

## North and South: Fight Orange and Green Tories with:

# CLASS ACTION

The sectarian battles which have swept the streets of Belfast in recent weeks are a serious warning as to the dangers which exist of a bloody civil war. On June 11th three men died in the sectarian fighting in the Old Park / Ardoyne area. These deaths are only a small token of what will happen if the situation deteriorates even further.

Those people who, together with John Hume dismissed the protestant backlash as a gigantic 'bluff' have been silenced by the events of the past few months. Since February 8th when 60 year old Catholic ex - serviceman Bernard Rice was gunned down on the Crumlin Road, murder squads have roamed Belfast's Catholic ghettos. The increasing number of these 'mystery' shootings has made the backlash a reality at least in a subdued form.

Now in the face of the continued Provisional campaign of bombings and shootings. The growing militancy of thousands of Protestants threatens to transform the present 'soft' backlash into a nightmare of bloodshed on a massive scale.

In any religious civil war it would be the working class who would be the losers. Not only would it be the workers who comprise the rank and file of both the UDA and the IRA who would be slaughtered, but the possibilities of building a united class movement of Catholics and Protestants would be set back.

The present situation is the direct result of the past policies of British Imperialism. It was the British bosses who deliberately fostered the religious bigotry and deployed it as a weapon against the Irish Labour movement.

Now this same class, because of the changed situation which exists in Ireland, are forced to attempt to dampen down the spirit of the sectarian monster

But Direct Rule, as with all the past measures introduced by Imperialism can in no way solve the problems of the Irish working class.

Since the Heath initiative various 'peace' movements have made a certain headway especially in the Catholic trouble areas. It is entirely understand-

able that many people, especially those living in these Catholic ghettos, should, out of despair, join in the clamour for peace.

But to simply pose 'peace' in the abstract means nothing. The petition which gained widespread support in the Catholic areas of Belfast and in the Creggan and Bogside was so

By PETER HADDEN  
general that even leading members of the Derry provos were able to sign it with the addendum 'Peace with Justice'

Everybody wants a solution, but the real question is what kind of solution? A solution means one thing to Mr Whitelaw and those who make up his Tory commission, banker and vice president of the CBI, Sir Robert Kinahan, Catholic businessman Tom Conaty etc. It means something entirely different to the working class people of both sides who have borne the brunt of the fighting over the past years.

A 'return to normality' means to the owners of property a return to the situation where they can live in idle luxury,

CONTINUED INSIDE

# INTRODUCING THE IRISH MONTHLY

This is the first issue of the MILITANT Irish Monthly. The great success of the MILITANT Irish Editions made it absolutely clear that there was a real demand for a paper which put forward a clear and consistent Marxist view of the bloody events in Ireland.

In future issues we will be covering every aspect of the struggle of the Labour Movement against British Imperialism and their cohorts North and South of the border. The mounting number of strikes in Southern Ireland are only one index of the convulsions which will be facing the whole of Ireland.

In the North, we have pointed out that a bloody sectarian war would throw the Labour movement backwards. We have consistently argued and campaigned for a united Catholic and Protestant working class; for a Trade Union Defence Force; for a struggle against the monstrous unemployment; bad housing, poor social and educational services.

Only class action on a socialist programme involving the mobilisation of the entire Irish Labour movement will deal to British Imperialism and capitalism the death blow it so richly deserves.

