

# Irish Socialist

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AFTER THE  
WHITE  
PAPER

(See page 5)

## DON'T BE CODDED AGAIN! NO NATIONAL WAGE AGREEMENT!

By SAM NOLAN

**T**HE employers and the new Government Ministers are already preaching to the workers on the need for renewed wage restraint.

Prices continue to rise at an unprecedented rate, despite the so-called controls of the National Prices Commission. Profits of the 50 top Irish companies rose by 33% in 1972 and show signs of greater increase in 1973.

The workers, and they alone, are expected to make all the sacrifices in the interests of the National Economy!

On the other hand, those who live on Rents, Interest, Profit, Property and Land speculation are serving the national interest by making the highest possible level of profits!

This is the interpretation of Irish economic life that workers are being asked to accept.

A survey carried out in Brussels last month revealed that food prices had risen faster and higher in Ireland and Britain than in any other E.E.C. country. We know from practical experience that prices of many goods and services are rising at a faster rate than the wage increases permitted under the National Wage Agreement. The cost of living escalator clause of the N.W.A. will therefore give too little, too late!

At the moment some unions are debating the possibility of bringing forward the second phase of these Agreements by six months in order to cover these price rises.

The statement of Mr. Michael Mullen, General Secretary of the I.T.G.W.U. on this issue was not helpful, to say the least. He accused the F.U.E. of trying to break the National Wage Agreement.

Surely Michael Mullen and those others of our union leaders who think in similar terms must see that the acceptance of National Wage Agreements or any other type of Incomes Policy presupposes that wages must be restrained, while all other sources of wealth can be as free as the wind.

In the context of E.E.C. membership, wages freeze or restraint in any one country will be used to control wages in all other member countries.

### HEATH IS SETTING THE HEADLINE

The Federated Union of Employers in a statement last month warned that the next National Wage round, which will begin in January, must be in line with wage rises in Britain.

Wage increases in Britain are limited by legislation passed by the Tory Government of Heath, to around £2.00 per week. The Trade Union movement in Britain has rejected this legislation and is engaged in a series of strikes and stoppages to break this freeze.

Our employers are thus attempting to use Heath's legislation against the Irish workers. The Irish Trade Unions must therefore express solidarity with the British workers in this struggle.

### FREEDOM

SHE hides in dark alleyways;  
A liquid shadow in the night,  
Afraid to show her face.  
She is the fading light of a dying  
fire;  
She is the last wisp of mist before  
the morning sun;  
She is the dying words on a dead  
man's tongue;  
She is Freedom.

A. DILLON.

### COSGRAVE'S PLEDGE TO C.I.I.

The Taoiseach, Mr. Cosgrave, speaking to the Annual Luncheon of the Confederation of Irish Industry, stated that the new Government "would do all in its power to encourage free competition"!

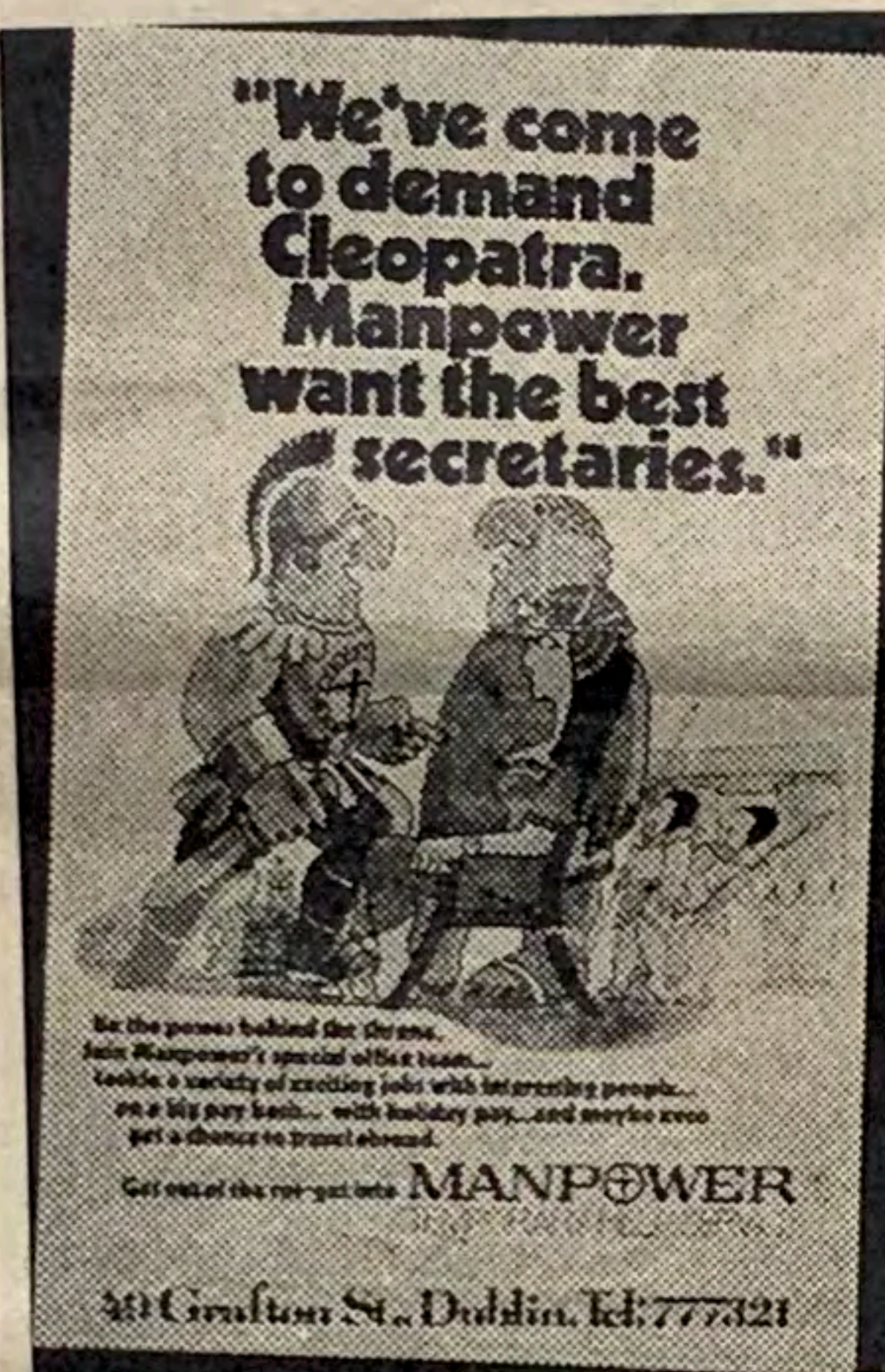
We wonder will the Labour Ministers in the new Government meet the Trade Unions and pledge their support for "free competition" on the wage front! For "free competition" on the wage front would mean a return to free collective bargaining as opposed to National Wage Agreements.

Free collective bargaining would mean that Trade Unions on a factory or industrial level would negotiate with their respective employers. The Irish Congress of Trade Unions, for its part, should pledge its support for a national minimum wage of £30,000 for a 40-hour week.

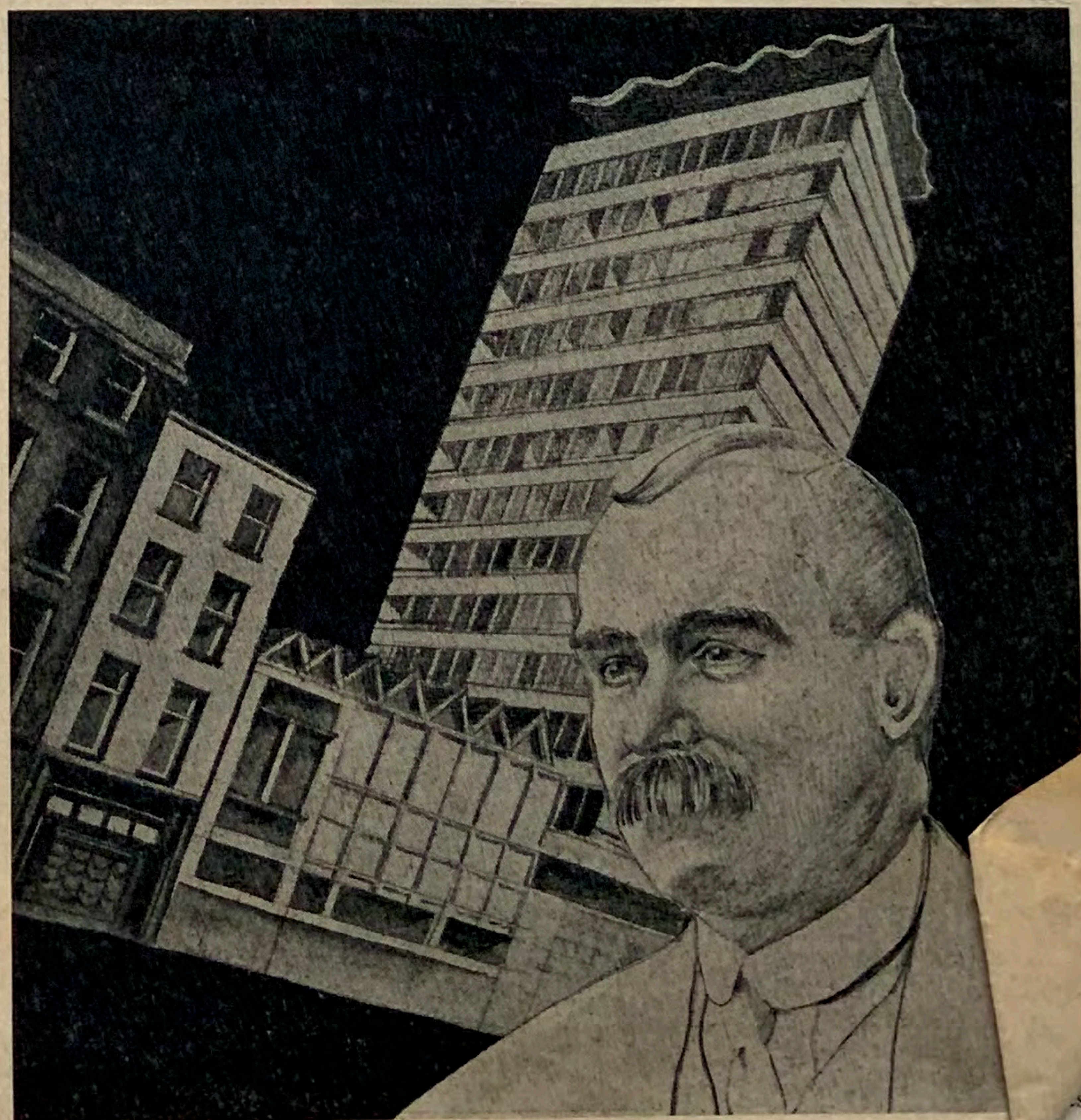
Within this framework, lower paid workers would be brought up considerably and unions in a strong industrial bargaining position could also gain substantial increases, commensurate with the employers' ability to pay.

