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Paper of the Socialist Workers Movement

LOOKS FAMILIAR? It's an advert for Pepsi-Cola. Russian Pepsi. The so-called home of socialism has opened its doors to attract for ign capital. Inside, we take look at the revolution which won power for the Russian working class 60 years ago this month. And at the parody of socialism which is Russia today. Pages 4 and 5

On page 2, we take a step into the injunction jungle and examine the weapon which bosses are increasingly using against strikers.

At Unidare, in Dublin, last August, a member of management tried to get rid of a shop steward who didn't bow to their wishes. It was an underthe-table attempt but on page 7 we take a look under the table

Also, reports on the New Internment, on the Right To work march in Britain, reports from the shop floor and from the unions.

SEE INSIDE

PROFITS, WE NE HEWAGES

WORKERS ARE MOVING against wage restraint. 1977 has seen direct or indirect assaults on the chains of the National Wage Agreement by large groups of workers in Irish Steel, Unidare, Roadstone, by the local authority and health board craftsmen and mates, and elsewhere. The number of strikes on issues other than money has soared in the same period, also.

The economy is on the upturn and workers will not stand by and see a further downturn in living standards Exports are up by over a half, estimates for economic growth are up, and profits are up-RTD Group, up 18%; TMG Group, up 28%; Doreen Ltd, up 34%; Sunbeam Wol-sey, up 136%; Clondalkin Paper Mills, up 791%. What happy time for the bosses.

But the current National Wage Agreement ensures a continued drop in workers' ages. The 'Irish Times' itself showed in an article last February (when the vot-

ing was all over) how the Agreement would lead to an 8% reduction in real wages. The 'great' reduction in the consumer price index this year reduces this loss by about 2%. Wow!

Unemployment, at over 108,000 (officially) is expected to remain more or less the same, as companies increase their output without employing extra workers, and young people continue to enter the lahour market.

The facts about poverty and misery in Ireland are receiving more attention from press and pulpit, without any references to the real causethe capitalist system, or how wage restraint has added to

the numbers of the poor.
The fight back we have seen over the past months is the only way workers can turn the upturn in the economy to their advantage. Claims, like the £20 claim at Roadstone in Dublin, and action, like the strike at Crolly in Donegal where women workers won £2 and further talks towards equal pay-these are the means to reduce the losses of the past

The Fianna Fail government in its election manifesto promised a wage increase of just 5%. That is just not on, nor anything like it. Soon the Employer-Labour Conference meeting to review the National Wage Agreement. The government and the bosses must be told clearly: workers won't stand for an insult like that. The message must go clearly to our union leaders: tell the government it will have to think again.

British workers have thrown out their National Wage Agreement, the Social Contract. Their leaders have "Well, that's inflation for you, missus."

attempted to stem this movement by the 12-month socalled 'orderly return to free collective bargaining'. At this very moment some trade union leaders are proposing an Irish Social Contract as an alternative to National Wage

We don't want wage restraint by any other name. The next Wage Agreement, or Social Contract that includes

low increases or excludes further claims or industrial action, must receive a massive NO

Let's take some of their bloated profits back. While giving full support for those sections that forge ahead, we must try for joint claims between craft and general workers. Organise general meetings on the job to press for £15 now.

RECENT PROFIT FIGURES REPORTED IN LAST 2 MONTHS

RTO Group: £301,179—up 18%.

H. Williams: £538,260—up from a loss of £124,577.

Dorsen: £757,000—up 34%%.

Hsiton: £594,000—up from a loss of £40,421.

North Connacht Farmer: £746,061—up 29%.

Kerry Co-op Creameries: £1,990,000—up 29%.

Brown Thomas: £115,000 for half year—up 3.7%.

Edenderry Shoes: £200,646—up 16%%.

B. & H Hall: £1,135,000 for half year—up 5.5%.

TMG Group: £402,000 for half year—up 28% over this time last year.

Sunbeam Wolsey: £363,000 for half year—up 136%.

Rohan Group: £408,000—up 213%.

Clondalkin Paper Mills: £1,201,765—up 791%.

FOR ALMOST four years. s the numbers of unemployed pared, we've had one when things didn't get better they had more experts to tell us how the first experts got it wrong. There can hardly be a single politician, major em ployer or trade union leader who hasn't made several peeches on the subject.

If words were jobs we'd

all be laughing!
But, in the midst of all
this sermonising and speechifying, what has actually been
done to fight unemployment?

Sweet Fanny Adams Some tried. Individual rade unionists fought inside

their branches for policies which would get a fight 'back against the misery and demoralisation of the dole Some unions even passed resolutions calling for a reduction in working hours, which would create more jobs. But the resolutions are gathering dust.

In Dublin, there have been two official demonstrations, one conference and a couple of seminars on unemployment sponsored by the unions. The Unemployed Workers Association was founded almost two years ago but has all but died on its feet. A couple of members carry on in the form of an advice centre of the unemployed, but the UWA was stillborn because of the decision of certain political groupings to maintain friendly relations with the trade union leaders rather than build an

active organisation trying to organise the unemployed. Over the past six months, a small group of Dublin un-employed have come toget-

her to form the Fight Unemployment Committee. Its first initiative was to try to win unemployed people to activity around the demand for free travel for the unemployed in the same way that free travel applies to other deprived sections of the population. Support for the demand has been slowly but steadily building up within the trade union and labour movement. The Dublin Frades Council and Noel Browne, TD, are the latest to

add their names. Already, support has come from within the LGPSU and AGEMOU. Union officials such as Michael Mullen, Phil Flynn and Charley Mooney have also indicated support.

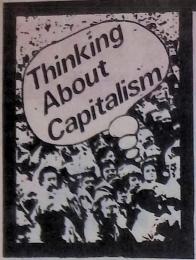
The Fight Unemployment Committee has been holding pickets and meetings to win support for the fight and is currently attempting to broaden support for the free fares campaign within the

trade unions.

Support has come from within the busmen's unions, and a right-wing executive member who wrote to the papers denouncing the cam-paign has got short shrift from some of his members in the garages

The Fight Unemployment Committee has been making small, careful but significant steps in the fight against unemployment. One group

is not just talking - it's fighting. If you're unemployed, or if you're working and you think you can get support for the campaign, you can contact the Committee at: 2 Tranquilla Terrace, off Camden St.,



By Joan Kelly

Vandalism

VANDALISM! News reports, letters to the papers, conferences - all to discuss the problem of vandalism in Belfast. Recently the Provos took action on the problem by kneecapping over fifteen men and boys in one week. This is probably an example of the community police that Republican News has been arguing for to protect people in the areas from "vandals" and criminals.

The vandals usually referred to are young men and boys, mostly unemployed, who steal from old aged pensioners, rob post offices, and set fire to cars and buses for fun. Vandalism is also used to describe Fianna members who paint slogans on the walls? It's used against young Provos who burn buses in protests and against big Provos who use guns. It all depends on who is doing the name call-

The government must be very happy with this discussion and calls for action against vandals. It takes people's minds off the real vandals of society - the criminals at the top who close factories to protect their profits; ho shoot the criminals in the security forces w and torture; the criminals in Buckingham Palace who are parasites on the workers of Britain and Ireland.

The answer to vandalism put forward by the government and the media is more police. Others, like the Provos and some socialists, argue for community police. Whether it's the RUC or local vigilantes or a Provo knee-capping squad, it's the same solution - pun-

ishment - which isn't really a solution at all.