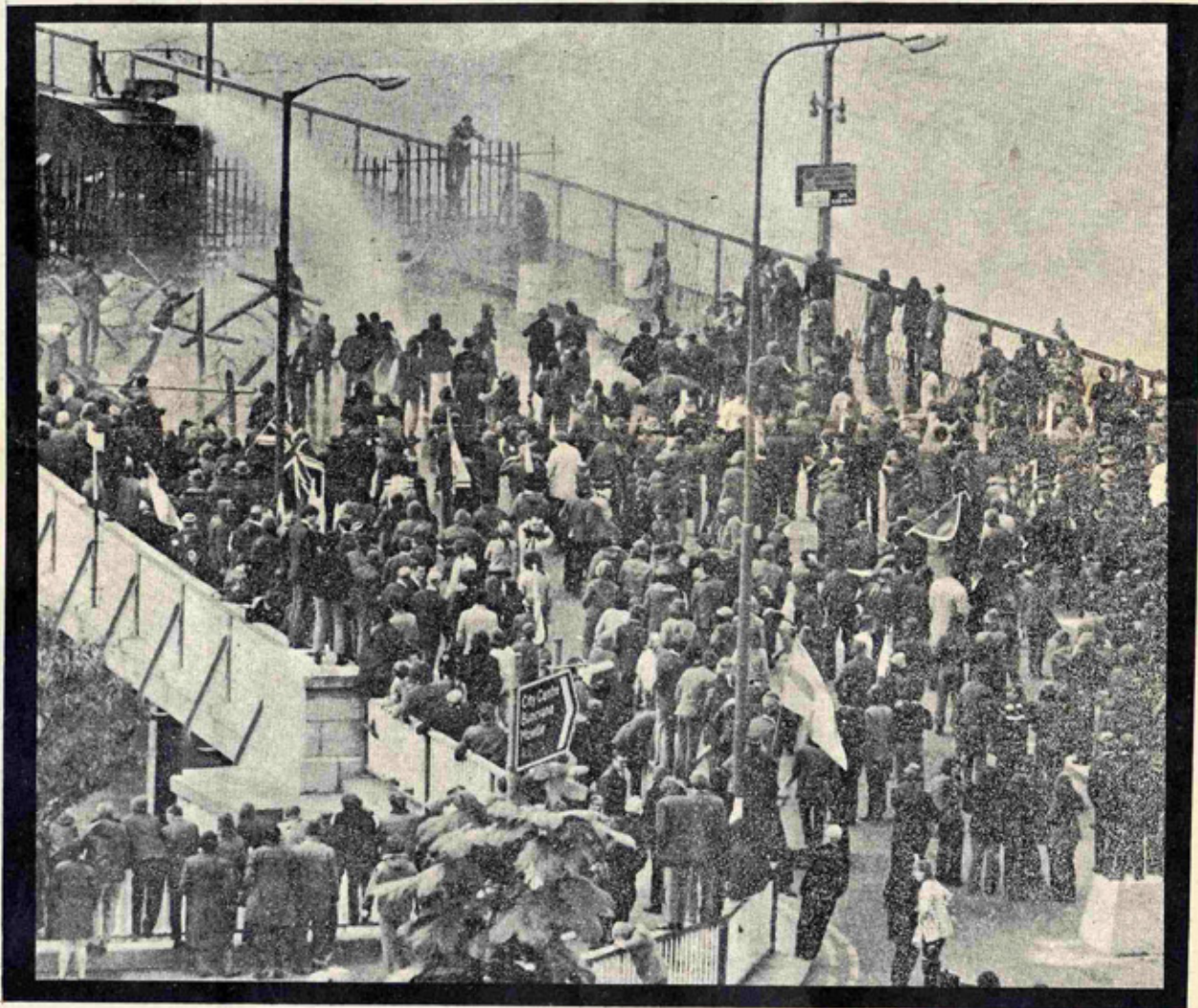
We will be carrying articles on the everyday life and struggles of the workers; we will analyse in detail the current situation

in Ireland. We will also be carrying a regular international coverage giving details and analyses of the struggles of the British workers and the international Labour movement. Letters from readers are welcome

But to do all this, to put it bluntly, we need cash. In the next issue we will be announcing plans for the building of a Militant Irish Monthly Fighting Fund. But even before this, we ask all our readers to dig deep and send us a donation right away

We must build our circulation and we urge all our readers to take out a subscription to the paper. We urge them to take out bulk orders to sell to their comrades and friends. We are confident that the Militant Irish Monthly will play a decisive role in the Irish Labour Movement. Let's give it a good start by giving every worker in Ireland an opportunity to read it.

Address all correspondence to:  
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32, Brickfield Drive  
Dublin 12.



Vanguard March halted at Craigavon Bridge, by Troops with water cannon

# NO COALITION!

Brendan Corish's statements of June 14th stating the willingness of the Parliamentary Party of the Irish Labour Party to enter a coalition in Southern Ireland with the Right Wing Tories in Fine Gael shows the complete inability of the TDs to understand either the developments taking place in the country at the pre-

function of the elected TDs is to articulate and co-ordinate the campaign to implement the programme based on these Conference decisions.

Corish claims that there are no certainties in politics. But the political certainty is that Fine Gael as a majority party in the proposed coalition would not allow the Labour Party to

Interest' mentioned in Corish's speech means in reality the interests of the ruling class and these interests have resulted in 80,000 unemployed, tens of thousands homeless and poverty wages for the working class.

If there is no majority by any party after the next election, the natural coalition must be between Fianna Fail and Fine

## For a socialist programme!

sent time or their own role as elected representatives of the Party of the Working Class.

