



# the PLOUGH

TOWARDS AN IRISH WORKERS REPUBLIC

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## TORIES OUT NORTH AND SOUTH!

The Tories of Westminster, Stormont and Lenster House are moving rapidly towards a "political solution" to the Six Co. crisis. But before such a compromise can be agreed upon the IRA must be detached from its popular support and defeated. As its contribution the Fianna Fail Government is getting ready to clamp down on the Republican Movement in the South.

### REPRESSION

The F.F. Ard Féis put the matter beyond all question. The threat to return certain people for trial, to place restriction on bail, and to use military courts and internment as "a last resort" is the first stage in this attack. Once the soil of public opinion has been softened the government will dig in.

Already, almost without notice, the use of the Offences Against the State Act is being increasingly used. Early in January Gardai raided the Sinn Fein Offices in Gardner Place. Six Provisionals were arrested under Section 21 and more recently we are witnessing a systematic countrywide campaign of arrest and harassment of members of the Official Republican Movement.

### COLLABORATION

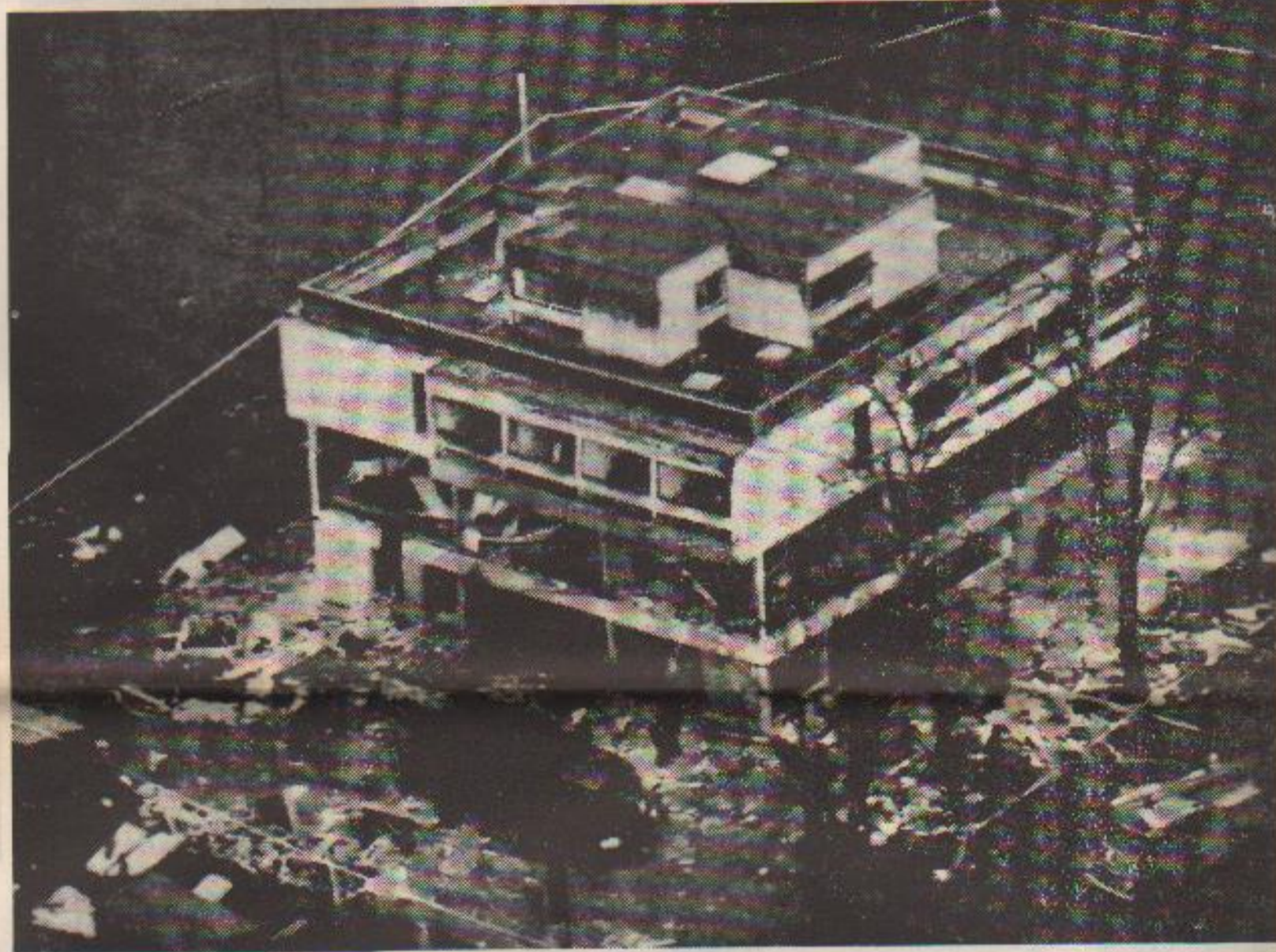
It is ludicrous for the government to claim that this last action was carried out in view of the Aldershot explosion. In the light of many recent speeches and statements such a move was to be expected. All that was required was a pretext, and like the hypocrites that they are, they seized on Aldershot. No, it was not a revulsion at Aldershot but part of the Tory-FF plan which dictated this action.

### NORTH AND SOUTH

This brings home, once more the vital need to link the struggle North and South. The illusion still exists in some places, especially among the Provisionals, that as long as the Free State Government is not bothered it will return the favour. This is an attitude on the one hand which refuses to draw any lessons from history. It forgets about the behaviour of the Fianna Fail regime during the 1956-62 campaign, during the Forties and the Thirties. On the other hand, it fails to understand what makes the Free State move, i.e., the money strings manipulated at Westminster by Ted Heath. Fianna Fail and the social forces which back it are so dependent on British capital that they have become the agents of British policy in Ireland. Consequently, any fight against British imperialism must automatically become a fight not only against the Unionists but also against Fianna Fail.

### SOLIDARITY

At the moment the Unionists and Fianna Fail have already joined forces in a joint campaign of repression. Socialists and Republicans are now obliged to unite and fight back. The struggle must be extended into the South; a campaign to expose the Fianna Fail quislings is a precondition for siding the people in the North and defeating British Imperialism.



## THE ALDERSHOT EXPLOSION

**In recent weeks we have seen the Fianna Fail government begin to use the notorious Offences against the State Act. The Aldershot explosion is supposed to be the excuse.**

**A political analysis of the incident is therefore necessary:**

The responsibility for the bomb attack on the officers' headquarters at Aldershot has been accepted by the Official IRA. It was an act of military retaliation for the cold-blooded murder of thirteen unarmed civilians in Derry on Bloody Sunday. Tragically five women workers were inadvertently killed. This tragedy has been cynically seized upon by the Tory govt and Union Jack Lynch to whip up a nauseating show of hypocrisy. With the hysteria induced there is great danger that the real issues will be obscured.

The explosion has to be seen against the background of Derry. There the British army callously opened fire on a large crowd of peaceful civilians killing thirteen of them. After the incidents both the British government and its army remain both unrepentant and self-righteous. Aldershot was an attack on a military target, a specific one at that: the quarters of the officer corps of the Parachute regiment. After the attack, the IRA regretted the deaths of the civilians and

made it clear that it was a specific act of retaliation and not a prelude to a mass bombing campaign. A technical error—the bomb exploding at the wrong time—led to a tragic mistake.

Every socialist and republican sincerely regrets the death of the five women cleaners. The concern and the "regret" of the British government stands in sharp contrast to its actual record. It is a government with centuries of blood on its hands not only in Ireland, but also in Cyprus, Aden, Africa and numerous parts of Asia. It has no regrets about its own past or about its present behaviour in the Six Counties. It has no concern for the social conditions under which the women cleaners have to work or for the campaigns the women cleaners have waged throughout Britain to better their living conditions. Their sympathy is simply cant, which the British ruling class has perfected to the level of a fine art and in which they specialise.

Equally hypocritical is the sympathy of Union Jack Lynch. For him it was simply an opportunity to harass republicans—a campaign on which he had embarked at the Fianna Fail Ard Fheis before the Aldershot explosion.

The Republican movement now stands at the crossroads. As the mass defense of the Nationalist communities it is the only force standing between them and military repression. Its future, the course it now takes and the future of the Irish Revolution are fundamentally linked. By its choice of target it shows clearly that it knows who the enemy of the Irish people is: not the British working class, not even the misguided and bigoted British soldiers, but the British ruling class and its officer caste. In the past, it has shown itself capable of making a balance sheet of its military struggles. It can do so again.  
Go Forward!