More or better or elected police don't change things. When the RUC was first rejected from the Catholic areas, there were few complaints of vandalism. It's no coincidence now that there is an increase in crime and vandalism in the areas today at the same time as the rapid increase in unemployment and a decline in the anti-imperialist movement. Vandalism is the result of frustration - the frustration of the dole queue as soon as school ends; the boring days with no recreation except the local pool rooms; and the harassment young people face from the Brits on the street.

More police, longer prison sentences, or even kneecapping don't deter crime anywhere. The only answer to crime is to fight unemploy-

Instead of holding conferences and talking ment. about vandalism, how about talking to the vandals. Anyone who wants to free the people from the fear of being robbed in the areas should begin organising young people and workers now to campaign for more jobs, to struggle against repression and to fight the capitalist system which is responsible for the real vandalism of poverty and repression that is forced on the working class.

THE NEW

JIM GIBNEY spent one year and eight days in jail. Thenne got his day in court. He was acquitted. The crown just didn't have a case.

Gibney had been denied hail by the court. His case had been been listed six times to be heard. The prosecution withdraw each time. But by keeping Gibney and many others like him on remand. the government has been able to 'intern' political activists.

Gibney explained to The Worker that there certainly was a political purpose to the government's activities. "The torture, the long remand, the use of arrest statistics are used to destroy the will to resist British imperialism.

15 MONTHS

and in Crumlin are on long remands. One man from Derry has been waiting for 5 months for his case to be heard. It doesn't matter hether they're guilty or not, the government has kept these people out of political activity for over a year.

Gibney and Barney McReynolds, also acquitted, were charged with possession of Megal documents on a date anknown over the per-ted of a year." The docu-ments were found six miles from Gibney's home. These are similar charges that the nate it making against John McAnulty, member of the People's Democracy, who has stready spent several months

The evidence in the Gib ney-McReynolds case was so flimsy that the judge stated that there was so conclus evidence when the fingstprints were put on the docu-ments during the last seven years. The judge found he had to acquit because "the evidence needed to convict was insufficient."

But Gibney pointed out that the lack of evidence was not enough to free him. The publicity given to the case by

publicity given to the case by political groups and individ-uals made the difference.

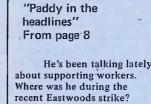
"The pressure they put on the barristers and solicitors was very important. Gibney said that many are in jail because the defence barrister has no will to fight. One example is the case of Dennis Dorrian who signed a statement when he was tortured by the RUC immediately * after leaving hospital. He planned to plead not guilty and fight in court. Then the barrister changed his mind, convincing him that he could probably get political status if he pleaded guilty. Dorrian followed the barrister's advice and he got four years in the Kesh-where he is "on the

Gibney has been active in the struggle for political status since the campaign began. While on remand, the prisoners in Crumlin Road had free access and were able to organise on the issue. "We organ-ised the protest inside by organising the men. The blanket protest was Kieran Nugent's own idea. He inspired the others with this." If convic-"I would have gone on the blanket because the struggle against British imperialism in Ireland is political. The people involved in that struggle are political. The black propaganda the Brits have been putting out hinges on the acceptance of the removal of political status. Protest is necessary. Therefore I would have been on the blanket.

"Now that I am free, I intend to become deeply involved in the fight for political prisoner recognition to ensure that it is accepted by the British and to reinvolve myself in the struggle against British imperialism."

"The RAC is an organisa-

tion that should be expanded to take on other issues such as torture. That's where the whole process starts. It starts in Castlereagh, takes in the repressive legislation, and ends on the blanket. I see the struggle for political prisoner status as playing a vital role in reorganising the mass of people to support the struggle against British imperialism



Where was he during the fact ory closures in the past year? We didn't see him. Did you? Devlin's latest plans for helping workers in the North are being worked out with Glenn Barr, leader of the 1973 Loyalist strike. They're talking about developing coops at the community level and getting government aid to self-help groups. They

want a 'mixed economy', meaning the capitalists can stay. They even said that if some of the multinationals would come in, we'd accept them. It's the capitalist class and their multinationals that are exploiting us and they are given a welcome by Devlin and Barr.

Paddy Devlin agreed with the SDLP when the Party attempted to make itself acceptable to moderate unionist opinion. Last spring as repression and torture were mounting, the SDLP attempted to find some way of say-ing that the RUC were becom-ing more acceptable to the Catholic population. They have been bending over back wards to try and get the RUC back into the areas.

Their only problem has been the RUC itself, that continues to torture and make itself totally unacceptable.
Neither Devlin nor the SDLP have supported the fight against repression in the Catholic communities in the North. Statements are all we get from the SDLP.

It is clear now that the SDLP attempt to ingratiate itself with the British government and the unionist majority have failed. As the British

You've heard about the cod war...

HERRING FISHERMEN in the North have been fighting the Brit-ish government and EEC regula-tions which ban most of them from fishing in the coastal waters off the North. Recently they were able to aid two fishermen from Skerries, Co. Dublin.

The Dublin fishermen were fined in Belfast for fishing within the 12 mile limit. The Royal Navy confiscated their herring

catch and their gear when they arrested the men. The Navy attempted to auction the fish, valued at £800, in Ardglass Harbour, Co. Down, but no-one would buy, And their fishing gear captured by the Navy mysteriously disappeared. It had been locked in a shed in the Harbour which was open on the sea side. And local fishermen had keys for the gate to the harbour.

government policy tends to support total integration, the SDLP has been forced to move to the right, back to its Irish dimension. The nationalist base of the SDLP will no longer allow the leadership to

neglect this question. They are being threatened as well by the formation of a new nationalist party which is making no secret of its green dimension. It is on this point that Devlin is parting company. He sees that flag-waving and co-operation with the Southern government will only open wider the sectarian divide in the North.

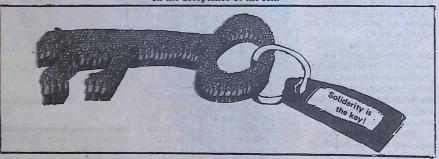
Under their new policy of an "agreed Ireland", the SDLP want the British and Irish governments to make plans for more co-operation. This ignores the big stumbling block—the majority of the

Protestant population.
The SDLP cannot find new answers for that question. They have little to offer Catholic workers and have nothing to offer Protestants. They are a party of Catholic nationalists who basically support the capitalist system, given some reforms.

SOCIALISM

A non-sectarian party fighting for socialism is the only thing that can begin to bridge the gap that exists in the North. Paddy Devlin seems to agree with the need for such a party. But he is a social democrat. That means he believes in working within the capitalist system. Working within that sys-

working within that system, which is now in crisis, means that Protestant workers would have to pay for the advance of Catholic workers. Only a revolutionary socialist party could offer a way forward for the whole working class in the North. And only a revolutionary socialist party could create a real Irish dimension: links with the South-ern working class, not the Southern government.



EASTWOOD

WHEN THE MEN at Eastwoods went back to work after the strike in June, they knew their problems were just beginning. They suspected that the bosses would find some way to hit back against the strikers and their union. the General and Municipal Workers' Union. Well, it didn't take long.

In August the fragmentiser broke. Almost all the union men in the yard were laid off, whether they worked on the machine or not. The men who had joined the G&M were mostly labourers who did the hardest and dirtiest jobs in the yard, mostly on or around the machine. Howwere also laid off. They were told it was just for two weeks until the machine was fixed. The boss meanwhile claimed he paid the Fredich of the second of the fred of the paid the men off just to show the Fredich of the paid the men off just to show the English company

that fixes the frag "how serious I am about getting it fixed."