The rank and file of the Labour Party understands this, as shown by the passing at Conference after Conference of motions calling for the nationalisation of the banks, insurance companies, monopolies and major industries, under workers' control. The

implement a programme of nationalisation, which is basic Labour Party policy.

Fine Gael represents the big landowners and big capitalists and their function in Government would be to protect their interests as already shown in the EEC campaign when they lined up with their fellow Tories in Fianna Fail. 'The National

Gael as the representatives of the ruling class. The Labour Party must accept its role as a Party of the working class and stand clearly opposed to Fine Gael who called at their last Conference for the Gardai to be given its head as the solution to the country's problems.

# NILP - WHICH WAY FORWARD?

Last April, there were 47,490 people registered as unemployed in the six counties. This was the worst figure for any month for nine years and about 20% higher than the same time last year. The decline in employment in the traditional industries - linen, shipbuilding and agriculture - has been going on for several years.

Between March 1970 and March 1971, before the escalation of the bombing campaign, "the numbers engaged in the textile industry in Northern Ireland fell by 7%, employment in mechanical engineering dropped by 6%, in construction by 9%, in the distribution trades by 4%." (Irish Times 22/10/71).

Today, the number of redundancies is on the increase and with about 6,000 young people leaving school and coming onto the labour market each year, the problems facing the working class movement are very serious indeed.

Yet what is the leadership of the Northern Ireland Labour Party, the only political party in Northern Ireland today with a base in the organised trade union movement, doing to combat the increasing unemployment?

Twenty five trade unions in the six counties, many thousands of whose members 'contract in' to pay the political levy, are affiliated to the NILP because they realise the need for political action against the Tories.

## SOCIALIST POLICIES

But today no real, effective lead is forthcoming, either in the fight against redundancies and unemployment, or the fight against sectarianism. It is not platitudes about 'peace and reconstruction', but realistic socialist policies linking the everyday needs of the workers to the need for ending the rule of monopoly capitalism, which can unite the working class in a political fight against the common enemy.

The NILP today is a shell of an organisation. Sectarianism is on the increase in the six counties. Yet even now extreme reactionary elements within the right wing of Unionism and the Loyalist Workers Association have to appeal to the strong labour and trade union traditions of the Protestant workers, especially in Belfast, in order to gain a base of support.

The fact that the right-wing loyalist journals carried an article quoting Henry Joy MacCracken's "The rich always betray the poor" and that the Loyalist Workers' Association pointed out that they did not object to Joe McCann's socialism but to his terrorism and 'Romanism', all indicate the eagerness with which the enemies of the Labour movement use the class traditions of the Protestant workers in Belfast, while the NILP leadership remains asleep.

## REDUNDANCIES

Events such as the Sirocco redundancies and the recent factory closure in Bangor, force these class traditions to the fore. The Michelin and the Ulster Hosiery disputes have not been affected by sectarianism.

With capitalism causing higher unemployment, greater price increases and attempting to hold back wages, the Irish workers will undoubtedly move through their trade unions and into political activity against the private profit system.

Just as in 1907, on the split in the Independent Orange Order the mass of its former members helped create the Labour Party, so the recent experiences and those still to come, will force the Irish workers towards the development of a mass united labour party. However, this does not mean that the NILP, as at present constituted, will be the sole basis for this in the North.

## ECONOMIC CATASTROPHE

Throughout the present campaign, its leadership has completely failed to raise even the fundamental class questions. At the NILP May Day rally, Vivian Simpson,

Erskine Holmes, NILP chairman, pointed out at the same rally, "real unemployment... is hidden by the official figures of 40,000. We say the hidden unemployment in Northern Ireland could add another 60,000 to that figure... Half the population exists... in unfit housing and 30,000 children in Northern Ireland are medically defined as under-nourished."

But the NILP leadership puts forward no concrete policies to combat the miseries of unemployment, slum housing and low wages. Only a bold socialist programme of cancellation of all housing debts and nationalisation of the banks and monopolies under

By ALEX WOOD  
(Coleraine Labour Party):

sed trade union movement, and this fact alone will make it a vital part of any future mass Labour party.

## ALL - IRELAND LABOUR PARTY

When a serious class lead is given, the NILP can make important gains. In a by-election for Coleraine council in 1971, the local Labour Party fought on a programme including such demands as a freeze on rents, cancellation of all housing debts and government provision of interest-free loans to local authorities. In the



Craig and Powell - Enemies of British and Irish Workers

sole NILP MP, demanded that the Heath government "provide all the people with an opportunity to prove that there is a massive non-sectarian majority in favour of the link with Britain, without which we would face economic disaster." (Belfast Newsletter, 8/5/72).