This alternative approach to the National Wage Agreement should now become the wages talking point within the Irish Trade Union movement in the coming months.

## EASTER MARCH REAFFIRMS SOCIALIST CONTENT OF 1916



"Manpower" Gets  
The Works  
(See page 3)



### BACK TO THE CLASS LINE

(Continued on page 4)



# BALLAD CORNER

BY JOHN McDONNELL

## DOES IT MATTER?

DOES it matter? — losing your legs? . . .  
 For people will always be kind,  
 And you need not show that you mind  
 When the others come in after hunting  
 To gobble their muffins and eggs.

Does it matter? — losing your sight? . . .  
 There's such splendid work for the blind;  
 And people will always be kind,  
 As you sit on the terrace remembering  
 And turning your face to the light.

Do they matter? — those dreams from the pit? . . .  
 You can drink and forget and be glad,  
 And people won't say that you're mad,  
 For they'll know that you've fought for your country  
 And no one will worry a bit.

## THE VETERAN

WE came upon him sitting in the sun,  
 Blinded by war, and left. And past the fence  
 There came young soldiers from the "Hand and Flower",  
 Asking advice of his experience.

And he said this, and that, and told them tales,  
 And all the nightmares of each empty head  
 Blew into air; then, hearing us beside,  
 "Poor chaps, how'd they know what it's like?" he said.

And we stood there, and watched him as he sat,  
 Turning his sockets where they went away  
 Until it came to one of us to ask  
 "And you're—how old?" "Nineteen, the third of May."

NOTE—I heard a man the other day putting forward the view that what was needed to cure the economic ills of Europe was another World War. It would give employment, he said. War, a most

horrible barbarity, although it is sometimes necessary for people to involve themselves in it, in for instance, defence or liberation from oppression, to hear a person argue its desirability was indeed sad to say the least.

Apart from its being a completely negative approach to the problem of unemployment his callous disregard for the victims of such war was frightening. These two poems by Siegfried Sassoon, a veteran soldier of the great imperialist war of 1914-1918, came to mind. There are a great many anti-war poems and songs. We in this country have produced some fine examples, though few as grim as these poems. They are mostly ironically humorous. The Kerry Recruit, Mrs. McGrath, Johnny I Hardly Knew Ye, Patrick Sheehan and Arthur McBride. I hope to return to these ballads in a future Ballad Corner and will present Arthur McBride.

P.S.—"Ballad Corner" is now in its sixth year of appearance as a column in this paper. I would like to take this opportunity to invite comments, criticisms, suggestions, advice and indeed anything which would be helpful.

# NOTEBOOK BY NORTHSIDER

MEAT is too dear to buy, so the cheese manufacturers tell us what a good substitute cheese is. Up goes the price by 8p a lb. or nearly two shillings old money.

Why? Because our creamery farmers are to get more for producing milk. The Minister for Agriculture says that such an increase is of major importance to the cheese industry. During the E.E.C. referendum last year we were told that the price of cheese would actually come down!

## DECEIT

It is now becoming apparent to most people that what they were being told last year about E.E.C. membership bringing prosperity and a higher standard of living to every Irish family was nothing but lies and a deliberate attempt to deceive the electorate. It succeeded in hoodwinking the people into voting the country into the Common Market despite the best efforts of those who had campaigned against membership and who had warned the people that it would be the greatest sell-out in our history.

I remember during the height of the E.E.C. campaign talking to a fruit and vegetable wholesaler in the markets. He assured me that the country would be swamped with foreign fruit, tomatoes and vegetables. This would be a good thing, he added, it would force down the price of home-grown produce and a glut on the market would ensure lower prices all round.

The housewife would benefit first and foremost and so would the shopkeeper because he would be selling more fruit and vegetables than ever before!

## WITHERED CABBAGE

Ask any housewife to-day about the glut. You can't even buy a head of cabbage and if you see a few withered leaves with a stalk attached it is priced at anything from 8p to 12p. Dutch cabbage, grown in Ireland, was selling last month in Superquinn for 17p a head and Irish tomatoes 52p a lb. Oranges and apples are now nearly

twice the price they were a year ago.

The Common Market has been correctly described as a rich man's club. It favours only the well-off sections in each of the nine countries. A section of our farmers are doing well on it and at the expense of the ordinary working family. This same section of tightfisted money grabbers are horrified that anyone should suggest that they pay income tax. That is something that only the worker is entitled to hand up.

The big farmers regard themselves as the backbone of the country and therefore a privileged section that is entitled to every form of financial feather-bedding that they can wring out of the Government either through threats or by way of working the lobby within the present parliamentary set-up.

## NO ALTERNATIVE

The argument that we had no alternative but to join the Common Market, otherwise the country would be faced with disaster must surely now receive the final death blow with the news that Norway, whose population rejected membership, last month signed a free trade agreement with the E.E.C. The chief negotiator on behalf of Norway, Jens Evensen, made the point that "this agreement gives 70 to 80% of Norway's industries the same kind of free trade status they would have obtained as members of the Community", and he added, "ensures a workable basis for the economic relations between the two communities in the years ahead".

## TAX THESE PROFITS

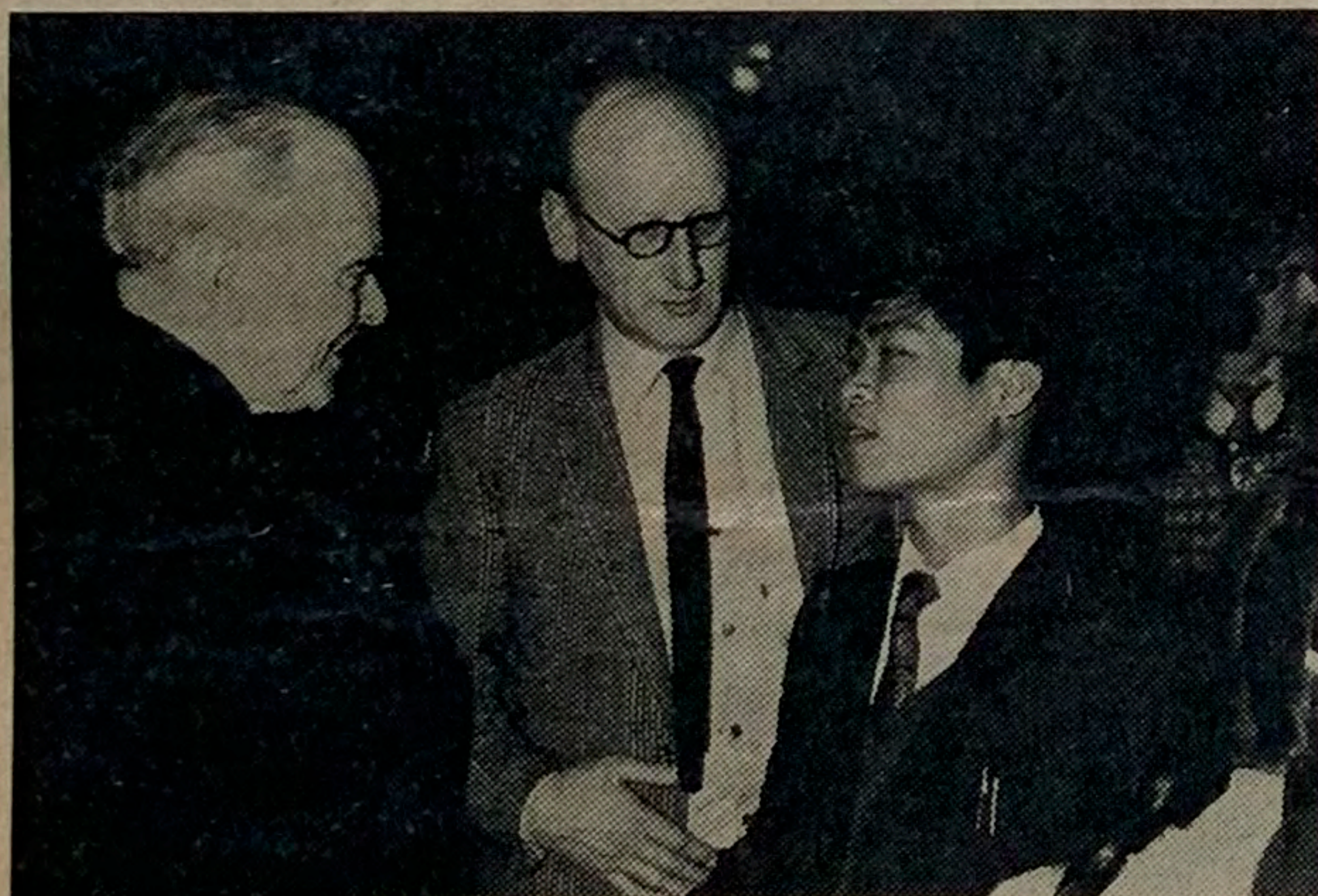
Win a £7,000 house by drinking Lyons' tea. Buy someone else's product and you have a chance of winning a motor car, an exciting holiday or an expensive dishwasher.

All of which speaks volumes for the super profits that are being made at the expense of the Irish housewife and her family.

The imposition of a high profits tax that will help to provide better social services for the people is the obvious solution to the free gift racket.

## EDITORIAL

# VIETNAM VILLAINY



SEAN McBRIDE, GEORGE JEFFARES AND VIETNAMESE DELEGATE AT DUBLIN MEETING.

AS we wrote when the terms of the peace agreement became known in January, the Vietnamese people had won a major victory, but it remained to be seen whether the U.S. and its Saigon puppets would sabotage that agreement, as they did in the case of the 1954 Geneva Accords.

That is precisely what has been happening since. The question was posed by Mr. Sean McBride, S.C., at a public meeting in T.C.D. on March 11th to welcome a visiting youth delegation from North Vietnam. He asked why the U.S. had imported some 12,000 "civilian technicians and advisers" in South Vietnam since the ceasefire. "Was the U.S. now preparing to do what it did in Laos—fight an undeclared war?"

Well might he ask! In fact,

the "civilian" technicians who are being sent to Vietnam are only joining thousands of military personnel who were never withdrawn at all—but who merely swapped their uniforms for civvies.

The peace terms called for "the dismantlement of all military bases in South Vietnam of the U.S." In fact, not one base has been dismantled. A few minutes before the ceasefire came into effect, the U.S. signed over all its bases to Saigon, so that they were no longer covered by the ceasefire provisions!

The peace agreement provided for the release of all civilian political prisoners. In his interview with Pope Paul on March 10th, Saigon's President Thieu assured the Pope—who had raised the question—that it was "Communist propaganda" to say that he held 200,000

prisoners—the true figure was 5,001. Like Nixon dressing his military personnel in civilian clothes, Thieu has simply reclassified his political prisoners as "criminals", so that they too escape the provisions of the ceasefire.