# EDITORIAL: THE REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST GROUP



There is an anecdote by the famous Russian writer Tolstoy which Lenin liked to recall. We think that it may help our readers understand what all the "in-fighting" on the left is about. The story is as follows: There once was a man who sat on the footpath. At a distance passers-by saw him waving and gesticulating and naturally presumed that he was insane. But when they came closer they saw that he was sharpening a knife.

Now the moral of this story applies to the left. When you are at a distance you think that we have all gone mad; you are unable to see any sense in the faction fights and splits. But if you get closer you will realize that in fact we are sharpening a weapon, namely our understanding. Without this sharpening we can never grasp what the real needs and aspirations of the working class are.

Well a lot of knife sharpening has gone on within the Young Socialists lately. The questions under discussion were very important ones—the international and national questions and the problem of leadership. Two major factions, the Left opposition and the League for a Workers' Republic, took shape around these issues while a section of the organisation remained neutral.

## INTERNATIONAL QUESTION

Basically we in the left opposition differed from the LWR on our internationalism. As Marxists we recognise that in the epoch of international imperialist aggression that it is impossible for a revolutionary group to develop either politically or organisationally in isolation. Such development can only come through international collaboration. As a first step in this direction we advocated support for the Fourth International (the World Party for Socialist Revolution).

In an attempt to block this internationalism the LWR condemned the F.I. as "revisionists" and called for cooperation with all those forces which remained true to the "spirit" of Trotskyism. It was intimated that these forces were compromised mainly by the so-

called International Committee, a small sectarian splinter group which split from the F.I. and which in turn, has itself divided! The politics of this organization are particularly scandalous. Their refusal to solidarise with the Vietnamese, Cuban, or Algerian Revolutions runs directly counter to their much vaunted internationalism. In Ireland for example, they refuse to support the national revolution and denounced the I.R.A. as middle class terrorists! They counterpose to the struggle of the IRA the struggle against the Tories . . . in Britain!

On the other hand, not only does the F. I. support all colonial revolutions but actively participates in them; often with great losses. Only recently, in Bolivia 40 members of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Bolivian section of the F. I.) were massacred in a right-wing coup. On the Irish question they wholeheartedly support the national revolution and have organised many demonstrations around the world in solidarity with the IRA.

For internationalists and revolutionaries the choice is an obvious one.

## THE NATIONAL QUESTION

Again we disagreed with the LWR on the fundamental importance of the national struggle. The LWR sees the national question as a hindrance to pure class struggle, while we see it as part of the class struggle.

Because the national question was not solved, British imperialism hindered the economic development of Ireland, with the result that generations of Irish workers have been subjected to unemployment, emigration, and a general meagre existence. In reality, the national struggle therefore is class struggle. That is why Ireland's greatest Marxist, James Connolly, said: "The Irish working class alone remains as the incorruptible inheritor of the fight for freedom in Ireland". (Needless to say a publication of the International Committee has denounced Connolly as a "bourgeois nationalist" and a "Racist"!)

From the LWR's incorrect attitude to the national question flows their childish approach

to Republicanism. Instead of a serious analysis and fraternal dialogue they prefer denunciations and name calling. In the long run the are the best allies which the reformist leadership of the Republican Movement has.

## REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP

One of the major stumbling blocks of all previous revolutionary groups has been their failure to develop a scientific programme. By a programme we do not mean of course, a set of vague demands. We mean a serious analysis of the experience and history of labour and capital, the basis of which certain demands which correspond to the overall need of the working class are put forward. The Leftopposition stress the need for working out such a programme as a guide to all our activity but the LWR saw this as an excuse for "opting out of the class struggle" (not that they themselves are very involved in it anyway).

In opposition to our view they brought forward the idea that the revolutionary programme exists objectively in the class struggle and can be articulated only through involvement in the class struggle. Thus, they wished the Young Socialists to continue along the same old road which it had journeyed for the past three years without making a single contribution to the revolutionary struggle and which only succeeded in isolating us from that struggle.

After more than nine months debate on all these issues the second annual conference took place. Going to the conference the Left opposition realised that while we were the largest single faction in the YS, a simple majority vote would solve nothing and though we intended to make one last stand, we had already decided to leave. The continuation of the faction fight which was being dragged down by the LWR would serve only to wreck the Young Socialists. Not wishing to have hand, act or part in doing such damage we had no alternative but to opt out. Thus the three Dublin branches and the Belfast branch walked out taking the majority of the organisation with them. Later, the Limerick and Galway branches, which had remained neutral during the faction fight also disaffiliated, leaving only one branch in the YS!

Since then, the left opposition has decided to seek recognition as the official section of the F.I. in Ireland and has reorganised itself under the title Revolutionary Marxist Group. From now *The Plough* which was previously the journal of the Dublin area Young Socialist will be the organ of the R.M.G.

## The Fourth International

Many readers have asked us to explain what the Fourth International is. This we are happy to do.

The roots of the Fourth International go back to the latter half of the 1920's. The Russian Revolution was in the process of degeneration and two major wings emerged within the Bolshevik Party. On the one hand there was a bureaucratic cast whose interests were represented by the Stalin faction and on the other the Revolutionary workers whose interests were represented by the Left Opposition lead by Trotsky.

This division was repeated throughout the whole international communist movement. The Stalin faction wished to turn the Communist Third International into a diplomatic pressure group which would serve as a bulwark against capitalist intervention in Soviet affairs against this the international Left Opposition wished the Third International to be a Revolutionary force in its own right because they saw the spread of socialist revolution to the advanced capitalist countries as the only real guarantee of soviet power.

It should be emphasized that this difference of opinion was not accidental. Bureaucracy thrives on backwardness. Ireland for example which has a backward economy has a 30,000 strong civil service whose name is a byword for incompetence, jobbery and corruption. Likewise, the backwardness of Russia was the mainstay of the Soviet bureaucracy and this bureaucracy feared that if the Revolution erupted in more advanced countries that the objective basis of its existence would be eliminated—thus its attempt to emasculate the International.

The struggle between these two wings continued into the 30's. The stormy events of this decade proved the final testing grounds for the Revolutionary potential of both factions. The Stalinists embarked on a simultaneous policy of class collaboration and persecution of the Left Opposition. As a result the fascists marched to power almost unopposed, while in Russia the former leaders of the Revolution were systematically executed.

This signalled a complete schism with the Revolutionary tradition of Marxism and the International Left Opposition decided to make a clean break with the so-called communists of the Third International. Eventually, in 1938 after several years of preparation the *Fourth International* was launched.

THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL: A part of the Ligue Communiste, French Section of the IVth International, contingent at a recent united front demonstration in Paris in solidarity with the struggle in Ireland.





# BLOODY SUNDAY— THE POLITICAL AFTERMATH

The Derry massacre and its aftermath has shown the impossibility of a military victory over the Catholic people in the immediate future. Already the wheels of compromise have been set in motion by the Tories. But before the various solutions being offered can be considered seriously, the historical and economic context in which they are being put forward must be examined.

## ECONOMIC FACTORS

One of the major "advances" made in this phase of the liberation struggle is the recognition by nearly all politicians that the only real solution to the Irish question is national unity. A number of economic factors are behind this political change of mind.

Firstly, the backbone of Six Co. industry has been slowly disintegrating. Employment in the linen industry has fallen by 33% between 1950-1970 and over the same period employment in shipbuilding dropped by 20%. Secondly industry has outstripped agriculture in the Free State as the dominant sector of the economy thus undermining the 1922 Treaty which was essentially a pact between British imperialism and large scale agricultural and commercial interests in Ireland. Accordingly it became necessary to work out a new relationship between the Free State and the UK, taking into consideration the interests of an industrial bourgeois which is heavily dependent on British capital. Thirdly, the technological revolution, the decline of heavy industry and the momentum of the colonial revolution have combined to relegate Britain to the Status of a third rate power. In face of this, a tighter integration of the UK with the elimination of costly superstructural anomalies have become necessary if Britain is to remain a viable economic unit.

The upshoot in the political arena of all these economic developments has been that, the unification and reintegration of Ireland into the UK has become the order of the day. However, the real question is, whether or not, in the process of its death agony British imperialism is strong enough to bring about such a major change.

## A UNITED IRELAND?

To unite Ireland the whole economic and social setup would have to be altered. In the Six Co's income per head is 30% higher than in the South. Unemployment benefits in the North are 20% higher than in the South, old age pensions are 30% higher, widows pensions are 50%; housing output in relation to population is nearly 40% greater and educational expenditure in relation to population is 100% greater. Further, practically no Health Service exists in the South.