Economic catastrophe, however, is precisely what the link with British imperialism means. The development of world imperialism has meant the economic enslavement of small nations and the under-development of the regions outside the metropolitan areas.

Of course, Lynch and the ruling class in the 26 counties not only are incapable of combatting British imperialism, but in fact represent it in southern Ireland.

On the other hand, none of the regions of Britain are prosperous and Northern Ireland is the least prosperous, because under capitalism, investment and job provision are based purely and simply on the profit motive and bear little or no relation to social needs.

democratic workers' control, could ensure the provision of adequate employment and housing for all the people of the six counties.

## POLICIES IGNORED

In Place of Fear, the 1970 Westminster election manifesto of the NILP, did not put forward a single idea on how to tackle precisely these questions. Yet at the 1969 conference of the NILP, resolutions were passed pointing out that only state industry could even begin to tackle unemployment and that only nationalisation, under workers' control, of the finance houses, the building industry and the land could end slum housing and high rents. These socialist policies were, however, ignored by the leadership in the 1970 election manifesto.

But even if the leadership has failed completely to give a lead in the present situation, the NILP still remains the only party in the six counties based on the organi-

election, the Labour candidate, who was opposed with the full might of the local Tory-Unionist party, got 40% of the total poll, in an area where there was not even a Labour party 18 months previously.

For all honest socialists, not only in the NILP, but in the trade unions, the Irish Labour party, the Republican movement, People's Democracy and all other socialist groups, the question today is one of preparing for the future developments in the Irish working class by fighting for a mass all-Ireland Labour party, based on the trade unions and to which all Labour and socialist organisations can affiliate.

Such a party could link with the British Labour movement and fight for a return of Labour governments throughout these islands, pledged to the nationalisation under democratic workers' control, of the monopolies and finance houses, which have caused, and are continuing to cause, misery amongst the workers of Ireland and Britain.

The attempted assassination of support which this demagogue f... mocratic primaries, together wi... swell of opinion towards George... lying discontent sweeping the

Wallace was struck down by the very violence which he himself fosters. The breakdown in society can be measured by the unprecedented murders, crimes, rapes and rottenness which percolates from the bottom of the pile to the very pinnacles of power. 57 Americans die every day from attacks with firearms. From his first intervention into the murky waters of Alabama capitalist politics Wallace has fed on violence and racialism.

But the support he has begun to receive in the primary elections reveals in a caricatured fashion the groping for a way out on the part of sections of the American working class. Together with sections of the middle class they have turned to Wallace in disgust at the leaders of the Republican and Democratic Parties, and not just in the South either. For the first time Wallace has begun to find an echo amongst Northern industrial workers as was shown by the Michigan primary result.

## 6 MILLION ON DOLE

It is these workers who have been made to pay the price for the present economic crisis. Unemployment has reached catastrophic proportions. The official national figure is 6 million but labour economists estimate that millions more are out of work and don't bother to register. The extent to which this has effected the industrial workers can be measured by one union, the powerful United Automobile Workers Union. It has 1/2 million members and yet it presently receives dues from only one million!

Millions of workers have been thrown into the depths of poverty when they have been thrown out of work. The town of Seattle on the Pacific coast provides the best example. With the cutting down of production by the Boeing aircraft company the town's unemployment level shot up to 18%; amongst Seattle's black population it is 48%! Soup kitchens and queues for welfare food have become part of the town's scenery. One worker commented to a reporter 'we haven't tasted meat for months. Our usual meal is a tin of soup. We had a hot meal at Christmas only because a neighbour paid our gas bill'. Seattle's twin Japanese town, Kobe, was so shaken by this spectacle that it sent free 'mercy' food!

And Seattle is not alone in facing a rise in poverty and misery. An official Government agency, the US Public Health Service, has revealed in a special survey 'malnutrition, even

## CLASS

peacefully profiting out of the labour of others. To the working class it means a return to the situation where they scrape an existence out of the miserable wage packets, spend their lives in the slums and accept the 10% unemployment.

To reflect the interests of the working class the campaign for peace must be for something more than an end to the present guerrilla campaign. It must be for an end to the present futile fighting and its conversion into a war of a different kind, a class war directed against the present economic system and all its consequent miseries.

Those who fail to raise the basic class issues are, in fact playing into the hands of Imperialism.

Father Rooney, at the height of the wave of indignation which swept the Bogside after the shooting of Ranger Best, called for the departure of both wings of the IRA from the area. This call not only ignores the class issues but represents a sell out on the basic question of defence of areas, protection for the many wanted men who now take refuge in the Bogside and the Creggan.

