

The Public Sector and the Profit Makers

The Case for State Workers

Repsol Pamphlet No.19

A Repsol Pamphlet

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Foreword

The Coalition Government intends to make 1975 / 76 a year of misery and deprivation for the Irish people. As Fianna Fail have no understanding of the economic forces behind this attack and are led by property speculators and adventurers, no opposition to the Coalition's policy except empty phrases can be expected.

The brunt of this attack on the working class will be borne by the 225,000 Civil Servants, State employees, teachers and Health workers who make up the Public Sector.

The attack on the Public Sector was launched in the Autumn of 1975 by Mr. Richie Ryan acting on the instructions of those whom Tomás Mac Giolla described as "the property speculators, farm financiers and pyramid sellers who are parasites on our society".

The purpose of this pamphlet is to show workers in the Public Sector why they must make common cause against the Private Sector.

The Public Sector must fight now or face a Pay Freeze that will never end. Questions of status and snobbery between different grades and categories must be abolished if Civil Service, State and Local Authority workers are not to join the ranks of the badly paid and exploited workers in the Private Sector.

Sinn Féin's strategy is to support the expansion of the State sector in three areas. The first is to expand existing State bodies in energy, oil, gas and mines. The second is the establishment of a State Construction Co. The third is the expansion of the State into food technology, processing and marketing.

The basis of all these demands is the nationalisation of the Banks. We ask all public service workers to support us in these campaigns.

**Eamonn Smullen,
Director of Economic affairs,
Sinn Féin, 30 Gardiner Place.**

The Public Sector

On Monday October 13th, the Coalition Government launched a bitter attack on 225,000 Public Sector workers.

Nurses, bus conductors, Bord na Mona workers, clerks in the Civil Service, dustmen in Dublin Corporation, Vocational teachers, Welfare Officers, Firemen, ESB linesmen, inspectors in charge of preventing cruelty to children, postmen, pilots, Aer Lingus workers, railwaymen – in short, quarter of a million hard-working productive workers employed by the State were told by Mr. Richie Ryan, that they were being “carried” by the Private Sector. They were told in effect that because they enjoyed secure employment and decent sick leave conditions, that this was somehow all wrong and that from now on they would be treated like the 1,200,000 workers at the mercy of the gombeens who run the Private Sector.

THE PUBLIC SECTOR:

“Pure” Civil Servants (Administrative)	41,340
Workers of State Sponsored Bodies	63,600
Other State Employees	10,100
Local Authority Employees	30,200
Regional Health Board Employees	28,000
Gardaí	7,850
Army	10,650
Teachers	30,350
Vocational Education Committees	1,250
Committees of Agriculture	730
Total:	<u>224,070</u>

Ryan’s attack on the State Companies and the Civil Service marks a new point in a long campaign by the Private sector employers against the workers of the Public Sector. The private employers have told the Coalition to make it a hard winter for the public service. The private employers haven’t paid up the National Wage Agreements to 100,000 of their own workers. Now they want the State to hold back on its 225,000 workers.

The Public Sector Reply:

The Public Service must answer this attack by mobilising its unions to attack the Irish private sector. The strategy of this attack must be to accept no Pay Freeze in the Public Sector, but instead to demand the massive expansion of the Public Sector. There are three stages in this counter-attack by the Public Service:-

1. Public Service Unions must say 'No' to Ryan's Pay Freeze.
2. The Private Sector must be exposed by the education of Public Service workers, as to how the Private Sector uses them to make private profits.
3. The State Sector must be expanded by at least three massive State initiatives as follows:
 - (a) A State Oil & Gas production and manufacturing complex based on ESB, Bord na Mona, Aer Lingus and Nitrigin Eireann.
 - (b) A State Construction Company that will galvanise the construction industry by taking over massive construction projects, in schools, hospitals and housing, financed by mineral and oil wealth.
 - (c) A State food technology board to produce, process and distribute food products based on the Irish Sugar Co.

