

Rebel

toxteth '81



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'One day the British Army is going to be used against us in Britain, when we declare war on racism, unemployment and police harassment. So brothers and sisters don't help them win that war.'

Lloyd Hayes 1979.



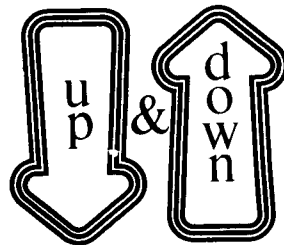
'BRITS OUT' EVERYWHERE

belfast '81

For a long and detailed article on the national question look at pp.5-8

NATIONALIZE the WAR!!

AS WE GO TO PRESS, WE HAVE JUST HEARD OF THE DEATH OF JOE McDONNELL. THEY MAY KILL US, BUT THE REVOLUTION LIVES.



Pawns IN THE Game

With Joe McDonnell dying, and with all kinds of rumours going wild, the National H-Block/Armagh Committee met last Sunday to discuss strategy. Below, an individual contribution on the results.

Despite pressure from local groups in Dublin, particularly for a National Demonstration to the British Embassy, the National Committee restated their now intransigent position: *No trouble in Dublin.*

This position has had a devastating effect on local Committees around the city...active groups like Darndale, Coolock and others have pulled out of the Dublin meetings altogether.

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The Liberties Group has set up again in a caravan behind Pimlico flats in Marrowbone Lane. Some of the militants in that group also feel the frustration of organising in an area and then further isolating the insurgent young people...who are called 'thugs' and 'hooligans' by those who are supposed to lead the opposition to the British and Free States. All people are being asked to do is to come to vigils and carry black flags as prisoners die.

Like pawns in a game of pussyfoot politics when it comes to activity in the 26 Counties.

However, the feeling is in this group that to step outside the H-Block/Armagh Campaign, at this stage is a bad mistake and look to the example of 'Joe Stagg: South Central Group' (see article in current issue). The comrade from the Liberties say they will refuse to act as stewards in curbing peoples anger - as they were asked to do in previous occasions and, they say, see the emphasis in 'organising that anger'.

The National Committee have decided on a National March to Camlough, home of dead hunger-striker Ray McCreesh, for Sat. July 11th.

There will also be a youth march in Dublin on Wed. July 29th and the National Committee say the emphasis should be on local demonstrations in Dublin.

At the time Brendan McLoughlin was very sick and about to die, just before he came off the hunger strike, a group of militants met in Dublin and began the SOUTH CITY CENTRE H-BLOCK GROUP. The article below, written by a militant of RS who participated in that activity, traces the history and practice of that Group and puts forward some criticisms designed to deepen debate on the practice of communists on the national question. Responses by other activists of the SCC H-Block Group or any RS comrade who may wish to answer are welcome.

At the first meeting of the group there were 40-50 people including militants from the IRSP anarchists, ex-Sinn Fein members, other Republicans, people from RS and couple of independents - among whom was Joe Stagg, recently thrown off the National H-Block Committee for his 'outspoken' militancy.

The group really formed as a response to the disastrous dead-end politics of the National Committee who had decided to halt mass demonstrations and publicly distance themselves from the varied expressions of anger which were shown around the country following the deaths of Bobby Sands and Francis Hughes. The National Committee was now directing that anger to the ballot box...for many of us that was clearly insufficient.

From the start, the one unifying attitude of the SCC Group was that mass protest must be kept alive...questions, of course, remained: *what form of mass protest, by whom and against whom etc.* At the beginning, it seemed that there was the possibility of discussion and political analysis so that we could all develop an assessment of the H-Block/Armagh Campaign so far and produce a counter-strategy. It was on that basis alone, and with a certain amount of hope, that RS militants decided to work in the Group.

We argued the perspective that the SCC Group should not presume that it could (or should in any case) 'reproduce' the same type of mobilisation and opposition as the National Committee. We argued that our task should be to go into working class communities and try to get smaller meetings where working people, young and old, could talk out...say what they wanted... where we could listen and learn from popular criticism of the H-Block/Armagh Campaign so far. This position also assumed that a certain amount of the same

type of discussion should also take place in the Group itself.

What we found, very quickly was that this type of political clarification was pushed aside for 'practical tasks'...organising the next activity. Out came again the old Republicanism - so reminiscent of the old ICRA. Republicans in the Group saw the working class - one more time - as a passive source of support. All that was needed was the emotional speech and a call to the streets. Two marches were called - and two marches cancelled. Even the open air meetings organised by the Group were just a smaller version of the O'Connell Street ones: the set speeches, the call to another march, the emotive appeal.

It was not surprising that very fast the Group dwindled to 10-15 organised heads...no leaflets, no propaganda, no discussion.

It is for these reasons that our National Question Collective (see Rebel 43 p.4) has agreed that we should withdraw from the South City Centre Group and continue our work independently along the lines drawn.

At this stage of the struggle people want answers, or at least debate, on certain fundamental questions: HOW DO WE FIGHT BACK, WHAT SHOULD WE BE FIGHTING? Why has the National H-Block/Armagh Campaign resulted in deaths and a halt to mass protest? Why has the politics of the Campaign been reduced to playing on peoples emotions like a yo-yo? How is the national question being resolved - is it, in fact, being resolved? Does this have anything to do with working class prisoners in the 'other jails' - both North and South?

It is questions like these we should be discussing inside the organisation as well as with comrades outside.

As thousands of workers walk to work in Dublin this week, the media, the congress unions, the shop-keepers and the TD's have all condemned the actions of CIE craftsmen. These actions are seen as being in no way official by ITGWU officials and are seen as having taken the public by surprise. We talked to CIE workers who told us their story....

C.I.E. STORY



They told us that these condemnations totally ignore the history of frustration that craftworkers, who are the main productive force in CIE, have had since a productivity deal was signed with the company in 1974.