The two weeks went by with no word from East-woods. However on September 9 the men received a letter which told them that "due to existing trading conditions and other problems, we regret that your employment will terminate tomorrow."

However, one union man was brought back to work. He's Mick Thomas who has worked in Eastwoods for 25 years. He's also a strong union militant. Eastwoods union militant. Eastwoods wants to get rid of him but it would cost a lot in redundancy payments. So they're trying to drive him out. They've taken him out of the yard and sent him up to the Daily Mirror plant in Suffolk. There he works entirely There he works—entirely alone all day. They've given him dirty deals before. But s determined to hang on.

And where are the union leaders now? Well hidden, doing nothing. Minnis, the union rep, never came up to the picket line during the strike. Now he has lost his entire union organisation in the yard. And he doesn't seem to care.

DOLE QUEUE

He said to the men that there is nothing he can do. He is not even fighting for redundancy payments. He doesn't care that at least 12 of his union members have joined the dole queue.

It's only the rank and file union members, with the help of other workers, that can get their jobs back. By watching for the "new starts" that Gus Eastwood talked about, by publicising their case, by getting support from other workers in the area, they can make Eastwoods know they're not going to get away with union busting in West Belfast.

SO MUCH FOR CHANGE

PRISONS

ONE OF the more unexpected developments in Fianna Fail's return to power has been the more liberal profile of the Minister for Justice, Mr. Gerry "the proudest day in my life" Collins. Unlike his sullen predecessor,

of the old regime.
On 17th July last in Mountjoy
Prison, months of frustration and
tension which included a three
week hunger strike came to a head
when 125 prisoners from B wing
and A2 organised a peaceful sitdown protest in pursuit of the following long-standing demands:

the establishment of rehablitative working conditions: Mr. Collins has no qualms in concading that prisoners have rights (surprise! surprise!) and that they should indeed be treated like should indeed be treated like human beings. One could be for-given for thinking that the belated brave new world was dawning at last in the Department of Justice.

Selected journalists have been let into the prisons—though not allowed talk to the prisoners.

However, we should see this in the context of two revealing incidents over the summer which proved that in practice, Mr. Collins' tactics are no different from the ham-fisted, "get-tough" policies of the old regime.

On 17th labelse in Marchine

the establishment of rehab-ative working conditions; the replacement of the dis-

mally inadequate educational and recreational facilities;

the scrapping of the pathetic Visiting Committees which exist at present;

and end to systematic harassment of priceners

assment of prisoners.
Mr. Collins' lip-service to prisoners' rights was confirmed by his reply to these demands. For the first time in this country, 70 pri-son officers armed to the teeth in full riot-gear were unleashed on the prisoners. In the ensuing the prisoners, in the ensuing melee, 14 prisoners escaped to a roof in the exercise yard from which they were "brought down", that is, thrown to the ground. Though the transfer of casual-ties to the nearby Mater Hospital continued unabated throughout the night and late into the follow

Prisoners in Mountioy on the roof in 1972

the night and late into the following evening, the Department's official statement was in the classical Cooney tradition. Five prisoners, it said, had been injured!

Following this incident,a picket was mounted by the Prisoners' Rights Organisation at MOuntjoy on Saturday, 23rd July. The Department's reaction was again swift and unprecedented. Two young Swedish visitors who took part in the protest ware arrested under the protest ware arrested under Section 2 of the Emergency Poers Act, and subsequently

detained and questioned in the Bridewell. They were not release until, it is believed, pressure was brought to bear on the Swedish Ambassador to intervene.

The next few months, with increasing calls for the repéal of repressive legislation and for trade union inquiries into prison conditions. Garda brutality and the recent fingerprint irregularities, will show whether Mr. Collins' pledges are more than just the usual liberal homilies. Mr. Coon-ey's regime, it is as well to recall, also began on a high-sounding note of legal and prison reform.

WOMEN FIGHT FOR THEIR RIGHTS

MRS JOSEPHINE Airey has won an important battle for women's rights in Ireland. She appears to have won the fight for legal aid in separation cases. She carried the fight to the European Commission for Human Rights in Strasbourg. The Irish government will now have to set up a system providing for legal separation of marriages and provide legal aid for people who cannot pay for such proceedings in the High Court.

In Dublin some battered women who had previously been staying at a Women's Aid Centre in grossly over-crowded conditions have taken militant action. They moved in and occupied the empty Overseas Club in Harcourt Terrace. The building is owned by that well-known charity - the Legion of Mary. They had previously let the Council of Overseas Students use the buildings. But rumour has it that the recruitment rate to the Catholic Church had not been very high, so they closed it down.

Now women have decided to put the building to better use - no matter what the Legion thinks.

NJUNCTION TELL THEM HOW INDEPENDENT

WE ALL KNOW that employers have been resorting to the use of injunctions to defeat pickets more and more. From an annual average of 4 injunctions per year from 1958 to 1968, the rate increased to 40 per year from 1965 to 1975.

It is not hard to see why this is so. Irish employers know that the State is there to protect the interest of cap-And nine times out of ten the courts will favour the bosses if there is any doubt. The remainder of this arti-cle will deal with the way the

law of injunctions is weighted against workers. And in the process ("I try and explain some of the terms in ordinary

language. order resticting a person or people from doing something. In this case it forbids workers from picketing the employer's

2. Injunctions are usually given after an ex parte application. This simply means that only one side is present that only one side is present the employer. This of course is unfair. But if the employer can claim that the workers would cause trouble, the judge can grant the injunction without the workers being notified until afterwards.

What's more, the order doesn't even have to be given in court. An employer can

phone up a friend of his who is a judge (not surprising since they belong to the same class) And meet him on a golf course or anywhere and get his injunction.

3. Judges protect them selves from criticism about the above procedure by requiring the employer to give an affidavit. This is just a written statement on oath. An employer can easily swear that to the best of his knowledge there is no trade dispute under the 1906 Act.

4. An interim injunction is given first and is of short dura-tion—usually 5 to 7 days. The The second stage, the interlocutory injunction, lasts until a further order or until the hearing of the case. This can take several months.

The majority of cases rare-ly og to the second stage of interlocutory injunction.

And the reason is easy to see. Even though they only last a week, INJUNCTIONS BREAK STRIKES. The gardai are usually there to keep the strikers away.

Meanwhile the employer

continues on as normal, with the help of scabs. The will of the strikers breaks. This is rarely helped by the frightened way the unions react to an injunction. And the work



ers go back-usually to save their jobs from the scabs.

5. Should the case go to an

an interlocutory hearing, a more detailed examination of the position of the two sides takes place. This time the-employer has to show that the "balance of convenience" is in favour of him getting the order. In other words that he will lose more in the long run than the strikers will if the picketing continues. Again the employer has an easy case. He just shows that he is los-

The strikers are losing pay. But judges rarely take notice of that as they say the strik-ers are losing pay "voluntar-ily". Judges have never had to go on strike.

So how do you fight an injunction? You have a choice. You can play it by

the rules—rules made by capitalists and their politician friends. You and your fellow strikers can try and stick it out in the time it takes to get to the interlocutory hearingassuming you missed the interim hearing. Then argue you case in court and if you failbye bye!