The women of the Bogside who launched the 'peace petition' at the same time insisted on the

George Wallace, the gathering in Alabama received in the De- the equally powerful ground- McGovern all indicate the under USA at present.



Workers support Racist Demagogue Wallace for want of an alternative.

starvation was not uncommon in many parts of the country'. In the richest society that mankind has ever seen, the citadel of capitalism ... 'Sister Julia said 'People come in here every day, all day long, in need of food' For the oppressed minorities, such as the black population, the situation is even worse. In Chicago, the richest city in America, and hence probably in the world, the infant mortality rate 'rises as high as in countries like Ceylon and Hong - Kong'!

The employed worker as well sees his living standards undermined by the massive rise in prices of over 6% a year and Mr Nixon's 'Incomes Policy'. He has paid for his living standards with sweat and not a little blood. Just how much blood can be seen by the figures for factory accidents - nine million are injured every year in US factories and a quarter of a million are permanently disabled as a result. The Juggernaut of profit goes forward over the broken bones of the working class! And at the same time through inflation it eats away at the hard earned gains of the workers.

### KICKBACKS AND BRIBES

Little wonder that the 'little man' gnashes his teeth in rage at the leaders of the two main capitalist parties, particularly when he sees the rich 'fat cats' allied to these parties perpetrating massive swindles. It has recently been revealed for instance that 20,000 people earning over 20,000 dollars a year paid no tax in 1969! 'Kickbacks' and bribes are built into the system from the New York police right up to the International Telegraph and Telephone Co. which paid into Nixon's 1968 campaign fund in return for immunity against any 'anti - trust' investigations.

Into this situation has come Wallace. He has demagogically ranted against Big Government, Big Busi-

# USA workers

ness and championed the 'small man' Given the abject capitulation of the union-tops before the capitalist parties this has found a response both amongst the disorientated middle class and some industrial workers looking for a way out of the impasse which faces them. But he can offer no way out for the working class. In fact his record as governor of Alabama demonstrates that he is as viciously anti - union as the Republican and Democratic Party bosses. His State, in common with other Southern States has a blacklegs clause in its constitution, a so - called 'right to work' clause, which he has not hesitated to invoke against the Labour movement.

### VERBIAGE OF POPULISM

George McGovern, on the other hand, has attempted to articulate the revolt of the middle classes, the students and some workers against the Vietnam War and the monstrous iniquities and racialism which scars American society. It is no accident that like Wallace, but from the 'Left' he has announced plans to close the 'tax loopholes', to end the Vietnam War, to extend welfare payments, unemployment pay etc. He is so 'dangerous' according to Nixon's aides that 'we don't need to depict him as a socialist'. He is nothing of the sort, of course, but he has adopted some of the verbiage of populism because of the mood of discontent.

While promising the moon to the workers and to the middle class in the manner of a latter day Roosevelt he has at the same time taken out full page advertisements in the Wall Street Journal assuring Big Business that he intends them no harm! These statements are nearer to the truth than the 'new politics' promised to the masses. But the success of McGovern reflects the demand for change on the part of Democratic voters. The likelihood is that he will challenge Nixon for the presidency later this year and depending on the economic situation it is possible he can defeat him.

If McGovern becomes President he will do so as a consummate representative of the capitalists. The more far-sighted representatives of

the ruling class have seen for a long time the necessity of ending the Vietnam adventure and US Imperialism's role as Policeman of the capitalist world. McGovern himself has pointed out that 'international wars' and 'dangers' will be of less importance than internal 'stresses' in each country in the next decade. Thus along with Heath he realises that 'Civil Wars' rather than global confrontations are the main danger to the ruling classes.

to escape from the proletariat, together with the enormous advance of industry all resulted in a mighty movement of the American working class. Eugene Debbs, standing for the presidency on a revolutionary 'ticket', received 1 million votes the equivalent of over 3 million votes today! In his campaign he was supported by 5 socialist dailies 262 weeklies, 10 monthlies and 46 publications in foreign languages of which 8 were dailies. This is an indication of Debbs countrywide support.

A similar process also began to take shape in the 1930's with the titanic development of the Congress for Industrial Organisation.