That deal included an 11 year salary scale, 12% increase in production as well as an agreement to set up a committee to study work processes. As phase 2 of the agreement came up, savings to the company from this deal would be reviewed, and although the men reckoned that 117,000 hours were saved by the company, CIE claimed that it had no savings.

technology

While the men were pressing for regrading, the company continually wanted to talk about flexibility and productivity. Techniques have been developed by the craftworkers in fitting DAF and GM engines to Leyland bodies. As well as this, the men in Phibsboro devised a system for monitoring faults in engine components (AVM).

To carry out their work the men have to cope constantly with technological change. With the Bombardier fleet this has been further complicated and the men have to re-educate themselves in working with a system that is totally new. Already there has been extra corrective work, and a technique developed by craftsmen at Broadstone to stop overheating is now being used by the Bombardier company in training semi-skilled workers in Limerick, who are on *higher basic wages* at £112 than the men in Dublin who get £97 basic.

negotiations

Up until Christmas, the AGEMOU men had been negotiating with the group of unions, though they are outside congress. Prior to going to an assessor there was a meeting of 1,000 workers in Liberty Hall, the end result of which was that the men were

clear that they didn't want any more productivity deals. The assessor took the company's attitude on new technology, which the men saw as a direct assault on their trade and education.

CIE said they would give payment for results and would use "international standards" devised in the US, but without taking into consideration differences in conditions at work

AGEMOU broke with the group of unions as they were arguing all along for regrading. The group put in a claim for CO3 which would bring in a 15 year salary scale going from £2 at the bottom up to £17 for foremen.

The AGEMOU want:-

- (1). *Regrading, i.e. a status of 'Transport Craft Technician'.*
- (2). *A new salary scale (£121 - £145 over 5 years).*
- (3). *Standardisation of conditions of employment.*

They reckon these can be paid for by their past and future co-operation in regard to new technologies - as was mentioned in regard to DAF and GM engines plus the AVM (for monitoring faults). As well as this they are willing to discuss certain flexibilities.

Also, under a section on health, they want compulsory hearing tests on entering the company and regular screening for hearing, cancer, Asbestosis and other work-related diseases.

The danger of Asbestosis is from the work processes involved in slowing down and cleaning brake linings which are made from Asbestos.

They see that the smug and sometimes aggressive attitude of management is in contrast to two years ago when there was a shortage of craftworkers at CIE. They see this attitude as a smokescreen to cover management plans for the loss of craftworkers while at the same time they are using the productivity of craftworkers to boost the earnings of non-productive workers - management and foremen (who are £50 above craftsmen weekly), and to retain the present level of bureaucracy with a reduced workforce.

Before a letter was sent to management on 12th June, the workers met and agreed that they wouldn't work with the Bombardier bus without some meaningful discussion. The company replied that there would be disciplining, which there was at different garages of AEUW and AGEMOU workers. As well as this, John Milligan, a storeman, was thrown out for refusing to handle Bombardier parts. His comrades staged an unofficial sit-in for a week and a half and then came out of the gates at Broadstone. Most of these men have gone back in with the blessing of AGEMOU workers, however, some, like John Milligan, refuse to do so, in solidarity.

ITGWU men who had gone on a Bombardier course came off it when the craftworkers took action. Many of the rank and file of the congress unions support the men from AGEMOU, while in other cases some shop stewards are passing pickets at Broadstone and are demanding overtime. The craftworkers feel that the actions of congress could break their strike, more so than the actions of management.

So as you walk to work or to the dole office, keep your wrath for the bosses, and show your support for the workers at CIE.



finglas

the struggle goes on !

Opposition is mounting in the Finglas area to the plans of the State to use Dunsink as a toxic dump.

The FINGLAS TOXIC ACTION GROUP is organising a Festival on July 26th with the intention of bringing all the forces opposed to the dump together and bringing the 9 month battle to a head.

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The Festival will be followed by a prolonged picket on the dump with the aim of getting the Co.Council to rescind their decision. It is pinpointed that Dunsink is the Dublin Local Authority's solution to the problems of multinational companies which are running into problems with their waste.

The decision was seen at the time as an "indictment of other Local Authorities" by Barry Desmond - who has now become a Junior Minister. He said the above while chairing the Nov. 1980 County Council meeting. Mr. Desmond, who is a member of the infamous Trilateral Commission, probably got a pat on the back from his buddies in the top echelons of international big business - among them the Taoiseach Fitzgerald.

According to their manifestoes, Fine Gael see a solution to the toxic waste problem as a top priority. Dr. Hugh Byrne, the Finglas TD who just scraped in, says that the whip is out and that the solution is to dump the waste in remote spots, away from his constituency.

Either way, the answer will be determined to a large extent by the strength of the organisation of the people of Finglas and their supporters. And the people everywhere around the country, in Ringaskiddy, Tallaght, Scribblestown or wherever.... refusing to carry the can of capital's waste. Which endangers lives, destroys land and puts the future in jeopardy.

Festival

The Festival itself, on July 26th, will start about 2 o'clock and will consist of workshops, exhibitions, music, seven-a-side, tug-of-war, along with fortune tellers etc.

It is an open day on the property of the Co.Council and in the evening there will be a concert.

The Finglas Toxic Action Group is meeting weekly in the H.O.P.E. prefab, beside the Church, in West Finglas every Wednesday at 7.30 in the evening.



Limerick Anti-Nukes tell us that they're meeting regularly to organise Carnsore '81.

Between now and the rally there will be weekly meetings in HALLA IDE, Thomas St., Limerick every Tuesday night. All welcome.

Limerick

Invitation

At the II. Congress of RS held recently it was decided that Rebel should develop by consciously opening up its pages, content and decision-making to more DIRECT PARTICIPATION to readers and activists across the country.

We want to be part of a process of producing a cheap, informative, educating and accessible newspaper - bigger, more regular, with greater coverage of local and national events and one that reaches more working people - whether at work or not.

To that end, we are INVITING readers from the Limerick and Shannon areas to come together and discuss ways so that Rebel can be improved and better used - that local struggles are adequately covered and local political organisation develops.