If you want to challenge some of the interpretations, take your case through the High Court and the Supreme Court. It will only cost you several thousand pounds and about a year or two-during which time, to play according to the rules, you must stay on strike. Good luck!

Alternatively you can fol-low the successful example of the construction workers on the E.S.B. Poolbeg strike (see The Worker no. 43). In that case, as Paddy Coughlan the shop steward told the TUC-

JUNGLE

CAR conference on 10 July, they told the court to stuff their injunction. They said in court that they would continue picketing and go to jail if necessary. They continued picketing but weren't jailed.

This might seem very radi-cal and foolish. But in fact it is not. To start with, an injunction is a civil action. That means that if you defy an order and continue picketing, it is up to the employer to go back to court and get you jailed or fined for contempt of court. So in fact the gardai have no role to play. And even if they do watch you and and tell you not to picket the they can't arrest you until the employer has gone back to

RESIST

Few employers will ask the court to jail picketers because of the bad publicity they would get. Thus the ESB didn't get Paddy Coughlan jailed despite his open defi-

And even if they do go to court this time, you will get notice to appear before the court. So, you can argue against the employer's affida-vit. If you make this clear to the employer it is unlikely

he'll go to court.
Finally make sure your

case is publicised inside your union, and gather support. Regular visits by large numbers of your fellow trade uni-unionists to your picket line even at lunch hour will discourage the boss from trying to jail you.

Support you union official as long as he/she is willing to fight the injunction. But they are usually weak-kneed in the face of the law. So bypass them if they try to back down. Remember that an injunction can be defied right up to the last minute. Even recently when the employers tried to work up courage to jail a worker for continuing picketing in defiance of an injunction, by broadcasting their intention to do so through the mass media-they chickened out.

The case was the Gouldings workers' picket which was stopping the Tara Mines ore-train. Mick Rooney was held in contempt of court and condemned to jail.

But a stay of execution for 48 hours was also given while the employers crossed their fingers and hoped he would apologise to the court. He didn't but his sentence was quietly—I said quietly—forgotten when the negotiations resumed.

TOM O'CONNOR

Letters

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

THE TRADE union bureaucracy, in which leaders of the trade union movement constantly hold back the militancy of thousands of workers, is a reality that few can dispute. It is up to all socialists to encourage the independent action of workers themselves to better their conditions where the union leaders have failed, which is quite

But it must also be said that where a particular branch of a union does lead and encourage workers in struggle socialists should also point this out, and not criticise

for the sake of criticism.

For instance when the manual workers in David Brown Tractors left the ITGWU and joined the AGEMOU the engineering branch totally supported them in a bid to get wage parity with Massey Ferguson Tractors - a £10 rise. When a strike took place the branch encouraged collections, leaflets, etc. in order to help

the strike.
"The Worker" quoted the workers involved as saying "the union could be doing more" and suggested there was was pressure on AGEMOU from Congress. But surely it was up

to socialists to say to the workers "get up off your ass" as the workers themselves had called off two marches about the strike.

Also I am informed by the trade union official involved, Mr. C. Mooney, that there was no point in asking Congress for an all out picket as the chances were nil.

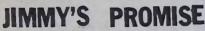
To repeat, the engineering branch of AGEMOU did its utmost in trying to win this dispute, and this should have been brought out in 'The Worker's report of the dispute.

Yours fraternally, AGEMOU member

HOW THE WORKERS WON POWER

The present Russian regime is well known for its persecution of dissidents, illustrated in the article on the right. But before Stalin rose to power there was another Russia, a workers' state created by the revolution described below.





SEVERAL GROUPS, including SEVERAL GROUPS, including the Provos, have welcomed the statement and promises made by Jimmy Carter, leader of American imperialism. After massiva publicity about an "American initiative", Carter simply promised to promote American investment if there was a political settlement to the war here. He also pledged his support for human rights in the North.

North.

That's an absolutely worthless pledge and anyone placing any confidence in Carter's promises is seriously mistaken. Carter's been getting lots of publicity for his stand on human rights but actions in America indicate how hypocritical that position is.

Blacks in America are still

Blacks in America are still fighting for their civil rights. Unemployment for young blacks is about 40%—the result of generations of racial discrimination. Even black moderates who supported Carter in the election are now disillusioned with him.
Hundreds of prisoners in the

U.S. sit on death row awaiting execution. What's Carter doing for their human rights? Poor women, particularly Black, Puerto Rican and Chicano, have lost their right to reforms won by the women's movement. They are no longer able to have abortions if they are on social welfare and

if they are on social welfare and can't afford to pay.
Carter is not willing to support the bussing programmes that have been planned to help give black children an education equal to white children. That's because the racints have been fighting against educational integration and Carter has backed down to them. That's a bit of Carter's record on human rights at home.

them. That's a bit of Carter's record on human rights at home.
For the world, Carter and the American Congress have given a new present—the neutron bomb. It will destroy people, not property. There'll be no need to worry about human rights with



the neutron bomb.
On the question of investment, that's no favour for the Irish

rking class. The only reason Americans or any other capital-ists would come here is if they can

ists would come here is it they comake a profit.

The Rev. Robert Bradford, arch-defender of the Union, learned that on his recent trip to the U.S. He proudly announced that the American congounced that the American cong-ress wanted to encourage invest-ment in Northern Ireland because of its good record—high product-ivity, good industrial relations and its apprenticeship schemes. That means we are hard working people who work for low wages and don't go on strike. So it's profits for them and peanuts for us. That's what Carter promises bring.

E.S.B. deal with dictator

"TAKE UP the White Man's burden-

Send forth the best ye breed-Go bind your sons to exile To serve your captives' need; ... Your new-caught sullen peoples,

Half-devil and half-child."

So wrote Rudyard Kipling in this racist appeal to the United States to acquire col-onies abroad: in particular, Cuba and the Philippines, which it had taken from

Spain in a war in 1898.

The Americans apparently agreed with Kipling, for they governed the Philippines until 1946. And when they left, they took care like most col-onialists to leave a new ruling class behind, which still today takes good care of American economic interests. America still has military bases there, and American and Japanese firms exploit the workers.

Since 1972 President Marcos has run the country under martial law. Congress is suspended, there is no freedom of speech, prisoners are tort ured and die under detention, strikes are banned. Land is being taken from the Moslems in the South, who have risen in insurrection.

risen in insurrection.

22 families own 60% of
the PHilippines' natural resources. Among the vast estates are those owned by the ates are those owned by the President's family. To provide energy for this estate a dam is being built on the River Chico. This means uprooting 100,000 people from their land. Many of them have resisted the project and are in jail.

E.S.B. DEAL

The E.S.B. has signed a million-dollar consultancy contract with the National Power Corporation of the Phiz Philippines, which is running the Chico project. The E.S.B. is a state company: why is it participating in a scheme to uproot people from their land for private profit?

In a capitalist state such as Ireland, even a state company behaves in a capitalist fashion. And it must be opposed when it tries to exploit the people of the Third World. The E.S.B. must be forced to find work for its engineers in places where it will be of more benefit.

A Filipino-Irish Group has

been organised to expose Mar-cos's dictatorship and support the struggle against him. It held a picket on the Depart ment of Foreign Affairs on 21 September to demand an end to Irish government co-opera-tion with the regime.

