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SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

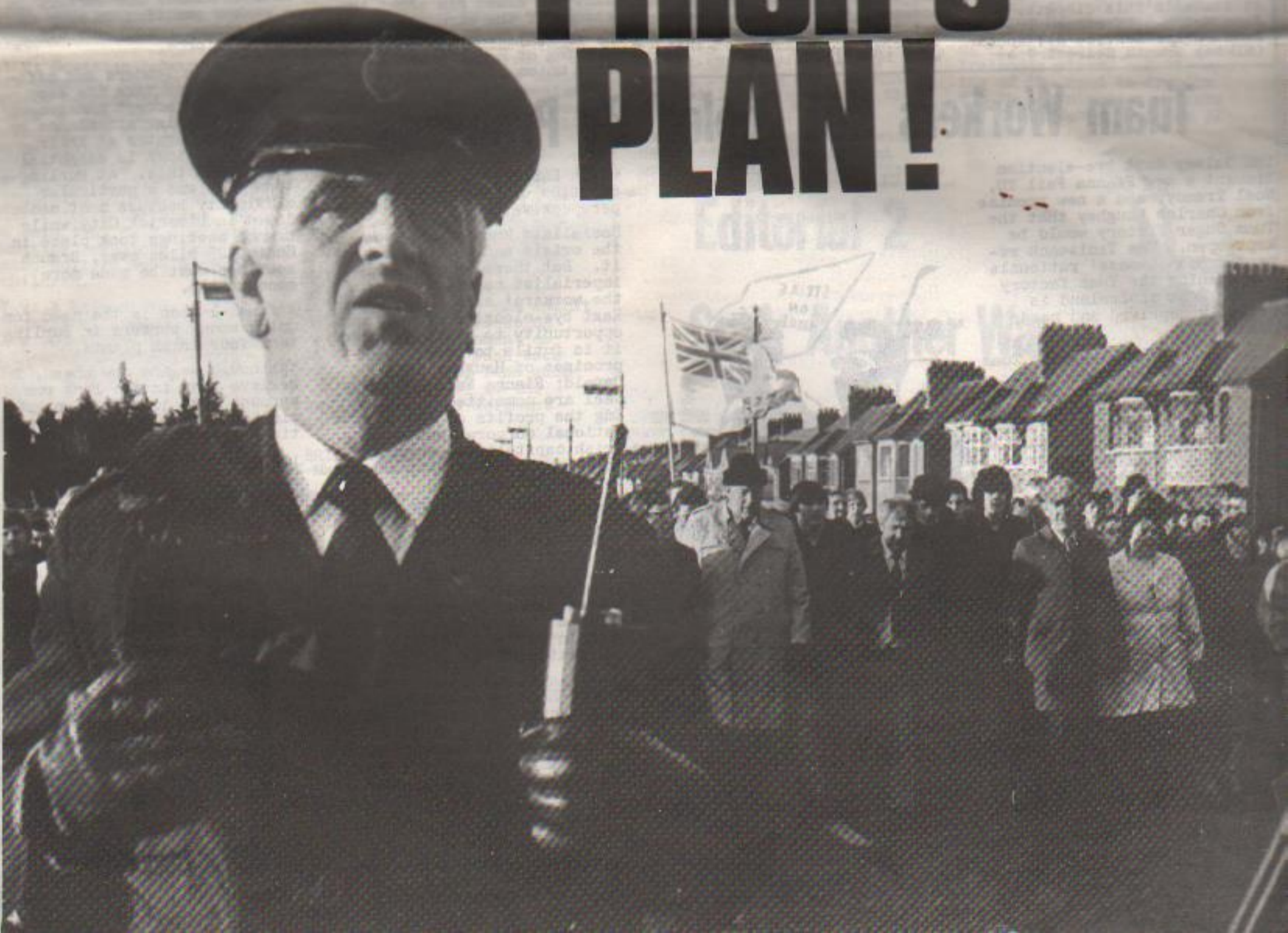
Paper of PEOPLES' DEMOCRACY

AUGUST 1982

PRICE 15p IRELAND; 20p OUTSIDE IRELAND; 10p unemployed & strikers

No Return To Stormont

SMASH PRIOR'S PLAN!



HEALTH WORKERS: "Support Us In This Fight!"



A week of intensive industrial action (from August 9-13) has been called by the health service unions as the latest step in their 3 month battle against the Tory government's pay policy. Throughout the North healthworkers will be joined by other trade unionists on the picket lines as they underline their determination to win the full 12 per cent claim.

It has been a magnificent fight by the healthworkers up to now. Their militancy and unity of purpose has been an example to all workers throughout Britain and Ireland. The healthworkers occupy the frontline in the fightback against the Tory attacks on living standards.