To coax the Protestant workers into such a state would clearly require a vast improvement in living standards in the so called Republic. It is equally clear that improvement of this magnitude is impossible in a neo-colonial state.



## COMMUNITY GOVERNMENT

Thus the immediate aim of the Westminster, Stormont and Lenster House Tories, is not for a united Ireland but for a federal settlement i.e., Stormont and Lenster House would become Regional parliaments under the thumb of Westminster. But even here difficulties arise. The Stormont Regime is completely out of character with the bourgeois democratic nature of Britain and the near bourgeois democratic nature of the Free State and before an integrated political unit could evolve the Stormont Regime would have to be completely overhauled.

This, of course, is easier said than done. The Orange state was founded on an apartheid basis for political reasons (which needless to say

were inspired by the deep seated economic causes). For example, the minority Catholic population has always tended to grow much more rapidly than the Protestant Population. There is nothing abnormal in the fact that today 51% of all children in the Six Co's are Catholic. Yet, the Catholic population has remained at a fairly constant 34%-35% of total population since the opening of Stormont. This population control could only be achieved through an application of selective economic pressures especially in the vital areas of employment and housing. For this the ghetto pattern was essential and it is no accident that this pattern is maintained in the 'development schemes' operating at the present moment. To institutionalise democracy in the North under capitalism therefore, is no easy matter, for it would require the elimination of the

basis on which the power of the Orange bourgeoisie rests. Naturally, this is unacceptable to the Orange bourgeoisie and while the British imperial bourgeoisie would willingly overrule them, they too must move cautiously lest they create a weariness which might prove to the advantage of revolutionary forces. The "community government" proposal is designed to meet this situation. While it does not attempt to undermine the apartheid nature of the Six Co's it does make some superficial "democratic" changes. However, as the "community government" proposal does not go to the heart of the problem it is bound to fail in the long run and even in the short run is unlikely to have much effect.

Brendan Kelly

## MAIRIN KEEGAN

*Our friend and comrade Mairin Keegan died in hospital on the 7th of January this year. She collapsed prior to the funeral of our Crd. Peter Graham and never recovered. When she died, the funeral she received was a fitting tribute to her whole life's work. Her coffin was draped in the Red Flag of the Fourth International, the Starry Plough and the tricolour and on each side it was escorted by a cortege comprised of members of the RMG and Saor Eire. A colour party dressed in battle fatigue led the way and behind a lone piper followed playing a traditional lament. A volley of three shots rang out as the hearse followed by hundreds set out. But it was left to the Free State to pay the last and best tribute - 200 police surrounded Crd. Keegan's grave! They showed they feared her in death as in life.*

*Below we reproduce extracts from Raynor Lysaght's graveside oration.*

Mairin's whole life is the story of political development from the pure idealistic form of nationalism, uncontaminated (as far as

possible) by material considerations, to the position of a dedicated dialectical materialist.

She began and she always remained in the Gaelic League. Over many years though she became increasingly dissatisfied with the purely cultural and totally unpolitical outlook of this body in the 1950s. In 1962 however, she went to London and it was here that she saw for herself consciously the need for political and socialist activity if even her limited cultural aims were to be achieved. But not only this, she became more aware of the value of the socialist aims in themselves. She began to examine the various leftwing movements of the time. She rejected in turn Clann na hÉireann and the Connolly Association. It was only when she was about to retire from the struggle that she discovered and joined the Irish Workers Group. And it was from then onwards that she began to read, to analyse and to broaden her understanding of the issues involved.

She was not simply an armchair Marxist, she allied theory to action. In May 1968 in Paris she took part in the struggle of the workers and students which has opened the new era of working class revolution. And in

1969, back in Ireland, as a member of the Dublin Citizens Committee and more importantly Saor Eire, she gave aid to the national revolution that has been developing in Northern Ireland. Unlike many both of the ultra-left and the "pure" Republican movement she did not distinguish between the socialistic struggles in Paris and the immediate nationalist struggles of the workers and the minority of the 6 counties. She saw that they were not just isolated developments; she saw that the different forms of each masked the reality of permanent revolution. She joined Saor Eire because as a group it recognised this reality. Her activism, political sophistication and dedication was recognised by her comrades who swiftly elected her to Saor Eire's central executive.

But she did not limit her understanding of permanent revolution to the purely national context. She saw that the only way to make Ireland socialist was in the struggle for the world wide classless, stateless society. To this end in the last year of her life she contacted Irish members of the Fourth International, and very notably the late comrade Peter Graham, and she participated with them in preparing an Irish Section of the Fourth International. Once again such was her ability in this task that on Comrade Graham's treacherous assassination by reactionary elements she was appointed as an official F. I. repre-

sentative in Ireland. Her fatal illness prevented her from taking up this post however.

One more point should be made too: in just over 3 months the F. I. in Ireland has suffered two serious blows. Two of its leading cadres have been eliminated. There are some philistines who feel that such blows will prove mortal. These people will be disappointed. Our losses grievous though they are, are limited compared to the losses that have been suffered by revolutionaries in the past. The slaughters of the Paris Commune, did not prevent the emergence of world wide scientific socialism. The Republican movement in Ireland was not destroyed because of the murders of 1916 or of 1922. The murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg could not prevent the growth of German Communism, and the Trotskyist movement of the world has survived not only his death and that of his son Sedov but the murders of Trotskyists in and out of Russia. Compared to these facts we have got off lightly and if our losses were twenty times as great we would still survive.

I might conclude by wishing a long life to the F. I., but this would be contrary to that body's aims. It wants world revolution and the world includes Ireland as soon as possible. So I prophesy a short and successful life to the F. I. and Saor Eire. Let our enemies which are those of the working class beware. We are only just beginning.



# THE JUDGEMENT OF DR JOHNSTON

Robert Dorn analyses Roy Johnston's resignation



In the spring of 1962, the Hammersmith branch of the Communist Party of Great Britain published an edition of its magazine, Outlook. Among its reports of progressive jumble sales and changes of venue for meetings, there was one article that provided a more serious political note. Entitled "An End to the Troubles", it dealt briefly and perhaps as a result, somewhat sketchily with the current situation in Ireland. Its author was a comrade recently arrived from that country; a computer scientist called Dr. Roy Johnston.

## Ireland and the Comintern

In its way the article represented a milestone in the history of Stalinist policy towards Ireland. For the quarter century since the failure of the republican Congress in the mid 1930s the Irish policies of the official Communist Parties in the British Isles had been cautious and constitutional. Frank Ryan's Spanish venture had left socialist Republicanism isolated from any potential rank and file. His own entry to the Comintern was not followed by that of any of his supporters. The leadership of Irish Republicanism drifted into the hands of a group essentially non-political in outlook, whose practical policies often appeared similar to fascism. This might not have deterred the Communist Party from making overtures to it had not Hitler invaded Russia in July 1941. The United Kingdom became an ally of the USSR overnight. Accordingly, the C.P.I.'s policy of anti-imperialism—however formal—had to be changed. Anti-imperialism in the sense of opposition to British imperialism had to be dropped and, to protect "socialism in one country" these had to be recognised as the aims of the Comintern as a whole. The CPI was partitioned along the line of the border. Its branches in the Republic were liquidated into the Irish Labour Party. In Northern Ireland the C.P.N.I. remained as a stalwart backer of the allied war effort and opponent of Republicans. Even after the second world war when the now expelled liquidationists joined with the graduates of the University of the Curragh to revive the Party in the twenty-six counties, Irish Stalinism remained partitioned. While it was active in economic issues and in propagandising for the East European workers' states, the Irish Workers' League tended to support the international and civil policy of Fianna Fail. No support was forthcoming for the border campaigns of 1956. Ireland had not joined N.A.T.O. when that body was formed. So, regardless of its rotten welfare service, its disintegrating economy and indeed the ineffective nature of the Republic's neutrality it was held to be "the most progressive state in Western Europe". To rock the boat was for the Stalinists unthinkable.

It must be remembered that during the ten years that Roy Johnston was a member of IWL there has been found no apparent documentary evidence showing him to have been opposed to the Stalinist line. When he left Dublin for London in 1960, he seemed to have been moved less by political disagreement with his comrades than by a more traditional cause for emigration of Irish radicals: he had to eat.