SIXTY YEARS AGO there occurred the first, and still he only workers' revolution to occur in any country. Not the first workers' insur rection: of those there have been many. But the first time power was gained and exercised by the working class over a whole country. The working class did not succeed in holding power for more than a few years. We do not join in the celebrations of the present Russian government. It bases its legitimacy on the inheritance of 1917. The capitalists help it to sustain that myth, so that the present Russian tyranny may serve as an awful warning to prevent the working class

taking a revolutionary path.
But the story of 1917 is not the story of the seizure of power by a dictatorship. (The "Dictatorship of the proletariat" means that the working class, organising itself intern ally ona democratic basis, dictates to the former ruling

class, the bourgeoisie.)
The October Revolution was the mass action of the Russian working class. That class had risen in 1905. It created spontaneously the first soviets - councils of

workers' deputies, composed of delegates by the workers in the variousfactories, and capable of being recalled and changed by those workers immediately the workers disagreed with the way they voted.

The 1905 Revolution gained only a few reforms. Another revolution was necessary even for the bourg-eoisie. As a result of the hardships caused by the First World War, there was a wave of strikes and demonstrations in the capital, Petrograd in February 1917. The Tsar abdicated and a bourgeois Provisional Government was formed. Workers soviets sprang up again around the country

The Bolshevik Party had welcomed the coming to

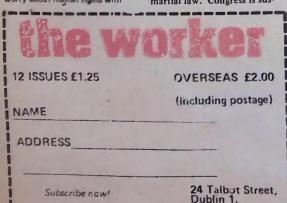
power of the Provisional Gov-ernment. But Lenin saw that it was too weak to retain power. The working class were already moving independently of it. The workers could seize power through the soviets. Gradually he convinced the Party to change its policy. Trotsky, who had been advocating this sort of policy for years, joined the Party in August.

The Provisional Government talked endlessly, and did little to deal with the problems facing the country. Food grew short. The Army fighting in the War was short of supplies, and the soldiers began organising against their officers. Workers were putting their factories under workers' control. Peasants began seizing land from the landlords.



How The Revolution Was Lost

LOSI
This pamphlet, by Chris Harman, details the rise of Stalin and the defeat of the Russian revolution.
For a few short years, Russian workers took control of their destiny. There are many lessons for us today in the story of how their revolution was lost. Price 15p, from SWM 24 Talbot Street, Dublin 1.



Above: Lenin, leader of the Bolsheviks. Left: Russian workers warm their hands by a street fire in the midst of the

RUSSIA TODAY: A PARODY OF SOCIALISM

inhumanity in the prison camps

thera. He was also arrested. We can therefore deduce from

these facts that no matter what

guarantees a new Russian constitution gives, the de facto situation

is quite different.
Russia is controlled by a bureaucratic class, that has risen to

ver on the backs of the work

ing class. The trade unions them

selves have been merged into one

organisation subordinated to the Party and government. They are not able to demand wage increa-

ses, and the workers themselves are tied hand and foot. Accept-able bureaucrats, that are known

to toe the party line, are appoin-

represent the workers.

Workers who do not conform to the wishes of the bureaucrats are persecuted by the bosses or by the K.G.B. The bosses decide

who is "anti-Soviet".

Workers are also denied the

ted by the Party leadership to

IN MAY of this year the Russian leaders took it upon themselves to publish a new draft constitution. Various liberals in the West have

Various liberals in the West have welcomed it, and so has our own Communist Party here.
We read in the Irish Socialist for instance of the various rights that the new constitution guarantees. For example: "The draft of the new Soviet constitution form alises the changes that have taken place in the development of a mat-ure socialist society. . Freedom of speech, of conscience, of the press and of assembly are guaranteed."
The Communist Party assures its readers that "great changes have taken place and class antagonisms have disappeared in the Soviet Union."

The point about all of this, though, is that constitutions in any country can promise the sun, moon and stars, but how socialists view a society is not governed by what banal statements are con-tained in a constitution but by the actual concrete realities in a

the actual concrete realities in a country. So here are some of those realities as regards Russia.

On December 5 last during the traditional demonstration against the lack of respect for human, rights in Russia, K.G.B. agents adopted a new tactic with one of the demonstrators, Pyotr Grigorenko, a lifelong communist—mud was thrown in his face. He had already been imprisoned in a number of psychiatric hospitals for speaking out against the govfor speaking out against the gov-ernment, but the government's "guaranteed free medical care" had not worked. While the K.G.B. was throwing

mud in Grigorenko's face, another event was taking place at Dniepro-petrovsk Prison at the other end

of the country. Leonid Plyushch (since released to the West), a remarkable mathematician and a lifelong communist was being tor tured. He was first arrested after being discovered devoting his free time to studying Marxist philos-

ophy.

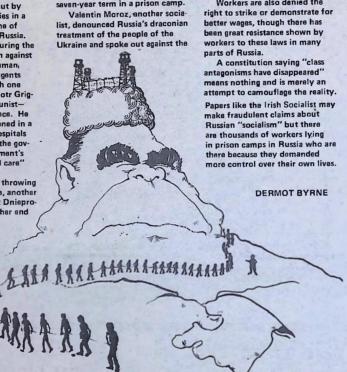
Henrich Altounian, a radio
engineer, took up his defence, but
the section in the Russian constitution guaranteeing everyone the right to work did not apply to him him. He was first arrested and

then thrown out of his job.

The communists Vladislav
Wedobora, Vladimir Poromarev and Arkady Levine, friends of Altounian, have also been recently released after three years in labour

The psychiatrist Semion Gluzman published a book later, att-acking the brutal treatment of those who have been imprisoned for speaking out for workers' democracy. This cost him a seven-year term in a prison camp.

Valentin Moroz, another socia-list, denounced Russia's draconian treatment of the people of the Ukraine and spoke out against the



The Bolsheiviks campaigned under the slogan "Peace, land

revolution.

Right-wing socialists joined the coalition government. Gradually the workers lost faith in them and turned towards the Bolsheviks. In a August the Army Commander
- in - chief marched on Petro-The Prime Minister, Kerensky, had to ease up on repression of the Bolsheviks in order to keep himself in

INSURRECTION

The Bolsheviks won a majority in the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' Deputies, then in Moscow too, then in other cities. The Bolshevik Party rose from 24,000 mem bers at the beginning of 1917 bers at the beginning of 1917 to 200,000 in August. It demanded "All power to the Soviets", and began to organise an insurrection. A Military Revolutionary Committee was organised in the Petrograd Soviet The soldiers in Petrograd renounced the authority of the Provisional Government, and placed them selves at the disposal of the Military Revolutionary Comm-

The Provisional Government was almost powerless. Elections were taking place to the Congress of Soviets, representing the workers and soldiers all over Russia. The Congress was meeting on 25 October. The Provisional Government closed down and sealed the Bolshevik printing presses. The hour had come. The government seals were broken. The insurrection began. The Winter Palace, seat of the government, was stormed, and several ministers arrested. Half a dozen people, no more, died that day. The Congress of Soviets met, including also a number

of peasants deputies. The Bolsheviks had a majority together with a party close to them, the Left Socialist Revolutionaries. The Congress voted to assume power, to propose an immediate armist-ice in the War, to transfer all landowners' estates to local Land Committees and Soviets of Peasants' Deputies, to establish a new government the Council of People's Commissars, with Lenin as Chairman and Trotsky in charge of Foreign Affairs.

The transfer of power was still shaky. Kerensky had gone out into the country to

rally loyal troops. Factory workers organised in the Red Guards fought alongside the soldiers to defend the new government. Kerensky made several attempts to advance on Petrograd, but his troops kept fading away and going over to the Bolsheviks. Even the Cossacks, the shock-troops of the Russian Empire, were no longer reliable: The Bolsheviks had told them to take over their generals' estates.