The healthworkers know what is at stake in this dispute. John McGeown, Northern Ireland Public Service Alliance (NIPSA) Branch Secretary at

the Royal Victoria Hospital explains:
"At stake in this dispute is the very existence of the National Health Service. The Tories want to hand the health service to privateers who aim to make a fast profit out of the misery and illness of the sick. We aim to stop the Tories. We are fighting for all workers in this dispute.

"The support from other unions has been good up to now. During the three day strike in July workers from the Post Office and the De Lorean occupation stood on the picketline with us. This kind of support is very important because some union leaders are already backsliding on the fight. They refused to call their members out for the three day strike and will try the same thing during the five day strike.

"Support from other trade unions needs to be stepped up for August 9-13, to make it impossible for these union misleaders to sell us out. All trade unionists should be demanding strike action during this week to stand alongside us in the fight against the Tories.

"The rank and file of all the unions want to stay out until we win the full claim. Meanwhile the Confederation of Health Service Employees (COHSE) and the General and Municipal Workers' Union (GMWU) took unofficial action to stay on the picket lines during the three day strike and are ready to do the same now.

"But the Tory government is just as determined to defeat us, so we won't win without the support of the trade union movement in general. If we get that support we will win a victory over the Tories that will benefit all workers."

Tuam Workers Not Fooled By Promises

BY CIARAN MAC NAIMHIDHE

THE Galway East bye-election brought a new Fianna Fail TD, Noel Treacy, and a new promise from Charles Haughey that the Tuam Sugar Factory would be kept open. The Taoiseach repeated Sean Lemass' rationale for opening the Tuam factory — the West of Ireland is socially deprived and needs jobs.

This was welcome news for Tuam workers. But Haughey would never have given this commitment if he hadn't needed votes and, more decisively, if the sugar factory workers hadn't organised to fight for their jobs.

The sugar factory closure was first posed by the Coalition government in September 1981 against noisy Fianna Fail opposition. FitzGerald would agree only to a one-year reprieve and won the vote on FF's resolution for keeping the factory open indefinitely by only one vote — that of Limerick East TD Jim Kenny. (Then an independent, now the DSP's sole TD).

Although Fianna Fail regained power in February 1982, Tuam workers had to wait until July before they got a clear commitment that their jobs would be saved.

In the long term, Tuam sugar factory workers can only be guaranteed their jobs by organising with other workers in the Sugar Company chain to



shoulder the losses from now on.

Haughey is being forced to manoeuvre. He sanctions Knock Airport, and retreats before the Talbot Car Factory workers, but meanwhile living standards are eroded and unemployment continues to rise. Workers are losing patience with Fianna Fail, but are not turning to the Coalition as the alternative.

while Labour and the 'left' deputies offer no fighting perspective.

Socialists know the reason for the crisis and the way out of it. But there was no anti-imperialist candidate taking the workers' side. The Galway East bye-election was a great opportunity to point out that it is futile to rely on the promises of Haughey and FitzGerald; Fianna Fail and Fine Gael are committed to maintaining the profits of the multinational corporations and Irish capitalists, which can only mean lower living standards for the Irish people.

Noel Treacy could talk of Irish unity through negotiation while Gerry Tuite was being given ten years in prison. An anti-imperialist candidate would have exposed FF as the pro-partitionist party it is and related its collaboration with Britain to the imperialist domination of the Irish economy.

Two lessons are clear from the Galway East bye-election: 1) an anti-imperialist electoral bloc could make a positive impact on the balance of class forces. 2) Workers have both the ability and willingness to fight back against the effects of the economic and political crisis.

Anti-imperialists can take a decisive step forward by providing a focus for these struggles and by insisting

Burlington Workers show how to tame Multinationals

THE recent strike at Burlingtons in Limerick ended in victory for the workers. Despite pressure to settle for the management offer the workers went on strike and after two weeks, management met their demands.

The success at Burlingtons will have important consequences. Burlington is the sixth biggest multi-national in the world and receives a substantial £24 million grant from the Industrial Development Authority (IDA). A third of the industrial workforce is employed in similar companies and knows the difficulties of taking on the multi-nationals. The success at Burlingtons will provide much needed confidence and encouragement.

Most immediately the victory in Limerick will have implications for Burlingtons three other companies in Tullamore, Tralee and Longford. Workers in these plants accepted the management's offer and now lag behind their mates in Limerick. They are likely to learn the lesson that united action can overcome the resistance of management.

Socialist Republic spoke to a leading shop steward in the plant and asked him about the lessons of the struggle.

The first lesson concerned the handling of negotiations by the trade union officials, who had

insisted on a ballot of the management's first offer despite the obvious opposition from workers at the plant. When the offer was turned down by a margin of eight to one there was talk of immediate unofficial action. The shop stewards however felt it would be better to keep up pressure on the ITGWU officialdom and from then on to give official backing to strike action. In this case it worked. The workers learned that they could both defeat management and control their own union.