There are 750 regular Rebel readers in Limerick and Shannon, many of whom have been supporting the paper regularly since the earliest issues two and a half years ago. The local RS organisation invites anyone who is willing to work towards making Rebel a more valuable tool to the Irish working class...any woman or man who may have ideas and criticisms, anyone who is dreaming of a better society and life...Political independence of all those who want to work on such a project will be respected.

The meeting will take place on Wednesday 22nd July in Halla Ide, Thomas St. Limerick 8.30 in the evening sharp.

LIMERICK FAMILY PLANNING CLINIC

4, Mallow Street
Limerick

Tel. (061) 42026

OPENING TIMES

NON-MEDICAL SESSIONS:

MONDAY-THURSDAY: 10a.m.-6p.m.

7p.m.-9p.m.

FRIDAY: 10a.m.-9p.m.

SATURDAY: 10a.m.-12.30p.m.

MEDICAL CLINICS: (by appt.)

TUESDAY: 10a.m.-12.30p.m.

WEDNESDAY: 6.30p.m.-9p.m.

THURSDAY: 6.30p.m.-9p.m.

SATURDAY: 10a.m.-12.30p.m.

by Ed Kent



Ireland 1981.

The spiralling waves of popular struggle which have characterised Irish society over the last 11-12 years have produced a crisis of major proportions both for the Irish and the British States.

The recent mobilisation on the prisoners issue, the earlier gigantic mobilisations on the issue of incomes - polarised around the question of taxation - and the effects of both on the recent elections, show clear proof that the crisis of capital and State in Ireland is widespread and far-reaching.

This is a crisis which has not only influenced the method of capitalist accumulation both north and south, but has also begun to shake capital's political control over the people; as well as weakened seriously the power of those State institutions whose job is to pacify and mediate class struggle: the Church, the schools, the family and the Trade Unions.

This is a crisis of profound significance; it is the objective of the long and tedious article which follows to examine some aspects of this crisis and try to clarify some of its implications for the work of communists in particular relation to the national question.

WORLD UPSIDE DOWN

Two main sparks of inspiration stand behind this present article.

The first, the series of recent street confrontations in Dublin between masses, literally thousands of young comrades demonstrating in support of the prisoners, and the Gardai. Not as strong in their intensity and hate as the images of Brixton, Southall and Liverpool which took over the British TV scenes - not as organised as our brothers and sisters in the Creggan, but nevertheless real.

The second the images of the pathetic Free State standing on the crutches of a discredited Coalition. And those supposed independents giving their support to that sick and miserable State. Prancing like clowns in the Dail - dressed in yesterday's clothes voting for

Fitzgerald. Anyway, nothing to feel sad about because every time socialist illusions fail, when mystification crashes, it's a victory for the working class.

My objective is the clarification of that sensible statement - made in p.5 of Rebel 43: "Nationalising the opposition and the war implies having to step out of the Republican confines. Our future stance must take its reference from a working class standpoint."

What is this 'working class standpoint'? What are the criteria which would help us define it and put it into work?

It is worth pausing therefore for a moment or two in order to seriously consider this central knot of Irish politics. This slippery pivot of revolutionary political practice.

the problems facing the people. The most sophisticated reps of this position, be they Trotskyist Maoist or left Social Democrats, can go no further than argue old and discredited formulas of class compromise based on Broad/United, Popular Fronts...where the workers, or more precisely their spokespeople, will work with and (hopefully) try to radicalise the dominant forces of Republicanism.

These dreams are proven as only dreams year after year, campaign after campaign. That noisy alarm clock of proletarian action goes off and wakes up some... but you must have ears to hear. Eyes to see that what this strategy implies is the subordination of working class interests to the interests of the Republican Movement. And thus the necessity to oppose anything that moves on the Left which might threaten that fragile and opportunist compromise of two brothers who hate each other. And the dreams persist and live on - like old politicians who never die.

On the opposite pole stands the second approach, anti-Republicanism. Those who like Sinn Fein the Workers Party argue that the national question is, in fact, a non-issue as far as the working class is concerned. That living standards, jobs, income and rights can only be guaranteed in a divided but stable capitalist society where proletarian power can only be asserted by the gradual multiplication of Sherlocks and Kemmys. That this is the only way to fight ideological and material divisions among the people.

This position speaks from the logic of the State - today. It is forced constantly to mystify and deny the peoples movement and, in reality, lives a constant lie. A lie which can never win - an illusion which is under the thumb of capital. How long can it go on for? For as long as the

In the 32 Counties, there are two dominant approaches on this question.

The first, Republicanism, argues that it is illusory to look for - and therefore argue for - a 'specifically' working class standpoint. So, various variants of Labour must wait are put forward as the only answer to

struggle between the classes does not put the question of power onto the agenda.

So let us go back to the crisis we spoke on earlier.

The more I think about it the more I am convinced that to be able to grasp the ideological limits of that *working class* standpoint, one has to be able to understand the extent of the present crisis and its implications. Before I go any further, let me clarify that the concept of crisis does not mean 'the end of capitalism'.

On the contrary, it refers to the unstable time during which the end of a system can only be avoided through far-reaching and radical changes and adaptations. The word *crisis* (from the Greek *krisis*=decision) is a period, a historical moment of danger and suspense, during which a diseased social system, realising that it cannot live on as before is obliged, on pain of death, to undergo transformations designed to give it a new lease of life. Only failing these, the end becomes unavoidable.

In this precise sense, the question of whether this particular crisis we are living through is a definitive revolutionary crisis, or not, does not even arise. The undeniable fact that there is a crisis shows that capital's domination in its relations to labour is threatened. So, revolutionary opportunities exist - as always.

But, again as always, the crisis is a risk for both opposing sides. Revolution is never inevitable - equally so for the counter-revolution. So let us leave the debate about so-called 'objective' factors to those wretched hacks who have time to waste on stupidity. My position is that in times of crisis, in periods inside which capital is struggling for control, in such times of cumulative crisis when working class action descends on the stage, literally, from nowhere...in such times the emphasis must be on the subjectivity of the working class driving history forward.