The Congress of Soviets elected a Central Executive Committee to continue its work. The other delegates, returning home, put new enthusiasm into the struggle. After a bombardment of the Kremlin, the Moscow Soviet won control of the city. Other cities fell. The last importan-tant strong hold of the opposition, Mogilev, fell towards the end of November.

LAND DECREE

A peasants' congress had been summoned, for the peasants were still the overwhelming majority of the population, due to the backwardness of the Russian economy. The peasants were awakened by the new government's Land Decree and by returning peas-

ant-soldiers. When the Peasants' Congress met, the Left Socialist Revolutionaries were in a majority. After negotiations, they agreed to join the Bolsheviks in a coalition government. (The Bolsheviks had been offering them seats from the beginning) Peasants delegates would also join the Central Executive Committee.

The railway workers, who had been refusing to support the new government, now came in. The white-collar government employees who had been on strike, returned to work. The banks had re-opened. Decrees on housing, social insurance, education, workers control of factories had been issued. Nationalities within the Russian Empire were given the right of self-determination. Military ranks were abolished, and officers were to be elected.

Civil war and imperialist intervention still lay ahead. The gains of the Revolution would be lost through the failure of the Revolution to spread to other countries. But the workers of Russia had shown that workers' power is possible. It is up to us to follow their example.

JOHN GOODWILLIE

FIGHTING FOR THE RIGHT TO WORK

A report on the 1977 Right to Work March from Liverpool to Blackpool, by a member of the Coleraine Unemployment Action Group, who was on the march.

THE RIGHT TO WORK March was organised by rank and file trade unionists and unemployed people from all over Britain, and its major purpose was to spotlight the shocking plight of the massive army of unemployed in present-day Britain. There are nearly two million unemploved in Britain, with 70,000 in Northern Ireland.

Nothing constructive is seemingly being done by the government at Westminster to reduce unemployment, or for that matter even to stem the rising tide of worker lay-offs. It is time that the unemployed showed to the public in the street and the knockers in the media that they are not 'spongers on the dole' but potential workers who are sick of getting a miserly sum of dole money every week, and who want a decent job instead, with decent hours and wages.

TRADE UNION SUPPORT

So, nearly 750 unemployed, with the backing and support of rank and file trade union groups, went on this march in a physical attempt to show people that they want to work like everyone else, and that they are not prepared to sit back and remain faceless and forgotten persons in the huge dole army.

The marchers felt that one way the trade unions could help their plight was to ban overtime, for in doing this jobs would be made available to many unemployed that were normally being done as 'extras' by existing workers. A 35 hour week without loss of pay was called for. The marchers also opposed all forms of redundancy, for with a redundancy there is a loss of a job for a potential worker

MARCH

A great number of the marchers were school leavers and perhaps this above all highlights the tragedy of the massive unemployment in Britain. Schoolkids were finishing their studies and then finding nowhere to go except on to the dole; that, at 16 and 17, is enough to break many young people's hearts.

But these kids showed on the march that they had the strength and courage to say that they would not be ignored or stamped on, and that they demanded jobs with full union rates of pay and conditions.

As the march made its way through the towns on the route, there was tremendous

support given by workers from from the local factories. For instance, in the outskirts of Liverpool, Lucas factory strikers donated money to the march fund and a few of the strikers came on the march itself. The whole of the workforce at Dunlop's came out to applaud the marchers as they went past.

A party of strikers from the Beechams factory in faraway Gloucestershire travelled up for the march, and there were 13 unemployed young people over from Denmark. The public on the route were very sympathetic to the marchers and they donated a lot of money to the Right to Work Fund.

POLICE HARASSMENT

The only political move-ment to actively support the march and its demands was the Socialist Workers Party, but one branch of the Communist Party, from Skelmersdale, did come out and support it. The Labour Party in Leyland refused the marchmany of them suffering bad blisters, the use of one of their clubs, on a bitterly cold, wet day. Some local council-lors and trades council members had the courage and conviction to come and speak to the marchers, expressing their solidarity with them.

The police hassled the

marchers constantly in Black-pool-John Deason, the Secretary of the Right to Work

Campaign, was arrested.

The media ignored the demands of the march, but when it did give coverage, it was to accuse the marchers of being 'red fascists' and 'bullyboys', particularly when the march reached Blackpool to lobby the Trade Union Cong-

UNITE

The T.U.C. were lobbied to to get their support for the unemployed in their demand for the right to work, but the question of unemployment was virtually ignored by the Congress.

Only one of the T.U.C. delegates came over to the lob-bying marchers, with most of the delegates even refusing to take a leaflet explaining the reasons for the march.
Tom Jackson, leader of the

the Postal Workers, called the marchers 'bootboys', Joe Gormley called them 'Nazis'. This shows that the rank and file workers and the unemp-loyed are not only up against

fascists and capitalists, but also the bureaucrats as well. In Coleraine, we have learned that bureaucrats at all levels, even in the Trades Councils, may oppose us. They may oppose the unemployed in their demand for work, they may block our efforts to enlighten our com-rades on the dole queues, but we will not be stopped. The unemployed will fight for jobs. United we will not be beaten.

Big powers intervene as war in Ethiopia continues

THE WAR of the Somalis against Ethiopia which has been building up over the past few months is only the most spectacular of a number of crises which have hit the military dictatorship in Ethiopia.

As a result of the disastrous Sahel famine, the autocratic regime of Emperor Haile Selassie fell in 1974. A revolution was unleashed by mutinies in the Army, stu-dent demonstrations, and a wave of strikes culminating in a general strike. The forces of modernisation-a modern Army, education, factor-ies—which Haile Selassie had introduced for the benefit of himself and his nobles, turned

But although the small Ethiopian working class played a crucial role in overthrowing the Empire, the businessmen, Army officers and bureaucrats who came to power have got no intention of entrusting the working class with any control over its own destinies. While declaring themselves in favour of "socialism", they have tried to crush the working class. They have banned the Confederation of Ethiopian Lab-our Unions, which had called the general strike of March 1974, and shot 1500 workers and students demonstrating

last May Day.

Ethiopia is a very poor country. Most of the people are peasants, oppressed by heavy taxes and rents and obligations to unpaid labour.



Haile Selassie built up the educated middle class which has now taken power; but he recruited it from the nobility, and the few people who rose from humble origins were given noble status. The result is that the middle class is tied to the semi-feudal system of landholding, and cannot carry through agrarian reform.
Only the working class could emancipate the peasants fully and ensure that the modernisation of agriculture did not reduce the poor peasants to landless labourers exploited by the big farmers.

Unfortunately, the leadership of the working class, the Ethiopian People's Revolu-tionary Party, is held back by its Maoist belief that only a 'People's Democratic Republic" is desirable at this "national-democratic" stage of the revolution. It refuses to fight for workers' power at this stage, and thus cannot differentiate itself clearly from from the government of Colo-

The strategic position of Ethiopia and Somalia, near the entrance to the Red Sea where ships using the Suez Canal must pass, have brought the great powers on to the scene in a cynical scramble for influence. Earlier imperialism had left the Somalis divided between Italy, Britain, France, and Ethiopia. After France, and Ethiopia. an independent Somalia was formed, the Russians got a

naval base there.