Another lesson was the need for an overall strategy on wages by the whole trade union movement. Trade union leaders last year recommended a 25 per cent increase in wages. But when negotiation for a new national Wage Agreement collapsed they toned down this demand to 15%: a figure the Federated Union of Employers (FUE) was prepared to accept. Many workers were disheartened as a result.

In addition to adopting a sufficiently high and realistic wage norm, he suggests that the trade union should have singled out a number of big firms to aim at first. This would have made it easier for workers in a weaker position to keep up with stronger sections of the workforce.

Trade union leaders and officials tend to take the easy way out and accept management offers. Regular attendance by section delegates at their branch meetings is essential to prevent this. At Burlingtons this was a particular difficulty because most members lived in Limerick City while branch meetings took place in Ennis, 25 miles away. Branch meetings must be made more accountable.

A final lesson is the need for unity among workers in Burlingtons four Irish plants.

"Although we are now ahead, I believe that in the long run we must have joint wage negotiations and closer co-operation all round."

JOE HARRINGTON



Campaign Against Plastic Terror Goes On



The campaign to ban the use of plastic bullets in the North of Ireland has been taken forward in several ways during July. Events connected with the use of this murderous weapon are listed below:

JULY 1: A High Court Judge ordered that the Belfast Coroner, sitting with a jury, hold a fresh inquest into the death of a Belfast schoolgirl, Julie Livingstone. Julie was killed last year during the hunger strike, by a plastic bullet.

JULY 2: Scottish Labour MP, Denis Canavan, called for the complete banning of plastic bullets in Ireland. During a session in the English parliament he claimed that British soldiers serving in the North were doctoring plastic bullets by inserting blades, nails and electric torch batteries. He also said that half the fatal casualties resulting from plastic bullets were sustained by children.

JULY 9: A United States Based multinational company has pulled out of the manufacture and distribution of plastic bullets. The president of Allegheny International stated that his firm had withdrawn completely from its involvement in the market for plastic bullets used in riot control.

JULY 10: The National Council for Civil Liberties are considering taking the case of Brian Stewart, the 13 year old school-boy killed by a plastic bullet, to the European Court of Justice in Strasbourg.

JULY 15: The Irish Congress of Trade Unions overwhelmingly supported a motion urging a ban on the use of plastic bullets in Northern Ireland.

JULY 20: Belfast Teachers Against H Block and Armagh have formed a group called "The Organisation of Concerned Teachers Against Plastic Bullets". Its purpose is to campaign against the use of plastic bullets in the North of Ireland.

STRENGTHENING THE CAMPAIGN

We can draw one specific conclusion from these events: the campaign to ban this repugnant and vile instrument of death and injury is alive and kicking. We must also state that the campaign is extremely fragmented. Some groups, such as the SDLP, argue that it is too dangerous a weapon to use in riot control, and therefore it should be withdrawn. They ignore the fact that this weapon is used for one specific purpose, to intimidate and terrorise the anti-imperialist movement off the streets. Its saturation use during the hunger strikes pinpointed this basic fact. This is why, so far, the British government has ignored all demands to ban the plastic bullet.

A united campaign by the anti-imperialist movement is the one force that can move the British government on this issue. It must be broadly based -- in this context the motion that was passed by the ICTU conference is to be welcomed, as it lays the ground for trade union activists to bring up this issue at their branch meetings. A campaign within the trade union movement is now a real possibility.

A ban on plastic bullets, won by a mass movement, would also help to push political opportunists such as the SDLP into the background. The British government is quite prepared to shed the blood of our people in an effort to break our unity and spirit of resistance. Defeating the British government on this issue would push back its offensive and lend much needed confidence to the anti-imperialist movement in Ireland.

BRIAN HUGHES

PEOPLES DEMOCRACY

We believe that both the 6 and 26 County states must be smashed and replaced by a 32 County Workers and Small Farmers Government. Only the organised working class has the capacity and interest in achieving this goal. The workers produce the wealth of society while being denied the right to control or distribute it. Attacks on the living standards and rights of the Irish Working Class are the result of the continuing domination of the Irish people by British imperialism and its native collaborators.

We believe that the Irish people have the right to defend themselves against imperialism. We do not believe that minority armed groups can substitute themselves for the masses and win freedom for them. Only a united 32 County fightback can defeat imperial-

other oppressed groups, to organise independently and fight for their emancipation - both now and after the defeat of British imperialism.

We believe in the building of a Marxist party based on Lenin's model of party organisation, the central feature of which is democratic centralism.

We are socialist internationalists and believe that each national struggle is part of the global struggle for socialist liberation. For that reason Peoples Democracy is the Irish section of the Fourth International - the World Party of Socialist Revolution founded in 1938 by Leon Trotsky.