The Public Sector "Parasites":

In his attack on the Public Service, Ryan painted a picture of 225,000 leeches and parasites to cushy jobs, being carried by 1,200,000 other workers. The clever trick here was to use the phrase "Civil Service", as this is the well-known scapegoat of Irish society. What Ryan was doing of course was trying to set over a million badly paid and exploited workers (working for property speculators, company directors, ranchers and loan sharks) against 225,000 other workers who include nurses, teachers, postmen, Gardaí, Army, public health nurses and others.

What Ryan Said:

"Every five people in the Private Sector are carrying one Public Sector employee".

Richie Ryan, October 13th, 1975.

This attack by Ryan is from beginning to end a tissue of lies. As we can see from Table 1, only 26.71% of Public Service workers are purely administrative workers. Among these 27% "pure" Civil Servants Richie Ryan is also including members of the Army and Gardaí. Doubtless the troops and police who guard Mr. Ryan's propertied friends will be surprised to hear themselves described as "leeches" and "parasites". Of far more significance is the attack on the remainder of the 27% of

“pure” civil Servants. These 41,340 Civil Servants have, for over 53 years, kept a complex State machine running smoothly so that Irish gombeens might make bigger profits. These dedicated servants, long the butts of ultra-left rhetoric about “bureaucrats” are now predictably under attack from the extreme right as well.

What Tomás Mac Giolla Said:

“The Civil Service have been loyal servants of this State for over 53 years. Their masters seem singularly ungrateful. Perhaps the servants should consider changing masters. In doing so they could build a better State - one that would put the Public Service before Private Profit”.

Tomás Mac Giolla, October 1975.

Bord na Mona “Parasites” Make a Million:

Nothing shows up the hypocrisy of Ryan’s attack on the Public Sector more than the fact that the 165,000 other Public Service workers attacked by him include some of the most valuable and productive workers in the economy.

These workers include the 64,000 workers in State bodies such as ESB, Bord na Mona, CIE and the Irish Sugar Company.

The “passengers” included Bord na Mona which made £1m. this year.

Those attacked by Ryan include postmen, telephone linesmen, teachers and Health workers. They include every Public Service worker ranging from the Ambulance driver for a public hospital up to men like the Cork Co. Manager, who has been standing up to the arrogance of the Rockefellers’ Marathon company in Cork Harbour. What Ryan is saying is that we should pay these people less, cut down their sick leave, weaken their progressive treatment of women. – all to cover up the Coalition’s failure to employ the 110,000 out of work.

Among the “passengers” being “carried” by Mr. Ryan’s beloved Private Sector were the workers of Bord na Mona, who last year made £1,220,000 out of the Irish bogs. They did this in a year in which Mr. Ryan’s Private Sector friend, Senator Patrick McGrath, of Waterford Glass, said he couldn’t pay the National Wage Agreement – a sum of money equivalent to that lost on the race track by him or his friends in any racing season.

The Banks and Bord na Mona

Far from being carried by the Private Sector, Mr. Ryan’s friends make sure that every time the Public Sector makes a profit, they are immediately robbed of their profits by the Banks.

This year, out of Bord na Mona’s profit of £1,220,000, the Banks took over a million pounds in interest on loan charges.

This of course, does not only apply to Bord na Mona. Every State company is kept in hock to the Banks.

The Public Sector Versus the Private Sector:

The Irish economy can be divided into two groups. These two groups have opposing and different aims. The two groups are the Public Sector and the Private Sector.

In a just society everybody would work for the Public Sector, whose object would be to provide services, (such as clean water) or useful goods (peat, from Bord na Mona) for the people without pocketing any private profit in the process.

In Irish society, most people are compelled to work for the Private Sector whose object is to provide goods and services only if people can pay for them and a profit can be made along the way.

If clean water and fresh air were controlled by the Private Sector, the poor people would die of thirst, or choke on filthy fumes.

So the problem faced by the Private Sector employers was that they needed electricity for their factories, buses to take their workers to work, doctors to cure workers if they got sick and teachers to give them the skills the employers needed – all at no cost to them.

The answer to this problem was that private capital allowed the State to set up companies whose task was to service their private firms. The problem was that once these companies came into existence the workers in them might get ideas of their own. They might say for example, “Why should Basil Goulding make his money from fertilisers when Nitrogen Eireann could run the whole market?” or “Why should CIE lay off men, when they could put ‘fly-by-night’ road hauliers out of business?” or “Why should Dublin Corporation work on site development and then let private speculators build houses?”.