So, a Marxist crisis in the most orthodox of terms. While the old is dying and the new cannot be born. The consciousness of an alternative world slowly emerging driven by that subjective desire for change.

And here we stand. Searching for that slippery working class standpoint. What can it be at a time when the Irish proletariat emerges from its pre-history and enters the fray - usually wearing bovine boots. Can we identify that standpoint? Is it possible to discover an underlying rationality in this highly confusing process?



Biblical visions: Blake's *The Great Red Dragon*

This crisis may be very hard to resolve since at its very root lie two converging elements: one, the international elements of capital's agony: the falling rate of profit, shrinking markets, international competition and the struggle of the international proletariat; two, the main political question of centuries of struggle: the Irish peoples refusal of the imperialist division of the country.

The convergence of the two maps out the particularity of the crisis in Ireland. A particularity which means that war has become endemic and, as a result, that the traditional tools of imperialist power are no longer capable of maintaining social peace.

So if we draw the various strands of this article together we can start conceptualising this 'national' crisis not only as the burning question of national unity, independence and British military withdrawal but also, and equally serious, the diffuse but widespread economic/political resistance to capital and its organisation.

This national crisis is of such major proportions that all the 'traditional' functions of the Free and the British States are being put into question. For example, the role of the State as a general economic planner has come to a dreadful end. Economics as a science appears bankrupt, while wholesale bankruptcy faces the economy. And as a new fragile Coalition holds power gingerly it is very possible that the year 1973, the first year of the last Coalition, will be remembered in the future as the last year of the past.

It appears inevitable that wide-ranging political, social & economic transformations will have to be tried. The State is letting go of its old role of economic control...economic initiatives will be left in the hands of big business and the State will pre-occupy itself with the maintenance of the stability of the society at large. To that extent, Coalitions incorporating the traditional leadership of the Labour Movement are a more appropriate weapon for capital.

It is also interesting to note that the question is less now what kind of policies will have to be used but, rather, who is in the 'best' position to ram through the collectively agreed policies of austerity...and the corresponding increase of repression which must accompany them.

It is to be expected then that all this internal re-arrangement, restructuring, will pose serious challenges to existing policy, theory and ideology...but also to dominant forms of political representation, the Party system, decision-making and many related issues. So that Marx's diamond clear assertion that "...it is during crises that the relations between classes become clarified..." appears in its true light.

So, this context of crisis provides the background for our search of a working class standpoint. It is also highlights in an explicit way the statement in Rebel 43 Editorial: "There is political space (that) the organised forces of the working class and the revolutionary movement can use momentarily..."

Let us now look at our own position which may help us respond to some of the challenge outlined so far:

Faced with the two dominant forces of pro- and anti-Republicanism, our politics in Revolutionary Struggle, maturing through our political practice inside the people over the past 6-7 years, have taken shape. We have argued consistently that *both Republicanism and anti-Republicanism* are incompatible with proletarian perspectives....and this not only in the long-run but **T O D A Y**.

It is this contradiction we have tried to tackle time and again...mostly, it must be said, relatively unsuccessfully. We said no to the ultra sirens of the anti-national purists while we continue to battle it out with the prostituted pro-Republican currents.

We have set continuously parameters and guidelines for our political intervention. We started from the *recognition of the national question as the primary contradiction in Irish society*. We supported and sustained the anti-imperialist war, at times even participated in it gingerly faced with howling rage from both sides. We argued and tried to practice a practical insertion of communists in the general process of national liberation. We were maligned, attacked, harassed and marginalised as a result. Always in search of an honest and realistic position based on a revolutionary working class standpoint.

But the wheels have turned slowly. The political developments of the last twelve months have clearly shown that RS was right...that all was not well and victory was not around the corner. That all the frenzy and sectarian activism in the world are no substitute for well-thought out strategy based on sound evaluation of reality.

Now is the time to assess the wealth of our experience and shift to a higher gear...as most incurable optimists are beginning to drop out. Let us look to what we have and move ahead with caution.

“ We supported and sustained the war, at times even participated in it gingerly, faced with howling rage from both sides. ”

I think comrades of the organisation would not feel disturbed or annoyed if I stated that the **ONLY** two areas around which discussion on our political intervention has progressed and certain agreement reached are:

- The evaluation that mass work must take place *inside the class* and not in areas chosen for us by political tradition or simple opportunism.
- The general feeling that *the content of that mass work* will have to be relevant to, what we called the 'peoples needs'

If we call (a.) *our methodology*, we can see it tried as early as 1976 in the old ICRA with good results. What was then considered outlandish by many people, including many Republicans despite the lessons of the 6 Counties, was repeated many times since; today, it seems to have been finally accepted as the correct basic way of procedure. The recent campaign on the H - Blocks around the elections saw mass work in communities and certain workplaces reach very high levels...with the excellent results we know. In some areas of the country RS comrades carried that work on their own....in other areas we worked with other political forces.

As far as I am concerned we must fight strongly all temptation to *prematurely centralise* political initiative in geographically predictable areas.... often empty of content but full of Branch. We must increase the diffuseness of our work and extend it to all parts of the working class...where working class people live, work and play. The conservatism implicit in the

temptation to go to the GPO or Patrick St. must be fought hard.

BUT, if the methodology of our politics has been a relatively stable area of collective agreement, the same cannot be said about the content, *the perspectives*, what we call the inside out of our politics. There is a general unease about this....comrades observe the cutting edge of the anti-imperialist struggle being hopelessly diluted by the most confusing array of careerists and opportunists. But very rarely do RS people actually take on the fight against them. At least in public and openly.

Whether it is because of misplaced respect of 'unity' or actual confusion on how to attack those positions....whether it is because comrades feel that we are so small as to not really provide a credible alternative or because we do not want to repeat the sectarian foolishness of others....we end up suffering in private and contributing little to the clarification of situations.

There are of course other more complex reasons too. We do share the widespread illusion - coming from State propaganda - that ordinary working people are gullible and apathetic and that basically 'Free State mentality' makes them not care about the war, partition or repression. We do have a good dose of self-doubt and ambiguities about the possibility of change. We are part of Irish society - how could it be otherwise?