One of the two Frenchmen who were released in December after spending two years in jail for giving out peace leaflets in Saigon, was quoted in the *Irish Times* last month as saying: "If they could bring one Vietnamese from the tiger cages of Con Son to the U.S.A. and people could look at him that would be enough. He would not have to speak English. There would be no need of press conferences, articles and speeches. If the U.S. people could just see that one man, half-blind, unable to walk, tubercular, scarred, it would be enough." A recent issue of *Time* confirms this account of what Thieu's civilian prisoners look like: "It is not really proper to call them men any more. Shapes is a better word — grotesque sculptures of scarred flesh and gnarled limbs . . . years of being shackled in the tiger cages have forced them into a permanent pretzel-like crouch. They move like crabs, skittering across the floor on buttocks and palms."

Add to the above the two months uninterrupted bombing of Cambodia and the resumption of the bombing of Laos—which up to February 22nd had been bombed every day since 1961—and it is clear that Nixon has no intention of leaving the peoples of Indochina to settle their own affairs.

## NEXT MONTH

IN

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AND

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT"

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# "MANPOWER" WORKERS FIGHT EXPLOITATION

By CON O'FARRELL



WHEN Dermot Flynn, General Manager of Myerscough & Co., trading as "Manpower" of Grafton Street, sacked 20 of his workers on 10th April, he little realised the fight he was taking on. Since then he has had his premises picketed, lost one of his biggest contracts, has seen his workers resist all kinds of intimidation, beat him in High Court proceedings, and organise themselves in the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union.

The twenty clerical workers, fourteen women and six men, were working in the Irish National Insurance Co., with whom "Manpower" had a contract to supply labour. Most of them are young people in their late teens and early twenties. They worked with three others in appalling conditions in a converted dart-room, twelve feet by eighteen feet. For a forty-hour week they received £16 gross, or £12 after tax and other deductions had been made.

Early in April, Flynn complained of a decline in the work rate. The workers hotly denied the allegation, arguing that the apparent decline was due to the increasing difficulty of the work. Flynn refused to accept this and on the Friday before the dismissal took place, he met them and threatened that unless the work-rate was brought up to its original level, he would sack them all and get twenty others to replace them.

## STRIKE

On the following Tuesday he did sack them, giving them five minutes to leave the building. He said that he was willing to consider re-employing any one of them who was willing to comply with the work-rate that he was looking for, but he would deal with each case individually, and compliance would not necessarily guarantee re-employment.

The majority of the workers weren't long getting the message and soon they were walking up and down outside the "Manpower" offices carrying hastily-drawn placards. Five others who had sought and got re-employment subsequently had a change of heart and joined their colleagues on the picket line.

Flynn responded quickly. After an hour he called the picketers into his office and told them that they were breaking the law and being childish. He said that if they didn't lift the picket he would get the police to move them on. They weren't impressed and the picketing continued.

## INJUNCTION

Two days later the blow fell. The sacked workers were handed cheques for wages outstanding, and an injunction to restrain them from picketing.

They sought legal advice, and the Free Legal Aid Centre took on the case, leaving it in the hands of Ercus Stewart. The case for renewal of the injunction came before Mr. Justice Gannon in the High Court on Wednesday, 18th April and ended in a resounding victory for the workers. The injunction was refused and the picket was back on within a few hours. Later that day, sixteen "Manpower" workers signed I.T.G.W.U. membership forms. At the time of writing, the dispute is continuing with the workers looking for reinstatement without loss of pay.

## CONTROL OF FIRM

How did "Manpower" come into being? Who controls it? Six years ago, Myerscough & Co. Ltd. set up business in Dublin as a temporary and permanent employment agency. In November 1969, they began trading under the name "Manpower". This is the name of a large multi-national company which started in the U.S.A. and expanded its operations to cover most West European capitals and Britain. They specialise in contracting out labour to clients at short notice and cut-price rates. Their relationship with Myerscough Ltd. consisted in selling them a franchise to use the name "Manpower" and other facilities, such as publicity material and international contacts.

The named Directors of Myerscough & Co. Ltd. are Robert Spencer Myerscough, Cyril Spencer Myerscough and Ian Cairnduff, and lest anyone might think that they are down-at-heel businessmen, depending on "Manpower" for a living, we hasten to point out that between them they control eighteen Directorships.

These include Coyle & Co. Insurance Ltd., C.F.M. Holdings, Associated Life and Pensions Ltd., Argosy Insurance Co. Ltd., Irish Underwriting Agencies Ltd., Coyle Hamilton & Hamilton Ltd., Phillips Group Ltd., Gilbeys Ireland Ltd., and Parnell Investments Ltd.

Although "Manpower" is in itself a large company, the importance of the recent dispute is that it pin-points a wider development which poses a major threat to the trade union movement. Companies like "Manpower" operate in many fields, but notably Office Cleaning, Security, and Catering. They are a development of the private employment agencies, but differ from them in one significant respect. The employment agency merely introduced the worker to a prospective employer; companies like "Manpower" employ workers themselves and pay their wages.

## TWO BOSSES

This means that the workers have no contractual relationship with the owner of the firm in which they work and do not share a common boss with most of those working around them. As a result, they are isolated among workers who do not easily see common cause with them. Those with whom they could combine and who have the same employer, and suffer the same pay and conditions, are spread around the city in different offices and companies.

From the employers' point of view, the operation works in the following way. Jobs are advertised, usually part time and temporary. Those who are suitable are taken on to the books. From then on they can be used and discarded at will, as long as they are available. By and large the most vulnerable and exploitable are used. They include school-leavers, students, married women, and those who are already holding down another job.

Needless to remark trade unions are not encouraged. Because the turn-over of people is so great, organising in a trade union is an almost impossible task, and those who show signs of militancy can easily be let go.

Unlike most workers who are exploited by one employer, those who work for "labour-only" firms are doubly exploited, first by their immediate employer, and then by

the owner of the firm in which they work. For example, "Manpower" paid their clerical workers 46p per hour, but the Irish National Insurance Company paid "Manpower" 79p per hour for each worker it supplied. It follows that if the Irish National were prepared to pay 79p per hour then the value of the workers to them was even greater—£1 or possibly more.

## PARASITES

From this it can be seen that these "labour-only" outfits are parasites in the truest sense. Their margin of profit is the difference between what they pay their workers and the normal exploitation rate. (In the example given the difference between 46p and 79p per hour.)

Something has got to be done immediately to curb the activities of these labour-contracting firms. Apart altogether from the appalling pay and conditions they provide, the existence of a mobile pool of underpaid, unorganised labour threatens the security and conditions of all workers. Because workers of these firms are in such a vulnerable position, the main brunt of the struggle must be borne by other organised workers.

Where possible, employers should be forced to employ their workers directly. In other instances, trade unionists should insist that all those working with them, whether employed directly or by a sub-contracting firm, enjoy trade union wages and conditions. Here trade unionists are working with employees of a sub-contracting firm, they should recruit them into an appropriate trade union and help them fight for better pay, conditions and job security.

Firms who deal with labour-contractors should not be allowed to forego all responsibility to those working on their premises, even though they are paid by someone else. Organised workers in such firms should point out to their employers that they cannot wash their hands of the matter, and that unless their employers insist on the labour-contractor paying the trade union rate for the job, the employers themselves will not be immune from strike action.

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## MR. KEATING'S STRANGE INTERVIEW

By

SEAN NOLAN



MR. JUSTIN KEATING, the Labour Party Minister for Industry and Commerce in the Coalition, took up much space in the Business and Finance section of the "Irish Times" of April 4 in an interview with Andrew Whitaker.

Mr. Keating resorted to the vaguest and most confusing assortment of phrases and formulations apparently to avoid a direct statement of attitude or intention to some of the questions posed. Withal, there emerged from it all that Mr. Keating is unlikely to cause Fine Gael, or Jim Tully any difficult moments by asking Cabinet support for legislation that would, in any real essentials, be an upset to capitalist interests.

On prices, like his Fianna Fáil predecessor, Mr. Lalor, this would be his "big preoccupation", but "it involves both consumers and industry. And just because it is world-wide, it's difficult." So the housewives are given the hint not to expect any worthwhile easing of their burdens, too much, too soon, if at all. This, despite the many and lavish promises made by both Fine Gael and Labour in the election campaign.

The National Prices Commission, a Fianna Fáil creation, was, in his opinion, "working fairly well". This, despite the wide range of goods that have been uppriced by this body's decision, both before and after the recent general election.

On take-overs, whatever may be the thinking of Mr. Keating, the Fine Gael Minister for Finance, Mr. Richie Ryan, got in ahead with the public statement that the Government did not intend to put through the previous Government's Bill for some form of control on take-overs and mergers. It remains to be seen what, if any, action Mr. Keating will impress on the Cabinet to take in this important matter.

In the matter of industrial development, Mr. Keating's views appear remarkable as a Labour spokesman. He, it was, who spearheaded the Labour Party campaign in last year's referendum against joining the Common Market. He now appears only to have reservations about the operation of multinational concerns in this country, because he is impressed with their "high technology, with marketing

(Continued on page 4)



# THE RICKETY STATE OF IRISH INDUSTRY

By OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

THE Committee on Industrial Progress is only one of the bodies which are beginning to have qualms about our membership of the E.E.C. It seems that industry in the twenty-six counties is in a decidedly rickety state, and that the fiercer competition of trading against the big corporations in the Market will be enough to reduce much of it to rubble. So we will all have to pull up our socks and make sacrifices before the great warm sun of the New Europe beams on us.

That means some more of you will have to lose your jobs—if you still have them—and look for a re-training scheme—if you can find one.

All this gloomy information is to be found in the report of the above-mentioned Committee that appeared in mid-April. Of course it is no more than some of us expected. Oh yes! the Irish people voted for entry, but we knew—didn't we?—that it was not our fortunes the Market was going to make. Short of a social revolution, however, there was no alternative to entry and that was not really on the cards at the time.

## LOWEST INCOME LEVEL

Now, although the average level of income in Ireland is well below the European average (two-thirds of the highest European income level and two-fifths of the lowest income level), Irish workers are being asked to accept wage restraints.

Was this what we expected from Europe?

With its statesmanlike air masking a calculating rascality, the Committee for Industrial Progress reminds Irish workers that their unit wage costs have increased at a faster rate than that of any other country except Japan, and that "This trend has serious implications for all who are employed in, or hope for employment in, manufacturing industry".

It only requires the most elementary knowledge of mathematics to appreciate that for 1 to rise to 2, or for 2 to rise to 3 is a faster rate of increase than for 5 to rise to 6 or for 7 to rise to 8. You think, perhaps, that the Committee did not know this? Or that in choosing Japanese workers as a standard they were deliberately concealing the fact that Japanese workers started with one of the lowest industrial wage rates in the world?

Of course they knew this—and much more besides. They were merely practising the well-tried technique of capitalist agents, which is to shame workers by attempting to show that the worker who struggles to live socially or economically is a public enemy endangering the "national interest" and even "his own best interests"—which curiously enough

are known only to the IDA, FUE, CIP and other such bodies.

## WON BY STRUGGLE

As we know, many managerial-type jobs are assured of keeping abreast of the cost of living by regular incremental increases—not called "wage rises" by the way—which are written into the contract. The worker's situation is quite different. What he has got and gets now, was and is only won by struggle—often hard, sometimes bloody.