The Gombeen Plan:

As far as the private sector was concerned then, the State companies and the Public Service had two functions:

1. A Service Function: That means State bodies to help the gombeens with certain services; i.e. the IDA to give them money. Many people forget that the IDA gives money to Irish gombeens as well as foreign exploiters.

2. A Production Function: That means a State body to give the private sector products such as electricity to run their factories.

The reason for the private sector’s need for some State enterprise was explained by Dr. Garret Fitzgerald in 1961, when he said that one of the reasons for State sponsored bodies was to “Maintain in existence a bankrupt or virtually bankrupt undertaking”. The function of State bodies in Irish

capitalism is to bail out the private capitalists when they go broke or else to provide a service that essential to people but out of which the capitalist can't make a profit. For example, see Figure 2.

Fig 2. How the Public Service Carries the Private Sector

<u>BODY</u>	<u>FUNCTION</u>
1. ANCO – The Industrial Training Authority	To train workers for Private industry.
2. Foir Teoranta	To bail out private companies that go broke
3. IDA	To give grants to the private sector to help them increase profits.
4. Coras Trachtala	To develop export markets for the private sector.
5. Institute for Industrial Research & Standards	To carry out research work for the private sector.
6. Industrial Credit Co.	To provide low interest capital for the private sector.

Without the workers in these bodies, the private sector would die even faster than it is doing at present. There is no reason why these bodies should not be expanded into State manufacturing, trading and research companies. Instead their highly skilled staff is at the beck and call of pyramid sellers, speculators and fly-boys whose efforts have put 110,000 out of work and who now want the State companies to cover their mistakes.

Propaganda Against the Public Service:

Public servants and Civil Servants over the next few years are going to see their wages and conditions decline.

The fault will lie largely with themselves. There is hardly any section of the population that up 'til now has been more ignorant of the way they are used by ranchers, company directors, property speculators and the fly-by-nights, who call themselves "hard-headed" businessmen.

The reason why the Civil Service and the State companies are vulnerable to attack is because over the years they have tolerated a huge propaganda campaign against themselves. At the worst level, there are the direct attacks, launched against the Civil Service and the State Companies in magazines like Business & Finance. At an even more subtle and equally damaging level are the "jokes" current in Irish society about the so-called 'red-tape' inefficiency and general stupidity of CIE, the ESB, Aer Lingus and the Civil Service.

How many times have you picked up an evening paper and read a smart letter about how some “brave little businessman” is running a profitable bus service, bringing Civil Servants from Dublin to Clare at weekends and why can’t CIE do the same?

But how often have you read a reply from CIE asking if the same “brave little businessman” could make a profit running the school bus service which CIE runs in the most remote rural areas?

How many times have you read stories in the paper about an exorbitant increase by the ESB in your ESB bill?

But how many times has an ESB worker written back to point out that three quarters of your bill comes from paying interest to the Bank directors and meetings the prices for oil charged by the giant oil companies who made giant profits last year.

How many times did you hear about how Civil Servants finish work at 5 o’clock or take a long lunch break?

But how many Civil Servants point out that the whole purpose of trade unions is to ensure that everyone can work a shorter day, have a decent lunch hour and not stand like hairdressers and waitresses, hour after hour, for a pittance.

How many times have you read blustering attacks by businessmen about how Corporation workers should “get up off their backsides” and “do a bit of work” or “show a bit of profit”?

But how many businessmen could show a profit on supplying clean hygienic water to the people of Dublin? Or show a profit on paying dustmen to remove the dirt and filth caused by people dumping their refuse, Or show a profit keeping the sewers of the city clean?

The Reasons for State Companies:

The reason why the ESB, Bord na Mona, CIE, and Aer Lingus exist is quite simple. The Irish private capitalist could find no way to make a profit from any of these activities.

Electricity is essential to all our people. That is why the Electricity Board was set up. Of course private enterprise might possibly make a profit generating electricity for Guinness’ Brewery. But only the State enterprise could make sure that every house had light and power.