Join PEOPLES DEMOCRACY

Name _____

Address _____



Editorial 1 No Return to Stormont! Stop Prior!

PRIOR'S "rolling devolution" Bill is now law, having passed through all the legislative stages of the British Parliament and received the Royal Assent. Elections to the new Assembly have been set for October 20.

When Prior first broke the idea of a new Assembly during the closing stages of the republican hunger strike, Peoples Democracy warned that Britain was creating the conditions for revamped loyalist rule at Stormont. There were many who dismissed this idea and pointed to the "unique relationship" acknowledged in the Anglo-Irish summit talks. Can anyone doubt today that loyalist rule is once again on the agenda in the 6 Counties?

The Irish government has been told in no uncertain terms to keep its nose out of Northern affairs. The SDLP has been told that Britain will decide who it may stand as a candidate in the elections and who not! Once again those who believed that the future of this country could be secured by fawning to British politicians have been kicked in the teeth.

Fianna Fail and the SDLP won't learn from their present treatment at the hands of Thatcher's Tory government. Whether or not the SDLP fights the elections to the Assembly, whether or not the SDLP takes its seats, it along with Fianna Fail will buckle down to the British.

The anti-imperialist movement can learn from the present actions of imperialism. It can

recognise the danger posed by the Assembly and resolve to mobilise a movement on the streets which can stop the Assembly getting off the ground. The "Stop Prior" pledge which has already received the support of prominent organisations and individuals is a step in the right direction but it must be hardened out into more than a paper resolution.

Once the Assembly gets off the ground it will be a hundred times harder to bring it down. That's why Peoples Democracy have urged that the whole business, elections and all, should be boycotted.

There can be no British solution to the crisis in Ireland. What we need are elections to an All-Ireland Assembly which, through ending Partition, can open the road to the defeat of imperialist rule and exploitation.

For all their nationalist bluster, Fianna Fail and the SDLP will never choose this road. Haughey and Hume prefer to be cringing servants of British imperialism than to be accountable to the workers and small farmers of Ireland.

A mass movement on the streets and in the workplaces could not only stop Prior's Assembly but stop Haughey and Hume in their tracks as well. It could be the beginning of the end of Ireland's misery and the opening of the road to freedom for the downtrodden workers and small farmers of the 32 Counties.



Editorial 2 Seek Another Way

OVER THE past few months, we have been commemorating the first anniversaries of the deaths of Bobby Sands and his comrades, murdered on hunger strike by Thatcher's government. There is no way therefore in which the cries of horror following the IRA bombs in London will be echoed here. We recognise the bleatings of governments and media for the sickening hypocrisy which it is.

More than ever though, the anti-imperialist resistance needs to reassess the purpose and usefulness of such tactics as the London bombings. It is a long time since the republican leadership issued a policy statement on the role of the military campaign in the overall anti-imperialist struggle. However, many republicans like Peter Dowling in a recent issue of An Phoblacht, have argued that military action alone would not secure victory for national liberation and have called for IRA tactics to take account of the political situa-

struggle at present is posed by Prior's Assembly initiative which is opening the way to restored loyalist rule at Stormont. To defeat this threat, a political campaign based on mass mobilisation of all those opposed to British rule in Ireland is necessary. Sinn Fein has hesitantly given support to such a campaign to halt Prior's Assembly, block security collaboration and place British withdrawal and a United Ireland on the agenda.

It is clear from the Republican Movement's own statements that the London bombings form no part of such a campaign, indeed no part of any political perspective. "One bomb in London gets more publicity than 100 in Belfast" -- that's all the motivation An Phoblacht could provide.

Peoples Democracy believes that after 14 years of living in hell, the anti-unionist population need not publicity stunts, but a strategy for

Trade Unions And the Fightback

JOHN MC GEOWN

THE BEGINNING of July saw some 600 delegates gather in Belfast for the annual conference of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions. It was a gloomy, uninspiring affair only lifted briefly by striking healthworkers and a representative of the de Lorean occupation who addressed the delegates.

ICTU president David Wylie set the tone for conference in his opening address; he spoke of the appalling unemployment, the savage attacks on public services — health, education and housing — of the attempts by both the British and Irish governments to smash the organised strength of the trade unions.

NO DEBATE ON FIGHT-BACK

Missing from Wylie's speech was any plan to lead a fightback against this offensive by the boss class. Pious statements, polite applause for strikers, pleas for the governments to change course — that is all the platform offered the delegates by way of a plan to solve the crisis.

The platform was equally determined to see that there would be no debate on what a real plan might look like. Right at the beginning of conference a motion from Derry Trades Council calling for discussion on building a Labour Party in the North based on the trade unions was ruled out of order for being political.