For special historical reasons German workers have since the last war, accepted a system where they receive an incremental increase similar to managers. This system implies acceptance of a frozen social structure, a condition sometimes accepted by workers in times of war, and is only possible in industrial nations of enormous strength who can exploit a sub-proletariat of "guest workers" and populations abroad.

The capitalist front organisations in Ireland, such as the CIP, would dearly like to see such a system in operation here. They would like to freeze the Irish working-class in its traditional rôle among the cheapest wage labourers of Europe.

That is the only way capitalism can continue to function in Ireland profitably to the shareholder—that is at all. The pistol held at the head of the Irish working-class is again that traditional weapon of capitalism—unemployment. It's the "scrap heap" or else.

We can now see that over the next five years, it is going to be the "scrap heap", full stop, for many, with no alternative good or bad.

## UNEASY

This is causing a little anxiety to our rulers who are in a position to see more clearly even than the labour movement itself, the full extent of what they like to call the "shake out". The note of unease in the Committee's report is unmistakable and it is echoed in a leading article in the "Irish Times" of April 12th. In what is hardly more than an aside in the last sentence of the article the writer wonders whether "if it [the law covering take-overs and mergers] were amended—for instance to give more protection to workers—unreasonable or undesirable opposition would be diminished".

## POEM

COME home to Franco,  
My dearest Picasso,  
For I am an old man  
And you are old too.

The hot fires are cooling,  
Picasso, Picasso,  
The past is retreating  
From battles long won.  
Do not fret about miners  
Who trouble their Franco  
With questions of freedom,  
You won't hear them or see them  
Shut away from the sun.

I will hang your "Guernica"  
Imprisoned in splendour

Like a corpse on a scaffold  
Suspended on high  
For the people to marvel  
At my noble gesture—  
On your head I'll heap honours  
Like bombs from the sky.

When I embrace you  
My hands must be gloved  
For despite all detergents  
The blood still shows stain,  
And I don't want to offend  
Such a famous and wealthy  
And therefore a well beloved  
Son of old Spain.

KEVIN MURRAY.

# BANKS AND MONOPOLIES IN SWITZERLAND

By PAOLO MERANNE

AT the present time Swiss capitalism occupies a special position in the world. At all times in close relationship with foreign countries—forced to export because of lack of raw materials—since the Second World War Switzerland has experienced developments which have made her one of the most important international financial centres; she has become a great capitalist power.

From the viewpoint of population and area, Switzerland is a small country, but her banking system, welded to commerce and industry, is second only to the U.S.A. in financial importance in the undertaking of capital transactions the character of which are of an imperialist and neo-colonialist nature.

Thanks to a production apparatus which remained intact during the Second World War and which gave her the possibility and capacity to exploit the world economic situation without restraint, and to invest capital wherever short-term maximum profits were to be found, Swiss high finance has carried out its expansion by means of exports of capital of a size never previously known and unattained by any other State.

## SECRECY

At the same time monetary stability, social and economic, as well as the proverbial and well-guarded secrecy in banking has attracted fugitive foreign capital to an enormous extent. At the centre of the streams of export and import of capital, Switzerland, the nodal point of the American trusts for their drive to influence the European economic communities (EEC, EFTA), turn-table for world dealings in gold, centre of exchange for speculations in billions on the Euro-dollar market on her own account or on behalf of third parties, sees herself developing and sharpening the contradictions of the State monopoly system.

The result is a shortage of capital within the country for its infra-structural tasks while at the same time masses of capital are being drawn from the internal economy.

As a consequence of the economic-technical revolution which requires the employment of considerable capital for the rationalization and automation of production, a massive process of concentration has been set in motion in Switzerland—somewhat later than in the large industrial countries. The fundamental contradiction revealed by Marx between the socialization of production and private appropriation is showing up more strongly than ever.

## TRUSTS

A small number of giant trusts which possess a production potential several times greater than that of the parent enterprises operating in Switzerland have at their disposal, in their rôle as monopolies or semi-monopolies, an economic and political power which they use, not to satisfy the needs of the people, but to increase ceaselessly their profits.

The late start in the process of concentration, which has recently been unleashed with redoubled vigour and with negative consequences for the working class, is explained by the special position

of Swiss capitalism which, with the active support of State policy in the matter of labour and capital markets, has sought maximum profits only in the short term thanks to a vast pool of foreign workers who are deprived of rights. The consequence has been that Swiss industry, at one time ahead of others with its high quality products, has been out-distanced in what are called the "industries of the future" (atomic energy, electronics, petro-chemicals, etc.). Industry has in recent years begun to attempt to overcome this backwardness by means of mergers and measures of co-operation with multi-national trusts.

## CONCENTRATION

The concentration process, national and multi-national, has been going on in all fields: banking, insurance, trading, watch-making, chemicals (CIBA-Geigy), the food industry (Nestlé-Ursina), mechanical engineering (Brown Boveri and Oerlikon), textiles, and also building construction. It necessarily leads, under conditions of monopoly capitalism, to new modifications in the structure of production, accompanied by inflation and is liable to bring about factory closures and unemployment due to changes in technology. Another consequence is unequal development of industries which are unable to follow technological progress.

The hold which foreign capital, especially American and German, exercises over Swiss industry, which is demonstrated by the sale of Swiss companies, with their entire staffs and labour forces, to multi-national trusts, constitutes a serious danger to the national independence of the Swiss people.

## KEATING (From page 3)

expertise, with the connections, etc."

There does not appear to be much difference here to the arguments advanced by Fianna Fáil and others who hold the view that the future for the Irish economy was in the Common Market and a great expansion of foreign investment.

It has been Labour and trade union policy over many years that there should be an extension of State intervention in industrial, commercial and service enterprises. Mr. Keating appears to have the view that the emphasis should not be along the line of more State involvement, but rather to have "mixed" companies with share participation by the State and by private business, "run with normal standards of management and accountability". He is not the first to put forward the view that private enterprise be involved in the State companies, but he has the distinction to be the first from the ranks of the Labour movement to fish around with such ideas.

On worker participation in industry and commerce, Mr. Keating

# SOUTH AFRICAN CALL FOR SUPPORT

IN an article in the "Morning Star" denouncing investment in South Africa, a representative of the African National Congress comments: "It is not enough to grant higher wages here, better conditions there, for this leaves the Apartheid system intact, in fact props it up longer—the very source of our misery and degradation."

"We appeal to the workers of Europe and the world to remember that as long as the workers in South Africa remain in chains, their own jobs and futures are in danger."

"Thousands of British workers have already lost their jobs because their bosses were greedy for bigger profits, and went to South Africa to get them. Next time it may be your job which is scrapped."

He further mentions: "We say South Africa belongs to all its people, not only to those with white skins."

"Demand that Vorster withdraws his armed police, his dogs and troops from strike-bound factories."

"Stop emigration to South Africa."

"We need solidarity, not fact-finding commissions, adjudicators or referees. We need freedom for our brave patriots languishing in South African jails."

"Stop arms and spares going to Vorster, Smith and Caetano."

"Establish relations with us."

## IMPORTANT NOTICE

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Subs to:  
THE EDITOR



## GUARDIAN ASSURANCE WORKERS FIGHT FOR JUSTICE

By PADRAIG MARREN

THE seven-week old strike which has closed all the offices of the Guardian Royal Exchange / Calendonian Insurance Co. Ltd. in the Republic of Ireland involves 323 workers all of whom are members of the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs. The dispute has arisen because the management have refused to:

- (1) Implement a new pay agreement in the form of a six-tiered salary structure incorporating point-for-point scales.
- (2) Agree to a Cost of Living Escalator in the Pension Scheme.
- (3) Grant a Production Bonus for Life Assurance Inspectors.
- (4) Apply improved Holiday arrangements.
- (5) Realistically move towards Equal Pay.
- (6) Agree to an implementation date of 1st November, 1972, when the last domestic agreement expired.

The Union maintain that a Cheap Labour policy is being pursued by this wholly-British owned group of companies. This can be traced back over several years when the Company made several attempts to introduce redundancy, work measurement and job-evaluation. Changes in work systems and methods have been introduced by the Company without prior consultation or negotiation with the Union. The members complain that these changes were introduced by stealth and of themselves were of no real importance until a claim for Equal Pay was made. It was then discovered that the changes in work systems were by that time so great that it was virtually impossible to establish that work of equal value was now being performed by the vast majority of the female staff, who constitute almost 65% of the total staff.

The Company and the F.U.E. maintain that the Union is in breach of the National Wage Agreement on the grounds that not all negotiating procedures as specified therein have been exhausted. The Union counter-claim that the Company have refused to return to the "status-quo ante" or to cease the on-going changes.

### CHARGES

It would appear that a serious attempt is being made to discredit A.S.T.M.S. by continued charges being made that the Union is in breach of the National Wage Agreement, and a well-staged publicity campaign was launched last week on television and in the press. A.S.T.M.S. Divisional Officer Noel Harris on television news the same day refuted the charges by quoting from a letter received from the Employer-Labour Conference Standing Committee Chairman Professor Basil Chubb. Subsequently I.C.T.U. General Secretary Ruadhraí Roberts issued a statement on the matter pointing out that A.S.T.M.S. were not deemed to have been in breach of the Agreement and that either side were entitled to seek a ruling on the matter.

On Tuesday, 10th April, an informal meeting was held in London between the Company's Chief Personnel Manager and their chief manager in Dublin on the one hand and the Union's full-time

(Continued on page 6)

# THE NORTH AFTER WHITE PAPER

by BETTY SINCLAIR

WITH the usual swiftness which characterises imperial acts towards a colonial area, the Heath Tory Administration published its White Paper for the future of Northern Ireland. Having recognised that the old Unionist set-up no longer conformed to their rule in the area and that the Unionists must be broken up into little pieces, the Paper promised little to help them (the Unionists) in controlling the wilder factions within their orbit. There would be no return to "normal", i.e., the Stormont of 1968. There would be no question of control of security forces, either the British Army or the R.U.C. The Unionists would have to accept the Paper: like or lump it, it did not matter to Heath and Whitelaw. The latter would talk, or allow consultations—but there would be no changes in the proposed methods of rule in the North on fundamentals and very little on big or small details.

The formula has certainly worked. The Unionist Party had been severely mauled but Faulkner had been able to get a certain reluctant acceptance of the Paper at Unionist Council level and hoped to build on that for unity in any elections. But the splits became wider and the defections more numerous. And, having published the Paper, the Whitelaw Administration then proceeded to set a pretty fast pace to "force the issue". The Northern Ireland Emergency Provisions Bill was passed through the British House of Commons and set the pace for new and more repressive legislation than was contained in the old Special Powers Act. The dates were set for the District Council Elections, May 30 and the Assembly Elections, June 28.