However, when the revolution came in Ethiopia, an American area of influence. things looked different to the Russians. As a Russian diplomat is reported to have said: "If socialism wins in Ethiopia we will have 30 million friends there plus the ports of Assab and Massawa. You.
Somalis are only 3 million."
So the Russians are callously jilting the Somalis and giving arms to Ethiopia. And Som alia is now looking for support from the West.

NATIONAL STRUGGLE

Revolutionary socialists should not support the imperial ambitions of either Russia or America. But the Somali nation has the right to national self-determination, and

socialists must support their efforts to unite in a single state.

The situation in Eritrea is more complicated. The United Nations handed it over to Ethiopia in 1952, thus giving Ethiopia its only coastline. As a result of oppression first by the Empire and later by the revolutionary government, the Eritreans rose in rebellion.

FRITREA

Their liberation organisations are now in control of most of Eritrea. Again, foreign interests have intervened: Saudi Arabia wants Eritrea as part of an anti-Russian, anti-Israeli alliance controlling both shores of the Red Sea. Nevertheless, the mass sup-port for the liberation movements shows that an Eritrean nation is being forged, and socialists must support its right to self-determination

Rocked by two major sec-essionist wars and stirrings among its other poeples, the Ethiopian regime is caught between the left-wing E.P.R.P. and the right-wing Ethiopian Democratic Union, which has taken up arms with Sudanese support. Time may be running out for the bloodthirsty Colonel Mengistu.

JOHN GOODWILLIE

FIVE-EIGHT **BOOKSHOP**

ADVERTISEMENT

SOCIALIST BOOKS **POSTERS** SECOND-HAND BOOKS

3 Wellington St., (just off Dorset St.) Dublin 1.

E.E.C. Picketed

THE ONE-MAN picket mounted by Tommy Dunne outside the E.E.C. Commission in Dublin was suspended as we go to press, pending negotiations with his union, the A.G.E.M.O.U.

Tommy, who drives around Tommy, who drives around
the various top nobs who help
carry out the decisions of the bureaucracy in Brussels, went on
strike four weeks ago for parity
with drivers in Brussels and Luxembourg who do exactly the same

The issue according to Tommy Grade A driver, not as what is known as a "local agent", with lower pay. He also says he should receive the same pension upon retiring (70% of his wages weekly) and that his present wages be brought up to a closer level with that of drivers in other E.E. that of drivers in other E.E.C.

The Evening Herald, otherwise known as the bosses' rag, ran headlines such as 'Man seeks £300 rise'. This was merely an attempt to worker-bash, as the actual amount Tommy is looking for is closer to £30.

JOIN FIGHT

WANT TO JOIN S.W.M.

PLEASE SEND MORE INFORMATION

NAME

ADDRESS

THE WORKER 1st Floor, 24 Talbot Street Dublin 1

What we stand for

THE SOCIALIST Workers' Movement is a revolutionary workers' organisation which aims to organise the working class in the struggle for power and for the power through the power in social. overthrow of the existing social

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Join us in the fight SW

£10 RISE at least is being emanded by mechanics in McCairns Motors, Santry, to bring them up to the level of mechanics in the other motor industries. 45 workers placed pickets at the beginning of September and as we go to press the union involved, the A.G.E.M.O.U., are about to make the strike official. which will bring out a remaining 30 workers.

The men first attempted a

go-slow in support of the claim, resulting in one of the workers being sacked by the personnel manager, Tim Kill-een, who is also a Fianna Fail T.D. for Dublin Artane in his spare time.

Trade unionism in McCairns has been weakened in the past with a number of sackings, and according to the workers, management has been getting the upper hand.

The management now

have refused to negotiate with the union, and instead are seeking the intervention of the Labour Court. The men have said no, having had experience of the Labour Court in the past. They are depending on their own muscle, but 28 workers in the stores have been instructed by the I.T.G. W.U. to pass the pickets

This is a straight fight that must be won. McCairns have made huge profits in the past,

don't heal overnight.
Furthermore, the concessions made by the ITGWU during the

made by the ITGWU during the strike (working machines fixed by scabs, transporting in supplies when the usual lorries refused to deliver, delivering Unidare goods through pickets away from the site and allowing the importation of goods that are usually prod-uced in Unidare) can hardly have encouraged that snirt of indepen-

encouraged that spirit of independence and defiance so necessary for strong trade unionism.

Management have been noticeably less inclined to concede

ceably less inclined to concede during negotiations. And when Barney Anderson, an ex-shop steward, returned after a serious illness, management refused to place him back in his job. After over a day's talks he had to settle for another and more strenuous job in Oerlikon.

IMPORTATION

One concession has had effects long after the strike—and is causing concern to all ITGWU shop stewards: the importation of goods that can be made on the Unidare site. Management have taken the permission to import during the strike as an open invitation to flood the place with products that normally would be our

ducts that normally would be our

Wire, wooden drums, aluminium foil and extrusions have been brought in in this manner, well after the strike. Invoices have been seen, dated August '77, for material coming from England direct to the customer, through

THE 21 GOULDINGS work.

with P.M.P.A., the motor insurance group, being the main shareholder.

It is worth noting also that the police have constantly been hanging around the picket lines making sure that the strike by the mechanics has as little effect as possible on the company. They seemingly want to keep in the good books of Mr. Killeen. After all, he is a Fianna Fail T.D.

KIENARTIN

A VICTORY, AND THE STRUGGLE GOES

30 KILMARTINS workers, fighting to save their jobs, successfully occupied the company's head office in Dublin recently and forced their former employers to pay out substantial National Wage Agreement back money.

Kilmartins, apparently on the advice of the Federated Union of Employers, had stated they would only pay the money to those accepting redundancy, in a blatant att-empt to end the struggle of the remaining Kilmartins workers. The occupation put paid to that very quickly The women took over the building on Thursday morning and by Friday evening the money was paid up.

This victory was sorely needed and has undoubtedly put heart into a struggle which looked almost lost. The main task-the fight for jobs-remains, however. Kil-martins shut down all of their 70 shops at the beginning of June in the 10th week of a strike for better working conditions. By mid-August only 30 of the original 190 workers were left to continue the struggle-the rest having taken taken the minimum redundancy money.

LEASED

Shortly after, a Mr. T.J. Duffy leased one of the bet-ting shops from Kilmartins and opened up for business. He insisted on employing non-union labour despite the 190 Kilmartins workers on the

Not only that, it appears this Mr. Duffy is himself a full-time bus driver with C.I.E. and a member of the same union—the I.T.G.W.U.—as the Kilmartins workers! This bastard is not only double-jobbing but passing his own union's official pickets.

But surely even the I.T.G. W.U. could not allow this? Well, as we go to press he's

still there some six weeks later. Disciplinary action is apparently being considered. These things take time, you

To be fair, mass pickets were called by the union in an attempt to shut the place down. Rank and file members of the I.T.G.W.U.—sup-porters of the New Liberty group-responded to the call. For the first time scabbing punters were turned away.

The gates were locked on those who insisted on passing the pickets. Duffy got an injunction against disorderly picketing in time for the St Leger and the union called off off the mass pickets. It would would appear the union wants picketing as long as it

is not effective.

