with this lot, are you?' He warned me to

keep away, and to steer clear of the trade unions!

### PTA

'Despite that I had work and a much better standard of living that I've ever enjoyed on this side of the world. But I also saw the NZ police in operations much more blatant than the Prevention of Terrorism Act in this country. Since immigration was stopped to New Zealand there are, of course, numbers of 'illegal' immigrants there, especially from Fiji. Well, for four weeks solid the police just went around the streets at night and lifted black kids by the van load. They would be kept inside for 48 hours until their

papers were checked and if they weren't in order, then they'd be deported.

'I had to come back last November because I was refused permission to stay. I applied to the immigration authorities for permanent residence. But even although I had family to vouch for and character reference from my employers at Auckland University, I was turned down. So now I'm back in Coventry and I'm still sitting on the dole.

'My parents here are still getting anonymous threatening letters, and we've been visited again by the police recently and had the house searched. People talk about democracy, but for me, this is nothing short of a police state.'

MANOR HOUSE SCHOOL: In Raheny teachers belonging to the A.S.T.I. went on strike over the dismissal of a probationary teacher just before her probationary two years were up. The A.S.T.I. have been trying for a long time to negotiate with the religious managements to obtain a better deal for probationary teachers, but this was the first time the leadership agreed to an official strike.

Classes were continued by the nuns and scabbing parents, but examinations were transferred to another school. After weeks of picketing the teachers were sold out when the A.S.T.I. executive agreed that the sacked teacher should accept compensation.



THESE ARE THE UNACCEPTABLE FACES OF GRUNWICKS. THE SNEERS THAT LAUNCHED A THOUSAND PICKETS

THE WORKERS at the Grunwicks factory in London have been on strike for over ten months for the right to belong to a union.

When they joined the clerical workers' union APEX they were all immediately sacked. Before joining the union they had been getting £25 a week before deductions. Even the Daily Mirror, a paper which is not renowned for giving strikers its support, described these as slave wages and Grunwicks as a sweatshop.

The bosses have used every means possible both 'legal' and 'illegal' to break the strike:

- Strikers have been harassed by local fascists and on one occasion a picketer was dragged inside the factory and beaten up.
- Police harassment with strikers even being arrested for complaining about incidents involving management violence. This harassment has been intensified during the mass pickets which have been supported by trade unionists from all over Britain and also by an APEX delegation of 18 workers from Northern Ireland. The way the local police are 'dealing' with the strike has embarrassed even the Home Office, who have told them to 'calm

down'.

It has also surprised the leaders of APEX, a union normally noted for its unwillingness to fight, as can be seen in the statement by the Ulster area organiser, D. C. Kell: "We have given our members very clear orders to support peaceful picketing and to avoid hassles. . . The firm's attempts to ignore guidance from Government industrial relations machinery could have an effect on the operation of Ulster's Industrial Relations Agency and the conciliation service."

- A security firm, who are believed to have very sophisticated

aids in electronic surveillance, have been hired by the Grunwicks bosses to spy on the strikers. This would account for the fact that management always seemed to have advance warning of the strikers' plans!

- A court injunction was taken out by the extreme right-wing National Association For Freedom against the Post Office workers' union (UPW) which had blacked all delivery of mail to the factory. As part of the business is processing film this blacking could have won the strike.

As usual the union bureaucrats shied away from a confrontation

with the law courts, and the black blacking was called off. However as a reaction to the brutality of the police during recent mass pickets, local post office workers have resumed the blacking of the factory despite a last minute telegram from the union general secretary.

The use of court injunctions and police harassment of pickets is becoming quite commonplace in Ireland too. If this strike, which is now getting national coverage in the Irish papers, fails it can only strengthen those who would use these weapons against us - don't give them that opportunity.

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## STUFF THE JUBILEE!

THE BELFAST TELEGRAPH joined in the recent Jubilee hysteria by printing photographs of Queen Elizabeth's last visit to Belfast in 1966. One picture summed up the lunacy of the monarchy. It was of the royal Rolls-Royce driving down Sandy Row amidst cheers and bunting. Sandy Row, one of the fiercest loyalist areas in Belfast, has some of the worst housing in the city and the Queen's Rolls was at least as big as the houses. Its occupants, of course, knew little and probably cared less about living conditions in Sandy Row.

In view of the planned royal

- circus in August, however, The Worker thought that the people of Belfast (with the highest unemployment and lowest standard of living in her 'majesty's' domain) might be interested in how the royals are faring in this time of economic depression.
- THE QUEEN - £1,665,000 inflation-proof income tax-free. Assets (shares, property, etc.) £70m.
  - The Queen Mother - £140,000 p.a. tax-free.
  - Duke of Edinburgh - £83,000 p.a. tax-free.
  - Prince Charles - £250,000 p.a. tax-free and property valued at £40m.
  - Princess Anne - £45,000 p.a. tax-free.

The Royal Yacht, Royal Train, Queen's Flight and upkeep of palaces cost another £4.2m.

As the unemployed in Belfast struggle through on supplementary benefit it will be a comfort to know that at least the wolves are not at the door of Buck House.

WHAT WE THINK

# THE PROMISE FF MUST NOT KEEP

NOBODY SHOULD be under any illusion that the resounding victory of Fianna Fail is going to solve any problems. The voters gave a thumbs-down to the Coalition. Only Fianna Fail was well enough organised to benefit from the disenchantment. If the new government does not bring about an economic improvement it will in due course suffer the same fate as its predecessor. But in the meantime we will be suffering—from rising prices, from the highest unemployment in the E.E.C., from continuing repression.

Does Fianna Fail have a strategy for dealing with the economic crisis? It does now, but of course it may yet be watered down by the civil service into a continuation of the Coalition's policies. For what it's worth, it's a policy of going for boom or bust. Money is spent on everything, and after a couple of years we'll be able to pay it back. But if the international economic situation does not improve—which is likely—we won't in fact be able to pay it back: we'll be deeper in hock than ever. And then they'll expect us, the working class, to do all the paying.

And hidden in the middle of the Fianna Fail plan there is a very dangerous snare.

Inflation is to be cut from 15% this year to 7% next year by a programme of tax cuts, together with a 5% increase in pay. **THAT'S ALL THE WAGE INCREASE WE'RE ALLOWED: 5% to cover a year when prices go up by 7% (they say!), not to mention this year's price increases.**

## FIVE PER CENT?

Are Fianna Fail going to persuade the trade union leaders to settle for 5%? Will we allow the union leaders to sell that to us?

Or will Fianna Fail introduce wage restraint by legislation? Will we allow the union leaders to collapse in the face of the majesty of the law? In either case, we must prepare now to fight this battle. **THIS IS ONE PROMISE THAT FIANNA FAIL MUST NOT BE ALLOWED TO KEEP.**

They have not promised to introduce real equal pay. They have promised legislation on contraception, which may be more restrictive than the present situation.

They have promised "20,000 new jobs within twelve months." But what of the thousands of young people who will qualify for the dole each year? They

promise 5% "reduction in prices." They mean prices will go up by 5% less than they would have. They promise 80,000 "reduction in unemployment." They only mean 80,000 jobs, and the dole queues won't be ended.

Nor can any let-up in repression be expected. The Fianna Fail government elected in 1957 turned round and introduced internment. Jack Lynch has on his record the Offences against the State (Amendment) Act, which allows conviction of I.R.A. membership on the word of a policeman. Des O'Malley was in his time as arrogant a Minister for Justice as the unlamented Cooney. Those who are fighting imperialism can expect no concessions from a government whose liberal speeches in opposition will be sloughed off as quickly as Cooney's.

None of the problems facing the working class were solved by the election. None of them will be solved by the new government. We will have to rely on our own strength. We have to organise.

■ Organise as trade unionists to force the union leaders to reject the 5% limit.