## the doctor in exile

Nonetheless, while he was in London, he presented his proposal for what amounted to a new (or, rather a return to a previous) departure in republican and Stalinist thinking. How far the idea was his own is still uncertain. For many people the actual master-mind was one Claran Desmond Greaves, the C.P.G.B.'s "Irish expert" who combines considerable talents as an academic historian with the politics of a capable Stalinist hack. The difference may be of some formal importance, if Greaves has been the guiding hand, Stalinist influence is still of more decisive strength in the Republican Movement (Gardiner Place) than if Johnston was, as appeared its inspiration

But what was the content of the article that anticipated the new course? In form it was a sober description of the situation in the Republic of Ireland, similar to ones written by experts on other countries for such journals. Ireland was still declared to enjoy "the most progressive government in Western Europe" though this was qualified by the phrase "judged by the criterion of attitude towards imperialism". Party members were again urged to read Jackson's "Ireland Her Own", and, more oddly, Dorothy Macardle's Fianna Fail apologia, "The Irish Republic". However, what was different, was the article's new sense of opportunity: the Stalinite comrades were urged to read in the context of a promising situation. And, specifically, the Republican Movement despite its current political defeat was mentioned as a component part of this. Young Republicans were mentioned as reading "Che" Guevara. Clearly it was the duty of Stalinists to get in on the act.

What Johnston (or Greaves?) was proposing was in fact, a return to the strategy of the early thirties. Then the Stalinists had allied to the Republican Movement to put Fianna Fail into power. Subsequently, they had attempted to use the struggle against the fascist Blueshirts as a launching pad for a continental—style Popular Front against Fianna Fail itself. But they had only managed to split and weaken Republicanism as a whole, and had left it to the "pure military strategists". Johnston prepared to avoid this isolation by the simple expedient of entering the Movement and manipulating it from inside. (Admittedly this task was easier than it had been in the 1930's: the Movement had declined since then.) The policies to be carried out by such a Popular Front would be the good old "two (if not more) stage strategy" of moving forward by infinitesimal reforms towards a one-nation socialist society. The main role of the Republican Movement, at least as far as Greaves saw it, was to win small farmers and shopkeepers to an alliance with the Communist Party (or, rather Parties) which would represent the Proletariat. This alliance would be aimed at the vague, if beautiful ideal of "National Liberation" a sort of national capitalist society equal to that of Britain, after which the C.P. would lead the Irish to the promised land. It was in pursuance of this plan that Roy Johnston took the risk of giving up his English job and returning to Dublin in 1963.

## the new course

How far did Johnston's influence extend in changing the nature of the Republican Movement? And how far did he change the Movement in the direction he would want it to go? In dealing with the first question it must be remarked, firstly, that his entry to the Republican Movement was helped by the objective situation. Especially among the Curragh internees "Che" Guevara was being read indeed. As a matter of fact Irish Trotskyism as it is to-day owes its beginnings to that period. However, the Fourth International was, at this time too weak and divided to be of any political influence or guidance to the leftward moving Republicans. Thus the task devolved upon Johnston: he alone had the knowledge to provide the education that Republicans required. Up to a point, then, he played a necessary role in educating the Republican Movement for a more socially-conscious and political attitude. But this education was not carried out for the good of the movement itself but in the pursuit of a strategy of doubtful validity. Johnston brought in such fellow Stalinists as Tony Coughlan, Kader Aamal and later Derry Kelleher. With

them he set up Muintir Wolfe Tone to educate the intellectuals and would be intellectuals in "Two Stage Theory". The University Republican Clubs were established to educate the students to provide cadres to guide the movement along Stalinist lines.

The policy that was put forward under this guidance had two aspects. On the one hand, there was a return to traditional political republican activism, though less in the industrial sphere (shop floor action was encouraged to be the prerogative of the C.P.) than in other less specifically working class issues. The movement played a big role in housing agitation, but otherwise, as was to be expected, the United Irishman emphasised essentially petty bourgeois issues in keeping with the pure "National Liberation Struggle". Publicity was given to agitation on ground rents, land and river ownership at a time when the Irish strike rate was the highest in the world. Along with petty bourgeois social activism there was a certain decline in the military sphere. Again, such a decline was natural after the military defeat of the 1950's campaign. What is true is that "Two Stage Theory" encouraged it. National reunification became a very minor part of the task of "National Liberation". Indeed, propaganda was instituted against a possible "Federal Solution" to the Irish question which would involve national reunification under British Imperialism. While no doubt this is what the economic situation and the British Imperialist interests alike dictate the actual possibility of it and its possible results were never clearly analysed. In Northern Ireland itself, emphasis was placed upon the campaign for Civil Rights rather than for unification. In the Republic, opposition to the EEC was the overall aim.

## the doctor's dilemma

For over four years (1963-1968) the Johnstonian policies had little effect. More significantly when they did begin to work: when the ranks of Irish republicanism began to grow again as a part result of Johnston's work, so his strategy began to be superseded. The fact is that Republicanism does represent a revolutionary tradition, however petty-bourgeois, whereas the Comintern represents a betrayal of the revolution. Republicans began to look with jaundiced eye upon the claimant to the leadership of the post-liberation of proletarian revolution. They were not impressed and began to feel that if they could do the job they would not be helped by interference from the CPI. This belief was encouraged by the facts of the class relationships in Ireland. While Republican activism won many small farmers and fishermen, it repelled rather the urban petty bourgeoisie: the small shopkeepers and the "National Capitalists" to whom Johnston directed his conscious appeal. Instead, the movement won the loyalty of many workers by its leadership in the housing campaigns and by its militancy even for limited ends. So, far from being harmonious allies in a National Liberation movement the Sinn Fein (Gardiner Place) and the CPI are becoming increasing rivals. However, within the former there are many conflicting tendencies which weakens it and is likely to continue doing so.

On the national question itself the same is true. The NICRA mobilised the Catholics but could not (and would not try to) provide a basis for working class unity. At the same time, the stocks of arms for protection of Nationalist areas were allowed to decline. Thus these areas were forced to welcome the British army in August 1969. Thus, on the one hand the old guard republicans in the Republican Movement were given the pretext for a split, depriving Johnston of useful aids for his limiting of the tasks of "National Liberation". On the other hand, the Northern Command had to be given a greater independence of Gardiner Place if it was to remain with that wing. It was an activity of that Northern Command that has caused Johnston to resign from Sinn Fein.

## whither the officials?

In itself the resignation means nothing. Johnston was used as something of a scapegoat for at least a year previously. Moreover, his policies will be continued by many still in positions of authority. On the one hand, these will continue equally to run into opposition inherent in the situation itself. On the other hand, the said situation cannot by itself make the opposition victorious in time for the Irish Revolution.

Anne Harris (Hibernia, 21st January) wonders if Dr. Johnston's resignation will stop Gardiner Place's move leftwards. It won't! The question is: can this move be hastened sufficiently for Gardiner Place to overtake and guide the Irish situation into a successful Revolution? Or as is more likely noting the balance of forces will it have to be superseded by a Bolshevik Party with perspective to match? The next few months are likely to be decisive.

With the coming of... only to the north... What is the EEC? economy? In this... which led to the fo... implications of Ire



## EEC-NO

The era of cut-throat competition between individual capitalists, where the larger, the more technically advanced undersold and took over the smaller, the less efficient, has been passed. It resulted with victory of big capital. New machinery was necessary to increase efficiency, became more expensive, the factories which house it had to be larger; although through mechanisation more was produced for every man employed, the larger scale of production meant the average unit employed more men. Thus the industrial sectors of the economy saw the development of the large concern which were usually joint-stock as the capital required was beyond that of individual ownership.

But once they got this far, when a few dominated the market, it was not in their interest to continue the economic war which gave birth to them. The market could support their profit margins so why continue cutting them? They had established enough control of the market to agree on a common selling price at which those that survived could each make a satisfactory profit. This is monopoly capitalism and the development of the Common Market must be seen merely as a product of the laws of capitalist production, the laws which also indicate its final overthrow by socialism.



erendum on the Common Market, the EEC will be second  
 struggle as a major political issue for the Irish working class.  
 What will be the effects on industry and on the national  
 article Paddy MacGregor explains the historical background  
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limit the scope of individual governments. The boat can be rocked only so far, as De Gaulle eventually found out.

With free capital movement within the EEC the scale of production has increased, with mergers between some companies and agreements between others. As the world capitalist countries move into recession the tendency for increased government co-operation in this field will become more pronounced. Aerospace and nuclear power have outstripped private ownership and international government funding was required if Europe was to enter these fields. Britain's entry into the community will further extend the process which is already started.