Until of course these nightmares come to an untimely crash on the solid rocks of proletarian action and struggle. And then off goes the alarm clock.

“ All the frenzy and sectarian activism in the world are no substitute for well thought-out strategy based on sound evaluation of reality. ”



Eoin Creating Adam

Is there a recipe then? A 'communism-made-simple' handbook to help us add our brand of spices to the stew boiling hard?

I don't think so. Whatever recipe we may choose the bosses always end up eating best. What I reckon we need is a general outline of our path, of our **general direction**, a method tested in the heat of the struggle, and a number of local heads who know every nook and cranny of the terrain. We should be looking for not a recipe but a way to *deepen our opposition* - our separation from bourgeois society. Every time we succeed in doing this we grow roots

continued in the next page

continued from p.7

every time we fail we feel engulfed in a vacuum.

Nothing of what is being said here means anything other than what it reads. Separation & opposition mean *being with your class against another class*. It means feeling alien in your own streets. It means debate, mass action and certainly violence. It is the humanists who try to dilute the peoples feelings, all desire and need, by a thousand irrelevant pinpricks. I'm arguing that we should move constructively, materially, with our imagination, why not, in bover boots.

How are we going to answer the little hack then who is already telling us that we're running the danger of following a destructive utopia?

We should tell him that we are talking of different things - we are of different worlds. The Great Bulldog for him and his ilk is some star formation in the 9th Galaxy...for us it walks on two legs - like all ferocious animals And deserves no pity.

Am I getting through? Is it coming out loud and clear that what I would like to see happen is RS comrades, and all our friends, extend the discussion with our younger brothers and sisters, with insurgent workers, to include the taboo themes of illegality/violence/sabotage and the *general refusal of working people to play ball with capital*.

That refusal to believe in empty promises, that cynicism, that apathy faced with plans and pie in the sky.

reflection. On the other hand, it is an extension of proletarian refusal.

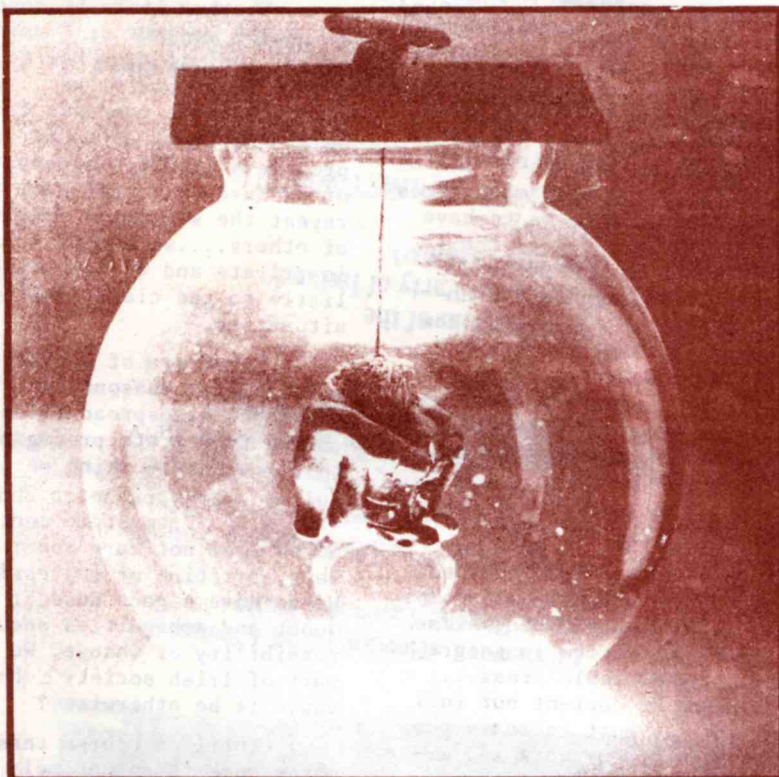
Historical materialism defines clearly the necessity of violence in history - for my part, I want to see it set inside the power relations of society. The youth of the big cities, be it Dublin, Belfast, Derry, Liverpool, Dublin, Amsterdam, Berlin, Zurich, Paris, Lyons, New York, Managua, San Salvador, Istanbul, Tunis, Cairo, Tokyo, Shanghai, Soweto...that's what they teach me.

In Social Democratic jargon *violence and its use are the privileges of the Party - and of the State if the SD Party has a share in its control*. In a certain peculiar sense social democrats (and Provisional Sinn Fein are no exception) see themselves as the *legitimate institutionalisation of violence*. I, and I think all present members of the organisation Revolutionary Struggle, are against this image of the Party so beloved by SF, SF-WP, IRSP, CP and others... even some anarchists. We believe that if the Party has the monopoly of violence, it implies that it sees itself as a *State substitute*...an anti-State but a State no less...the 'other' State. Gulags and shattered knees flow abundant from such a conception.

Violence is a synthesis NOT an antithesis. It is an expression of power, against all States, all authority...it is counter-power. The only power regulating that synthesis is the power of the organisations of the class - not just A PARTY. Such class violence is uncontrollable...it attacks the outside, deepens the separation, unsettles and demoralizes the enemy, destabilises the State. Bullets and bombs are of no use there. The only final State medicine for such violence is holocaust and nuclear destruction. And, as far as Ireland is concerned, that's not on.

Viewed like this, inside a mass oppositional project, violence does not have to expose itself like an exemplary prick. And irrational as it may sound, such violence ends up being the *only rational judgement of class struggle*. It provides the only link between proletarian existence, resistance, destructuring and destabilisation. A red filament.

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My position is that this refusal indicates not only what *should not be done* but also its opposite. That refusal is, for me, the political negation of both *capitalist modernism* (the technological utopias which come from capital) as well as the backward ideology of *pre-capitalism going back to the earth* (which tries to dilute communism into impossible dreams of individual liberation - isolating a class experience and imprisoning it into the dungeons of individualised consciousness).