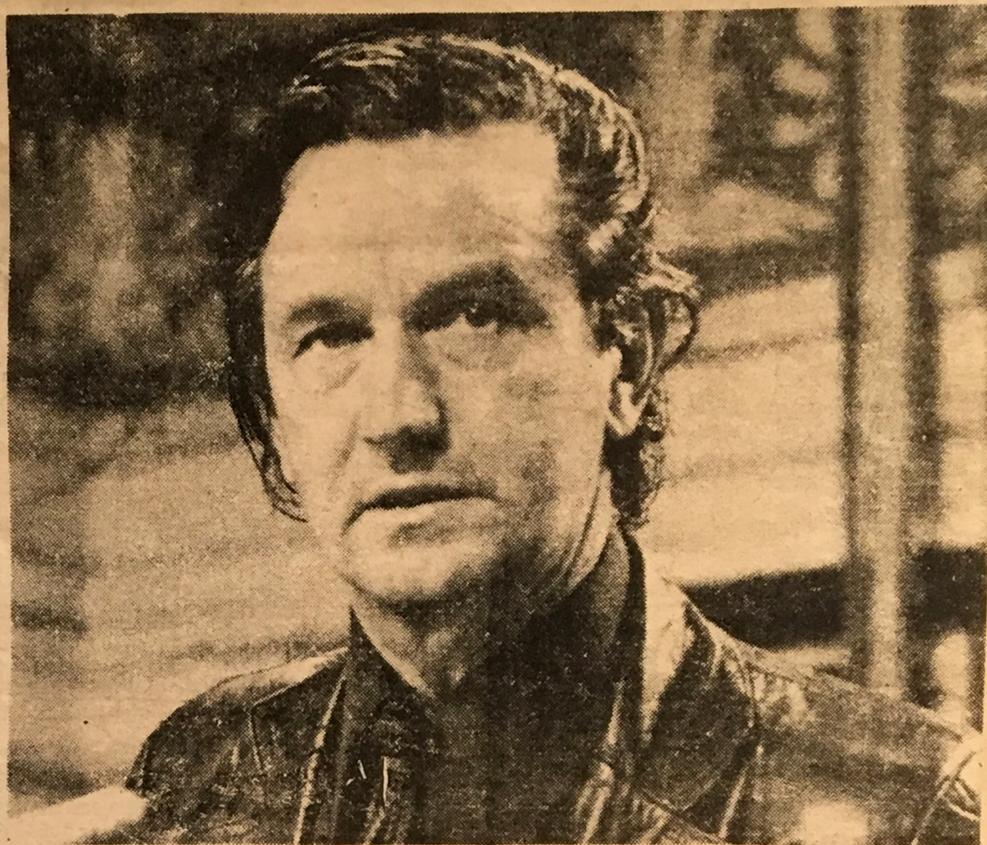
■ Organise as trade unionists to fight redundancies and productivity deals which lead to unemployment.

■ Organise as unemployed to demand more jobs, and not let the government think that promises will satisfy us.

■ Organise a trade union campaign against the repression of workers and anti-imperialist organisations.



# An alternative to the Labour Party?



Noel Browne addresses a Labour Party conference.

THE LABOUR PARTY has had a bad experience with coalitions. For a time it set its face against coalitions, and Brendan Corish said in 1969 that he would resign as leader if the Party conference decided upon coalition.

In 1970 coalition was decided on, on the proposal of the same Brendan Corish. And inevitably, as the opponents of coalition warned, every left-wing policy was silently abandoned. And the Labour Party went into the government in 1973: it "asked for little, and less was granted". Four years of rising unemployment, rising prices and rising repression.

And at the end of it, its collaboration was so blatant that Garret FitzGerald could say without fear of contradiction that there had never been so much as a vote on party lines within the Cabinet. And once again they lost the votes and they lost the seats.

Now the Labour Party faces a choice. Does it hold to the coalition strategy in the expectation that four or five years of Fianna Fail government will be so disastrous that the electorate will vote it back into office?

Or does the Labour Party heed the call which is already being heard within its ranks to abandon the coalition policy? But such a decision would not necessarily mean the end of the present leadership. They could bide their time, as they did before, intending to sell out when they got another chance. The Labour Party would remain committed to parliamentary methods, not to working-class struggle.

Socialists in the Labour Party did not understand that

the famous socialist policies of 1969 were not really socialist anyway, and that the leadership's allegiance to those policies was only skin-deep. It is not necessary for the same lesson to be repeated now. The sands of time have buried the policies of 1969, and even if the archaeologists uncover them, the needs of the working-class movement are now different.

## MERRIGAN

It is in this light that we must look at the Independent Labour stand of Noel Browne and Matt Merrigan, who affirmed their faithfulness to those policies. Is this a basis on which a new socialist party, envisaged by Matt Merrigan before he decided to stand as Independent Labour, can be formed? There is a substantial section of working-class opinion, both inside the Labour Party and among those who have left it in the past, who would look in this direction. But these people must consider carefully what sort of a socialist party they want.

A socialist labour party could have been formed in 1970, after the Labour Party decided on its coalitionist policy. Browne and Merrigan set their faces against the idea, insisting that it was necessary to stay in the Labour Party and fight from inside.

Noel Browne is tremendously admired for his courage and integrity, for standing up for the working class. But essentially he believes in fighting in parliament for the working class; rather than in workers organising themselves independently.

The Browne-Merrigan elec-

tion manifesto talked about stimulating private industry (as well as public). It advocated a phased withdrawal of British troops from the North (implying that they could remain for a while as peace-makers). The strategy is essentially one for gradual reforms within capitalism, through parliamentary means. In 1970 the Labour Party left that ground vacant. It has since been filled by the arrival of Sinn Fein The Workers' Party. There is no room for another party on the same ground.

Capitalism is still unable to get out of its worst recession for 40 years: it will not permit substantial reforms in its present condition. The capitalist state is strengthening its repressive apparatus: it will never let itself be reformed out of existence.

## REVOLUTIONARY

*The task facing socialists in the working-class movement is that of building a revolutionary movement to overthrow capitalism, not a parliamentary movement to talk about reforming it. It calls for a hard fight inside the trade unions for militant policies. It calls for a willingness to make sacrifices, to take to the streets, to organise the dispossessed. It is a harder task than sitting in smoke-filled rooms passing resolutions. But the history of the past 7 years (not to mention 170) shows that resolutions don't bring us any nearer to socialism. Revolutions do.*

JOHN GOODWILLIE

## FIGHT REPRESSION

(Continued from page 1)

TUCCAR has been building up to its first national conference on 10th July. Over 80 trade unionists—nearly all of them holding some office in the movement—are paid-up members. TUCCAR confidently expects to recruit many more at, and immediately after, the national conference.

The principal task TUCCAR faces at that conference is to define areas of work which will make it possible for individual members and local branches—if these are set up—to participate directly in TUCCAR activity. It cannot afford to remain merely a paper organisation issuing a (very good) newsletter and occasional press statements.

Local groups around the country (and there are possibilities for these in Limerick, Cork, Wexford, Waterford, North Connacht as well as Dublin) will need to keep up a constant flow of information about instances of repression to the TUCCAR—and to the trade union movement in their own area.

There are still many trade unionists who doubt that there is any such thing as political repression—

even though they would recognise (and possibly accept) that "tough" methods are used against the IRA. The second issue of TUCCAR Newsletter, however, points out how the net has been cast much wider:

"A solicitor was arrested after visiting a client in Portlaoise prison. And... a Chilean refugee, a priest who had given information to Amnesty International, a teacher who is a member of a Christian socialist group, and young unemployed workers who took part in an anti-unemployment march, have all been interrogated or intimidated by the Special Branch."

# UNION LEADERS: BARKING LOUDLY BUT NOT BITING

(except at the rank and file)

THERE'S a story in the Gospels about two ways a son can react to an instruction from his father—he can say "Oh yes I'll do it" and go away and not do it, or he can say

"I won't do it" but quietly carry it out.

During the recent ITGWU and ICTU Annual Conferences, the union leaders took the first approach—they knew the rank and file were stirring against the National Wage Agreement, so they made militant sounding speeches about wage agreements and ended up, in both Conferences, appealing "Don't tie our hands." (Bark loud enough and maybe nobody will notice you're not biting.)

Six months of countless strikes and rocketing prices brought the message home to the union leaders. In the ITGWU the message was spelled out in black and white: a half dozen branches of the Union have already called for a Special Delegate Conference to decide on a national ballot to end the National Wage Agreement.

Michael Mullen, the General Secretary, responded to the pressure and in May the papers reported, "he would range the might of his union against wage agreements unless something is done about spiralling prices."

Prices have spiralled and spiralled. But when Annual Conference came the only rage we saw was verbal. John Carroll said it may be the end of National Wage Agreements as we have known them.

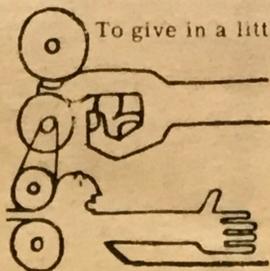
## SOCIAL CONTRACT

But opposition to wage restraint IN ANY FORM is what we need. And another form of wage restraint is a Social Contract—an idea floated at the ICTU Conference. Social Contracts are merely National Wage Agreements as British and Northern workers have known them.