**agriculture and the eec**

Agriculture is not as developed in the EEC as in America which has witnessed the rise of the corporate company which controls production from planting to sales distribution. However, the same laws of development hold as Mansholt's steering of the Common Agricultural Policy illustrates. The *Financial Times* (6/12/71) says "In Mansholt's view the stage has been passed where farm incomes could be secured by price increases alone; the whole structure of farming needs changing. Small farmers who cannot operate efficiently must be persuaded to leave the land by financial incentives, the promise of retraining for industrial jobs and pensions for older farmers. The size of production units must be increased and surplus farm land could be turned into national parks and other areas designed as 'recreational areas'.

The post war expansion of Europe was due principally to the new industrial revolution, the vast increase in production of consumer durables because of war scarcity, the emergent arms industry and the rapid industrialisation of certain areas near the main producing centres. This expansion seems to be on the decline now with the main economies moving into recession. A consequence of this will be increased rationalisation in terms of new production location. The regional disparities which already exist will be exaggerated as economic necessity overrules social needs. This has led in some cases to disturbances which will undoubtedly continue if supranational institutions are developed further.

Seen within the context of the laws of capitalist development which determined the creation of the EEC, Irish capitalism faces continued crisis. Agriculture, the most important sector of the economy which engaged 322,000 persons in the 26 counties in 1967 will continue along trends which exist today, and will also accelerate them. The average unit must increase in size and capital investment. This is not new; it was happening before the great Famine. There is only one way in which the communities of the West of Ireland must survive socially and this is by the collectivization of agriculture, with the pooling of machinery, together with the development of industry to absorb the surplus labour.

**ireland and the eec**

Within or without the EEC the regional problems of Ireland cannot be solved by capitalism, as the history of regional development not only in Ireland but also in Great Britain and Europe already proves. The West in Mansholt's plan must become a natural park, a recreational area. Maybe he will allow a few inhabitants to remain, so that tourists may point cameras at them and know what the indigenous Irish appear like. Such is capitalism's regard for human dignity.

The question of sovereignty within the framework of capitalism is merely a confusion. Finance capital already stringently limits all non-proletarian forms of government and that most certainly includes Fianna Fail. The Irish economy is in the grip of British and industrial capital. With the ending of the 'Economic War' under De Valera and the introduction of free trade by Lemass, Irish manufacturing admitted its inability to solve Ireland's economic problems. The sovereignty of Ireland is merely a myth shrouding British Imperialism.

For Ireland ever to support her people and to advance them socially she must nationalise her industry and collectivise her agriculture. Economic development must be wrestled from international capitalism and must be centralised in a state planning authority. The state must acquire a monopoly of foreign trade so that the products of exchange benefit the working class and small farmer. To achieve this the working class must seize state power through revolution. The choice confronting the Irish working class is not whether EEC or not, but whether capitalism or socialism, degeneration or rejuvenation.

# SOLUTION FOR WORKERS

Two world wars saw the rise to international superiority of American capitalism. After the Second World War two economies, those of Germany and Japan lay devastated. The leading capitalist countries of Europe were all weak due to the exertions of war. In contrast, the American economy had emerged stronger than ever and indeed had generated a large surplus during the war. Superficially it appeared that nothing stood in the way of American capitalism to consolidate an absolute superiority over all other capitalist nations of the world. However, a number of factors made America reject hegemony and instead be instrumental in rebuilding of Western Europe.

**birth of the eec**

The aftermath of the first world war had witnessed the birth of the first socialist economy in the world and though the revolution was betrayed by a bureaucratic layer, the basis of growth had been assured. Thus, by the end of the Second World War a major power, economically and militarily, rose to confront America; one she had no control over whatsoever, and never could have. In the colonial countries the struggle for liberation resulted in the possibility of suc-

cessful revolution and in them breaking away from imperialist control. China clearly illuminated the writing on the wall. Faced with the Eastern European Bloc on the one side and the task of undermining the colonial revolution on the other, America was forced to strengthen the European and Japanese economies.

But this move was also forced on America by the nature of her own economy. Though very advanced and strong, this merely emphasised the contradictions inherent in it. As was remarked before, the Second World War had resulted in a vast surplus being accumulated but it could not be invested at home because to generate it full employment had been necessary. A consequence of full employment had been a steep rise in wages and thus a fall in the rate of profit. The huge corporations of America were faced with the dilemma of having vast amounts of capital but no outlets in which to invest it. The economies of Western Europe and Japan appeared as obvious channels.

When these economies developed under the impetus of American investment they rapidly appreciated the strength of the Am-

erican economy. Monopoly capital had progressed there until the huge home market had become controlled in most sectors by a few giant corporations. This resulted in a far greater scale of production than any one of the European nations the masses could maintain. The alternative to becoming an American satellite was to combine the European markets and create one of sufficient size to overcome national limitations. This course was adopted by the formation of the European Economic Community.

The move acknowledged the qualitative change that had occurred over the previous two decades. Europe had become too small to support nation states pursuing vigorous independent policies. The conflict arising from them had seriously weakened them and the spectre of socialist revolution had only been kept at bay by the butchery of Stalin. The laws of capitalist development which had originally dictated the ruthless competition between individual producers and then the imperialist policies of monopoly capital, led in turn to the competition between international capitalists. As before the consequence was concentration, this time on an international scale the political expression of this has been to increasingly



## WUI VOTES FOR EEC

"You're wasting your time friend this union died with Big Jim" this was the advice given an old shop steward to a Plough salesman outside the HQ of the Workers Union of Ireland. A few days later the bitter truth of those words was confirmed for us when the WUI voted by a narrow 12 votes not to oppose entry into the EEC. Apart from the political betrayal involved the Railroad tactics of the union leadership was deplorable. Out of the seven information documents on the EEC supplied to the conference delegates, six were propaganda sheets from the Department of Foreign Affairs!

The main argument put up by the general secretary, Denis Larkin (who is not his father's son) was that Irish industry could not survive outside the EEC, and many jobs would be lost. This may be true, but prospects within the EEC would be even worse. The government itself expects the creation of no more than 50,000 jobs over the five years entry period. This would not cover the present 80,000 unemployed not to mention those who will be leaving school and the land over the same period.

Moreover, when we consider that the Common Market is designed specially for giant monopoly companies we can see the effect it will have on Irish industry: already, Guinness which is the largest brewery plant in Europe intends to lay off 1,400 workers to make itself more efficient for EEC competition. In the light of this when one understands that 58% of Irish enterprises employ less than 5 people, one can realise the tragic consequences EEC membership will have on industry in Ireland. These small firms will be washed away by the flood of goods from the continental giants whose sales some times amount to as much as the whole of Ireland's Gross National Product!

With the collapse of industry the Irish Labour Force would be decimated and condemned to eternal wandering. Then the WUI would indeed die—even if little Denis were still alive.

James Conway

## NO TO SECOND WAGE SETTLEMENT

The National Wage Agreement which came into operation in December of 1970 has achieved its main aims: 1) a virtual wage freeze; 2) a decrease in the number of strikes by over 50%; 3) a proof to the common market countries that Ireland is industrially viable. These were, of course, the aims that the Fianna Fail Government had in mind when they introduced the agreement between the employers and the Unions. So successful has the agreement been for the bosses that the Federated Union of Employers and the Central Bank have called for an extension of the present agreement for a period of six months, and for a start to further discussions on a second national wage agreement.

It is now up to the workers to oppose any further agreement or "wage freeze" as they can be best called. The experience of the past years has proved conclusively that these agreements operate only one way, in favour of the employers and the government. The stability which the agreement has brought over the past year has resulted in (a) the unemployed figure reaching 80,000; (b) redundancies in industry increasing by a 120% and the cost of living rising by over 8.6%. But worst of all, it has tied the hands of the workers against using their only form of protection, the strike weapon. It is therefore important that no further wage agreement be reached unless it is to the benefit of the workers—and what employer is willing to give that? The profits of the top fifty companies for 1971 were £369 per employee, compare that to the meagre wage increases of the workers.

The National Wage Agreement has been a bitter experience for the workers and it is important that the Unions see the mistake and fight against the government attempts to reintroduce a further agreement. If the Unions fail to fight then the workers must fight by themselves. A further agreement would be an attack on the living standards of the workers.

## Faced with growing unemployment and redundancies, and wage freezes under the guise of national wage agreements the Irish working class turn to

their unions to defend their living standards..

For many union leaders however the ideals of

James Larkin might not as well have existed. Today

his own union favours joining the Common Market.