### ELECTIONS

Immediately the former legislation was welcomed by the Unionists, and others who should have known better, and the Unionist Party began preparations for the elections. The idea was that Faulkner had the "majority" and that "majority" would be shown when the results were declared after May 30 and June 28. But things do not turn out always the way one plans. Craig left the Unionist Council and others defected from the party—persons who had held leading positions. Others left the party and proceeded on their way into the Alliance Party whose claim to a place in the political sun is based on their alleged non-sectarianism and their devotion to the link with Britain. The former, under the leadership of Craig and Paisley, now brought into the "united loyalist fold", began to make their preparations for the elections and, in the Imperial Unionist Associations, nominated candidates for the Assembly elections. In this way, Faulkner was dished in his own area and Capt. John Brooke found the going too hard in Fermanagh against the ultras led by John Taylor and Harry West and opted out.

For the first time in nearly three centuries the Brookes of Colebrooke, Co. Fermanagh, were ousted from political life. The hope of Glengall Street and Faulkner and company is that they will be able to have the method of selection reversed to the N. Ireland constituency associations who are affiliated to the Ulster Unionist Council and be able to get their representatives nominated. But the hope is a weak one. The tide of Unionism led by the official party is one of ebb and the once powerful election machine has, to all intents and purposes, broken down. Faulkner himself is not sure that he can get a nomination in East

Down. He has pleaded for acceptance of the White Paper, even if it offers, as he stated, "gratuitous insults to Unionism". The opposition to him have stated that they will not and cannot accept the Paper. Unionism is hopelessly split and the master minds in London have not one word of sympathy for their former running dogs.

### THE CENTRE

What the Heath Administration look for is an amalgamation of "the centre". In this they are fully assisted by the Alliance and Labour Parties. Whilst the latter put on mantle of white and proclaim that they are a "Socialist party" and cannot enter into a coalition with other "capitalist parties", their whole policy and all their actions differ little from those of the Alliance Party. Both parties, with their middle class leadership, shrink from any robust struggle that would be in the interests of the majority of the people of the North. The Labour Party parades its tiny trade union affiliation, i.e., some 14,000 out of 263,000 trade unionists, as giving it the right to speak for the workers, and pleads for a "peace at any price" solution. When British Labour M.P.s speak of Irish unity, the N.I.L.P. leaders take them to task. If Labour M.P.s put forward the necessity of allowing Republicans to take part in normal political activity and elections, the N.I.L.P. spokesmen nearly lose their sense of reason. Having always been a party of the "link with Britain" they act their part out in still promoting that link even when it reduces the whole of the people in the North to colonial status.

The Whitelaw Administration also plays coy with the Republican groups. The Republican Clubs are made legal and their members are subject to a new and vicious harassment. The Sinn Fein groups are not made legal and they have been informed that they have the "right" to put forward candidates at District Council and Assembly level but there is no guarantee that their candidates and those who support them will not be arrested, or worse. The British imperialists have always feared a linking of the working class and republican elements—as Connolly described it, "the linking of the social and national struggle," and the republican movement is to be kept as the "bogey man" of Irish politics.

The Nationalist Party and the S.D.L.P. will enter the electoral field. The latter have not won Whitelaw's "regard" and, in fact, along with the Socialist Republican Party, will probably all be lumped with the rest of the

Republican movement. The Communist Party, wearing no blinkers and having no illusions about the aims of the White Paper, will also take part in the electoral campaigns. Steps have been taken to build up a "Unity Movement" in the Mid-Ulster area under, presumably, the leadership of Frank McManus, M.P., and which is said to have the adherence of Miss Bernadette Devlin, M.P., although the latter has not been fully established.

### TRAGEDY

The tragedy is that the objects sought by Whitelaw may be fully achieved. The unity of the anti-Unionist forces is still far away. A common electoral front based on a minimum common programme finds little or no acceptance among the various sections of that front. British Tory policy, in some measure assisted by the campaign of violence of the Provisionals, has succeeded, for the present time, in carrying out its "divide and rule" policy. The Unionists are split. The anti-Unionists are divided and are each playing their own harps. And the work of building up the "centre" goes ahead. It is possible that the ultra-Unionists as personified by Craig, Paisley, Heron, Hull and Co. may feel the necessity of some "muscle work" to make their presence felt and, in the case of L.A.W. and the U.D.A. whose candidates are, at the most not acceptable to the leaders of the United Loyalist Group, may rock the North in order to claim their place in the political arena.

One thing is clear—the issues are by no means settled. Nor can we expect them to be settled for some considerable time. It is stated that Whitelaw will leave the North after all his proposals have gone through. By way of contempt for the people here, the proposals are defined as "reforms". The election results for the District Councils and the 78-seat Assembly may probably reveal an even more disturbed political situation than has been evident at any time since October 1968. The working out of the role of the District Councils will bring many heartaches for the local nabobs in the areas and the acceptance of a situation where the "elected representatives" are just "puppets on a string" and with no right or health to pull the string may bring forward tempers on a par with those presently exhibited in the ranks of the ultras.

### POWERLESS

The vague position of those elected to an almost powerless Assembly will bring comfort to none but the most supine. Here again, those elected will find themselves acting as a front, with little authority, for their masters in London who will be getting on with the job of uniting Ireland in the fields of industry and commerce to the advantage of British monopoly capital and leaving in their wake all the old and crude divisions of the Irish people and especially the Irish working class. The London masters will also be perfecting the chains for the whole country to keep it inside the

Common Market, even if it means selling Irish farmers down the river with their cattle, and in this way, without any formal announcement, have brought the entire 32-counties into federation with Britain. In the field of big business, there are many links to join. The banks, insurance companies, the Confederations of Industry, the Stock Exchanges, building societies, Chambers of Trade and Commerce, et al, are now joined at London level.

In industry, commerce and distribution, the get-togethers, take-overs, and mergers, proceed apace. The latest example is that of Courtaulds which has a big factory at Carrickfergus and will, with very big subventions from the London and Dublin Governments, build a £25-million factory at Letterkenny, Co. Donegal, and another of the same magnitude in Co. Derry. All the work of the three factories are to be linked but there is no plan to unite the workers of Cos. Antrim, Derry and Donegal. That is the "last thing on the minds" of the management of Courtaulds and the London and Dublin Governments. But it should be the first thing on the minds of the Irish working class.

### "CROPPIES LIE DOWN"

As we go forward to the elections in the North it is clear that the British Government are not going to introduce democratic reforms. It is also evident that they do not want peace. The harassment of the people in the anti-Unionist areas in Belfast and elsewhere indicates that efforts are being made to provoke the people and make the "croppies lie down". Peaceful protests are met with raids and searches and, as is alleged, deliberate execution of young men and boys on the streets with always the cover-up that they were gunmen.

Promises are made of millions of pounds to help overcome the unemployment and the British Government prepares for, until the year 2006, 2½ per cent unemployment in Britain and 6 per cent in Northern Ireland! It accepts, for the next thirty years, at least, that earnings here will be 15 per cent less than those in Britain and that the incidence of sickness among insured workers will continue at a higher rate. Of course, there will be parity of Social Service Funds, i.e., you will get the same as the British worker if you are unemployed or sick but there will be more of you unemployed and sick! Shades of colonial legislation spelt out with all the brutality of imperialism.

It will be necessary, more than ever, for the trade union and labour movement throughout the entire country, to begin to study and really appreciate what is being perpetrated in the North by the enemies of the Irish people. And, having done that, to take active and energetic steps to overcome the disunity amongst those who want to see and experience full democratic rights, unity and peace and progress. Unless that is done, the year 1973 will only bring newer and more grimmer political and social problems for the whole of Ireland.



# FROM THE BIG SMOKE

By JOHN RIDDY

THE wonders of capitalist democracy never cease to amaze me, Friends in Socialist countries are baffled and bemused by its sophisticated machinery, but always ask the same question: why do the people in capitalist countries allow their ruling class to con them every five years or so with general elections that offer no real alternative? I invariably find answers hard to come by without suggesting that the entire electorate is composed of ignorant fools. Of course they aren't. It's simply that there is no real alternative allowed.

Take the French elections, for instance. The Communist-Socialist group got as many votes as the Gaullists (the bankers and industrialists' party) did, but it was the latter who won the election with a majority of 94. How was this accomplished? Very easily—by an undemocratic system of voting which meant that the Communists and their allies had to receive 70,000 votes to 35,000 for a capitalist candidate. Rather like fighting with one arm tied behind your back, in fact.

## THE IRISH FARCE

In Ireland things are ordered differently. On the face of it, Irish elections are more democratic than the French. But when you scratch below the surface, you find the same old trickery of the capitalist class. There's little need—YET—to rig the elections in Ireland, as the Communist Party isn't strong enough in the country to offer an alternative government. But that day may come sooner than many think. Mick O'Riordan received almost twice as many votes in the recent general election as has any Communist candidate in the 26 counties since the end of World War Two. As for the "alternative" offered this time around it was the usual choice of tweedledee or tweedledum. The Fianna Fáil mafia is blatantly in support of home and international capitalism, while outrageously playing the British imperialist card in north-eastern Ireland. The Fine Gael "Nixonists" are simply cousins of the Fianna Fáil mafia.

By entering into a coalition with a Right-Wing capitalist party the Labour Party has cooked its own goose—perhaps for generations to come. By then maybe the quality of its leadership will be higher. I mean, how ludicrous can you get? Can anyone seriously imagine Fine Gael, or any Right-wing political party, entering into a coalition government in which the major partner was Left-wing? It has never happened in the history of politics, nor is it likely to happen. The Irish Labour Party leadership has earned the contempt and ridicule of Left-wingers in every country in the world.

## WHERE'S THE WEAPON?

In early April a young paratrooper from Aldershot was arrested when driving a murdered man's car. The murdered man, Mr. Heal, 59, of Wadhurst Avenue, Luton, was a social worker who gave a "respectable-looking" (a soldier?) hitch-hiker a lift, and whose body was found soon afterwards in a field beside the M1 at Markfield, Leics. The 18-year-old para was arrested when driving the murdered man's car, but it wasn't claimed by the paras that the murdered man was armed at the time of his death, which is the usual procedure when British soldiers murder civilians in the Six Counties.

## THE CLAUDIA INCIDENT

The British are laughing up their sleeves at the Claudia incident. And no wonder! The famous "victory" of the Irish Navy in capturing the arms consignment was planned and plotted down to the last tiny detail by British Intelligence. No credit was due to the Fine Gael-Labour Party Government. On the contrary, they have been discredited for taking their orders from the British—just as the Fianna Fáil gangsters did before them. No wonder the British can't keep a straight face, especially when clowns like Donegan, the Minister for Defence, appear on telly over here lying in their teeth about the source of their information on the Claudia. What a contemptible breed the Irish capitalists are! They'd sell their own grandmothers for a kind word from their British masters.

## CHANGE FOR THE BETTER

If the war in the Six Counties has changed only one change for the better, it is that it has dissuaded the TV companies from putting on "Irish" programmes on March 17th. Why such programmes should ever have been put on in a foreign country like Britain is beyond my comprehension. After all, Bastille Day or Independence Day is not celebrated by the British, so why should St. Pat's Day? Perhaps the British never seriously thought of us as foreigners before. Now all that has changed, even to the extent of thinking "the Northern Loyalists" Irishmen — and foreigners.