Transport by bus and rail is essential if people are to get to work. The private sector therefore need CIE to bring people to work in their factories. But they hate to see CIE moving into anything profitable like road haulage. Take another example: Tara Mines needs CIE to ship out its ore on its rails out of Navan. But the multi nationals would be utterly opposed to CIE taking over anything profitable like the servicing of the Kinsale gas strike.

Food processing is essential to give us sugar from beet or jobs from processing potatoes. The Irish Farmers’ Association expects the State Co. to give them steady prices from potatoes. But then the IFA finds it convenient to sell the potatoes somewhere else at a better price. So when the Sugar Co.

then logically says they will grow their own potatoes, cries of 'Monopoly' and 'Unfair Competition' are raised by the IFA.

Three State Companies – A Case History:

A brief glance at ESB, CIE and Bord na Mona shows how the Private Sector, with the assistance of the banks, keeps up the pretence that free enterprise is superior to Public Control.

ESB:

The ESB was set up in 1927 because the private electricity companies could not meet national needs. Apart from its monumental achievements from the Shannon to Turlough Hill, the ESB has gained an international reputation because it carries out its own design, construction and civil engineering planning and design. This enterprise has been bought by countries all over the world. The Fletcher Report of 1972 praised the ESB's high standards of engineering. The ESB, is well known, has more qualified engineers than the Algerian State Oil Company. In spite of this we can note the following facts.

- 1. The ESB is being told to cut back staff;*
- 2. At the same time the Government gibes the Cork Gas Pipe Contract; not to the ESB but to the British Gas Corporation;*
- 3. The ESB supplies the power for the exploitation of Irish ore, for Tara (a private profit,) but is kept out of the production of gas for the nation's profit;*
- 4. The Chairman of the ESB sat on the Board of the Gas Board that refused the contract to his own State body;*
- 5. The ESB was refused a license to explore for oil.*

CIE:

CIE was set up in 1945 when private transport companies failed. Like all State companies it is expected to provide an impossible service by running buses in the most remote parts of Ireland while leaving the valuable business to private enterprise. Like the ESB it is saddled with the Chairman, Liam St. John Devlin, who is notorious for his commitment to CIE's enemies, as the quote below shows. The following facts should be noticed:

- 1. C.I.E. has been told to cut back staff;*
- 2. At the same time in Cobh, it is being forced to sell the Cobh yards to private enterprise instead of getting into services itself.*
- 3. Some years back it was forced to sell its yards at Inchicore to private enterprise.*

4. Last year, like Bord na Mona, its hotels showed a profit, yet the interest charges in the banks were so high that it was forced to consider selling its hotels.

CIE is not only the most troubled of all the State bodies, it is possibly the most detested by the general public. Its workers are blamed for long delays at bus stops, bad services and general lack of morale. The reasons for this is simple. The Chairman of CIE believes that CIE should stay out of anything that will make them a profit as the following quote shows:

How Devlin Destroys CIE:

“I think CIE have to run the buses and trains, but then in road freight, where you have the potential of a strong private sector, CIE should complement these efforts... rather than try and achieve monopoly”.

Interview – “Here and Now” RTE 1975.

What Devlin is doing here is telling CIE workers to commit suicide. You cannot make a profit on rail transport, so Devlin wants to stay in this. You cannot make a profit bringing little children to school, so Devlin wants to stay in this as well. But you can make a profit in road haulage, so Devlin keeps CIE out of this area. The figures below show how the private road hauliers have increased both the number, size and profits of their vehicles. These same hauliers are largely non-unionised, overwork their drivers and only last month screamed for a further delay in the EEC regulations to control their lorry standards.

ROAD FREIGHT	1969	1973
Private Hauliers with 6 vehicles and over	8	20
Number of vehicles engaged	91	577
Receipts – Private	£4.2m	£8.7m
Receipts – CIE	£4.5m	£6.7m

This means that under Devlin private profits doubled while CIE’s only went up by a third. No wonder he asked the Chartered Institute in Limerick in February of this year (1975) the following question?:

“Can the State continue to afford CIE?”