The ITGWU Annual Conference also saw the bureaucrats hit back at the first signs of an ORGANISED rank-and-file opposition within the Union. The "New Liberty"—organ of a growing grouping of members who want democracy and action on jobs and wages—was roundly condemned, with genuine rage this time, from the platform.

Since Conference the top brass have begun their first move against individual supporters. The best means of defence against this is for the group to grow even more and to get such roots in the rank and file, through open and active expansion, so that the membership will back up anybody faced with the 'chop from the top'.

To give in a little..



.....is to lose a lot.

# Letters

Write to:  
THE WORKER,  
24 Talbot Street,  
Dublin 1.

## Sectarian provos?

I WAS interested to read your letter column of 15 March '77 and dismayed at the general blindness displayed to the true nature of the Provisionals.

The Provisionals have put themselves on record as saying that they are anti-marxist. You may not feel that their anti-marxist activities are particularly vigorous but in the, admittedly remote, event of their achieving state power would this still be the case?

It would be consistent that a movement that relies so heavily on violence would be more likely to murder socialists than to seek an accommodation with them. Blaney and Haughey would be far more likely allies.

They may not want to bother now but in Eire Nua or Joe Cahill's "republic without socialist overtones" it would be logical that a policy of purge be directed against any who rock the boat. Given the barrenness and emptiness of their economic ideas they would be far more likely to rely on established institutions of exploitation than the S.W.M.

I would agree with you that a socialist solution is inevitable in Ireland, as it is throughout the world. However, this does not mean that every gunman must, like it or not, tend to help in the struggle for socialism. The Provisionals are, for instance, far more likely to bring about a sectarian civil war than a social revolution and the outcome to this is at least as likely to be fascist as socialist.

It is simply not good enough to say that we will show the Provos "a socialist way, based on the power of the working class". They depend upon a divided working class for their justification and our socialist aim of organising the workers as a class runs against their interests. They are a sectarian rather than a class army. As such they are a miserably reactionary force and cut across the grain of social progress.

Fraternally,  
Socialist,  
Belfast.

### EDITORIAL REPLY:

"Socialist" is worried about what the Provisionals might do if they came to power. But there is no likelihood of them coming to power in present circumstances. And if circumstances changed, the Provisionals would change also. If they were coming to power with the consent of British imperialism, they would have to purge a lot of their socialist and working-class support. If they were winning a victory over British imperialism, they would have become a revolutionary socialist organisation. Neither is conceivable, but in either case they would cease to be the organisation we know today.

As far as our present attitude is concerned, we have to be clear who the main enemy is: the capitalist system, represented by British imperialism.

The Provisionals are fighting imperialism by ineffective methods: they are not the problem, they are a bad answer to the problem.

We do not see the Provisionals starting a "social revolution", or coming to "rely on" the S.W.M., we see the S.W.M. helping to build the revolutionary socialist party that can provide a better answer to imperialism. We do not think we will convert the Provos as an organisation to "a socialist way, based on the power of the working class". We hope to convert their supporters in the working class to that strategy.

The Provos do not have a vested interest in keeping the working class divided: the division in the working class has existed for a century, and the Provos are prisoners of that situation because they do not see the necessity to unite the working class and they do not see that such unity can only be built by organising around class interests.

We did not say that "every gunman must, like it or not, tend to help in the struggle for socialism". Loyalist gunmen don't help in it. A Provisional gunman firing at the British Army is firing in the right direction (although in the absence of a mass movement he's not achieving much). A Provisional gunman in a sectarian assassination is not firing in the right direction. But the bulk of the Provisionals' activities is directed against imperialism, not against the Protestants.

A sectarian civil war can



only take place if the British government concludes that its present policy is doomed and if it is convinced that those who will win the civil war will protect British interests when it is over. The Provos could only start a civil war with the connivance of Britain.

"Reactionary" forces are those that reinforce the power of capitalism and imperialism. Despite their dubious origins and their continuing mistakes, the main thrust of the Provisionals' activities is towards the overthrow of imperialism. As socialists, we must not allow our disagreements with the Provos to make us forget who the real enemy is.

We need to build an organisation which can fight that enemy, imperialism, by the only methods which will bring success: socialist methods. A "socialist solution" is only "inevitable" if we all play our part in building that organisation.

## FUND

LAST MARCH, two AnCO apprentices (Galway Centre) were batoned by Gardai during an end-of-term party at a Galway hotel [reported in The Worker no. 43]. They were detained for some time without charge and later released on personal bail of £20 each after trade union officials, Labour Party members, and a union solicitor had visited the Garda station.

Both apprentices are charged with obstruction, and one has also been charged with assault. They categorically deny these charges, and the apprentice charged with assault has asked for a trial by jury.

The legal expenses of both apprentices may amount to £400, and a legal defence fund is being organised. Up to £100 has already been collected locally (at, for example, the Regional Technical College, the apprentices' workplaces, Labour Party and trade union meetings). We ask readers of this paper to contribute to this fund to defend young workers in this typical instance of blatant harassment and mistreatment by Gardai.

Yours fraternally,  
Sheelah Duddy,  
Secretary, Galway Civil Liberties Action Committee,  
62 Lr. Salthill,  
Galway.

## CALL FOR INVESTIGATION AT UNIDARE

AS A WORKER in Unidare I'd like to say something about your small story on the Oerlikon factory [The Worker no. 43]. It's true that the steward Hugh Duignan was sacked, and should not have been, but many people here are saying he struck the first blow, not the other way round as you said in 'The Worker'.

But there is no proof that Hugh's story is not the truth either. There should be a big investigation of this by our Shop Stewards Committee and it beats me why they have taken so long to clear this whole thing up once and for all.

Yours faithfully,  
A Unidare worker,  
ITGWU.

Cuts in readers' letters are indicated by ellipsis (...). Keep them coming, but try and keep them short.

# NO RETURN EMIGRANTS

THREE MONTHS AGO, a radio commentator reported a bizarre piece of news. Medical card holders with hearing aids were being advised by the Eastern Health Board to economise on the use of their instruments in order to save the batteries. The Board was no longer going to supply the same number of batteries per month.

Put bluntly, they were told to go deaf for part of the day. Luckily, there was such an outcry that the penny-pinchers from the Department of Health relented. But in a small way, it shows the changes our society has gone through in the last ten years.

In the 1960s all the talk was of improving the health and education services. Programmes were written on how we were going to achieve full employment.

Yet today the expectations and hopes of thousands have been dashed as unemployment soared. Young people who were promised so much with more education join the dole queues. Capitalism has returned to its age-old pattern of boom and slump.

Just less than fifteen million people are unemployed throughout Europe today. And it is going up. The so-called "pick-up" or "boom" is rapidly running out of steam as the bosses refuse to invest their capital in creating jobs. Instead they have turned increasingly to rationalisation as a means of getting a cutting edge over their rivals.

Voluntary redundancies, recruitment bans, no replacement of the jobs of those who retire and the increasing use of machinery means that a large pool of unemployed is once again a prominent feature of capitalism. There can be no return to the "good old days"—no matter how many sacrifices trade unionists make.

One thing is clear. Capitalism can no longer guarantee us jobs. We have to fight for them. Trade union leaders or Labour Party TDs (who are trying to quickly remember the left-wing rhetoric) may tell us we must look for an "economic plan". But we need the jobs now—not when 'state development corporations' or smelters are set up in 10 year years' time.

But how do we fight? Our greatest strength as workers

The emigrant boat is back in statistics show that, for the first time more people left Ireland last year. Again, the unemployed are being sent to the country. This time with a stupid pop song ringing in their ears. Make it your kind of country! This time, also, there's the beg-

lies in our ability to unite together at the place of work. It is this unity which allows us to force bosses into increasing wage rates or improving working conditions. But when it comes to redundancy situations this strength is often not used. The trade union leaders have been very successful in spreading the message that nothing can be done. Like the weather, it just has to be accepted.

But redundancies can be resisted. Occupying the factory and winning support from other workers can force the boss to keep us on or else make the government nationalise the place. The other option means accepting a lump sum payment and facing into a long period at the labour exchange.