## C.P.I. BRANCH NOTES

### BALLYFERMOT

THERE was a 100% participation of branch members in the General Election campaign in support of the C.P.I. general secretary Michael O'Riordan.

All members felt it was a well worthwhile campaign for not only was the policy of the party on a wide number of issues put across to the people in the Dublin Central constituency but also our members now have a better understanding of the real problems of the ordinary people, problems which are common to all the constituencies of Dublin.

After the election the Branch got down to the organisation of educational lectures. Already five of these lectures have been held and have been well attended.

Sales of the "Irish Socialist" in Ballyfermot have been well maintained but more sellers are called for. This is absolutely vital if we are to meet the potential sale that exists for our paper in the area. This month, paper sellers will also be selling the Party's theoretical journal, "Irish Socialist Review".

Finally, a very successful social evening was held by our Branch just before Easter. Our thanks to all members of other branches who supported this function and to the Connolly Youth and members of Sinn Fein.

### NORTH EAST

THE North East Branch continued with its education programme this month with a lecture on the Role of Women in the



## GUARDIAN FIGHT

(From page 5)

Officer Noel Harris. The discussions lasted almost four hours and certain understandings were reached with a view to ending the strike. Part of the understanding reached was that a formal meeting would take place in Dublin on Wednesday, 18th April, to finalise the talks. The Union side promptly decided to suspend a Mass Demonstration by all Dublin insurance workers planned for 1 p.m. that day, to enable talks to continue in a friendly atmosphere.

## BACK TO WORK

However, the formal meeting proved a bitter disappointment for the Union side. The Company's General Manager, Mr. George Williams, read out a prepared statement which amounted to a back-to-work ultimatum prior to talks taking place. The Union considered the situation and made some counter-proposals. These were rejected by the Company side who again issued a back-to-work ultimatum! The Union side con-

Trade Unions by J. Gibbons. The programme was decided on some months ago. It was decided that each branch member should choose a subject of their choice. This has been a valuable exercise for various comrades in that they have researched their subject and presented it for constructive criticism to other branch members.

Also on the education front a public lecture was given on the State and Revolution in a local hotel. Members of the public attended and a lively discussion ensued.

By far the most important activity of the branch this month was the distribution of over a thousand leaflets, in conjunction with the local branch of the Connolly Youth Movement, outside Kilbarack Shopping Centre which, incidentally, is the dearest shopping centre in the area. The leaflet brought to the notice of the shoppers the increase in meat prices (over a 7 month period 35%) is due mainly to the dear food policy of the Common Market. I'm sure the same shoppers will be delighted at the news that cheese is to become another luxury food with an increase of price in the coming month. Also on the leaflet was a list of demands which are as follows:

- (1) Campaign for withdrawal from the Common Market.
- (2) Demand an end to all national wage agreements.
- (3) Demand the removal of V.A.T. from all foods.

sidered that in the face of this unprincipled about-turn by the Company there was no other course but to continue the Strike. It was also decided to lift the embargo on G.R.E. business to enable the maximum impact of the strike to hit the company. The Protest March was again fixed for 25th April. Mass meetings of the Dublin and Cork staffs next day fully approved of the Strike Committee's decisions.

The Protest March held on Wednesday, 25th April, was an outstanding success with 2,000 insurance workers taking part. A Protest meeting was held on the steps of the F.U.E. offices at Fitzwilliam Place. The main speakers were Geoffrey Bing, Q.C. (Legal Adviser to A.S.T.M.S.), Noel Harris (Divisional Officer) and Manus Durcan (N.E.C. member).

The history of this dispute goes back over a long period of years, and the staff are highly dissatisfied. An indication of their frustration the Strike Committee state that there have been in the past year alone, several lightning "sit-ins" and "walk-outs", at least six lengthy negotiating sessions at national level, two Conciliation Conferences at the Labour Court

- (4) Demand that our own meat needs be fully met before Irish cattle are exported.
- (5) Support the call of the I.C.T.U. for the setting up of local committees to fight price increases.

It was decided that as a follow-up the branch should leaflet other shopping centres in the area.

## MALAHIDE ROAD

THE extension of the street lighting system from Coolock out to Malahide is long overdue. North East and North County Dublin are two of the fastest growing areas in Dublin or in Ireland for that matter. New housing estates are at present under construction or built in Malahide, Portmarnock, Baldoyle, etc., and just past Tayto factory now, new houses have sprung up suddenly. These housing estates will bring with them inevitably increased motor traffic and also increased danger. One of the most glaring examples of this danger is outside the Clare Manor and Camelot at week-ends after closing time, people have to walk down the Malahide Road, where there is no footpath or street lighting to get to Coolock village. The danger of their being struck by a motor car under these circumstances is greatly increased as anyone who has travelled this way at night will verify.

The tenants' and residents' associations in the immediate area

and two meetings at the offices of the F.U.E., all to no avail.

## FEAR OF VICTORY

It would appear also that British domestic considerations (in the form of a Chancery Court action by A.S.T.M.S. against the Registrar of Trade Unions in the matter of the G.R.E. Staff Union—formerly a staff association) are now being deliberately introduced by the Company. They fear the Union side will make capital out of their victory here in Ireland to the detriment of the Management-sponsored G.R.E. Staff Union. This, combined with the anti-Irish prejudices of the high-Tory management (who are also responsible for the payment of large sums annually to Tory front organisations) does not make for an early settlement of this very difficult strike.

The G.R.E. being a multinational company has been able to carry on some of its more urgent Irish business in Britain in the classic manner of such organisations. Nevertheless the strikers are convinced there will be an enormous amount of work (routine and otherwise) waiting to be tackled on their return.

should make the extension of street lighting and a footpath at least past this danger point a priority. They should pressurise our newly elected T.D. to fight for the further extension of street lighting out to Malahide.

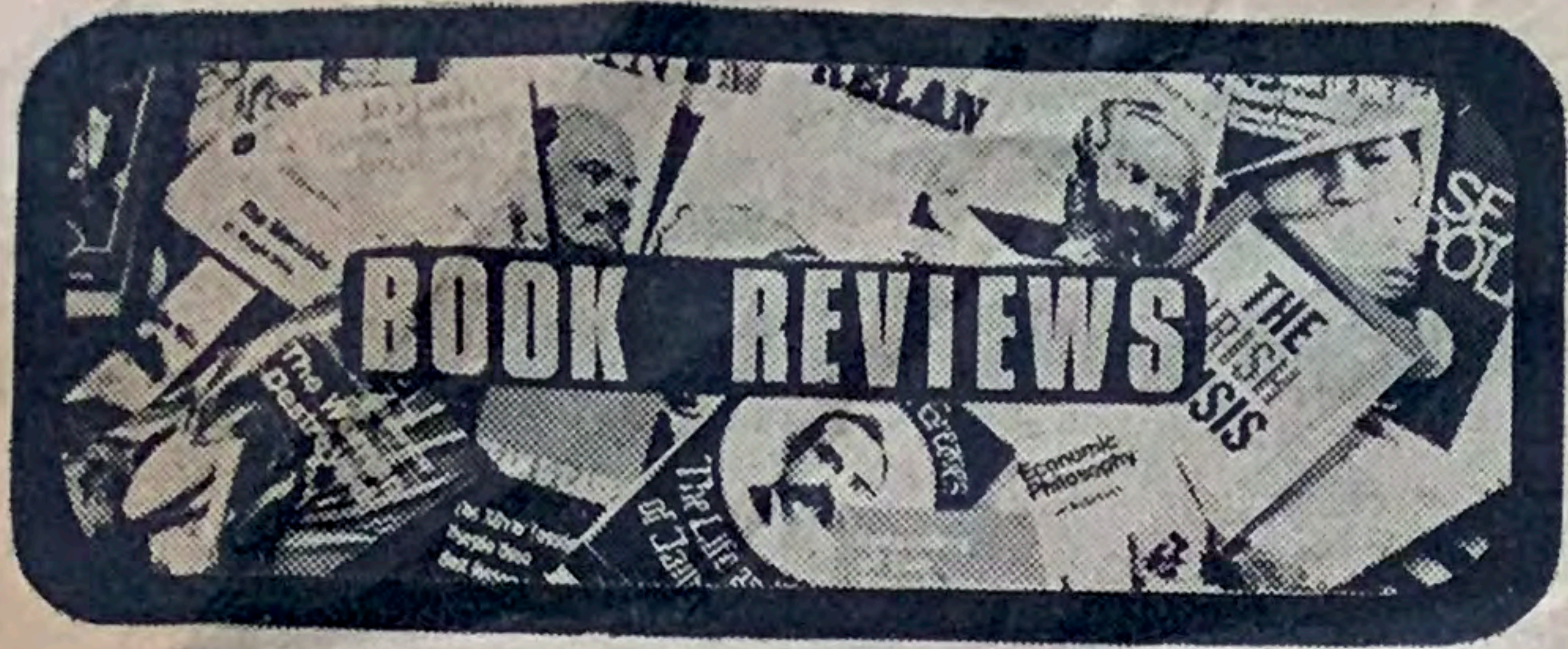
## DANGEROUS PEDESTRIAN CROSSING

WHILE on the subject of the dangerous conditions of parts of the Malahide Road, a pedestrian crossing outside the "Goblet" public house comes to mind. This crossing is practically invisible with the amount of cars parked on either side of it. Parking regulations should be strictly enforced here and motorists should have more consideration for where they park. Spot-lights could be fitted on the poles on either side to show it up more clearly at night so as to minimise danger for the old and very young crossing there.

## RENT STRIKE NEWS

KILBARRACK West Community Association had sixteen of its members summonsed to court on the 11th and 12th January. One case was on appeal of a court order granted earlier, the other fifteen had court orders for possession granted against them for the first time. The appeal case was adjourned on a technicality and the other cases have appealed.





# THE CLASS NATURE OF EDUCATION

**EDUCATION AND THE WORKING CLASS**, by Brian Jackson and Dennis Marsden. Pelican, 35p.

**NEILL AND SUMMERHILL: A MAN AND HIS WORK—A Pictorial Study**, by John Walmsley. Penguin Education Special, 35p.

**H**AD we been born fifty years ago, not only would this or any book have been an unlikely production from us, but the chances are that we would have spent our lives as weavers in the Northern mills. State education has altered that for us, and for many more. . . . The grammar schools have served us well and the writing of this [book] is as the payment of a debt."

This statement by the authors in the introduction to their study bears witness to the profound effects Britain's state educational programme has had on her population and society. I say "profound" because I do not mean "revolutionary" Britain has used her wealth—to a certain extent—to give considerable sections of her working people the opportunity of crossing the divide between "working" and "middle" class.

## RECRUITS FOR MANAGEMENT

This development has been going on now for about two generations, but it is in no sense revolutionary.

Those who have done well out of Britain's Welfare State programme like to speak as if it was "a peaceful revolution"—including, I see, the publishers of this book.

I do not think it unfair to describe it rather, as a recruiting drive for the managerial class, instituted by the power of capital and made possible by the development of technology. In no way has it fundamentally put in question the power base of British society, the big capitalist interests which control Britain.