The idea of building such a labour Party in the 6 Counties is unreal — but no more unreal than the fiction of workers' unity within the trade unions which is constantly paraded by the ICTU leadership. That fiction would have been exploded by a debate on building a Labour Party and that is the real reason for ICTU banning its discussion.

The ICTU leadership live in an unreal world. Despite the facts that unemployment now totals over 270,000 in both the 6 and 26 Counties and is still rising, that the basic infrastructure of the North's economy is in tatters and the Southern economy is almost totally in hock to international finance, the ICTU refuses to acknowledge the obvious — the capitalist system itself is in a massive crisis.

The nature of this crisis determines the type of solution for which the working class must organise. While brushing shoulders with government ministers may have produced some crumbs in the past, when the crisis was less severe, it won't provide any answers today. Workers need not only a bigger slice of the cake — we need to take over the bakery. Instead of the present system, profit-oriented capitalism, we must secure a system of workers' control and socialism.

The present leadership of the ICTU is incapable of grasping this nettle, they are wedded to the capitalist system. The likes of Wylie are more concerned with being seen as 'responsible' by the Tory press than with organising a real militant fight for jobs and in defence of living standards. A new leadership, independent of the bosses and their governments will have to be built. Such a leadership will need to recognise that a fightback against the bosses is a political as well as an economic battle.

FACE UP TO BRITISH DOMINATION

That means facing up to the role which British imperialism plays in Ireland. Ever since the 1916 Rising it has been fashionable in the trade union movement to dismiss the question of national independence as a diversion from the so-called 'real' issues of jobs and pay packets —

the Irish economy.

The ICTU leadership, pro-imperialists like Kemmy's SDP and the Workers' Party defend this same position today. For cover they dress in the clothes of 'anti-sectarianism', preach 'the unity of protestant and catholic workers' in the North. And they are not afraid to embrace the most reactionary causes in their crusade to appease the loyalist allegiance of the majority of protestant workers. 'Extradition?



Yes, fine! Let the hunger strikers die? No problem! Support the RUC? Of course, why not?!

While this stance rings pleasantly in the ears of protestant workers it does nothing to promote working class unity; nothing to stop the assassination campaigns of loyalist paramilitaries; nothing to end the protestant stranglehold in the Belfast shipyards and other heavy industry; nothing to end the discrimination which means that one of every two workers in Ballymurphy is on the dole while the figure in loyalist areas is one in eight.

The truth is that Irish workers will never be united while British imperialism holds sway in Ireland, while it is allowed to buy the loyalty of protestant workers at the expense of their catholic fellows, while it is allowed to manipulate the economies

of the North and South. Partition is the link between imperialist domination and Irish capitalism.

The trade union movement in Ireland is 650,000 strong, the vast majority affiliated to the ICTU. Proportionately, it is one of the largest trade union movements in the capitalist world. With the right programme and the proper leadership it would be an unstoppable power on the side of the working class.

The trade union movement should be

any group of workers to fight the bosses on their own. There should be a national campaign to halt factory closures, to see that de Lorean, Clondalkin, Burlington and any other plants under threat are taken into public ownership under workers' control.

The trade union movement should put forward a plan for putting the unemployed back to work and to provide jobs for the tens of thousands of youth joining the dole queues. Such a plan would include a 35 hour week to share work, and a programme of public works to build the much needed houses, schools and hospitals. This plan would be financed through the nationalisation of the banks, insurance companies and other financial institutions, and punitive taxation of multinational profits.

To promote workers' unity the trade union movement must adopt policies of positive action to offset the history of discrimination that burdens massive sections of the Irish working class — catholic workers in the North, women and young workers throughout the country. Such policies would include a national minimum wage and the establishment of quotas for the most oppressed in all sections of industry, commerce and education. Only in this way can discrimination which cripples the workers' movement be ended.

ORGANISE THE FIGHTERS

To force the trade unions to implement such a policy, the leadership must be made accountable. This involves the right to elect all officials and the right to recall, the right of workers of any political affiliation to campaign openly for election to office, the right to take all major decisions at mass meetings of union members and the organisation of union activity so that all members can participate fully.

It also means putting to an end the various schemes through which the present leadership seeks to tie the working class to the bosses' state. Participation in the Employer-Labour Conference must be ended and trade unionists should no longer provide cover for repression by involvement in police and prison bodies.

The healthworkers' strike in the North, the Burlington strike, the occupations of de Lorean and Clondalkin show the willingness of working people to fight. They know they are not only fighting for their own

at the head of the movement for national self-determination. It is wild nonsense to believe that a British government which maintains 20,000 armed troops in the 6 counties would allow Irish workers in the 26 counties to settle accounts with Haughey and FitzGerald without intervention on the latter's behalf. The same British soldiers who now patrol the Falls Road would very quickly be manning checkpoints on Dublin's O'Connell Street. The withdrawal of the British Army from the North and the dismantling of that sectarian state are vital ingredients for any successful struggle against southern capitalists.