## BRITISH JUSTICE

A young man was recently found guilty in an English Court of assaulting three women. The details of one of these assaults was particularly gruesome. He had punched a pregnant woman in the face and when she fell he had kicked her unconscious. When a woman had pointed out to him that the person he had just assaulted was four months pregnant, she, too, was punched and kicked.

One would imagine that the man would have received a severe prison sentence, but, no, the Judge saw fit to impose only a small fine. How could this be? When in Northern Ireland, which comes under the same legal system, a person found with, for example, a republican newspaper in his possession gets a mandatory three months prison sentence. The answer is simple, the Defendant was a

paratrooper who had served in Northern-Ireland and was due to go back two weeks later. His Sergeant who appeared in Court had said what a good soldier he was and pointed out that he had made five arrests in Belfast. They were anxious to have him back to Northern Ireland he said.

The Judge, of course, realised that the para had displayed all the talents necessary for duty in Northern Ireland. He was, after all, only acting the way he was trained to. The fact that he used his 'skills' against women in England and not against Irishwomen, was, of course, unfortunate, hence the small fine.

This man is now back in Northern Ireland, a proud member of the 7th Paratroop Regiment, 'maintaining law and order'!

N. Hill

## REDUNDANCIES

Wednesday the 19th of January was a hard day for Free State TD's. It was the day that their meagre X-mas holidays came to an end. They had to face back to "work" after a mere six weeks holidays. Three hours after the House sat an astute deputy was clever enough to notice that the House was almost empty. The quorum bells were rung and our poor underpaid representatives vacated the Leinster House Bar, canteen and wherever else they may have been and took up their places on the benches. Once they were there, (in body if not in spirit) the debate was able to continue. And what was the subject on the debate for which our good TD's could not even muster enough enthusiasm to listen? Redundancies!

Merely the fact that Irish Workers are being made redundant by the hundred each week and at a rapidly accelerating rate, to the point where the dole queues are rapidly growing to crisis proportions. Obviously our TD's and Ministers, the vast majority of whom are either business owners, professionals, or rancher farmers, are not concerned about the amount of human suffering caused to a worker when he is told by his boss that his labour is no longer required. What exactly is the redundancy situation like now? As even the most casual observer can see, the post-war boom is now over and international capitalism is sinking into another of its inevitable recessions: So, as the big business men have their profits threatened they react by cutting back on the workers living standards. If this is not sufficient, they close down and consolidate the position in smaller and more secure ventures. Always among the first to suffer are the workers in the less developed countries like Ireland. Big business men close down their subsidiaries here and try to consolidate their position in parent industry in the home country, although in a period of recession even the big parent factories suffer eventually.

The daily papers report new closures and "rationalisations" (a nice word for sacking part of a factory's workforce) almost everyday now. Since December 1970 redundancies have increased in number of jobless by 3000 to 13,000 in Dublin, by 1200 in Cork, bringing their total to 2868. Limerick has an increase of 473, Drogheda 200, Dundalk 300, etc. The Industrial Development Authority admits the possibility of redundancies this year at the rate of 2½ that in 1969, but if the present trend continues it will be much worse.

What answer did the government come up with after that great two-day Dail debate? Fianna Fail denied point blank that there was any redundancy problem. Although the Taoiseach consoled us by saying that he was not "complacent", Fianna Fail intend to recruit 3000 more men into the police and army, put approximately £23 m extra into the Public Capital Programme and bring forward some public building projects.

These miserable attempts will, of course, make no difference to the redundancy situation when international capitalism is in recession. The Irish government spending 23,000,000 is like a drop in the ocean. It is significant that the 3000 jobs that they are providing will be used to further protect their profit system by force of arms. Fianna Fail will not provide one job for the unemployed by directing resources into necessary social production; this would upset their sacred profit system.

If the bosses do not think that their profits are high enough and want to rationalise or close down workers should not submit and be forced into the dole queue. They should take over the factory and run it for the benefit of the people and not for the profit of a parasitic boss. Ireland is capable of giving work to ten times its present work force. Why should bacon factories lay off men and shut down when two thirds of the world's population die of malnutrition? Why should the building trade lay off men when tens of thousands of young married couples cannot get a house to live in?

Workers threatened with redundancy should demand that the Union fight to have the factory kept in full production. If the employers refuse this demand they should be "sent packing" without compensation and the factory run by the workers for the workers. Workers not immediately threatened should demand that their Union do all in their power to gain this right for the threatened workers. Only when production is run for use and not profit will redundancies be a thing of the past and only then will workers forget insecurity and be guaranteed the right to work and earn a living.

N. Hill



# INTERNATIONAL NEWS

## MINERS STRIKE

The recent miners strike in Britain represents a serious setback for the Tory Government. The miners by their militancy and by their ability to win support and solidarity from other sections of the British working class were able to win pay increases of 20% average. Not only did this represent in the short term a defeat of the Tory government's strategy on the wages front but it also has thrown into crisis Heath's long term strategy for British capitalism.

Since the Second World War British capitalism has been faring badly with respect to its international rivals USA, Germany, France and Japan. Internally, it was faced with a continuous low level of economic growth. The Labour Government of 1964-1970 tried to solve these problems for the British Capitalist Class. It began an attack on the living standards of the working class by attempting to freeze wages, encourage Productivity deals on the shop floor and begin to cut the welfare state expenditure. It sought also to weaken the bargaining power of the Trade Union movement, by attempting to pass anti-union law "In Place of Strife". Its failure to do this, its failure to negotiate Britain's entry into the Common Market or to dampen the industrial militancy of the working class led to its defeat in 1970. The defeat was a result of the political demoralisations of sections of the working class with "their" party on the one hand, and a realisation, on the other, by sections of the ruling class that the Labour Party was an ineffective instrument for taming the working class.

The new Tory government adopted a more ruthless policy. It intensified its attacks on the welfare state going so far as to cut off free milk to school children. It carried out a similar policy with regard to weak industries and businesses. These "lame ducks" were



## RHODESIA

The recent heightening of African revolt in Rhodesia serves only to further pinpoint the inevitability of downfall of the white racist superstructure in that country. The basis of this downfall can be seen clearly in the history of this state from the time that the 'Pioneer Column' of the British South African ceremonially hoisted the British flag over the new settlement of Fort Salisbury in 1890. Behind the dreams of these white settlers lay the interest of British imperialism during the scramble for Africa in the last quarter of the 19th century. What was at interest was the defense of British Worldwide freedom to trade wherever there was profit to be made. As Lenin pointed out: imperialism involved a struggle for territorial "spheres of interest" to exclude or anticipate rivals. The native Africans were crushed following several years of bloody warfare. Eventually, they were virtually enslaved on the land with less security, in exchange for their labour services, than under feudalism.

Following the first world war British Imperialism was left in a very weak position. Consequently it was forced to rely more on the white regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia. It was in this context that these regimes gained more or less complete autonomy and as a result Rhodesian settlers gained the unique position of a self-governing colony within the empire. In many respects the structure of Rhodesian society was strikingly different from the other African colonial countries. The basis of this colonial structure was the first and foremost the white rural bour-

allowed to go to the walls throwing many thousands more on the dole queues. It was in the trade-union field that the most drastic action was taken. As well as railroading new anti union legislation (Industrial Relations Bill) through parliament they also began to have a showdown with the workers in the nationalised industries. In winter 1970 the Power Workers were the subject of a hysterical campaign in the mass media and as a result intimidated into returning to work.

In Spring 1971 the Post Office Workers were grounded into the dust by the use of all government resources. With these significant victories the Tory Government was able to keep many wage agreements within the limit of 7%. Its last big obstacle was the miners.

The situation existing in the coalfields on the eve of the strike, was the most militant in decades.

There were many reasons for this. The miners had suffered a cut in real wages such that they had sunk to a position from being the top wage earners in the Fifties to a position before the strike where they were about 13th in the Table. The same period had seen massive redundancies and pit closures with manpower being cut by half in that period. Also a docile trade union leadership, (NUM) had passively witnessed this worsening situation. Added to these was the general unrest in the British Labour Movement over the rising unemployment and the growing hostility towards the Tory Government.

The miners started off in an unfavourable position. It had been a mild winter. Demand for coal was low and stocks in the power stations were high. The Heath government adopted its predictable "not an inch" pose hoping to inflict a decisive defeat on the miners and force them back to work on the government's terms. The militancy and tactics of the miners were decisive. They began an imaginative campaign of picketing: power stations, ports, and even ships were picketed by miners from speed boats. Also decisive was the support they received from other sections of the community: other Trade Unions soon instructed their

geoisie of small and medium mine owners and farmers.