## HUMANE

The two authors represent that humane social concern which is one of the best elements in British life and culture, although not often much in evidence in her relations with Ireland. They are honest enough to admit that in spite of the dramatic opening out of opportunities for education to the British people, disappointingly large numbers of working-class children who clearly ought to be receiving higher education, do not get it. "Despite all the recent expansion and feeling of opportunity, the proportion of working-class boys at university is no greater now than it was before the 1939-45 war."

A sample of the population taken in 1959—men joining the forces for National Service—revealed that of those with the very highest ability, i.e., such as would be required for university teaching,

higher management and civil service posts, 42% had left school by the age of sixteen. 87% of those in the second highest order (which is well above average) had left school by sixteen.

## WASTAGE

These statistics must lead us to question what causes this great wastage of talent in a wealthy nation committed to a high degree—for a capitalist state—to social welfare and education policies. The answer lies, I believe, in the nature of the educational system itself and in the courses it offers. British education—and, dare I say it, therefore Irish education also—stands solidly on its bourgeois middle-class base which has remained undisturbed by any revolutionary process.

To become educated in Britain, Ireland and the whole capitalist world, means to become middle-class. That is the price bourgeois society and its educational system guarding the door of the treasure house of knowledge and the arts demands of outsiders who wish to enter.

## OUTSIDERS

The "Outsiders" are those who have been born into a social environment which has been stripped of its treasure, now guarded—but not therefore necessarily appreciated—by the master class. Thus it is that the great things of the spirit and the intellect are reduced to tokens, passports to middle-class acceptance, to the "good" life. Seen thus, bourgeois education must be exclusive. If it does not exclude very many from access to the treasure, that commodity loses its worth. In capitalist terms what is widespread, what "floods the market", is worthless.

Under the most highly developed forms of capitalist society therefore, popular or folk culture dies—except in its most commercial or marketable forms—and the cultural inheritance of great thinkers, artists, poets and musicians becomes a preserve where "outsiders" are not expected to wander. No wonder then that "outsiders" often turn away from this treasure with mockery and disgust.

## NEILL

How wonderful it is then to find a school which is inclusive rather than exclusive, where the child is accepted simply for what it is and no hurried attempts are made to shape it for the required slot in society. Summerhill—not the place in Dublin—alas!—is such a school and A. S. Neill is its famous headmaster. All kinds of questions present themselves when considering the problem of a free school, i.e., a school where absolute freedom is permitted. Many—not all—of these questions are covered in A. S. Neill's own book, "Summerhill" (Pelican 45p). The sad thought keeps haunting me as I study these pictures of happy, untidy children—"This school is itself a preserve. No working-class parents dare risk their child's prospects of 'getting on' by sending it here, even if they could afford it."

by DENIS FITZPATRICK

# REVOLUTION —TRUE AND FALSE

ON REVOLUTION, by Hannah Arendt. A Pelican Book, 60p.

**T**HIS is one of those beautifully written scholarly books that bear the stamp of their origin so clearly—the gracious academic seclusion of a university library. In the index Socrates follows Socialism, and La Rochefoucauld precedes Latin America—all very cultivated and, although published in 1965, with no mention good or bad of Vietnam. Some subjects are a little too painful!

## LIBERAL

Miss Arendt's subject is freedom rather than revolution. She is a decent bourgeois liberal and is troubled by the sad fact that after so many revolutions "freedom" as she understands it never seems to get started. Revolutions, she declares, are about freedom and yet the only "revolution"—commas are deliberate—that laid down a blueprint for her kind of freedom was the American War of Independence. She is pained that more people especially on the American continent, do not recognise the importance of their very own American revolution.

## REALITY LEFT OUT

Her puzzlement is very understandable for nowhere do the words "Negroes," "American Indians," "Dominican Republic," "Mexico," "Guatemala" or "C.I.A." appear in her erudite index or copious notes. If you presume large sections of the population not to exist, then you might well wonder why a universal cheer does not go up when you hold up for admiration the victory of a national bourgeoisie in a power struggle to allow free enterprise to develop and the "devil take the hindmost".

Her solution to the problem of loss of "freedom", which she sees as a casualty of over-centralised administration, is to develop a system of councils and she has some mildly interesting remarks to make on this subject. However, nothing can come from nothing and nothing can come out of a university lecture hall unless the objective economic and social conditions exist for its reception.

# MORE "TWO NATIONS"

THE SOCIALIST REGISTER 1972, edited by Ralph Miliband and John Saville. The Merlin Press, £1.20.

**A**S usual there is much of great interest in this collection. It is a pity that the article on Ireland should be by far the weakest contribution.

Indeed the editors refer to it rather defensively as "an argument which has not received much attention on the Left in Britain, and which, whether one agrees with it or not, deserves serious consideration".

The article in question, "Contradictions and Struggles in Northern Ireland" by Ander Boserup, puts forward in all its naked ideological simplicity, the "Two Nations" theory of the British and Irish Communist Organisation, whose

paper's analyses are praised by Mr. Boserup for their "unparalleled lucidity".

Unfortunately, as the Irishman said, "the truth is rarely pure, and never simple".

## PURE NONSENSE

Certainly the differences and their history which divide the loyalties of the population of this island deserve the most serious study. But to maintain that the racial and cultural differences between the people of the six counties and the twenty-six are any greater than those between the people of Yorkshire and the people of Surrey, or between the people of Carmarthen and the people of London, is to talk nonsense, which so often can indeed be pure and simple.

The issue is power. Great Britain has the power and wealth to combine distinctly differing races and cultures into one state. Now Britain is losing the power and interest to maintain her hold on her troublesome Irish province—at least under the old management.

She does after all enjoy a dominant position in the twenty-six county economy without any trouble at all. Why should she be bored and embarrassed any longer supporting the picturesque maladministration of Orangeism in the six counties when she can run the whole island much more smoothly through economic pressures, a six county boss appointed by Westminster and a plausible looking Council of Ireland. She knows it makes sense.

## LABOUR MOVEMENT

When the shooting and bombing stops, however, she will find herself faced with a problem that will not be so easily solved—a united and militant labour movement with strong links with the labour movement on her own island. It is a day to look forward to.

Apart from this article—the rest of the "Socialist Register" offers very good value. The history of rent-strikes during the last twenty years in England, South Africa, African Socialism, China's new foreign policy, Gramsci and a thought-provoking essay on "Liberal Values and Socialist Values" which refers extensively to the thoughts and writings of our Minister for Posts and Telegraphs, are some of the main topics dealt with in considerable depth.

SOLZHENITSYN: A Documentary Record, edited by A. Labedz. Penguin, 35p.

**T**HIS is a detailed documentary record of the triumphs and tribulations of the great Russian novelist Alexander Solzhenitsyn from the publication in "Novy Mir" in 1961 of "One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovitch" to his expulsion from the Writers Union of the Soviet Union in 1969. Obviously it has been a source of gleeful propaganda for the enemies of socialism to be able to point to this act of stupidity and blindness by the officialdom of a great socialist power.

And yet after reading this account of Solzhenitsyn's struggle with bureaucracy, I am left only with a feeling of intense admiration for the moral courage of those in the Soviet Union who confront the mistakes and crimes committed during the epic struggle of their peoples towards the true freedom of Communism, and boldly admit them in the knowledge that the sacrifices of the Soviet people have achieved hope for millions of the world's population in places where hope never existed before.

## VAST STRUGGLE

The dimensions of the Soviet struggle are almost always consciously or unconsciously diminished in the accounts of it by commentators from outside. In the annals of world history it would be impossible to parallel the sheer dogged, persistent, painful, tragic and glorious wrestling with impossible and overwhelming problems that characterise the history of the Soviet Republics. The scars of their struggle are there for all to see but their sufferings in the Socialist cause have been endured and overcome for the benefit of all the world's peoples. They do not have to be repeated by any other nation following its own path to Socialism. This is one of the unrepayable debts the world owes to the people of the Soviet Union.

To keep the flame of Socialism alive and to safeguard it in a hostile world, Soviet Russia had to become a fortress. Although the worst period of the siege of Russian Socialism is over, some of the siege mentality, of fear and suspicion, still lingers on.

The spirit of the Soviet people can safely be relied on to solve this problem as it has solved other and more terrible problems. Solzhenitsyn is part of that spirit.

In case anybody in Ireland might wish to feel smug that such things could not possibly happen here, he or she might reflect on the disgraceful record of this State in its dealings with its major writers—censorship, neglect and indifference. Solzhenitsyn still holds his job as a teacher. John McGahern after the publication of "The Dark" was dismissed from his teaching post and in effect condemned to the exile which so many of our writers have had to suffer. That is the measure of bourgeois Ireland's concern for the art of literature.

D. F.

WE ARE ALWAYS GLAD TO GET ARTICLES GIVING THE FACTS ABOUT CLOSE-DOWNS ETC., WE CANNOT, HOWEVER, ACCEPT ANONYMOUS ARTICLES. NAMES WILL BE TREATED IN STRICT CONFIDENCE BY THE EDITOR BUT MUST BE GIVEN SO THAT THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE FACTS MAY BE CHECKED.



IRIS

# TROTSKYISM, ULTRA-LEFTISM and the WORKING CLASS

By JIM SAVAGE

THE organ of the Trotskyist Fourth International "Workers Republic" continues its vicious attack in their January issue on the Communist Party of Ireland, Official and Provisional Sinn Fein, the Trade Union movement and the Labour Party. In the same voice they call on the very same organisations to form a united front with them against repression, saying:

"The Trotskyist movement are beginning a campaign if possible in conjunction with other Left-Wing groups, to bring about this united front. We call on all Socialists and Republicans to join us in this campaign."

They refer to the Irish Sovereignty Movement and Citizens for Civil Liberties as capitalist elements who are led by an arch-Stalinist. They dig up Big Jim Larkin's quarrel with the Red International of Trade Unions (Profintern) in 1928, and say Jim Larkin (Jnr.) was a convinced Stalinist.

The rest is devoted to denouncing the Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries. They speak of the vision of the Workers' Republic held by Lenin, Trotsky, and the Bolshevik Party when they first overthrew capitalism in Russia.

## LEFTISM

Now like other Leftist trends Trotskyism takes advantage of some people's lack of experience and information, the younger generation above all, who may not have sufficient prior detailed knowledge of the historic background of all this without checking the accuracy, may accept a very considerable slanting of the record relating to the Russian revolution.

What is Trotskyism? Capitalist and Trotskyite propaganda perverts history and presents the story that Trotsky and Lenin together founded the Communist Party in Russia, but that after Lenin's death Stalin ousted Trotsky in a struggle for power. In reality Lenin and the Bolshevik (Communist) Party he organised and led (it was fully established as a separate party in 1903) consistently combatted not only Right-Wing but also the "Leftish" social-democrats among whom Trotsky was prominent. He was never an Old Bolshevik. This is a subsequent press myth. Before 1917 he was engaged in embittered conflict against Lenin and the whole conception of a Bolshevik Party.