Even where we do not face redundancies, the scourge of

unemployment... fought... ban... will... more... enter... will... A pol... place... must... real... unemp... The... men... action... recruit... by-the... olly... sta... more... hospita... have... employ... windy... scies... will... only... rank... links... tog...

## FIGHTING BACK IN DUBLIN...

A CAMPAIGN to demand free travel for the unemployed on the buses is now in full swing in Dublin. It has been launched by the Dublin Fight Unemployment Committee. Thousands of free fare tickets have been handed out at the labour exchange and the reaction has been fantastic.

One bloke put it like this: "If they don't give us jobs, they can't expect us to stay locked up in our houses all day. It costs me 40p just to come in and out of town. A few trips into town take up a quarter of my money. How the hell do they expect us to look for work, if we can't afford the bus fares?"

But C.I.E. haven't reacted the same way. The Area Manager of Donnybrook garage called out to the secretary of the campaign, Johnny White. Demonstrating an amazing aptitude for perceiving the obvious, he pointed out: "Nobody has instructed the committee to hand out these leaflets."

Nevertheless the campaign has gone on. But it needs the support of the busmen. At the moment it's a case of individual busmen deciding to accept or reject the tickets. But a resolution of support

from the busmen's unions would be a major step forward. That is why the Fight Unemployment Committee has issued a leaflet to the busmen pointing out its support for their campaign to end the ban on recruitment in C.I.E. and asking for support for the campaign.

If you are unemployed, or if you're working on the buses and want more information, write to: Fight Unemployment Committee, 2 Tranquilla Terrace, Dublin 2.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS of unemployed workers have been dealt a heavy blow by an amazing decision of the Athlone Social Welfare office. A few weeks ago a local unemployed group in Ballinacree placed a picket on the AnCO office in protest against double jobbing. AnCO has decided to employ full-time teachers to give courses in AnCO. That means a full-time wage on top of their holiday pay.

Once the local Labour Exchange officers identified those on the picket, they contacted their head office in Athlone.

Their decision... 'DAYS' DO... behind it is... in a picket... for work'.

Now if you... records or... long walk... no-one claim... able for wo... actually pro... right to wor... erent case.

The Dub... ment Comm... placed a pic... lin in solid... sloe comrad... they pointe...

"The cor... ruling—that... picket make... "unavailable... any group o... further than... Fail to keep... ises sometin... election coul... money stopp... "Technic... to anyone pr... loyed meetin... unemployed... ised by the T...

Copies of th... on the left... from the D... ployment C... quilla Terrac...

**FIGHT UNEMPLOYMENT COMMITTEE**

**Fare Fight ticket**

I am protesting against the treatment of the unemployed and for the demand of Free Travel For The Unemployed.

CIE may claim the amount of \_\_\_\_\_ due for this fare at the following address:

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

FARE FIGHT  
Sponsored by the Dublin  
Fight Unemployment  
Committee.

16	17	18	19	20	21	22	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
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# TURN TO THE FIGHT SHIP!

back in style. Recent for the first time in years and last year than came in. They are being forced out of work with Fianna Fail's shouting in their ears: "Let's save the country!" Indeed, this is the beginning of a fight.

unemployment can still be fought at the workplace. A ban on systematic overtime will force the boss to take on more workers. A refusal to enter into productivity deals will save jobs in the long term. A policy inside every workplace that all vacant jobs must be filled would lay the real basis for a fight against unemployment.

The moves of C.I.E. busmen who have threatened action against the ban on recruitment, the strike action by the parcels men at Connolly station for the hiring of more workers, the strike by hospital workers at the Mater have done more for the unemployed than countless windy speeches. Such policies will take on real force only with the building of a rank and file movement which links together militant shop

stewards from different workplaces. But we also need to fight inside the unions for policies which can create jobs. An immediate introduction of a 35 hour week without loss of pay could create thousands of jobs. Already it is union policy in such unions as ATGWU, but we've got to make sure it is fought for—rather than left to gather dust in the minute



Militant words from trade union leaders like Michael Mullen are not enough.

books. An end to wage restraint policies and the National Wage Agreement is a necessary condition for ending the fantastic incidence of high overtime working.

It is only the unity of the unemployed and the employed that can save jobs.

At the same time the unemployed can act as the conscience of the labour movement, pressurising and lobbying rank and file trade unionists into accepting policies which generate jobs. That is why the formation of the Fight Unemployment Committee in Dublin and the Belfast Unemployment Action Committee are very important steps.

Such organisations begin by taking up the immediate needs of the unemployed. They fight for free bus fares for the unemployed or against evictions and the cutting off of electricity or gas. But they must also turn to employed workers for support even to achieve this. In such a way a fighting unity between the employed and unemployed can be built up.

## ... AND BELFAST

THE BELFAST Unemployment Action Committee has made the first small steps in the fight against unemployment. And we've no illusions about the difficulty of the fight. 6, 273 school leavers have just joined the other 15,000 under-20 year olds on the dole. 59,600 altogether out of work.

We're not short of crocodile tears from the politicians and trade union leaders — but they're very short on action.

For instance, Mr. Terry Carlin, Northern officer of the ICTU talked about the tragedy of the plight of school-leavers. But what has he or the ICTU done to fight unemployment this year? What has he done to get more jobs for school leavers? Did he try to stop any of the redundancies at STC, or Colin Glen? Did he notice the job losses in The Falls Flax Mill or in the Dunmurry carpet factory? Each month there are more people thrown on the dole scrapheap and still Carlin and the other trade union leaders say a lot but do NOTHING.

As well, the depressing monthly unemployment figures are used by bosses to get more out of workers who still have jobs. People at work are being forced to work harder and longer hours. Productivity is greatly increased, but jobs are still threatened.

In Strathearn Audio in West Belfast, management is running "Operation Survival", "If we don't finish this export order on

time, we'll lose all 340 jobs!" they say. So the workers are working long periods of overtime so that the company will make it. Harland and Wolff shipyards, another state-owned company, reported increased productivity during 1976. But the gains made because the workers worked harder were wiped out by cancelled contracts. So jobs are still at risk.

The only people who can change the situation are those who have to bear the brunt of unemployment—the working class. United. The rank and file workers, employed and unemployed, can get together to fight unemployment. Workers in unions must wage a fight against the Social Contract.

Unemployed workers through pickets, demonstrations and meetings can publicise the plight of the unemployed and encourage the organised workers to fight back. Unemployed workers in the Belfast Unemployment Action Committee are organising a campaign for free bus fares for the unemployed. Workers on the shop floor and workers on the dole queue together can achieve more than a thousand pious politicians and hypocritical trade union bureaucrats.

# FROM SCHOOL TO DOLE

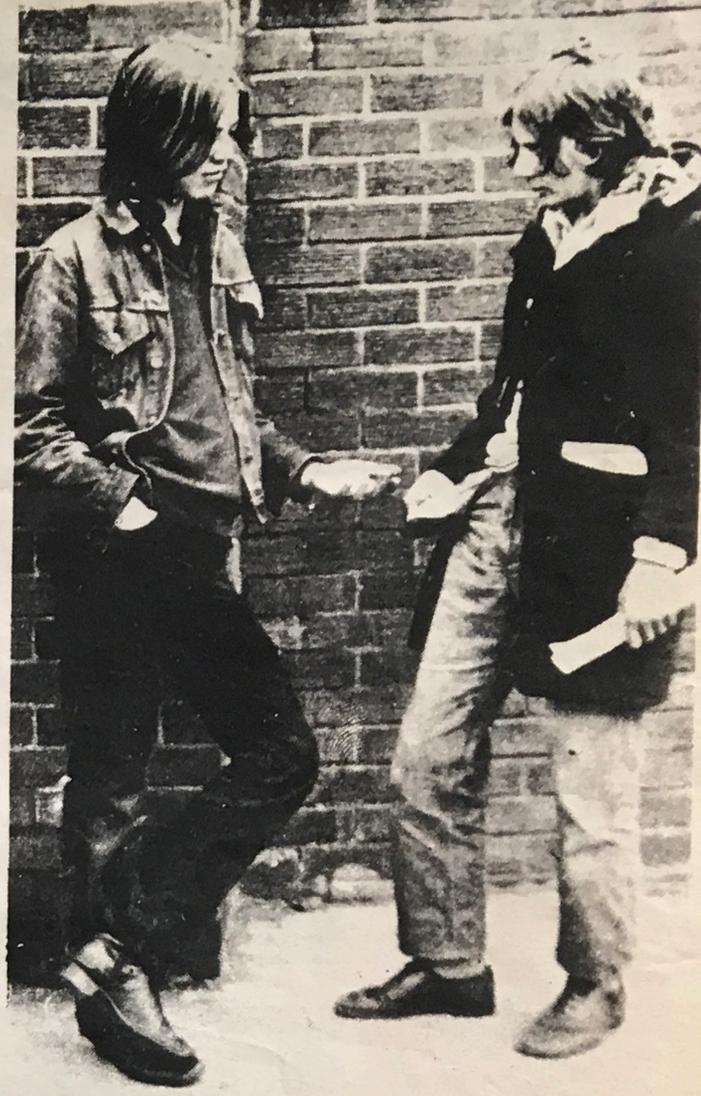
FOR THE THOUSANDS of young workers on the dole, and the thousands of future school leavers faced with the same prospect, Fianna Fail's pious statements about unemployment to gain votes must have been sickening. Jack Lynch and his merry men know damn well that in order to stay in existence they will have to answer the demands of the bosses just as much as the coalition did.