That refusal is not just the negative side of what exists; in fact, if one uses a working class perspective, it is the *positive side of the negative*. That refusal indicates that a definite choice of separation has been made against the maddening reality of capitalist life.... constant capital...wealth.

The refusal to work, love, respect, obey, kill for the State isn't it the central step towards the development of revolutionary consciousness....the consciousness of an alternative society/world based on imagination and

popular invention and not profit? For me, it's impossible to even think of liberation without a process that builds up the *negation of the old* and thus sets the stage for re-appropriating the positive of the past in order to build a future.

Will we be able to incorporate then this generalised refusal into our mass work? Can we? Because if we can't, me thinks, we might as well stop blabbing on about a working class perspective.

Finally, a few words on violence. Even young children know that capitalist society lives on violence - it is based on it. Also they know that between equal opposed rights force decides.

So let us leave the hypocrites and the crocodiles shed tears for peace. For me, mass violence has a double aspect which must be incorporated in our mass work. On the one hand, it is the negative reflection of State violence...better perhaps if we call it a response than a

So what is the implication of all this for our work in Clare Belfast, Cobh, Ballyfermot?

I don't know. I really do not know what lies in the other side of this process....but I do know that this process has to start. We must fuse the wires of discontent through our mass work - more often and in a more disciplined way than we have ever done before.

E.K.

Another of the long series of the National Organising Meets for Carnsore '81 took place last Saturday, July 4th, in Dublin. About 25 people were in attendance, including activists from Cork, Limerick and Dublin.

The bulk of the meeting was taken up with discussions on the practical organisation of this years Carnsore which will take place on August 12-16th in Carnsore Point, Wexford.

The next National Meeting will take place on Saturday July 18th...venue is to be decided soon. If interested contact Rebel or the Leinster Anti-Uranium Group, c/o In Dublin, 14 Bachelor's Walk, Dublin 1.

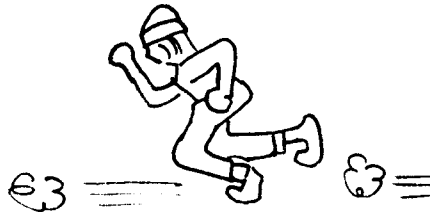
Anti-Nuke Benefits

Dublin, PARLIAMENT INN

every Monday from July 20th ***

On the 20th:
BARRY MOORE, MANUS LUNNY

On the 27th
OISIN and others



Two top executives of the Japan Atomic Power Corporation resigned recently, assuming blame for Japan's worst nuclear accident and its alleged cover-up. In two accidents in recent months at the TSURUGA plant, some 90 workers and sub-contractors were contaminated through radiation.

leaks

In Athens, Alabama, USA, about 10,000 gallons of highly radioactive water gushed from a reactor and caused partial shut-down of America's largest nuke plant BROWN FERRY. 33 workers were also evacuated because of radioactive dust in another unit of the same plant. Officials of BROWN FERRY, which cost \$1 billion said, that nobody had been contaminated 'in any detectable fashion'

Dioxin Story

Five American families in GLOBE, Arizona, USA, have forced the DOW CHEMICAL CORPORATION and the US FORESTRY SERVICE (USFS) to pay out over \$1 million in an out-of-court settlement because of herbicide poisoning following the spraying of SILVEX which contains the deadly poison TCDD or DIOXIN.

The spraying was carried out in June 1969 using specially equipped helicopters. Residents of the GLOBE area reported a range of symptoms: chloracne (the development of red spots all over the body and face), pancreatitis, muscular problems and certain type of cancer as well as high chlorestorel in the blood.

One of the families which took the court case (the McCrays) suffered severe health problems. Bob McCray developed fibrosarcoma (a soft-tissue cancer). His son, an infant at the time, went into convulsions on the afternoon of the spraying. These convulsions continued to occur on a daily basis, with as many as 36 a day until the child was 5 years old. It was diagnosed as a type of epilepsy (grandmal).

The U.S. Dpt of Agriculture carried out a so-called 'investigation' into the events and concluded that "the herbicides caused little damage in the Arizona area...". Bob McCray has called this investigation 'a farce'. He still has samples in his freezer of deformed chickens

and rabbits born after the spraying.

■ ■ ■

Although this was an out-of-court settlement, it does carry important implications for a series of 300 other cases which are currently going through the courts concerning DIOXIN. The majority of these are, what Americans call, **AGENT ORANGE CLASS ACTION CASES**. They are being taken across the country by U.S. Veterans of the Vietnam War who were spraying the defoliant 'Agent Orange' onto the Vietnamese and got contaminated themselves. This 'Agent Orange' contains a far higher DIOXIN level than the SILVEX which was used in Arizona.

VICTOR YANACONE who was the legal consultant in the GLOBE case, now represents 7,000 Veterans. He says:

" If DOW are willing to pay \$1.1 million for people sprayed once, imagine what you've got with the Vets. The flood gates have opened..."

The GLOBE victory has implications for us in Ireland too. Similar products manufactured here contain DIOXIN...they have already been used in spraying forests in the Sligo area and any hardware store selling weed-killers is peddling DIOXIN to the Irish people. HYGEIA in Galway is one of those killer plants which mixes and distributes DIOXIN.

The Educational Building Society (EBS) strike reported in Rebel 43 continues with no signs of the Management negotiating. Workers are on official strike over the refusal by bosses to organise a proper grading structure in the company.

Half of the workers are due their National Understanding payments for which Management demanded a list of productivity concessions. Even though the boss is back from holidays, and business is way down on normal with people threatening to withdraw their deposits, there is yet no obvious move for concessions.

Women workers on the picket who held a successful march last week complained of the total lack of publicity. When they approached RTE, they were told they would only do an interview when there was more publicity!!

Vicious circles turning around the working people.

CLASSified

Féile Insechoir ended last week with a couple of thousand people enjoying the sunshine and music at Inchicore. The week-long Festival was designed to make publicity and funds for the Irish School organised a few years ago by Inchicore parents.