Liam St. John Devlin, Limerick 1975

The real question is – “Can CIE afford Liam St. John Devlin?”

Sinn Féin, Dublin 1975

Bord na Mona:

Bord na Mona was set up in 1946 to develop the country's peat resources for which the private gombeens could find no use. Of all the State companies, it has been the great success story. This, of course makes it the most detested of all the State bodies. The attitude of its managing director is totally different to that of either Devlin of CIE or Dillon of the ESB, or Dempsey, the erstwhile Aer Lingus Chief and now an oil tycoon. A few points should be noted here:

1. Bord na Mona made a million pounds profit last year out of a natural resource;
2. Bord na Mona is taking on 1,500 workers over the next five years. Compare this with the £15m which Foir Teoranta had given out by last year to bail out private businesses. Fourteen of these rescued firms since closed down.
3. Bord na Mona's chief executive and his staff were attacked openly by John Lowe of Trinity Bank at a meeting of the Rockefellers lobby group, the Irish Petroleum Exploration Group at a press conference in the Spring of this year.

As a result of Bord na Mona's success a propaganda campaign began in early 1975, where at a Press Conference sponsored by the Irish Petroleum Exploration Group, surprised journalists heard unsolicited attacks on the ESB and Bord na Mona, led by one John Lowe of Trinity Bank. His anger was probably aroused by the tough approach of Board na Mona's chief executives, who, in December 1974, told the Dublin Junior Chamber of Commerce that he wanted his company into oil and gas.

Bord na Mona makes its bid:

"I am sure that the Minister for Industry and Commerce will be mindful of what Bord na Mona has done when he negotiates on minerals and offshore oil".

Mr. Rattigan, Managing Director, Bord na Mona,
December 1974.

State Companies – The Banks and the Yanks:

The secret of the State sector's weakness, in spite of the productive power of its workers, lies in the banks.

The Irish State in fact is in hock to the banking system. This means that the State bodies and the workers of the Public Service have their profits and labour eaten up to service bank loans. The State companies are told to "break even" and at the same time run a bus to remote rural areas. You then have a recipe for disaster.

For example, in order to break even, CIE in 1974, had loans outstanding totalling £42m. So when in 1974 CIE reports a “loss” of £11.6 it is important to remember that it had to pay back interest of £3,127,000.

Add to that the fact that their chairman, Liam St. John Devlin is a Director of Allied Irish Banks. In this capacity his system keeps CIE in debt. Further remember that Liam St. John Devlin does not want CIE to move into the profitable road haulage business.

Now it becomes clear why CIE workers will be made redundant:

1. Their Chairman won't let them compete with private enterprise.
2. Their Chairman's bank bleeds them for high interest payments.
3. The Chairman's oil friends refused to let them into profitable onshore servicing in Cork.

Or take B&I of which Devlin was once Chairman. B&I, in 1974, made a loss of £452,000. They paid the banks interest of £430,000 – almost exactly the same amount.

Or again, when the ESB started the great Turlough Hill project which will benefit thousands of ordinary people, instead of getting its money from a State Bank, it was forced to go to a group of international bankers and borrow £30m. The interest on that, as well as the loan, is passed onto your ESB bill. As well as that these bankers control the oil companies, which sent the ESB's fuel bill from £7m to £34m in 1973. If you want a lower ESB bill, the Banks will have to be nationalised. The oil and gas resources will have to be used to provide the ESB with cheap fuel. But of course the State itself is in hock to Irish and American Banks (See Figure 3).

Figure 3. STATE BODIES EXTERNAL DEBT

	March 1971	June 1975
Sterling	17m	22m
Dollars	43m	100m
All others	<u>23m</u>	<u>74m</u>
Total	83m	197m

These figures show that the Government is using its oil and gas wealth as a security to borrow largely American money. The American Banks in turn, through Marathon / Esso, control the Kinsale gas field. So Marathon will sell us the Kinsale gas for £700m while Marathon's bank in New York lends us money to keep going and stave off “revolution”. Meanwhile Marathon spokesman, through their mouthpieces in the Irish Petroleum Exploration Group, tell the State companies to stay out of oil and gas.

The State is therefore in debt to Irish and American Banks.