THE NEED FOR A SOCIALIST ECONOMIC PLAN

The trade union movement, organised throughout Ireland, should not leave





jobs but for everyone's and in so doing are directly challenging the Tory governments of Thatcher and Haughey.

So too the many thousands of workers throughout the country who took action in support of the hunger strikers last year demonstrated that many working people know that it is the same rotten system which terrorises the minority in the North and steals jobs of workers in Limerick.

SOCIALIST-REPUBLICAN UNITY

But while the bosses and the trade



union bureaucrats are organised, there is no organised opposition within the trade union movement. The economist left with their belief that the only way to radicalise workers is on issues of wages, jobs and conditions are easy meat for the bureaucrats who can outflank them on the general political and social questions. The bureaucrats understand only too well the fragile nature of economic unity set against political and social divisions.

This is why anti-imperialism is the only solid bedrock for opposition to the trade union misleaders. It is the only perspective which offers a coherent, overall alternative to the reformism of the bureaucracy -- by challenging partition.

There is a burning need for anti-imperialists in the trade union movement to come together to hammer out a strategy for a working class fightback. This can be best done around existing struggles, for example by building support for the de Lorean occupation or the Burlington strikers. Anti-imperialist trade unionists could organise a national tour for militants from these struggles which would provide financial as well as moral support and be a start in building links between workers on both sides of the border.

Demonstrations against unemployment could be built North and South with workers crossing the border to give support. Such initiatives would help to end the isolation of the trade unions from community life and bring into the struggle the hundreds of thousands of working people, mainly women and youth, still unorganised in the movement.

OVER THE past year trade union leaders have tried to hold off rank and file pressure for action against the injustices of PAYE-PRSI by calling for restraint until the Commission on Taxation issued its report. Now that the Commission has published its findings, these same leaders must be rather worried. The unions have received a smack in the face and there is no hiding the fact.

Among the proposals submitted to the Commission by the ITGWU, Ireland's largest trade union, were:

- * That the progressive nature of the tax system be retained. In other words, the present system of paying according to level of income should continue but with more flexible and realistic tax bands.

- * That the tax and social welfare systems be integrated. This would mean that the state would pay every worker a guaranteed minimum income which would be included with other income for tax purposes. This would help the unemployed and low paid.

- * Increased tax allowances on loans and VHI payments.

- * That tax allowances for children be replaced with increased social welfare benefits for children. This would mean that the children of the unemployed would fare better.

- * That employers' tax allowances on machinery etc in the Corporate Tax system be reduced to more realistic levels, and that taxation on bank profits (which is now only 9p in the £) be substantially increased.

- * That a proper tax on wealth and property be introduced. At the moment more than 70% of the wealth of the country (ie second houses, stocks, shares) is owned by a tiny 5% of the population. This elite pays practically nothing in tax on such wealth.

Tax Commission DECLARES WAR ON WORKERS

FAIRER
TAXES
FOR ALL



- * That VAT be reduced.

Every one of these proposals has been dismissed by the Commission on Taxation. In direct opposition to the demands of trade unionists, the following recommendations have been made:

- * A flat rate of taxation for everyone irrespective of size of income. Since it is suggested that the flat tax rate should be just marginally below the existing standard tax rate of 35% only the 17% of workers now in the higher tax brackets will benefit. At the same time the rate of taxation on low paid workers will increase significantly.

- * That the employers' liability for PRSI which is currently payed at a rate proportionate to the workers' contribution, be abolished. Instead they propose a 5% levy on profits for social insurance. The effect of this would be a much lower contribution from most employers, and some would pay nothing at all.

- * All special tax allowances, especially on housing loans, to be abolished.

- * Instead of tightening up the Corporate tax system a much more flexible and evasive element should be introduced into it. Against the advice of the Department of Finance the Commission on Taxation has recommended a new system of keeping company accounts (current cost accounting) which will give the employers greater leeway in minimising and concealing their profits.

- * No tax on wealth, no special taxation of bank profits; tax on income from stocks and shares to be abolished.

The Commission on Taxation boasts that its proposals will broaden the tax net (to include farmers, self-employed, unemployed, etc) and are therefore more just. The real effect however, by letting the rich off the hook, would be to reduce the revenue from taxation by up to £1,000m. This loss could only be made up by cuts in social service expenditure and increased taxation on consumer goods (VAT).

The report of the Commission on Taxation, to put it bluntly, constitutes a plan for a systematic attack on workers' living standards. The leadership of the trade union movement no longer has an excuse for hesitancy. Action is urgently needed. At the end of the day it will be up to the rank and file in the branches and trades councils to take the initiative.