# look for way out

By PETER TAAFFE

At the same time neither he, nor Wallace, nor Nixon can begin to solve the nightmarish problems which face American society. It is rotten from top to bottom. McGovern in power will tear away from the Democratic 'liberals' their last tawdry rags. If Nixon remains for another term he



Eugene Debbs aboard his 'Red Express' Campaign Train in 1912

will only serve to push the Labour movement into greater opposition. At a certain stage, those workers who look towards McGovern or Wallace will turn towards the idea of an independent party of Labour. The Trade Unions will be forced to separate themselves from the coat - tails of the Democratic Party as did the Unions in Britain from the Liberals in the latter part of the nineteenth century. In the first decades of this century we had an anticipation of how events will develop in America in the next decade.

The ending of the expansion to the West with the consequent stopping up of the 'safety valve' of 'free' land in the West, for the more energetic easterners seeking

The first stirrings of the workers in recent times was reflected in the formation of the Alliance for Labour Action involving 4½ million workers in 1964 and in the series of strikes which have broken out year.

### MASSIVE STRIKES

The Pacific Coast dockers have just ended the longest dock strike in American history. 5,000 workers in Lordstown Ohio, in the most modern car plant in the world have staged massive strikes against the General Motors management with young workers of 24 and under playing the main

role. All these are an anticipation for a mighty upsurge of the American working class both on the trade union field and also politically resulting in the formation of a mass Socialist Labour Party.

The Irish workers in America have played a key role in the struggles of the American working class. They were in the leadership of the Knights of Labour, a pioneer socialist organisation in the last century The 'Molly McGuire's' from amongst the Irish Pennsylvania miners also shook the mine owners in a number of heroic battles.

### USA AND IRELAND NEED UNITED LABOUR PARTY

The Labour Movements in Ireland and America have many parallels. The development of a mass Labour Party in America has been post-

poned in the last thirty years as a result of the post-war boom. Now the knot of history is being tied together again.

So too in Ireland the Labour movement which was crippled by partition and the political blindness of its leadership is again on the move. Those workers and small farmers who still have illusions in Fianna Fail and its twin Fine Gael will have those illusions shattered and a powerful all Ireland Labour Party will be created.

Between the Irish and American workers it will be a race to see who can create a mass Labour Party capable of ending the system which binds them to poverty, unemployment and misery.

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need to defend the area against a sectarian pogrom. It is the right of all working class areas to defend themselves against attack.

But in the past no attempt has been made to put this defence on a democratic basis. This is the minimum requirement if the whole population is to be mobilised. Hence the need for democratically elected street committees, which in turn can send delegates to a central area defence committee with the right of recall over all delegates. Neither wing of the IRA have attempted to implement this idea.

But even if it was accepted, with perfect democracy reigning in working class areas, it would still leave the working class facing each other across the sectarian divide. Only the Trade Union movement remains as a force capable of uniting Catholics and Protestants. Let the TU leaders - who have missed innumerable opportunities when the workers were prepared to come together, as in 1969 - take immediate practical measures to organise a TU Defence Force!

They could start by calling for local, area and citywide conferences of shop stewards

to formulate concrete plans to organise such a force with mixed Catholic and Protestant patrols of trade unionists to defend all working class areas. This could then become the starting point for a class campaign on jobs, housing, education etc.

The supposed benevolence of Whitelaw represents no change of heart. What Imperialism hands out in concessions today it will take back in blood tomorrow. Even now, with the supposed easing of army pressure on the Catholic areas, the clamp down in fact continues.

As testament to this are the to this are the activities of the paras during recent rioting following an arrest operation in the New Lodge Road. At one stage during these riots *Irish Independent* reporter Rowan Hand, while interviewing some women in the area, was set upon by the soldiers. Despite showing his press card he was severely clubbed by rifle butts and had to be taken to hospital. One of the women with him was hit in the leg by a rubber bullet.

Not only the priesthood but also the IRA have failed to thoroughly explain the class issues. The Official IRA's switch to a defensive role, in

itself correct, and the statement by the Provisionals that the campaign will end when the basic demands for an end to Internment, release of political prisoners, amnesty for the men on the run and the withdrawal of troops to barracks are met, must cause some questioning within these organisations.

If the only demands around which the campaign is being conducted are for a restoration of the situation as it existed before the beginning of the troubles, what has all the fighting been about?

The UDA has postponed the erection of permanent barricades for two weeks after discussions with Whitelaw. But inevitably it will mean at a certain stage that the protestants will be brought more and more into confrontation with the military. In the coming clashes the illusions held by many protestants that the army is 'their army' and the RUC is their police force will be quickly dispelled. Already following the brief confrontation with the Paras in East Belfast one UDA member was quoted as saying 'I am beginning to think those people in the Bogside were right about Bloody Sunday. The paratroopers do behave madly when they come into an area'.