The State is therefore told to hand over Irish resources to American, Irish and foreign banks.

The State companies are kept out of natural resources by pressure from the loan sharks.

The State workers are therefore laid off.

That is the long and the short of the reason why the Irish Public Service is facing redundancy and wage freeze.

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The Lack of a Public Service Ideology:

Most Irish Civil Servants still share the values that the private propaganda machine drummed into them at school. It is an open secret that most Civil Servants do not support the demand to nationalise Tara Mines. Basically, Civil Servants believe that the Public and Private sector can go hand in hand.

These “pure” civil servants are in for a rude awakening as the Treaty of Rome and modern capitalism weakens their status, wages and conditions. It is likely therefore that the brunt of the struggle to expand the State sector will be borne by three other categories of workers in the Public sector.

1. Workers in the State production companies, i.e. CIE, Bord na Mona, etc.
2. Workers in the State service bodies, i.e. ANCO, IIRS, etc.
3. Local Authority and junior civil service grades supported by Public Authority nurses and teachers.

In this struggle the trade union movement will have to distinguish between managers in the Public Sector and managers in the Private Sector.

Without being starry-eyed about the Public Sector, it is important to remember that the managers of the ESB, CIE and Bord na Mona do not put profits or dividends into their back pockets, like the managers and directors of companies in the Private Sector.

This means that the trade union movement has two tasks:

1. To distinguish always between struggle in the Private and Public Sectors.
2. To educate the Public Service to a sense of its own unity and solidarity. A worker in Aer Lingus who tolerates an attack on CIE is weakening himself. A civil servant using a private bus service on the side is not only weakening CIE, but playing into the hands of the system which will destroy him.

Trade unions and managers in the Public Sector must learn to tell the difference between the Liam St. John Devlins who seem determined to wreck their companies and the State Managers who aggressively expand their companies. The two quotes elsewhere illustrate on the one hand the mealy-mouth approach of the Chairman of CIE with the aggressive State policy of the manager of Bord na Mona.

Five Facts of Life for Public Servants:

1. State companies keep Irish gombeen firms going. Last year the ESB placed orders worth £27m with Irish private firms.

2. Irish taxpayers give £200m in subsidy to private enterprise each year. This is ten times more than subsidy to the Public Service.

3. State bodies employ 64,000 workers. That is only 6,000 less than the 70,000 employed by Private firms quoted on the Irish Stock Exchange. CIE employs three times as many workers (20,059), as the Private Sector Smurfit group.

4. Of the subsidy paid by the tax payer to the Public sector, a large part goes directly to the Private sector. For example – of the £7m spent by CIE on free school transport, £3.7m went to private contractors.

5. A huge percentage of any bill – be it ESB bill or bus ticket – goes not to the ESB or CIE, but straight into the pockets of the directors of the Bank of Ireland.

The Treaty of Rome and the Public Service:

Articles 85 to 94 of the Treaty of Rome which deal with competition are in reality designed to weaken state companies and state sponsored bodies, in particular Article 92 attempts to inhibit the State from giving aid or subsidy that might interfere with what is believed to be a 'pure' market system.

The Treaty of Rome has therefore a double effect. It is progressive in that it controls the activities of gombeen exploiters like the private road hauliers, by forcing them to compete against more powerful capitalist groups. On the other hand it attempts to stop powerful State companies from wiping out rivals in the Private Sector.

The point therefore is that the Treaty of Rome is not wrong because it exposes a dying breed of Irish gombeens, who are now howling for Protection. It is wrong because it attempts to inhibit the expansion of the State sector.

As such, Sinn Fein believes it is sterile and reactionary to seek for Tariff Protection in order to revive a class which is suffering from an incurable disease. All energies should be concentrated on expanding the State sector. Most native private industries cannot stand against the bigger concerns located outside Ireland and constantly demand government assistance in order to remain in business. We believe that quotas and import restrictions should be used to protect the home market and to maintain employment during the time it takes to develop the State sector in those industries, for example, in textiles.

In this regard, the public service should know that a new Article of the Treaty is in preparation, to further inhibit public enterprise.