ANNE SPEED

Resist Public Sector Cuts - Organise!

IN JUNE 1981 C J Haughey addressed the nation in the following terms: "Fianna Fail has always been a party with an active commitment to the welfare of the poorer and weaker sections of the community. . . . We have protected them from the worst effects of the current recession and we will steadily improve their standard of living in the better times that lie ahead." Just over a year later, in July, 1982, C J Haughey's government has launched a slashing attack on the social welfare system and the whole public service sector. The cut of £120m in government spending will affect every man woman and child in the 26 Counties as food subsidies disappear and health and educational services shrink. With inflation running at 20% already the civil service understaffed by 7% and nurses and teachers overstretched, the one million people who live below the poverty line are in for severe punishment. So much for Haughey's policy of "Caring for Ireland's Future".

A GENERAL ATTACK

Haughey believes that the 26 Counties' future is now in jeopardy because the government is spending too much. He cannot afford to borrow since the foreign debt now totals £10,000m -- three times the EEC

mission on Taxation's report, can he raise extra money through increased taxes. So he has to cut spending -- hence the £120m

blitz. This will be enough to intensify the misery of the poor population but it will make little impact on the government's spending deficit. The government needs to save £271m so the new cuts will leave a further £151m to be found.

In reality there is more to the attack on public spending than the size of the government's deficit. A further purpose of the wage freeze and job cuts is to lay the groundwork for similar action against workers in the private sector. Politicians and economists alike have been claiming that recent pay awards to public service workers have fuelled excessive wage demands elsewhere in the economy. If the gains of the public service workers can be driven back, they reason, then wage demands in general can be held in check.

PUBLIC EMPLOYEES MUST FIGHT

This argument is based on fraud. Some workers in the public sector have recently won above-average increases. But on the whole wage settlements for public service employees have been below the average. This reflects the well-documented trend of declining wages in the public sector during the 1970s.

employees are definitely at the back of the crowd when it comes to the push to keep up with rising costs of living. It is clear that the tactic of employers and government is to single out the most isolated and demoralised section of workers and attack them first.

So far, leaders of trade unions in the public sector have responded in a militant tone to the new cuts. But if the experience of the past decade is anything to go by this will amount to nothing but rhetoric. The sorry plight of public workers is the result of the weak-kneed and compromise strategy of these leaders.

If there is to be any real resistance to Haughey's onslaught then the rank and file will have to take a lead. What is needed, in the first place, is for militant activists in the public sector to unite across the board to prevent a sell out by the bureaucrats in the ICTU Public Services Committee. Secondly, private sector workers must be convinced that solidarity with the fight against the cuts is in their own best interest. This will be a task not only for public service militants but for militant trade unionists everywhere.

Lesson Of De Lorean: 'Link-up With Workers in Struggle'

also a feeling that we wouldn't get very much from the union leaderships.

SR: De Lorean provided jobs for many workers in West Belfast who were either unemployed for a long time or had never had a job. Did you get any support from the local community?

JF: We got the support we requested. Our action was very popular with the community and we held collections during which people wanted to talk about what was happening. But as there was really no overall strategy behind the occupation there was no real tapping of community support.

SR: During the republican hunger strike there was an active committee in De Lorean. What role did the H Block activists play during the sit-in?

JF: Well, some of us have been active in both the H Block movement and this fight but many of the H Block activists didn't play any prominent role in the sit-in. This had something to do with the way the sit-in was organised. A lot of nationalist workers don't really relate to the trade union movement, don't trust it to defend them. A lot of people just accepted losing their jobs, sort of expected this to happen. They don't see the trade union leadership as genuinely concerned about workers' rights so while they gave general support they weren't prepared to invest their time and energy.

SR: What lessons does the De Lorean struggle have for other workers whose jobs are under threat?

JF: Well the first lesson must be to organise democratically. That's the only way to keep everyone involved, taking decisions through mass meetings. The other thing is that links have to be built between workers in struggle and workers prepared to fight. The Clondalkin workers gave us a lot of ideas which unfortunately we weren't able to put into practice. These sort of links need to be developed. Finally, you have to be very clear about your demands: at the start we weren't sure whether we wanted to keep our jobs or just get some redundancy money. That gave a lot of room to the Government and the receiver to undermine our struggle.

of us voted to continue the occupation to get permanent jobs for everyone but we were obviously in a minority.

SR: How do you explain the willingness to give up the fight?

JF: A lot of mistakes were made. No real effort was made to involve the majority of workers. The only mass meeting held was the one that ended the sit-in and only about 100 attended that. When the

there was some talk of tying De Lorean in with British Leyland, of nationalisation?