The white working class did not proceed industrial development but was a consequence of it and therefore lived in a high wage economy. By the end of the thirties, they the small manufacturing petty-bourgeoisie constituted the bulk of Rhodesian whites. The problem, however, for the white rural bourgeoisie was to expand the internal market for their produce while harmonising the interests of the other white classes and international capital.

Industrialisation, while the answer to the problem and approved by international capitalism, could only be achieved by the proletarianisation of the Africans. This could not be accepted as it would firstly be a threat to the rural bourgeoisie in the form of a class of African capitalist farmers and a threat to the white workers in the form of a black proletariat.

The solution was found in a series of major racist acts to reduce the threat of African competition in every area. White power was therefore consolidated in this period by pushing the Africans into a state of semi-destruction.

After the second world war, however, industrialisation grew and with it a black proletariat slowly severed from the relative security of the land; more class conscious and with strong social and political roots in the peasantry because of their common exploitation. For this new industrial sector new outlets were needed and it came to depend more upon the growth of purchasing power of the African workers who were, in fact, a significant part of the black population, numbering in 1968 170,000 out of 4,600,000.

Import substitution and European migration provided the initial growth of the manufacturing sector, but the question of the African market could not be put off while even the demand for labor in all sectors of industry was by no means satisfied by European migration.

Thus, we have the interest of international capital, which had gained a hold in every industrial sector, now no longer coinciding with that of the white rural bourgeoisie. The Rhodesian government seeing this contradiction in the forties and fifties tried to create an African proletariat but, due to militant white reaction all such ventures ended in compromises between international capital

members to cooperate with the miners' pickets. Many students from universities and polytechnics joined in the struggles. In some areas students put their universities at the disposal of the flying-pickets. To many miners this was significant - it contrasted sharply with the last national coal strike in 1926 when the students had played a decisive role as strike breakers (from a political point of view it is instructive to note the role the students had played in the strike - many political groups regard

drastically. Heath, having completely underestimated the miners capacity to struggle, realized that he had a major defeat on his hands. Given the agitation in Britain about the role of troops in Ireland, using them against their "own people" would have been highly dangerous. He had to retreat. A Court of Enquiry the Wilberforce enquiry, was set up.

With the award of a 20% rise to the miners Heath's government is in crisis. Many other



THE SALTLEY PICKET: A turning point in the miners' strike. Here the combined action of the miners and Birmingham's workers striking in solidarity forced the Police to close the power stations' gates.

the student population as no more than an area of recruitment to the revolutionary movement failing to realise as the strike in Britain clearly showed, that as a distinct social layer students are capable of taking political initiatives in their own right).

As the strike proceeded the picketing began to bite. The coal supplies were suddenly found to be running out. Support for the miners continued to grow. One day sympathy strikes began to spread. The government was forced to bring in power cuts. Factories were forced to close. The employment figures shot up

and agrarian capitalism at the expense of the Africans. After militant response to this from the Africans the national capitalist, the petty bourgeoisie and the white working class polarised around the Rhodesian Front Party that has controlled Rhodesia since 1962. UDI, having been declared in 1964, only resulted in a small decrease in the fortunes of the African population.

Had UDI not been declared the situation of the black masses could only have continued to deteriorate, as it had done since the beginning of Imperial exploitation of Rhodesia. The present situation in Rhodesia existed in South Africa ten years or so ago and as in S. A. for international and national capital in Rhodesia, apartheid has become the only way of even temporarily maintaining stability.

This way limited expansion and an offsetting of a growth of an African proletariat can be achieved at the expense of the African rural masses, but here the formula for long-term economic stagnation is being applied. Thus, the white racist regime and its imperialist backers are heading along a road of deadly contradiction. But there is nothing inevitable about its fatality. The struggle to decapitate it has to be well prepared.

Patrick Fennelly

sections of the British working class, having learned the power of militant action and solidarity, will themselves be encouraged to take on their bosses and rulers. But it is on the long term strategy that the impact of the miners strike is so important. Many leading ruling class papers in Britain are now critically questioning the wisdom of the Heath style of government. They feel that the ruthless confrontationist style of government has not paid.

The crisis of British capitalism and of the British ruling class deepens.

## F.I. DEMONSTRATES SOLIDARITY

All over the world the Fourth International has been organising solidarity with the national liberation struggle in Ireland. In particular they have attempted to mobilise support for the campaigns being waged by the IRA. Below we give three brief reports carried out by our comrades in Europe.

Paris. Members of the Ligue Communiste occupied the offices of British Railways. Hundreds of Parisians watched on as the Red Flag of the Fourth International was hoisted and large Red Banners were flown from the windows with slogans such as "Solidarity with the IRA" and "Victory to the Irish Revolution" inscribed on them.

West Berlin. A demonstration of over 1,500 people was organised by our German comrades of the GIM to the British Consulate General. Slogans of solidarity with the IRA and for the withdrawal of British Troops were again raised.

Stockholm. Sixty militants of the RMF (Swedish sympathising section of the FI) occupied the BEA Offices and mounted a continuous picket on the British Embassy.

### PLOUGH BOOK SERVICE

Books include:

Introduction to Logic of Marxism: George Novack Price £0.62½

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# WAGES AND PRICES

'Excessive wage increases are wrecking the economy'

In this article N. Markin shows that this claim by

the employers and the government is

a myth and argues that workers

have no interest in accepting 'wage agreements'.

Inflation once an economic jargon term, has now become a household word. And little wonder! Last year prices increased on over 700 different products. The more alarming increases were on: general groceries, up 17%; meat, up 11%; bus fares, up 38%; gas, up 16%, electricity, up 9%; fuel oil, up 20%; newspapers up 34%; postage, up 49%. On average prices were inflated by 8.5%. But as the above figures show, this average conceals a substantial rise in the cost of essential and every day items and a parallel rise in the cost of living for the ordinary worker.

## DEMAND THEORY

The usual explanation offered for inflation, by the government and professional economists is that increased wages add to production costs, and that these production costs have to be recovered by increasing prices. Profoundly is bestowed upon this explanation by entitling it the *Demand Theory*. However, this "theory" is like the old riddle about the hen and the egg. The question is which comes first: the rise in wages, which then push prices up, or the rise in prices which through increasing the cost of living, drive wages up. Obviously, your answer will be conditioned by your class interest! Employers will say that the blame lies with increased wages and the workers will say that it lies with prices.

It is clear that this theory is not in fact a theory, as it explains nothing. On the contrary, it is a simple device, whereby the employers who control the propaganda media, can justify their attempts to hold down wages. And this is exactly the use the Federated Union of Employers makes of it. Recently, Mr. Paudge Brennan, Minister of Labour, put their argument in a nutshell when he said: "If wages rise the price of our exports will also rise and make them less competitive. This will make Ireland less attractive to investors, and industry and employment fail to expand." The natural conclusion is that workers, in their own interests, should stop demanding more pay—a very gratifying conclusion as far as any employer is concerned!

Of course workers may be flattered to learn that they have such control and influence over the economy. Indeed, they might even begin to ask if Fianna Fail and the F.U.E. are really needed at all! However, the matter needs to be considered further.

## PECULIAR CONDITIONS OF IRELAND

Inflation in Ireland last year rose almost 9%. In Britain it rose by 12%; the United States by 11.5%, and in Europe as a whole, 11.9%. As most Irish exports go to these three areas it can be said that not alone did Irish products not become less competitive, but in fact became more competitive. These figures show that foreign goods became about 3% dearer than home produced goods. So in this event, even if we accept the "Demand Theory" it does not, in the case of Ireland, justify any call for wage restraints.

But apart from this the nature of the Irish economy should be examined. For instance, while in countries like France imports account for only 14% of the Gross National Product, in Ireland imports comprise more than 40% of the GNP. This means that the government has no effective way of controlling a huge portion of the products which appear on the market and can't really do anything to combat inflation. As an example: we mentioned above that inflation in Britain rose by 12% last year. As 53% of our imports come from Britain, it makes little difference whether or not there is a National Wage Agreement in existence, since these imported goods are inflated already and prices will rise accordingly.

Again, even if we accept the "Demand Theory", in Ireland it proves more than useless.

## DEMAND THEORY REFUTED

But even a cursory glance at statistics supplied by the government is enough to refute the "Demand Theory" as such. If we calculate the rise in wages over a period we will see that this rise has been paralleled by an increase in output, and cannot therefore be considered as a contributing factor to inflation, from the point of view of "Demand Theory" or any other theory.