This government will call for wage restraint, and cut-backs on our living standards to "create" employment, and we know already where that leads—more unemployment, as the bosses use higher and higher profits to cut back and rationalise their industries.

Of the 109,000 registered unemployed and at least 70,000 not registered in the South, over half are under 25. A whole generation of young people are now condemned to scramble for the few jobs that are going. The bosses have even been boasting about it. A spokesman for the Bank of Ireland has said smugly that 15,000 young people are expected to apply for the few hundred jobs that the big banks will be offering.

The situation in industry is no better. 30,000 jobs are needed every year in industry to bring unemployment down to 4% by 1986. Capitalism is finding it impossible to do this, and can offer nothing to the thousands of young school leavers about to come on to the dole.

As regards election promises and the bosses' candidates with their heartburning statements about unemployment there is one major fact. To replace jobs in existing industries national output would have to be 130% greater in real terms in 1986 than it was in 1972-73, and



investment would have to increase from £317 million which it was in 1973 to £813 million in 1986. The bosses, even if they wanted to increase investment will not do it, unless they are sure of bigger profits.

Capitalism can offer nothing now to school leavers about to come onto the dole except demoralisation, frustration, and disappointment. One unemployed young person at Dun Laoghaire labour exchange summed it up: "At school we were told

how our talents would mean a good standard of living if we used them to better ourselves. WE were told to get on in life and suchlike by the Christian Brothers. But it was all a con. Nobody ever mentioned this rotten set-up. I've been looking for a job for nearly nine months."

Vague promises by politicians will not change this situation. It is up to unemployed workers themselves to organise a fight back. Young unemployed workers should join in the struggle being organised by the Fight Unemployment Committee in Dublin.

## HOW THEY FOUGHT IN THE FIFTIES

LOOKING AT unemployment today, it's worth while looking at what happened the last time round. In 1956 the Coalition Government brought in a credit squeeze and a cut-back of the housing programme, adding to the numbers out of work. Unemployment rose to 20,000 in Dublin—smaller than today's 40,000, but remember that thousands were emigrating at this time, and Dublin was a smaller city.

Early in 1957 a group of building workers came together at the Werburgh Street (Dublin) Labour Exchange and discussed the prospects of finding employment. They decided that the only hope was to organise the unemployed to demand work. They borrowed a chair from a nearby shop and began a public meeting. From that meeting an Unemployed Protest Committee was formed" (Communist Party of Ireland: OUTHOUSE, Ireland: Outline History, page 59).

"They secured a committee room in the premises of the Dublin Trade Union Council. From there they planned and carried out a series of public meetings and marches. Soon the support was numbered in thousands. They carried black coffins which had

been a symbol of unemployed marches for many years."

In the General Election of that year—which, incidentally, flung out a Coalition and elected a Fianna Fail Government (who didn't help the unemployed then either)—the Unemployed Protest Committee decided to run a candidate. Not the best way to fight for jobs you might think, and you'd be right judging by the fate of their successful candidate Jack Murphy. He was subjected to immense personal pressure from the Right—including Archbishop McQuaid—until he opposed the holding of a last big demonstration of the Committee, broke with it later and then resigned his seat, which went to Fianna Fail. However the unemployed

movement originally saw the elections as a combination of parliamentary and extra-parliamentary activity. Murphy's election boosted the growth of the movement and large rallies were held in Cork and Waterford. Local unemployed organisations took part.

The new Fianna Fail government removed the £7 million in subsidies on food (shades of things to come?) and Jack Murphy, with two other Committee

members, went on hunger strike for four days. Each night thousands of workers assembled at A Abbey St. corner and were addressed by Protest Committee members. The Trade Union Congress leaders called on the three to end the hunger strike—without providing an alternative strategy through industrial action in support of the unemployed. The movement went the other way instead. A 5,000 strong meeting of unemployed endorsed Congress's appeal. A delegation was sent to Archbishop McQuaid, who could do nothing but warn against Communism. Soon afterwards, the last big march of the Unemployed Protest Committee was held.

## IN...

Their decision was: STOP TWO DAYS' DOLE MONEY. The logic behind it is that if you take part in a picket you are "unavailable for work".

Now if you decide to listen to records or the television, or take a long walk or do football training—no-one claims you are "unavailable for work". But when people actually protest to demand the right to work—well, that's a different case.

The Dublin Fight Unemployment Committee immediately placed a picket on AnCo in Dublin in solidarity with their Ballinasloe comrades. In a statement they pointed out:

"The consequence of such a ruling—that being on a protest picket makes unemployed people "unavailable for work"—is that any group of unemployed who go further than waiting for Fianna Fail to keep their election promises sometime before the next election could have their dole money stopped.

"Technically this could apply to anyone present at an unemployed meeting. Or those on an unemployed protest march organised by the Trades Councils."

Copies of the fare fight ticket on the left may be obtained from the Dublin Fight Unemployment Committee, 2 Tranquilla Terrace, Dublin 2.

# FRANCO'S BOY HOLDS POWER

THE FIRST ELECTION for 41 years was held in Spain on June 15th. Its aim was to put a democratic face on the remnants of Franco's rule.

The Spanish ruling class faced a problem: how could it maintain its grip in the face of rising working-class militancy, after Franco's death?

The elections were a device for prolonging the rule of Franco's aides. Not surprisingly the largest party after the election was the Union of the Democratic Centre (UCD) led by Prime Minister Suarez, who until two years ago was head of Franco's political party, the Movimiento.

The UCD gained 34% of the vote which gave it 166 out of 350 seats. This was not a very good result for the right which had spent about £5 million on its campaign to gain power.

The main gains from the elections seem to be for the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE) who gained 29% of the vote which was 50% more than they were expected to poll. The PSOE have done little to deserve the name socialist. They were noticeably absent from the underground struggle against Franco. Their trade union, the UGT, hardly existed until two years ago.

But they are being promoted and financed by West European social democrat leaders such as Callaghan of the British Labour Party and massively by Willy Brandt of the West German Social Democrats. They were the first

By Peter Byrne

party of the left to be made legal after the death of Franco and got very favourable coverage during the election campaign. The PSOE have emerged as the main left alternative. Despite their left-wing rhetoric they are committed to maintaining capitalism and are anxious to uphold 'stability'.

In this they are aided by the Communist Party who failed to challenge Suarez or put forward a left-wing programme. The C.P. was the main force in the struggle against Franco but have now moved decidedly to the right. They accept the monarchy, did not oppose US military bases in Spain and in fact all they had to say in the election was that stability and consolidation of the democratic gains already made were what is needed.



Chrysler workers in Spain vote to join general strike last year.

The C.P. gained only 9% of the vote, which was less than expected. Its sabotaging of the Basque amnesty struggle cost it votes. After the shooting by police of six demonstrators in the Basque country in May the C.P. opposed calls for a general strike and sympathy demonstrations in Madrid and Barcelona.

These elections have not done anything to solve the problems of the Spanish ruling class. No party has gained overall control and whether Suarez can rule from his minority position remains to be seen. Eventually there may be a coalition, possibly between the UCD and the PSOE. But the working class supporters of the PSOE and the other left parties are raising demands which are incompatible with a strong centralised capitalist government.

Spain today has a workers' movement as strong as anywhere in the world. Though it is only in the last two years that the trade union movement was legalised, yet it is growing in strength and confidence as the massive strikes against the repression of the Basques showed last month. But it suffers from fragmentation into a number of reformist organisations.