Ironically, the children are bussed to a hall in Crumlin as they have been unable to acquire a premises in Inchicore. The parents are complaining of a total lack of assistance from the Department of Education and Dublin Corporation in their efforts to give their kids an education through their own language.

Featuring at the Festival were O'Calla Easpáig, Hamish Imlach, Christy Moore and Na Cashioigh.

Dr. Noel Daly of the Health Education Bureau told a Seminar in Sligo that farmers and industrialists could be waging warfare against future generations of Irish people because of the use of toxic materials on the land/in industry. He stated that perhaps 20% of all premature deaths and a vast amount of disease and disability could be eliminated by protecting people from these toxins. Dealing with occupational safety and health, Dr. Daly said that one-and-a-quarter million workers are exposed to some kind of occupational hazard.



During the early 60s, when Bob's career was in its baby stage, these reactionary elements who were often also deeply racist looked down on the music of Bob and the Wailers and other local artistes as "boogoo-yagga music", "yard bwoy music", "gardener bwoy music". In those times the only place you could hear Wailers music flow was in the dance halls of Kingston's ghettos.

rude boys

During that so-called 'rude boy' era, masses of mainly unemployed youths would skank the night away to the music of Bob & the Wailers, the Heptones, Delroy Wilson, Milton Ellis and many many others. Music with lyrics such as

*Jailhouse keep empty
Rudie get stealthy
Baton stick get shorter
Rudie get taller
Can't fight against the
youth now
Dem a wild, wild rudie*

of *Island Records*-the monopoly capitalist in reggae music today.

Throughout, Bob's music was motivated by a consciousness of the fact that oppressed people have to struggle by all means necessary if we are to win freedom. Thus, in one song he urged the masses to

*Get up, stand up, stand up
for your rights*

In *War* he emphasized that there would be no peace until there is equal rights and justice for all irrespective of race. In *Redemption Song*, another classic, he told us correctly that we have to free our consciousness from backward ideology before we can free ourselves from the shackles of wage slavery. In any event

*No hands can free us but
our own*

liberation

To the end, Bob solidarised fully with the liberation struggles in Southern Africa and recognised that armed struggle, revolutionary struggle, was needed to smash apartheid and colonialism and win rights and justice for the oppressed black masses. More than all other Jamaican singers and players of instrument Robert Marley gave voice to certain of the most advanced elements of world wide human culture.

crush the inhuman institution of chattel slavery.

backward

Bob supported the African liberation struggles and yet worshipped the feudal dictator of Ethiopia Haile Selassie. When Selassie was overthrown and died shortly after - an event which could hardly have saddened the Ethiopian masses - Bob proclaimed

Jah lives !



the voice of the masses

Music which echoed the early rebellion of oppressed ghetto youths, their bitter hate of the capitalist State forces (Babylon) and their determination that their spirit would not be crushed by the grinding poverty and hopelessness to which neo-colonial Jamaican capitalism sought to condemn them.

Marley was able to accurately, militantly and creatively reflect these sentiments because he was a son of the oppressed masses of the ghettos. He drew his inspiration from these masses, as well as their powerful, long-denied strivings for liberation. That Marley was able to do this steadfastly was the mark of his genius.

classics

Over the years, Marley and his music matured and developed. From the rude boy music of the 60s through the anti-colonial, anti-slavery musical classics of the *Soul Rebel* and *Soul Revolution* (the two albums he did with Lee 'Scratch' Perry and the Upsetters) up to the latest period of his association with Chris Blackwell-

Yet, at the same time, Bob's music and personal outlook reflected much of the backward, religious elements of mass consciousness. He articulated the struggle element of Rastafarianism but he also gave voice to the backward tendency of Rastafarianism and all other religious outlooks to search outside of human effort for some supernatural force for personal and collective salvation. If only we can free our minds, how come we need to relate to JAH or any other idea of God?

Besides, it wasn't the hand of any Almighty that enabled the black masses to forward triumphantly in this time. It was struggle. Struggle by our ancestors in Africa who fought the white slavers and their black henchmen to the death rather than be sold into slavery. Struggle by others of our ancestors who jumped overboard the ships in the Middle Passage, taking their own lives, rather than live as slaves. Struggle by Nanny, Cudjoe, Sam Sharpe and other freedom fighters in Jamaica and elsewhere to

Such were the sharp contradictions which were manifested in Bob's music, reflecting the contradictions of popular consciousness. On the one hand, very advanced ideas; on the other, the most backward superstitious tendencies.

It is these contradictions which have to be solved by that section of the new generation of Jamaica's performing artistes and cultural workers who will bring about the building of a truly revolutionary cultural movement, deeply rooted in the working class and fully committed to the self-encapsulation of that class.

They can only be solved by a break with religious ideas, the adoption of communist ideology and struggle for a revolutionary communist workers party and a government of workers and small farmers.

POLISH SHORTCIRCUIT

This little story is about computer subversion.

As all Rebel readers know by now, a year ago a very serious crisis exploded in Poland. 'Solidarity' in the shipyards, factories, schools and lately in the countryside blew strong whiffs of fresh air into the class struggle. And now the Polish Communist Party itself is enveloped in severe internal crisis as the contradictions of the society invade it. But what has all this to do with computer subversion?

In the beginning, dazed by the powerful reality of working class struggle for autonomy, the Party feverishly sought scapegoats. It sacked the most outrageously corrupt officials. But then, 34% of the Party membership actually joined 'Solidarity'.... that was a massive one-third of the 3 million Party members. About 1 million communists.

Then, the Party sacked 200,000 (sorry, expelled) of them...some handed in their Party cards. There followed nationwide Party elections preparing for the extraordinary Party Congress which is to take place next month. So we witnessed a new generation of 30-40 year old militants moving into positions of authority. Many of them see in 'Solidarity' the lost tradition of the international communist movement...many of them are pushing for 'reform' of the Party's relation to the working people. Readers would do well to follow these important developments. But what about computer subversion?