The New Article:

The New Article has three objectives:

(a) To force the Public enterprise to clearly define its object, i.e. if CIE's job is to provide transport and is defined as such to stop it from developing into any other line.

(b) To develop a new accountancy system that will make it difficult for the State to help out a public body on the grounds of social need.

(c) In defining 'The State' the Article includes "all manifestations of authority". That means Cork Co. Manager or the Dublin Port & Docks Board would be stopped from developing industrial activities in case they interfered with Private competition.

The Left and the Public Sector:

Over the years some sections of the left in Ireland have fallen under the spell of 'participatory politics'. Social democracy preaches "participation" by the State, rather than control by the State. Ultra left groups who become hysterical about bureaucrats also play into the hands of the private sector.

The facts of life are that "local democracy" in Ireland has always meant the rule of the local gombeens. Without the so-called "bureaucracy" of Local Authority Bye-laws, property speculators would throw up shanties liable to fire, sanitation would be unknown, public parks and basic amenities such as street lighting unheard of.

Three propaganda tendencies must now be met and fought on the Left.

1. The propaganda of "Participation". This includes:

- (a) Minority participation by the State in monopolies such as Cement Roadstone.
- (b) "Participation" by workers in their own exploitation, as "stakeholders".
- (c) "Participation" by trade unions in social contract conferences, i.e. NESC.

2. The propaganda against State Centralism. This includes:

- (a) Propaganda against State companies;
- (b) Propaganda in favour of decentralisation against Central Planning.
- (c) Propaganda against Local Authority workers and officials on the grounds that they are "bureaucrats". Usually this means that they have refused to adjust bye-laws under political party pressure.

3. The “Community Movement”

This group sets itself up as being more ‘pure’ than established parties. In fact it is merely a training ground for those who failed to get nominations at first for the established parties. In Dublin this group, in the name of Democracy, Decentralisation and Community Politics is attempting to block both the Dublin Refinery and the Dubling Port & Docks plan for industrial expansion in the Port. The Community councillors who include property dealers and rentiers represent themselves as “anti-bureaucratic”. This also gains support from the ultra-left which hates the “bureaucracy” that has brought full employment to countries with planned Central economies.

What is a State Company for?

“To maintain in existence a bankrupt undertaking... whose presence is believed to be in the national interest.”

Dr. Garret Fitzgerald (State Sponsored Bodies) 1961.

Make up your Minds!

“As a group their contribution to the economy must be rated as well above average by Irish standards”.

(Dr. G. Fitzgerald, 1962).

“Put it another way, this means that every five people in the Private sector are carrying one Public sector employee”.

(Richie Ryan, October 1975).

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Further Readings:

The Great Irish Oil & Gas Robbery 50p

Labour and the Republican Movement

Sinn Fein, 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1

Imperialism and the Irish Nation	15p
Revolutionary Movements of the Past	30p
Republicanism Part I	25p
Republicanism Part II	25p
Republicanism Part III	50p
Document on Irish Liberation	10p
Culture and Revolution in Ireland	30p
An Alien Ideology	20p
Let the Nation Stand	40p
The Great Irish Oil & Gas Robbery	40p
The Revolutionaries	35p
The Principles of Communism	15p
Ground Rent is Robbery	20p
Teoiric No.5	25p
Workshop Talks	15p
Axe to the Root	25p
The Sovereign People	25p
The Republican Tradition	15p

**WHAT YOU CAN DO
TO ACHIEVE FULL ECONOMIC AND
POLITICAL FREEDOM FOR THE IRISH PEOPLE**

Join the Republican Movement

- We **STAND** for the **OVERTHROW** of British Imperial Rule in Ireland.
- We **STAND** for an **INDEPENDENT IRISH SOCIALIST REPUBLIC**
- We **OPPOSE** all **FOREIGN** financiers, speculators, monopolists, landlords, and their native collaborators.
- We **PLACE** the **RIGHTS** of the common man before the right of property.
- We **CLAIM** the **OWNERSHIP** of the wealth of Ireland for the people of Ireland.

Unite to Fight

Call or write to: **The Secretary,
Sinn Fein,
30, Gardiner Place,
Dublin 1. 741045 – 740716.**