The revolutionary left failed to make any impact on the elections and until there is a revolutionary party capable of leading the workers to a united assault on the state the Spanish crisis is unlikely to lead to a revolutionary situation.



THE working class swept back onto the front of the political stage in Portugal last month.

Huge demonstrations of trade unionists took to the streets—200,000 in Lisbon, 50,000 in Oporto, tens of thousands more in

other cities. According to the Financial Times correspondent 'a human tide of 100,000 singing, slogan chanting workers (and white haired grandmothers and tiny children) poured down the Avenida da Libertade ...

Nearly all of Portugal's 260 trade unions were represented. 'Gaily coloured banners proclaimed, 'Work yes—Unemployment No' and 'The cost of living is rising—the people won't stand for it.'

## JOIN US IN THE FIGHT

## SWM What we stand for

**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.

Capitalism produces war and poverty, racial and sexual oppression. It is based on the exploitation of those who produce the wealth. It is geared to profit and not to human need. It wastes resources — above all, human resources. It is drawn into ever-deeper crises.

Only the working class can destroy it and build a socialist society based on workers' control of production. Our political action to prepare the working class for that is based on the following principles:

**REVOLUTION NOT REFORM:** Capitalism cannot be changed by piece-meal reform. Increasingly it is unable to bring in even those small reforms which some sections of the ruling class think necessary. We support all struggles of workers against capitalism, seeking to co-ordinate them and direct them towards a fight for workers' power.

**CAPITALIST STATE MUST BE SMASHED:** The state machinery — courts, parliament, police, army — is used to maintain the domination of the ruling class. Working class revolution produces a different kind of state — one based on councils of delegates from work-places and localities who are democratically elected and subject to recall at any time.

**SOCIALIST ANSWER TO THE NATIONAL QUESTION:** Imperialism dominates the country, props up the Northern state and keeps the working class divided. But the problem can only be resolved in the working class's struggle for power. Only a united working class can defeat imperialism and capitalism, leading the fight to end repression, to force withdrawal of the British Army and against every aspect of the bosses' system.

**NO SOCIALISM IN ISOLATION:** Capitalism is an international system and can only be overthrown by the working class internationally. Socialism in a single country cannot survive. We work for solidarity with workers in other countries and support the struggles of oppressed peoples against imperialism. Along with revolutionary organisations elsewhere we aim to build an international of working class parties.

**RUSSIA AND CHINA NO MODEL:** The attempts of the Russian working class to build socialism were halted by the failure of their revolution to spread. The Stalinist rulers established a new type of society based on exploitation and oppression. Russia, the countries of Eastern Europe, China and Cuba are not socialist or "communist" — the workers are not in control. We oppose these regimes as we oppose Western capitalism.

The main area of political action for socialists is in the mass organisations of the working class, particularly the trade unions. We fight to make them — independent of all ruling class influence and any state interference and to make them effective organs of struggle for the workers.

In the trade unions, we fight for the right to organise free of restrictions, and against all laws and agreements limiting the right to take industrial action. We fight for democratic control of union affairs and the election of officials.

We oppose all forms of wage control and wage restraint; we oppose unemployment, compulsory and voluntary redundancy, and closures. We fight for shorter hours, five day's work or five days' pay, and demand the nationalisation without compensation and under workers control of companies which cannot guarantee job security.

We fight for a national minimum wage of £45 per week, for equal pay for women, and for the adult rate from 18 years of age. We oppose attempts to lower living standards by cuts in social services, health and education.

**FOR A RANK AND FILE MOVEMENT** which draws together militant trade unionists willing to oppose the class collaboration of the union leaders.

**FOR FULL EQUALITY FOR WOMEN** which can only be won if women themselves are organised to fight for their demands and if that struggle is part of the fight for workers' power. **FOR SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE** in order to break the hold of reactionary ideas on workers, and remove a principal obstacle to women's equality. We support the demands for contraception and abortion to be made available on request. **FOR DEFENCE OF ANTI-IMPERIALISTS** who face the full force of state repression. We fight for the abolition of repressive laws and for the withdrawal of the British Army. We support the self-defence on working class areas against military and sectarian attack. We fight to build a united front of working class and anti-imperialist organisations for those aims.

**FOR A REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY** which can draw the most advanced, class-conscious workers together to fight for the political leadership of the working class. A revolutionary socialist leadership based in the working class can have a decisive influence especially in periods of upheaval.

The Socialist Workers Movement is working to build such a party. It is a democratic centralist organisation open to all those who accept these principles and objectives, who agree to work in one of its units, and recognise its discipline. We urge those who want to fight for the socialist, working class answer to the mess that is capitalism to join us.

## Join us in the fight SWM

BELFAST: 52, Broadway, Belfast 12.

WATERFORD: 114 The Quay.

COLERAINE: c/o Students Council, N.U.U.

ELSEWHERE: contact Dublin address.

If you want to join or to get more information about the Socialist Workers Movement, send to: THE WORKER, 24 Talbot Street Dublin 1.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_  
ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

# UNIDARE: UNITE AFTER VICTORY!

THE STRIKE by craftsmen in Unidare is now in its 13th week, and in the light of the events of the past 12 weeks it would be easy to reach a conclusion that trade unionism had reached an all time low. However there are some very good reasons for believing that the opposite may be the case, and it is very interesting to consider the pros and cons.

From Week 1 of the strike, blackleg supervisors have been carrying out the work of the craftsmen on strike, at first in a furtive manner but later, as it became accepted practice, with gathering momentum, until a stage has been reached when blackleg practices are accepted as normal everyday occurrences. (Not of course by the people outside the gate.)

No. 14 Branch of the ITGWU, spearheaded by Arthur Kelly, Willy Graham and Robert Brady, at first kept a very



The state aids the bosses. Another time, a Garda invited a driver to drive over the strikers blocking the gate.

low profile and indeed denied any knowledge of scab labour, but as time went on, it became obvious that they had in fact formed an alliance with Unidare management, for the purpose of not only giving protection to blacklegs, but with the stated intention of breaking the strike. One wonders what reward they have been promised for their scab activities, or are they simply trying to prove something?

If this strike were lost, which is highly unlikely, it would not be won by management, but would be a case of one Union cutting the throats

of others. There is no honour attached to such a "victory" but rather shame and revulsion. One wonders what the reaction of management will be when they realise that industrial relations have been shattered for years to come—will they hand out medals or sackings?

There are all told seven ITGWU men out in support, which may be a good time to point out that the foregoing is not a general attack on the ITGWU, but rather on one small section of it, in fact it could be narrowed down even further to a handful of pseudo "trade unionists". Every active trade unionist is well aware that there are first class men in the ITGWU and, in fact, in No. 14 Branch itself. It must be hoped that they can do something to right the wrongs that have been done.

The activities of non-union blacklegs like Noctor, Brennan, Reidy or Oerlikon, the scab T.A.S.S. engineers and technicians, who not only betrayed a section of their own Union, but are carrying out the work of their own colleagues who are supporting the strike, will have to be highlighted, in the hope that they may serve as a warning to Trade Unionists in other employments.

It would not take much effort to write a book about the events in Unidare over the past thirteen weeks, but that will be another day's work. Whatever the outcome of this strike, it will never be seen as a defeat or victory for the F.U.E. and Unidare management (i.e. Philips), but rather as either a victory or defeat for trade unionism.

28/6/77.  
by a member of Unidare Crafts Strike Committee

**LATE NEWS:** On Saturday, July 2nd, the Unidare craft shop stewards were confident that they had gained a victory over the company. For 13 weeks they had been up against management, the Gardai, scab labour fixing the machinery, hackers passing the picket line and strike-breaking from the Irish Transport and General Workers Union, who told their members to work on.

The settlement terms were a lead-in payment of £3.50 a week on their productivity scheme, an £85 lump sum, and above all, an interim three-point salary scale. Although the money terms of the salary scale have yet to be negotiated under the 1½% clause of the National Wage Agreement, the establishment of the scale itself was a point of principle that management (and the ITGWU Branch Secretary) maintained (up to the last minute) could never be conceded before a return to work.

**VAN HOOL McARDLE:** In Inchicore, the 280 workers are threatened by C.I.E.'s decision to take elsewhere an expected order for 118 buses. Half the workers transferred from C.I.E. on the firm's establishment, and though C.I.E. says it will honour its obligations to them, they will have to ensure that this is done without any worsening of conditions.