Well, it goes back to this 'problem' of internal autonomy faced by the leadership. For them, the Party should be structured like a pyramid (of control) with good communication from top

down and from down to the top - but NEVER SIDEWAYS. So it was only natural that members began to discuss the crisis outside 'official' Party meetings in new so-called 'UNOFFICIAL HORIZONTAL STRUCTURES'. For example, you may have read of the HORIZONTAL CONFERENCE of local Party leaders in Torin last month.

One of the last great 'achievements' of the now discredited Party leaders GIEREK was the installation of a Brit I.C.L. computer with terminals in all the main Party Officers throughout the country. This sophisticated telecommunications system was

supposed to strengthen the Warsaw leadership's control over the Party nationally by transmitting orders and information 'vertically' to and from the capital.

But these computer networks are now being used by local Party organisations in Gdansk, Krakow, Lodz and other 'dissident areas' to bypass the leadership. These local branches are using the computers to communicate horizontally and co-ordinate their strategy. Which all goes to prove that I.C.L. computers are....well, you can figure all that by yourselves.



BOB MARLEY

Last May, Robert Nesta (Bob) Marley died from cancer at the age of 36. He was the undisputed king of reggae and had a massive following all over the world. When Marley came to Ireland last year his concerts were packed out. We decided to reprint the article below from the latest issue of 'Forward' - paper of the REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST LEAGUE of Jamaica - Marley's birthplace. It makes a number of very interesting points about the man and his music in relation to class struggle in Jamaica and the world over.

For comrades who want to know more about the RML, you can write to Rebel or directly to RML, P.O.Box 27, Kingston 7 Jamaica.



May 24.

Robert Nesta (Bob) Marley, the undisputed master of reggae music who died last Monday at age 36, has now been laid to rest. His tragic death of cancer called forth an outpouring of heartfelt grief from the broad masses of Jamaican people such as has never before been experienced in this country.

It also witnessed a vile and most sickening display of crocodile tears and pretended grief by those who, not too long ago, scorned Marley, his music and the oppressed masses from whom he sprang. Elements of the privileged classes of Jamaican society like those represented in the Private Sector Organisation (PSO) of Jamaica today. Or like those gathered around the Jamaican Labour Party (JLP). The same JLP which banned Walter Rodney (a Marxist revolutionary recently assassinated) and the writings of Malcolm X (a black leader in the US assassinated by 'unknowns'), locked up Rastas for 18 months for smoking herb and otherwise repressed the black masses and their culture which were the wellsprings of Bob's music.





The new Labour-Fine Gael Government programme contains all the elements of a European style *centre-right* political project based on class compromise.

But, not as they have us believe, a compromise between working class and bourgeois interests, but rather a *compromise between the new petty-bourgeoisie* (of the State sector and the professions) and that part of the ruling class tied directly to foreign capital.

In simpler language the new Coalition can be qualified as a Government of the NEW MIDDLE CLASSES...intent on 'rational management' of an economy and a State fully dependent on foreign capital for survival. An alliance of classes - themselves the result of that domination over the last 15-20 years.

What is sure about this Coalition's programme is that much of it will remain on paper - as part of the election process rather than actual policy. They claim, for example, that 'inflation, unemployment and the level of public debt will all be brought under control' - but the mechanisms proposed for achieving this are unreal: more short-term programmes to take young people temporarily off the dole, wage restraint with (they say) price controls and the setting up of the Labour Party's beloved 'National Development Corporation' to invest in productive projects.

But these proposals are, with no exception, contradictory. For example, the level of external debt is to be 'reduced by increased taxation' yet they also promise that 'the majority will pay less tax'. Another example: 'Price controls will be used to reduce inflation', while simultaneously they say that direct taxes on goods and services will be used to reduce the budget deficit'. Clearly, something has to give...and, most probably, it will be the workers wage packet and the working class living standards which will be attacked.

Of course, the beauty of the recent election results is that the Coalition are not in a secure position - the Government could fall at any time. So, while all sides in the Dail agree in principle on the need to impose *economic austerity* - in practice, they fear the wrath may turn on them in a not-so-distant election.

So all sides will tread gingerly...and this may mean that the central parts of this Coalition programme will not be implemented at all...peripheral parts of the programme though may go ahead:

- * Re-establishment of the Poverty Committee
- * Higher grants to students
- * Re-establishment of the Ministry for Economic & Social Planning
- * The National Development Corporation
- * Temporary Youth Employment Schemes
- * A Dublin Transport Authority.
- * An Industrial Relations Tribunal

There are also some other points to note. On the energy front nuclear power is still off the agenda. They're going to set

up a Department for the Culture and the Art and a Minister of State for Poverty. They're going to establish community policing and a psychology service in secondary schools...ominous signs these.

Compared to the Fianna Fail Administration, there will be a relative shift in emphasis on a number of issues:

On the national question, attention will slide to the political Parties inside the 6 Cos rather than direct negotiating with the British.

On the industrial front, Government strategy will move away from Charlie's attempts for a more 'independent' type of economic development and towards the internationalised parts of the economy:

"...A shift in resources from sheltered industries in favour of those facing competition from foreign goods and services both in this country and abroad..."

from the Coalition Agreement.

Finally, on the social front, there will be more emphasis on fighting 'inequality' and less on the 'national interest' which Fianna Fail talk so much of

This Coalition differs in a significant way from the 1973-77 Coalition...primarily due to the changing composition and support base of both the Labour and Fine Gael Parties.

Garret Fitzgerald has marginalised the 'old guard' of Fine Gael which was usually associated with Blueshirt politics. It has promoted a whole new and young generation of technocrats and academics who have become Ministers or are playing leading roles in the Party.

Labour, on the other hand is undergoing an internal transformation. As the rural intelligentsia & professionals put into the Party a more traditionalist reformist type of politics, the younger modern social democrats of popular origins have been losing heavily. This shift will represent little change in real politics but a quite a considerable dampening of the socialist rhetoric of the Party. To that extent ruptures and tensions from the urban rank-and-file are not to be ruled out.

The two restructured partners will drag their Coalition into an uncertain future.

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