Just as brutal repression remains part and parcel of Tory

Unionist policy in the north, so too with their blood brothers in the southern parties of capital Fianna Fail and Fine Gael. The placing of prisoners under military custody and the operation of the 'Offences against the State' Act against the leading Provisionals represents a form of back - door internment.

The Minister for Justice, Mr O'Malley in denying that this is the case has shown the hollow sham that is Fianna Fail's opposition to internment in the North. According to him the Prison's Bill, 'has nothing to do with internment without trial. We are determined not to introduce internment unless serious circumstances arise'. This was precisely the argument used by Faulkner and Co. in the months preceding last August when 'serious circumstances arose'.

Faulkner, Craig, Heath and Lynch, despite numerous wars of words between them are united on their side. Their policies are all dictated by the same class interests. It is now up to the Labour leaders to fight on the class issues which can raise the might of a united Labour movement against them. On the basis of the present economic system the appalling social conditions, the root cause of fighting, cannot be removed.

North and South similar economic conditions exist. According to figures published

in *This Week* 20% of the Republics families are living on an average weekly income of less than £5, and this at a time when consumer prices have risen by 10% in the past year (Food prices have gone up by 11½% and house prices 14%) Redundancies in the South rose during 1971 by 120% compared to the previous year.

In the north where some estates such as Ballymurphy have 50% male unemployment, at present prospects are equally gloomy. The *Economist* has pointed out that the target of 8,000 new jobs last year was fallen far short of and has predicted that in 1972 the creation of new jobs will fall even further below the same target. These few facts give a small indication of the untold miseries endured by thousands of Irish workers.

If the Labour leaders, north and south, were to fight jointly on a programme to end this exploitation even at this late hour they could unleash a class force capable of transforming the situation. Only through the creation of an armed TU defence force to fight sectarianism coupled to a socialist programme for the nationalisation of the banks, insurance companies and major monopolies can a solution in the interests of the working class be provided and the possibility of a protracted civil war side - stepped.

On April 14th the leaders of the ICTU called on workers in the Electricity Supply Board to cross the pickets of the striking shift workers. This call by Congress, the representative body of 649,800 workers to break the shift workers strike shows how far they have departed from what their proper role should be.

Congress is made up of representatives of the affiliated Trade Unions and its function should be to co-ordinate the struggles of the T.U. movement and the working class as a whole. This co-ordination and leadership is more vital than ever during this period of increased attacks on the working class.

All these attacks intensify through the holding down of wages, unemployment, redundancies and rising prices and rents. The working class have shown their determination to fight. This is reflected in the strike of the ESB shift workers, with the threat of further strikes in that industry over redundancy, the sit-in of 43 workers in the small town of Navan, the Michelin strike in Belfast, the threatened strike of C.I.E. train drivers, the strike in Adria knitting mills in Strabane, and the token strikes of council workers in the Belfast area, plus dozens of other strikes on a nation wide scale. Along with these there are the rent strikes in the South over rent increases and the continuing rent strike in the North against Internment without trial.

By JOHN THRONE  
(I.T.G.W.U.)

# ICTU

# MILITANT

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375 Cambridge Heath Road, London E2 9RA Tel 01-739 7176

## UNITE WORKERS WITH CLASS LEAD



Irish Troops advance against Demonstration against Special Courts

### WORK OR FULL PAY!

In 1970 the number of working days lost through strikes in the 26 counties was the greatest since 1937

Instead of the vague and sporadic statements issued to date the ICTU must draw up a programme based on the needs of the working class, our right to work or full pay, our right to a living wage and a decent home, and while doing so they must remember that their function is to represent the interests of the working class and not to act as mediators between the workers and the bosses. This raises the issue of democracy within the Trade Union movement. All TU officials should be elected in free elections and they should be subject to recall at any time by the Union members.

On the question of the rate of pay for full time officials: this must never exceed the average

wage of the skilled workers within the union. When the TU leaders are on the same wage as the men they represent they will have a greater 'incentive' to fight more energetically for their own members

When faced with redundancies Congress must stand firm on the call for **no redundancies - work sharing on full pay.**

If the bosses 'cry poverty' they must demand that the company books are opened to the inspection by the Trade Unions. A campaign must be launched for a £30 per week minimum wage tied to the cost of living. They must also

fight on the issue of exorbitant rents pointing out that, for example in N.I. more than £1 in every £1 paid in rent is paid in interest to the banks!