Part of the settlement terms was that there be no victimisation of those who had supported the strike. Seven ITGWU members were out on unofficial strike. Management refused to meet these, but had to meet TASS members who were out on the question of other TASS members who had done their work.

The urgent and huge task for all Unidare workers is to pick up the pieces of general/craft unity and try to rebuild some form of inter-union committee. Let us hope that we've seen the FINAL spectacle of one section on strike and others passing their pickets. And the crafts must learn a hard lesson: communication with the ITGWU rank and file from the very start is essential to stop management and ITGWU officials using them.

## BUTLINS no holiday for the workers

**BUTLINS** according to the ads on R.T.E. is the place to be this summer. Many workers and their children will attempt to get away from it all for a week or two and try to forget the usual daily drudgery that is capitalism.

For the workers who actually work at Butlins for the summer months it is definitely no holiday camp. In the kitchens for example the uniforms worn by the staff are the same type that's worn by prisoners in Mountjoy. Conditions it seems are not much better.

Because of the high unemployment figures Butlins have had thousands of applications for summer jobs of different sorts. Management have been taking advantage of this situation, and have been hiring and firing with a completely free hand.

Over 20 workers mainly in the kitchens have either left or been sacked this June. Those sacked were those who spoke out about bad working conditions. In the

kitchens there are about 50 employed. The floors are dangerously slippery and the air stifflingly hot.

Tony Coyle, a young Dublin worker who took a job for the summer but was fired for protesting after three weeks tells of his experience.

I started at the beginning of June. My main job was to distribute hot plates to the waiters for meals. I had to keep bending down to handle and distribute very hot plates at a rapid pace. They would not even give me gloves for this purpose. I came out with about £14.50 after tax.

The meals we got were terrible and you couldn't ask for extra portions. I was three weeks there when one day I was 20 minutes late back after lunch which was not even my fault as I had to wait in line for my dinner for at least 15 minutes. When I got back the kitchen manager fired me.

The rest of the staff seemed too afraid to take my side, and when I protested to the personnel manager he did nothing.

The day after Tony had gone another four people were fired. It's clear that something needs to be done to improve the lot of the workers involved and to highlight the situation.

Tony and some others who have gone through the same experience are holding a picket soon in protest against their treatment. It seems that there will be more people than the advertisers expect visiting Butlins this year.

# "Have you heard about the big, strong man..."

ED McGRATTAN is a big man. He's Irish. He's Catholic. He's a big boss—major owner of the biggest wholesale fruit importing business in the north of Ireland. He lives in a big house, a mansion really, on the Belmont Road in East Belfast. He drives a big car. He gets rich and he feels big because he pushes his workers around.

He's another vicious capitalist. Protestant or Catholic they all seem to be alike. He runs a family firm that has a history of bad labour relations. He treats his workers like slaves, to the extent of physical abuse if there is any attempt by them to fight against him. He tries to use just family labour for his business, so he won't be troubled by outsiders who might fight back.

Ray Sands is one lorry driver who worked there and objected to conditions. He lasted two weeks and is now on the dole queue. Here he tells *The Worker* how he got the sack.

My last call one Friday was to McGrattan's house. I had been delayed on the earlier calls to Comber, Bangor, and Cregagh Road. I only took a half hour for lunch. I had difficulty finding the McGrattan house as it is situated off the road in its own grounds. But when I got there at 4:55, Ed McGrattan came out and told me to get out of the lorry and threatened all sorts of physical abuse. He told me to f— out as he didn't want to see me again. I tried to explain why I was late but he would not listen. I asked him for my wages but he just kept shouting at me to get out. I explained that I had no coat and no bus fare and then he offered me 10p for the bus. There I was stuck in East Belfast with not even a bus fare and he had the

## Conditions in Keenfoods

KEENFOODS workers weren't able to take part in the June 16 protest at Eastwoods in West Belfast (see back page). The boss threatened to sack them if they went out—on their lunch time! The union rep, Eddie Carlin, from the Transport and General Workers supported the boss's threat.

Keenfoods is a rotten place to work at any time. Girls are constantly being sacked or threatened for petty reasons. Recently six girls were paid at trainees' wages of £18 for 3 weeks. At the end of that time they were sacked because they asked the boss for their regular rate of pay.

A few weeks ago, one girl came to work after being out sick. She



nerve to offer 10p. I had left another firm, Fyffes, because I was forced to work in dangerous areas. I had been identified as a Catholic and ordered out of East Belfast. That's why I took the job with McGrattan's. And he left me stranded out there.

I soon realised that I had £35 belonging to the firm and decided to keep that as a contribution towards my wages. On Monday he was still refusing to pay my full wages. After I found myself charged with theft, I went to the RUC myself and ended up getting my wages, bar three hours overtime for the day I was sacked.

I threatened him with union action to get my overtime. Next thing I knew my head bounced off the floor. He had hit me. There was a policeman there and I asked to have him charged with assault. The policeman declined and said if I pressed the charge, he would have to press the charge of

theft. They're in it together against us.

I then tried the union, the T & G. They said they can't take McGrattan to the Industrial Tribunal for unfair dismissal as you have to be in the firm for 26 weeks before this legislation applies to you. That means there'll never be a case against him as he seldom keeps drivers more than the two weeks.

There are bosses like this all over Belfast. McGrattan is just better known than the others. The union leaders aren't willing to use industrial action, to really organise the workers to fight these capitalists. It's got to be up to rank and file workers to use their own strength to end the slavery and exploitation that exist in so many workplaces.

**TGWU—Who Rules?** TGWU Right to Work Campaign Pamphlet. Available from SWM, 52 Broadway, Belfast.

**New Liberty.** ITGWU rank & file newspaper. Available from 15, Ventry Drive, Cabra, Dublin 7.

rank and file to fight to change their unions.

Rank and file workers in Britain and Ireland in the ATGWU are fighting against the sell-out policies of their leaders. Workers in the Republic have organised New Liberty, a rank and file group to fight the undemocratic leadership of the ITGWU—who seldom have union meetings, who help keep wages down, who won't fight repression.

Workers at Keenfoods need to demand election of new shop stewards who will do what the workers want, not what the boss wants. And no matter what union they're in, they'll need a strong shop floor organisation so that they can better fight the boss and control their own union.

## CAPITALISM KILLS!

WORKERS in the Monsanto textile plant in Coleraine were quite shocked when it was revealed recently that there was a high risk of them contracting cancer. In a report to the U.S. government, Du Pont Corporation stated that there was a higher incidence of cancer and death from cancer amongst those workers involved with the chemical acrylonitrile. The chemical is used extensively in the Coleraine plant.

A spokesman for the company stated that he believed that "no health risk exists in the plant." But he did admit

that the company would be conducting its own investigation.

This whole issue of worker safety clearly shows that Monsanto, a large multi-national capitalist concern, doesn't give a damn about the safety of employees. With over 56,000 people unemployed the company will face no great difficulty in finding replacements. Now more than ever before workers need to organise nationally and internationally to smash the uncaring tyranny of monster multi-nationals.

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**HOSPITAL SWEEPSTAKES:** In Ballsbridge 200 members of the Workers' Union of Ireland went on strike on 30 May over non-payment of recent National Wage Agreements. The Irish Congress of Trade Unions recently granted an all-out picket. However, the majority of employees, who are not unionised, are still working.

This is the first official strike in 46 years' existence of the Hospitals Trust. Most of those on strike are middle-aged women, as the management has a policy of recruiting these, thinking that they are less likely to cause trouble.

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# the worker

Paper of the Socialist Workers Movement

**NO RETURN TO THE EMIGRANT SHIP!**

The emigrant boat is back in style. Recent statistics show that, for the first time in years, more people left the country than came in. Again, the unemployed are being forced out of the country.

SEE INSIDE, PAGES 4 AND 5

## Belfast workers lead the way

By Joan Kelly

"ITGWU supports M&GWU." "Strathearn supports Eastwoods Workers." Andytown Coop, Twinbrook builders, Ulster Crystal, DC workers. They were all there. 400 workers marched up the Falls Road to support the Eastwoods workers who are striking for union recognition. This tremendous and unprecedented show of worker solidarity led to the formation of the West Belfast Workers Action Council by shop stewards from the industrial estate. From one lunch hour protest, organised by the Belfast Unemployment Action Committee, workers have realised that they can act together to solve the problems that face them on the shop floor and in the community.