## LENIN

"The whole structure of Leninism," he wrote in 1913, "is built up on lies and distortions, and contains the poisonous seed of its own decay" (Letter to Chkheidze, April 1913). He found the outlook of Lenin an "evil minded and morally repugnant one, which must be liquidated at the present moment at all costs" ("Our Political Task," 1906). Lenin in 1911 wrote of "Judas Trotsky", described "men like Trotsky with his inflated phrases" as "the disease of our age"; found him "shameless and unprincipled", and in 1915 exposed "the inflated phraseology with which Trotsky always justified opportunism".

It was not until 1917 that Trotsky joined the Bolshevik Party,

when his tiny group had no mass support. In 1912, for instance, he hammered together the notorious "August Bloc", which united the Bund, the Liquidators, the Otzovists and all other opponents of Bolshevism. In the summer of 1917 Trotsky accepted the Communist programme and for a few years held a position in the leadership of the Party. He was able to play an outstanding positive role in the Russian Socialist Revolution during the initial years under the guidance of Lenin and the Party.

## CONFLICTS

But even during those years he was repeatedly in conflict with Lenin over crucial issues, as over the Brest-Litovsk Treaty with Germany in 1918. His refusal "on principle" to sign cost the young Soviet state great losses in lives and territory and brought the Revolution to the brink of disaster, or over his proposals to introduce authoritarian anti-democratic methods in the trade unions which he called their "militarisation". After Lenin's death Trotsky's special theories brought him increasingly into conflict with the Party.

This arose especially over his favourite theory, repeated from the beginning to the end of his career, that the Russian Revolution was doomed and that Socialism could not be built in Russia, unless the working-class Socialist revolution were victorious in Western Europe. This basically defeatist perspective was counterposed by him to the really revolutionary perspective of the Party, which was determined to face and conquer the difficulties and build Socialism in Russia, even though the victory of the working class Socialist revolution in Western Europe should be further delayed.

History has long since settled this controversy. He then formed factions and aligned himself with now one and then another group to attack the Party. Defeated overwhelmingly in the Party after a discussion and vote in every branch, Trotsky and his faction sought unsuccessfully in 1927 to incite the masses to the streets against the leadership of the Soviet Government and Party.

## EXPULSION

Completely routed by the membership, he attempted to organise a counter-revolutionary demonstration in the Red Square in 1927. This transition to incitement to overthrow the Soviet Government led to his expulsion from the Party and from the Soviet Union. Even prior to this he had attempted to form Trotskyite factions in other Communist Parties and succeeded, specialising in slander, provocation and intrigue. So much for the fable about Trotsky being a Leninist.

In the late 1920's the capitalist press acquired a new contributor, Trotsky. Reactionary newspapers sensationalised his articles and bourgeois publishers were eager to put out his books. The monopoly press had good reason to rejoice, for both articles and books breathed rabid hatred of Leninism and viciously slandered the Communist International and the Soviet Union, the country that had blazed the path to Socialism.

He denied the possibility of building Socialism in one country and opposed Lenin's theory of proletarian revolution with his idea of "permanent revolution". He devoted all his energy to the fight against the vanguard of the revolutionary movement, the Commun-

ist Party of the Soviet Union. Imperialists are not in the least apprehensive of the Trotskyites ultra-revolutionism and it is obvious why.

They know that any growth in the influence of Trotskyism would not be the slightest threat to them and, on the contrary, would harm the revolutionary movement. What about present-day Trotskyites and have they something in common with Leon Trotsky, what he said and did in the first half of the present century?

## UNITY

As a matter of fact, yes. They grow out of the same soil. Genuine Communists regard Socialist-minded workers and intellectuals and the non-Communist Left as people and tendencies with whom we want to work together for social progress while discussing our ideological differences in a friendly way. That does not apply to the Trotskyites who call these people opportunists.

The specific nature of their tactics is their claim to be the only true champions of Marxism-Leninism. Outwardly they want to appear Leftier than the Left, more revolutionary than the revolutionaries. Whatever problems Communists solve, whatever conclusions they draw from their analysis of the situation, and whatever slogans they put forward in the struggle against capitalism, the Trotskyites see only one task, to fight them. Ultra-revolutionary phrases to cover anti-Communist activities have become the hallmark of modern Trotskyism. While it is possible, as is claimed, that some of the Trotskyites today are simply misguided youth beguiled by "militant" phrases, that doesn't mean that we forget the nature of Trotskyism. We can show by concrete examples that Trotskyite theory and practice are hostile to the fundamental interests of the working class.

## SPLITTING TACTICS

I myself had particular experience of this, whenever I was on the picket line in Cork. It was total disaster when they offered support, and succeeded where employers failed to divide the workers, as they introduced issues in no way related to the actual grievances of the strikers. The latter felt they were being used to further a political viewpoint they didn't understand. This only, of course, served the interests of the employer and undermined the morale of the strikers. Efforts were being made to harness the just grievances of tenants in the new N.B.A. (Corporation) estates, where the area was rat infested, with leaking roofs, lack of other facilities and excessive profit-making by super-stores in an area of social need where the private motive reigned supreme.

The Trotskyite's answer, "No point in trying to organise the people to fight, burn the thousands of houses in one night." They had little concern for the people left homeless as a result. Lacking real support, the Trotskyites try to win adherents by putting forward a variety of pseudo-revolutionary proposals. But when they try to back their slogans with practical activity they show themselves to be working against the interests and needs of the workers and do serious damage. Their use of labels ("Workers' Republic") such as "Stalinist" for people of conflicting political views tends to lose all forms of credibility. They have this in common with Trotsky, supreme vanity.

present era as one of transition from world Capitalism to world Socialism. But they give this apparently revolutionary formula a reactionary content. They reject the Leninist view that it is possible for Socialism to triumph in a single country or group of countries. They exclude the possibility of advance to Socialism by the falling away of new countries from the capitalist system. In their interpretation of society along Socialist lines can take place only as a simultaneous process in all countries and therefore, in the very remote future. It is a waste of time even thinking of building Socialism, the Trotskyites say, without the triumph first of all of a world proletarian revolution.

"Without a world revolution," the Fourth International warns from Paris, "Socialism cannot be built in a single country."

They claim to be the only genuinely revolutionary political force in the world but from its very inception Trotskyism was characterised by factionalism and intrigue. It was so when it was just a small maverick "Leftist" Social-Democratic grouping fighting Lenin — supposedly in an attempt to reconcile Leninism with Right-Wing Social Democracy. It remained so after 1917 when Trotsky consistently organised factions against Lenin and the Leninist policies. So it is since Trotskyism found itself outside the Communist movement.

## TACTICS

The tactics of Trotskyism are designed to facilitate the penetration of its pseudo-revolutionary ideology into the working class and democratic movement. The Fourth International, set up by Trotsky in the late thirties, is split into at least four rival international groups. Torn by the constant squabbling between groups competing for dominance, they seek and find support of extremist-minded youth and students, having always flirted with the young calling it the "barometer of revolution".

What is the reason for the appearance of neo-Trotskyite groups here in Ireland? They see in the Northern situation a means of pushing the Trotskyite dogma, "Revolution Everywhere". All they do is to instigate discord among the different streams of the anti-imperialist movement. "Revolution must be prodded," they maintain, and call for armed uprisings everywhere.

The monopoly Press eagerly publicises Trotskyite slogans which link pseudo-revolutionary phrasemongering with the most vicious anti-Sovietism. They encourage this as a way of weakening Communist Party influence and in fact hold up the Trotskyites as "genuine Communists". Trotskyism is a trump card in this insidious political game, its anti-Communism and opposition to unity of workers and democratic forces serve the aims of the ruling class.

Lenin's characterisation of Trotsky and his accomplices fully applies to modern Trotskyism:

"Trotsky unites all to whom ideological decay is dear, all who are not concerned with the defence of Marxism; all Philistines who do not understand the reasons for the struggle and who do not wish to learn, think, and discover the ideological roots of the divergence of views. It is easy for Trotsky to become the 'hero of the hour' and gather all the shabby elements round himself." (Vol. 17, p. 21.) The core of all his approach was, as Lenin put it, "An absurdly Leftist theory of permanent revolution."

## PRISONERS

The following is the text of a letter which was smuggled out of Portlaoise Prison to "Saoirse" (The Committee for the Release of Political Prisoners). The letter is reproduced in full, as it was received by the Committee:

"President: Noel Lynch.  
Secretaries: Hugo Meehan and Simon O'Donnell.

Shop Stewards:  
Patrick Magill, for the Farm.  
James Grant, for the Kitchen.  
Tom Burke and Seamus Flanagan, for the Tailors' Shop.

On Sunday, 28th January, all the prisoners got together on the exercise yard and after two minutes' silence for the victims of Bloody Sunday, decided to form a Prisoners' Union. They elected the above-mentioned officers. Ninety out of one hundred and thirty prisoners have joined. On Tuesday (January 30th) all the Union members went to see the Governor and made a number of requests: (1) to recognise the Union; (2) to improve food, recreation, visits, work conditions, etc. All have been refused.

The farm workers' request for an hour's exercise each day, plus overcoats, was met by transferring the men concerned from a fairly warm wooden shed on the farm to pulling carrots with bare hands in the icy mud. The same prisoners were made to pull the donkey's cart, loaded with carrots, while the donkey remained in the shed. The Governor also ordered these men to resign from the Union or else they would be back on bread and water in the Block.

Most of us have already had plenty of punishment, solitary, bread and water, beatings, etc., because of a sit-down for the same reasons on November 14th and 15th, 1972. The one thing that gives us some protection is publicity. We would be very grateful if you could publish this statement, which had to be dashed off in ten minutes, as it is being smuggled out.

Signed.

P.S. — Our Secretary, Hugo Meehan, has been punished for speaking to us on Sunday, 28th. His punishment was loss of one month's recreation and refusal to let him speak to more than three prisoners at any one time. Some prisoners are handcuffed when out in the exercise yard, for one hour out of 24. Food is inedible at times. In the evenings the prisoners are only permitted out for two hours (5.30-7.30 p.m.) to view television. This is mainly when children's programmes are on. No education for illiterate prisoners. Prisoners asked for films. Each said they were prepared to give 6p per week for films. Refused. Petitions sent to the Minister for Justice. No formal acknowledgement of their receipt. Only verbal word sent saying petitions rejected. Tension in the prison is colossal. You don't know what's going to happen from day to day. There could be a riot at any time the tension is so great."

(End of letter.)

Saoirse welcomes the formation of the Prisoners' Union in Portlaoise Prison. We are particularly pleased to see that the Union represents both political and non-political prisoners. Both Saoirse and Sinn Fein have always advocated that the struggle in the prisons should not merely be for improvements for political prisoners, but for the implementation of a prison system that would enable all prisoners to serve their sentences under conditions that would guarantee a minimum of human dignity. Saoirse hopes that prisoners in other jails, both North and South of the Border, will follow the example of those in Portlaoise. We pledge full support to the prisoners in their struggle and call on the authorities to ensure that the prisoners in Portlaoise are not victimised.

Is mise,  
KATHRYN DOOLEY,  
P.R.O. Saoirse.



**Title:** Irish Socialist, No. 126

**Organisation:** Communist Party of Ireland

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