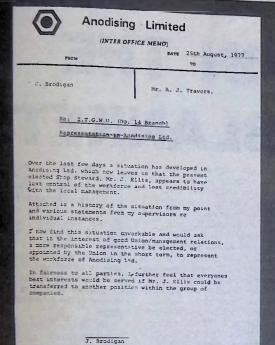
Now the union is faced with a challenge to even its token pickets in the courts on the question of whether there is a legitimate trade dispute in existence or not. Will the union continue picketing if the decision goes against them? -they haven't said

Officially or unofficially the pickets will have to be maintained—and stepped up -if this dispute is to be won. This particular shop is obviously a test case. If the employers win then many more ex-Kilmartins shops will open up with non-union labour.
The long struggle of the Kilmartins workers will have been in vain.

The only way to win this dispute is to step up the action-mass pickets, occupations if necessary, collections, solidarity from the busmen etc. It's doubtful whether the the union has the stomach for it. If not, the Kilmartins workers must turn to the rank rank and file

Donations, messages of support etc. to: Kilmartins Strike Committee, c/o ITGWU No. 2 Branch, Liberty Hall, Dublin 1.

BOSSES ATTACK UNION UNIDARE SINCE the crafts strike ended in early July at Unidare in Finglas, Dublin, the company has felt and acted tougher. It's no wonder. For thirteen weeks the workforce was divided—thanks to the ITGWU leadership—between the craftsmen on strike and the general and clerical workers working on or laid off. Divisions like that don't heal overnight.



ABOVE IS a letter drafted by the Production Manager of Anodising Ltd, part of Unidare, to the Unidare Industrial Relations Manager. It complains that the Anodising shop steward has "lost control of the workforce and lost credibility with the local management," and demands that he be "transferred" into a different factory.

How many similar letters are sent in Unidare, or

throughout Irish industry?
Losing "control of the
workforce" means that unofficial action took place. Anodising has been particularly clamped down upon since the crafts strike. More discipline and more production (with the return of '20-minute

loads' and the boosting of

square footage per load).
Two points about this letter are interesting. It appears that mangers share the of many union officials that the steward's job is to "cont rol", and not to represent, the members.

Secondly, it's interesting how Mr Brodigan considers it possible, even easy, for the Union to remove a shop steward. Could he be encouraged in that belief by the knowl-edge that the same steward was suspended briefly by the Union earlier this year, for unofficial action?

Unidare workers have to defend their right to choose their own shop stewards, irrespective of management and the Union officials.

the same official action over 44 the same official action over 44 suspensions that was taken over 13 suspensions in August? Part of the answer to this question lies with those higher bureaucrats, of with those higher bureaucrats, of the frish Congress of Trade Union Unions. They were part of the Employer-Labour Conference which worked out the settlement package in August. So, the IPOEU were not at all sure of the "all-out" picket from Congress, a powerful weapon in the August etrike

Has the Employer-Labour Conference now become the ulti-mate labour court? Have the employers, sitting beside the trade union bureaucrats, now got a say in whether strikes are backed or

ers continue their 14-month struggle. Since Gouldings closed their Dublin plant, sacking 365 men, the 21 have refused to accept redundancy (including the money). They are claiming the 11 security jobs given to outsiders, any clearing-up work to be done inside the plant (which could amount to a few months' work), and that they be the first back in the event of a re-

opening.

In August the Gouldings Workers Jetty Committee placed a picket on the old Gouldings jetty when Tara Mines started to send in train loads of ore for export. Ore that should have been kept here, anyway, to create jobs. True to form, the bosses' courts gave an injunction against the strikers to Tara, and upheld it at the full hear-

Meanwhile, Tara pulled an old bosses' trick by preparing to lay off over 600 workers, blaming this move on the wic-

Crosby's transport, without ever coming near the site. Since 1975 it is official policy of the No. 14 Section to black all imports of material of this nature. The August Section Committee meeting reiterated this to manage ment-who ignored it. Two cases are worthy of note. They also cast doubts on the seriousness of the chief shop steward and the Section Chairman in upholding the blacking policy.

BLACKED

A consignment of ready-made parts for reels arrived in, were unloaded and blacked. They lay managers, supervisors, workers
AND the chief shop steward and Section Chairman, at different times approached the local shop steward to lift the black. He did not do so. The black only came off when he had negotiated over-time for the men who would have made up the reel parts.

In early September the company imported about 100 cartons of anodised aluminium into the

of anodised aluminium into the Alidare factory, bypassing the Anodising plant where the workers hadn't seen a moment's overtime for months and where they had for a while been sitting around losing bonus for the want of material.

The stuff was blacked in Alidare, but after a meeting where management claimed it was uneconomic for them to anodise material not extruded on the site (full of holes, that story), the chief steward suggested to the two local stewards involved that the black be lifted.

Unless the company—whose

black be lifted.

Unless the company—whose only concern is to supply the customers and make a buck as quickly as possible—learn through ACTION that imports such as these are out, parts of Unidare may some day really be ex may some day really be mere warehouses.

GOULDINGS: WHERE WAS ITGWU...?

ked Gouldings men.

When they continued to picket, Mick Rooney, who was the ITGWU chief shop steward and inter-union convenor at Gouldings, was called to court and committed to prison. However, the judge gave a 48 hour stay of execution. The state it appears tion. The state, it appears, for the time being is in no hurry to test the reaction of the labour movement to the jailing of a striker.

JETTY

But a show of strength was staged. Squad cars, police motorcycles and large contingents of Gardai milled around the jetty entrance on a couple of occasions as trains arrived with ore. But one magnificent act of solidarity came from the driver of an ESB

shunter who drove on to the tracks and parked there.
The Gouldings workers

were confident that if Mick Rooney had been jailed the dockers and the workers on the Poolbeg site (where an injunction was successfully defied this year) would have halted. However, by no means all workers in the port area know all the facts, and so feel less sympathetic. That is why information about, and solidarity with, the strike is essential, especially within their union, the ITGWU. Information to the surrounding workplaces is particularly

important.
Where has the ITGWU been? When the Gouldings men approached the Docks Committee for action in the event of Mick Rooney's arrest, it was the Marine Port

and General Workers' Union that avoided the arrest and its consequences by offering and arranging a meeting between the Port and Docks Board, Gouldings, the strikers and the MPGWU.

The strikers had been callously cut off social welfare, and it was the MPGWU which made representations for them on this. (The social welfare has now been restored.)

The Gouldings workers have got angrier and angrier over the past 14 months, but intend to remain as active ITGWU members (one of them is a Dublin District Council member) and fight the traitors on the top from inside

The pickets were lifted because of the promised meeting, and by agreement one train per day was to pass through as a gainst the earlier three trains per day. But two weeks later the Gouldings workers could see no sign of the meeting being held.

IPOEU dispute

THE DEPARTMENT of Posts and Telegraphs has suspended 40 Irish Post Office Engineering Union members in Cork (for refusing to park vehicles in a "rat-infested" depot). Also suspended are 3 technicians in Dublin, Wexford and Portlaoise for not handling new equipment.

Before the last strike 2 Galway Before the last strike 2 Galway members were suspended for refusing to work with private contractors. Now two more technicians have received the same for not using new equipment. The new computer in Marlborough St. was installed without consultation with the union, who then agreed to it on a trial basis. Its permanent instalment was never agreed to ent instalment was never agreed to before August, much less the con-troversial print-out.

The union are claiming the right to be consulted about these

changes, and compensation in

some cases.

Two questions need to be answered by the union's leaders, however. Why was the handing over of the print-out (which provides management with a tell-tale record of how work is done) made a "key aspect" of the settlement package which ended the last strike? It is obviously unacceptable to the technicians themselves.

Why the long delay in taking

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