A shop steward from Strathearn Audio, itself facing threats of redundancy, said: "We've called 4 or 5 protests—at the barracks and for Maire Drumm's funeral. But we never had so many out as we had for Eastwood's." The 26 workers out since June 2 have received tremendous support from the Andersonstown community. The Eastwood family has a long history of exploiting local workers. Being good republicans, they were willing to hire ex-internees in the 40s and 50s. In return they paid extremely low wages.

This year the young men in the yard decided to fight back. They are skilled work-

men, but are paid at labourers' rates—£35. They want to change the dangerous working conditions. Colin Donnelly was injured in an industrial explosion. He was sacked the next day because he came in late. Eastwoods sacked 3 drivers because they refused to go to a tip in Sandy Row. Recently another Catholic driver was murdered there. It is this rotten and callous attitude of the boss that is being fought.

The workers in the yard decided to join the Municipal and General Workers Union. The Amalgamated Transport had organised some of the Eastwood drivers, but they hadn't tried to organise the entire yard. And they didn't do anything about the rotten conditions there. It's just another case of a union doing a good job of keeping the peace with the bosses. Since the strike began the Transport leadership has been very active threatening workers to join their union and making sure their drivers cross the picket line every day.

For the first two weeks of the strike, the Eastwood bosses were able to take advantage of the situation and claim it's nothing to do with us, it's just an inter-union dispute. Meanwhile they were privately paying union dues to Transport House. Now that the T&G has conceded organising rights to the M&GWU, Eastwoods has had to look for other excuses for not negotiating.

The bosses are very upset about the publicity and the

mass picket lines. Transport House leaders are upset because they are losing control of their members who are supporting the strikers. The bosses and the union leaders have a lot to worry about.

The workers at Eastwoods and the workers who formed the shop stewards committee are determined that they are going to win this struggle.

"We will beat Eastwoods," they're saying. The stewards from EEPTU, Amalgamated Transport and Irish Transport represent most of the workplaces in the Kennedy Way industrial estate in Andytown. Delegates from the Unemployment Action Committee are on the committee. These workers are not going to let the trade union leaders put down these struggles. They've realised that by working to-

gether they can fight to change the rotten working conditions in the area, to unionise the unorganised, to fight unemployment and to end British army harassment.

Workers from every factory in the area have been harassed by the British Army either on picket lines or just on the way to and from work. Three of the Eastwoods pickets were picked up by the Army and photographed in the fort. They weren't charged with anything. It was just normal harassment.



**LATE NEWS:** The support of the Workers' Action Council finally forced Eastwoods to recognise the union. They also promised to make improvements in conditions. But promises of bosses can never be trusted. Union organisation and strength at the factory floor must be built up to force them to live up to their promises. Claims must also be sent in for the upgrading of the men to a skilled workers' rate. Eastwoods workers have won a victory but it must be followed up.



## NO CONTRICK HERE

AUGUST 1 is drawing near. That marks the end of Phase 2 of the Social Contract. Many unions, including the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, have voted for "an immediate return to free collective bargaining at the end of the second stage of the Social Contract."

But do they mean it? Apparently not, because they are all extremely careful to promise the government that there would be no "wages explosion". Hugh Scanlon, president of the engineering workers, said: "A return to free collective bargaining would not be as calamitous as many people are suggesting." He and other union leaders are promising to honour Phase Two agree-

ments and not seek further rises within a year.

So they want us to honour Phase Two agreements and keep the 12 month limit on wage rises. What did that get us? Prices in the past year went up by 14%, wages increased 7%. We need tremendous wage increases to even begin to catch up. And prices are going up every day. Butter and milk have been the latest.

In the North we particularly need to fight the Social Contract since we have the worst of everything. The highest unemployment, the lowest wages, the highest prices, the lowest standard of living. Coal went up twice last winter and it's going up by 10p a bag in a few months. Electricity and gas went up.

Old age pensioners, people on the dole cannot afford these basic necessities.

For too long trade unionists in the North have been ignored. They've taken our union dues, made decisions on our behalf, and acted against our interests. It's time for us, the members now time for us to fight back. Organised workers can begin to change this situation. If we don't fight for immediate increases, our living standards will continue to decline.

The government and union leaders also want any wage increase above a certain limit to be justified by productivity increases. In other words, they want us to pay for any rise we get by doing the work that would otherwise be done by employing people off the

dole.

There are two more union conferences to come in July, the T&G and the NUM. They could have an effect on the outcome of the government-TUC talks. But most union leaders are looking for some face-saving deal. They don't want to be forced into a fight for the necessary wage increases.

Rank and file workers, on the other hand, in every union are fighting against any government-union deal. Supporters of the rank and file candidate in the recent general secretary election in the TGWU, Tommy Riley, are fighting to make it as difficult as possible for Jack Jones and Moss Evans to walk all over the anti-Social Contract sentiment among T&G members. They are campaigning over the next month to gain signatures for a national T&G pet-

## R.A.C. fights on

COERCION and repression are now the order of the day in the North. RUC torture squads are given a free hand and Mason announces an increase in SAS type activity, more police and UDR and harsher penalties for 'terrorist' activities. A fortnight ago the RUC special branch tortured Peter McCarthy into insanity. A 63 year old South Derry man, he had been picked up and interrogated in Cookstown police station, taken to Castlereagh torture centre in Belfast and eventually interrogated out of his mind. He is at present in a Co. Tyrone psychiatric unit.

Although the most horrifying story to be made public to date, Peter McCarthy's ordeal is by no means unique. Every day the Special courts in Belfast convict men on no other evidence than a confession signed after seven days of police interrogation. Any prisoner brave enough to resist the mental and physical torture faces the same fate as Peter McCarthy. A protest in court will probably earn an extra five years. This is the police force SDLP leader Gerry Fitt says he is near to backing. This is the police force the Queen of England gives medals to.

On the streets of anti-unionist Belfast the troops saturate areas like Ardoyne to ensure peace for the Orange demonstrations. The RUC patrol the Falls Road at will, picking up their touts and in Andersonstown the SAS pinpoint future torture victims. Only in Turf Lodge do the whistles shriek and bin lids rattle. Internment with-

out trial has been replaced by internment with trial. Such is the answer of the British Government to those who claimed that Paisley's and Baird's lockout failed. As one Belfast sage put it, "If this is what they got by failing, God help us all if they'd won."

On the political front a summarily depressing story unfolds. Mason's attempt to criminalise the Provos seems to be succeeding, and the recent pro-RUC propaganda campaign together with a well-timed swoop on Loyalist murder gangs seems deliberately engineered to win SDLP support. The gates of Stormont are creaking open and a spot of SDLP grease will fling them wide.

Only the Relatives Action Committee struggles tirelessly on and as the North approaches the sixth anniversary of internment it is around the RAC that any resurgence of political resistance must be built. De-criminalisation of the struggle against British presence is vital and symbolises what the fight is all about.

But in the light of Mason's new security policy the demands of the RAC must be broadened. Political status is not an isolated issue. It is impossible to divorce the fight for the rights of prisoners from the fight against British imperialism. The naked prisoners in Long Kesh Kesh's H block are there because the British will it. Repression is their answer to the struggle against their rule, and their rule will be sustained by an SDLP-backed RUC and Stormont. August 9th must be the starting date of a united campaign led by the RAC and anti-imperialist organisations. Political Status Now, End Repression, No to the RUC, Brits Out must be their fighting demands.

Support the Relatives Action Campaign this summer.

Join us on Sunday July 10th  
Unity Flats area 4 p.m.

Sunday July 24th  
Short Strand area 4 p.m.  
Sunday August 7th  
Busy Bee 3 p.m.

of Belfast. Urge them to make similar wage claims. Support others like the MacKies workers who are making a large claim. We must urge all trade unionists to play a part in ending the Con-Trick that has made us pay for the bosses' problems.

Submit new £15 across-the-board wage claims—to take effect as soon after 31 July as possible.

Insist on no productivity deals.

No 12-month agreement

ition against the Social Contract.

In Belfast, convenors and shop stewards on the West Belfast Workers Action Council can play a particularly effective role in leading the necessary fight. They can urge all the factories on the Kennedy Way Industrial Estate to put in immediate £15 wage claims as the first step towards improving our standard of living.

The Council can fight against the idea that if we work for low wages and work harder, we'll save our jobs. That isn't working in the shipyards. It didn't save the jobs in Colin Glen or Falls Flax or STC. That idea only makes the bosses richer and the workers poorer.

The Workers Action Council can as well give a lead to workers in the rest

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