Between October 60 and December 70 the average earnings, for a male adult employed in the transportable goods industries, rose from £9.78 to £24.88 i.e., by 154%.

However this figure is more than slightly exaggerated and cannot be taken at its face value.

TABLE 1. Weekly Money Income and Real Income of Adult Male Industrial Workers 1960-1970.

	Oct.60	Oct.65	Oct.70
	£	£	£
1. Gross earnings	9.78	13.82	24.88
2. Social insurance	0.14	0.37	0.78
3. Income tax (PAYE)	—	—	1.73
4. Net earnings (1-2-3)	9.04	13.45	22.37
5. Children's allowances	0.18	0.29	0.46
6. Gross money income (1+5)	9.96	14.11	25.34
7. Net money income (6-2-3)	9.82	13.74	22.83
8. Real gross income (at 1960 prices)	9.96	11.51	15.54
9. Real net income (at 1960 prices)	9.82	11.21	14.00
Percentage increase in	%	%	%
10. Consumer price index	22.6	33.0	63.1
11. Gross earnings (1)	41.3	80.0	154.4
12. Gross money income (6)	41.7	79.6	154.4
13. Net money income (7)	39.9	66.2	132.5
14. Real gross income (8)	15.6	35.0	56.0
15. Real net income (9)	14.2	24.9	42.6

## Notes.

1. Average weekly earnings of men 18 years and over in October 1960 and 1965 and male workers on adult rates in December 1970 engaged in transportable goods industries.
2. Ordinary rate payable by male employees.
3. Amount payable by married man with two children.
5. Amount payable in respect of two children.

From Trade Union Information Bulletin.

A number of deductions are necessary. Over this decade Social Insurance contributions, increased from 14 p to 78 p i.e., 600% (Although children's allowances increased from 18 p to 48p) Moreover in 1960 the ordinary worker did not pay income tax, now he is liable to £1.73 a week under PAYE. All told, today £47 million of the £67 million collected in income tax comes from the workers pocket, leaving him one of the most heavily taxed workers in Europe. Finally we must remember, that in the period between Oct. 60 and Dec. 68 prices rose by 63%. All in all, when these deductions are made we find that the real increase in wages has been only 43%.

On the other hand, accompanying this increase in wages has been the relative growth in industry. During the 60's expansion was sustained at an average rate of 6% each year which adds up to an overall growth of approximately 60%.

This means that the rise in real wages (43%) was well below the rise in productivity (60%)

consequently it is impossible to uphold the claim that wages push up prices as the rise in wages didn't even cover the expansion of output (see Table 1).

## SIX COUNTIES

The same is true of the Six Co's. Thus, the "Northern Ireland Economic Report on 1970" shows that while wages rose by 15% in the previous year, productivity increased by 7% (indeed in the big important textile industry it increased by 14%). However, the remaining 8% was not clear "profit" for the worker since in the same period prices rose by 7.5%. This shows that the increase in income in workers above and beyond productivity occurs only to meet the rising cost of living. In view of the above figures the Unionists claim that the workers are robbing the country is ridiculous.

## HOW TO FIGHT INFLATION

Inflation results not, from wage demands but because of an inherent contradiction in the present system of production. Due to the competitive nature of capitalism each employer is forced to expand and intensify his use of machinery if he is to survive. Therefore the amount of capital invested in machinery and plant increases relatively to capital invested in labour. But as the Labour Theory of Value (which was originated not by the Socialists but by the employers themselves) explains, profit occurs only on the capital invested in labour. Consequently, the contradiction arises, that the more developed the capitalist system becomes, the less profit the employers make. But of course, the employers are not satisfied with this and at every turn attempt to force up prices in order to compensate for declining profits.

This is the only weapons the workers have at their disposal in the fight against inflation are wages demands. When prices rise the only way of correcting the resulting imbalance is through demanding more pay. In the light of this the blindness and treachery of the trade union leaders in signing the National Wage Agreement can be seen. Inflation cannot be fought by holding down wage increases to a maximum of £2 (with only 85% of this for women workers). All that this will do is fatten the employers purses and impoverish the workers even further. It is not surprising that the trade union leaders didn't dare put these proposals before the rank and file of the unions.

Trade unionists must begin to fight back now. Having regard to the real nature of inflation they should demand an agreement which allows for an automatic increase in wages linked to the rise of prices.

## FIGHT INFLATION

For a Wage Agreement linked to the cost of living!

N. Markin

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## OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

(Below we reprint a section of Connolly's pamphlet *Socialism Made Easy*. The pamphlet is published by us in Plough Book Service and has a valuable introduction by Cde D.R. Lysaght. Price 15 p).

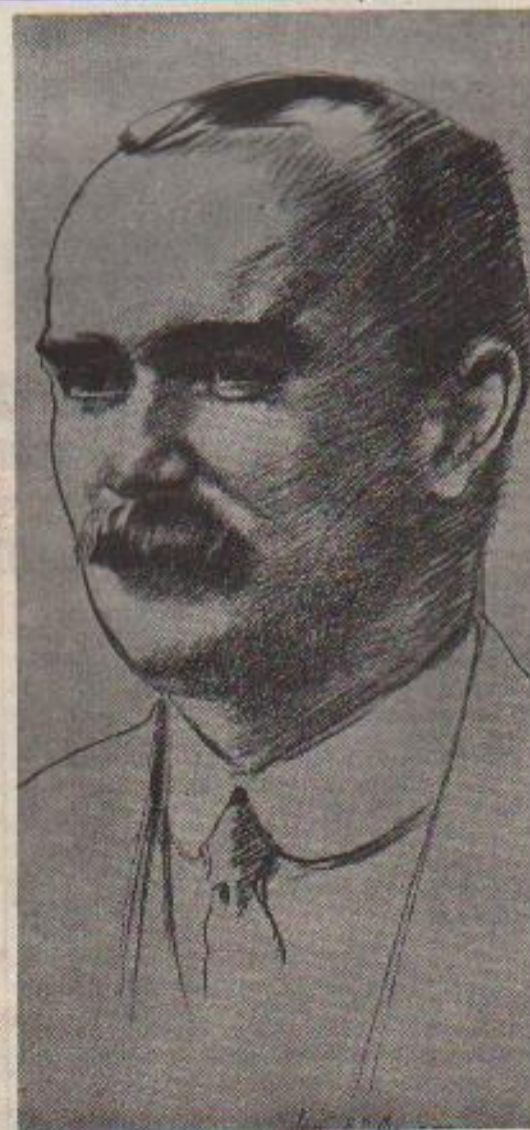
*But is it their property. Why should Socialists confiscate it?*

Their property, eh? Let us see: Here is a cutting from the *New York World* giving a synopsis of the Annual Report of the Coats Thread Company of Pawtucket, Rhode Island, for 1907. Now let us examine it, and bear in mind that this company is the basis of the Thread Trust, with branches in Paisley (Scotland) and on the continent of Europe.

Also bear in mind that it is not a "horrible example" but simply a normal type of a normally conducted industry, and therefore what applies to it will apply in greater or less degree to all others.

This report gives the dividend for the year at 20 per cent. per annum. Twenty per cent. dividend means four shillings in the pound profit. Now, what is a profit?

According to Socialists, profit only exists when all other items of production are paid for. The workers by their labour must create enough wealth to pay for certain items before profit appears. They must pay for the cost of raw material, the wear and tear of machinery, buildings, etc. (the depreciation of capital), the wages of superintendence, their own



wages, and a certain amount to be left aside as a reserve fund to meet all possible contingencies. After, and only after, all these items have been paid for by their labour, all that is left is profit.

With this company the profit amounted to four shillings on every pound invested.

What does this mean? It means that in the course of five years—five times four shillings equals one pound—the workers in the industry had created enough profit to buy the whole industry from its present owners. It means that after paying all the expenses of the factory, including their own wages, they created enough profit to buy the whole building, from the roof to the basement, all the offices and agencies, and everything in the shape of capital. All this in five years.

And after they had so bought it from the capitalists it still belonged to the capitalists.

It means that if a capitalist had invested £1000 in that industry, in the course of five years he would draw out a thousand pounds, and still have a thousand pounds lying there untouched; in the course of ten years he would draw two thousand pounds, in fifteen years he would draw three thousand pounds. And still his first thousand pounds would be as virgin as ever.

You understand that this has been going on ever since the capitalist system came into being; all the capital in the world has been paid for by the working class over and over again, and we are still creating it, and recreating it. And the oftener we buy it the less it belongs to us.

The capital of the master class is not their property; it is the unpaid labour of the working class—"the hire of the labourer kept back by fraud."