This means that the house building agencies in N.I. had to borrow money to pay the interest on money previously borrowed to build houses! They must demand the immediate cancellation of this debt and the nationalisation of the banks along with the house building industry as the only way to provide low cost quality housing in sufficient quantity.

The complete abdication of leadership by the ICTU, not only on economic issues but also on political issues, is especially obvious in relation to the struggle in the North. While the working class in N.I. are being crushed by British Imperialism and the workers in the South are oppressed by the economic domination of British Imperialism the leading body of the organised working class remains silent claiming to be 'not political'. Instead of their vague condemnations of violence, they should be giving a class lead.

Their idea of building class unity seems to be to say nothing that would upset their own position. Class Unity can only be achieved by drawing up a programme which relates to the needs of all sections of workers. On defence, a crucial issue at present they must come out for the right of any working class area to defend itself and the task of congress must be to co-ordinate this defence by the formation of a TU defence force.

This must be linked to a social programme to end unemployment, redundancies, poverty wages and the housing shortage. Such a programme would unite both sections of the working class in N.I. along with the Southern working class in one common struggle against British Imperialism.

The onus for the solving of the N.I. crisis and the national question along with the overthrow of the Capitalist system whose crisis the working class are being forced to shoulder lies with the Trade Union movement as the co-ordinating body of the Irish working class.

### NATIONALISATION

They must face this task by ending the attempt to shackle the TU movement as a 'non-political body'. Instead the LP's North and South must join up with the TU's and take up and expand the call of Brendan Harkin, chairman of the Northern Committee of ICTU for public ownership of the Harland and Wolff shipyard to a nationwide campaign for the nationalisation of the Banks, Insurance Companies, Major Industrial Monopolies and national wealth of the country. Only by implementing such a programme can the forces of British Imperialism and Native Capitalism be overthrown and the conditions created for the socialist transformation of society.

# WHO OWNS IRELAND?

It is a well-used quotation from James Connolly, but let us examine it again in relation to the Ireland of today; 'If you remove the English army tomorrow and hoist the green flag over Dublin Castle, unless you set about the organisation of the Socialist Republic your efforts will be in vain. England would still rule you. She would rule you through capitalists....'

When Lemass resigned in 1966 he was chairman of Cement - Roadstone Holdings Ltd., Unidare and Irish Secu-

rity Service Ltd., and director of Ryans Tourist Holdings., Waterford Glass, United Breweries of Ireland, James H North Ltd., John D. Carroll Catering Co. Ltd., Ronald Lyon estates (Ireland), Electrical Industries of Ireland, Wavin Pipes, and other companies.

Cement - Roadstone Holdings Ltd., is the largest industrial company in the 26 counties. Last year it made a profit of over £2 million. Yet in 1970, before the strike, the basic wage of a cement worker was £13.80

for a 40 hour week, plus 40p for production bonus.

A big percentage of the shares of the company are owned by Tunnell Portland Cement Co., Croydon, Surrey. This is what Lemass and Fianna Fail meant by Anglo - Irish Free trade. Ryan Tourist Holdings, another of Ireland's biggest Companies is largely the property of multi-millionaire Dermot Ryan, one of the new Fianna Fail whiz kids, an ardent supporter of Lynch and a prospective Fianna election candidate.

The Fianna Fail peers are always around when there is big money to be made. The New Ireland Company, whose board is adorned with Ryan of Fianna Fail and Irish Life Assurance Co., one of whose directors was Paddy Lenihan the Fianna Fail TD, both own extensive property around Dublin.

### FINANCIERS

'...through her financiers'... British monopoly capitalism has a 56% stake in Irish life assurance and an 86% share of the general insurance market there. The Ulster Bank and the Northern

bank are controlled by the National Westminster and Midland Bank groups respectively. The Irish Central Bank is the slave of the City of London.

'...Through the whole array of commercial and individualist institutions she has planted in this country and watered with the tears of our mothers and the blood of our martyrs.

British Imperialism reigns in in the 26 counties through the agency of Fianna Fail. The task of fighting monopoly capitalism and fighting Fianna Fail cannot be separated. Our goal is a Socialist United Ireland.

### FINN GEANEY

### LANDLORDS

'...through her landlords' ... The Earl of Portsmouth owns the town of Enniscorthy in Wexford. The Earl of Cork owns two thirds of Cork. Other aristocratic landlords such as the Marquis of Headfort and Lord Donoughmore are maintained by the sweat of Irish workers and small farmers through 'ground rent'. But not all the landlords of Ireland are English peers. Haughey owned extensive property in the Dublin area and Donough O'Malley extracted 'ground rent' from tenants in Limerick.

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