JF: This was raised with the British Government in meetings with Prior and the Industry Minister but they weren't interested. There was no campaign to this end and the broader trade union movement the Northern Ireland Committee of Congress, for instance, didn't seriously promote public ownership as an option.

SR: What support did De Lorean

AFTER 8 WEEKS occupation of the De Lorean car plant near Belfast, the workers ended their sit-in on July 28. 200 of the workers were guaranteed 6 weeks work getting cars ready for shipment to the United States but after that the future is unknown. Socialist Republic talked to Jackie Fitzpatrick, ATGWU Trade Group Representative at the plant.

SR: Why did the workers decide to end the sit-in?

JF: We were blackmailed by the receiver. We were told that a British consortium was very interested in taking over the plant and might provide 3,000 jobs; the sit-in was supposed to be holding up progress on the takeover and the receiver said we would be responsible for losing these jobs if we didn't stop our action. Most workers swallowed this and as only a small number of workers were actively involved in the sit-in, the offer of 200 jobs for 6 weeks was too hard to resist.

SR: What happens after the 6 weeks are up?

JF: No one knows for sure. We never got hard evidence that the British consortium existed. Some of us felt it was a big con to get hold of the assets. It is likely that the 200 now working will be back on the dole after 6 weeks.

SR: How was it decided who would get the 200 jobs?

JF: This was pretty shameful. Both the unions and management drew up a list. A lot of the names were common to both but at the end of the day there were 49 workers and only 40 jobs. Shop stewards then named 9 workers who wouldn't get the 6 weeks' work. I put forward my own name as I wasn't prepared to sentence someone else to the dole. I don't blame the other stewards, but this wasn't for me. About 20



occupation started the normal union structures were left in charge and this led to the shop stewards committee keeping a lot of discussion and decisions to themselves. From talking to the Clondalkin workers, what we should have done was elect an occupation committee and hold regular mass meetings to keep people up to date and involved in planning the campaign. This was a major problem. Another factor is the general lack of confidence in the success of the plant because of the antics of John De Lorean and the policies of the Tory Government. No one believed that the Tories would put themselves out to keep us in work.

SR: At the start of the sit-in

workers get from the trade union movement?

At certain levels, the support was substantial. Belfast Trades Council passed a resolution and gave a financial donation. It also involved us in the rallies held to support the healthworkers which allowed a lot of us to appreciate better what the health strike is about -- not just pay but defending the National Health Service. We also got financial support from trade union branches. Importantly, we made some links with the Clondalkin and Talbot workers in the South and some of us went on the March for Jobs.

I'm sure more support could have been won if we had been better organised but there was

Next Step: Make Haughey Back Down!

anti-amendment campaign

ANNE SPEED & FELICE COHEN

SINCE we last wrote on the Constitutional Amendment, the Anti-Amendment campaign has scored some successes. A public meeting in early June drew about 1,000 people and the campaign raised £2000. Some protestant clergymen have joined the ranks of referendum opponents. Over 200 of the delegates at the recent ICTU annual conference held in Belfast, individually signed a petition declaring their opposition to the referendum. Action groups have begun to be established in Cork, Limerick, Wexford and Belfast.

PLAC MOUNTS A CAMPAIGN

On the other hand, the main forces behind the referendum have also been organising. SPUC -- the "Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child" -- is one of the main components of PLAC -- the "Pro-Life Amendment Campaign". PLAC also

from the League for Decency (long time opponents of "artificial" contraception and arch defenders of censorship) to the Association of Catholic Parents of Ireland, Irish Family League, STOP (Society to Oppose Pornography) et al. We have had experience of these kinds of cranks before, in the battle for contraception. But PLAC involves more than the usual die-hard advocates of "moral order". It has gained significant support among the more conservative and predominantly male medical profession and parish-pump politicians. PLAC have reached out into the communities in the 26 counties with an active campaign.

Peoples Democracy believes they have learned from the mistakes of the past and a conscious effort is being made to curtail the activities of the "extremists" within their ranks. The more

has now gained the leadership. It is to be assumed that the Catholic hierarchy in particular, has been a main influence in this new turn of the right-wing moral majority lobby.

PLAC has in fact become a



more dangerous and major obstacle to all those who defend democratic rights and seek any advance towards a secular society.

DEFENSIVE STRUGGLE.

Therefore it is all the more imperative that we build a mass open and action oriented campaign against the referendum and the amendment and that we have a strategy for doing this. The issues are clear; we must strive to stop the referendum by pressurising the government to backdown and call it off; and in the event of it going ahead to bring out a massive 'NO' vote.

Many within the campaign, feel that abortion is still such an emotive issue with social stigma, that we may

Zionist Genocide With American Backing :Behind The Misery

THE ferocity of Israel's genocidal war in Lebanon proves, yet again, that there can be neither peace nor justice in the Middle East until the Palestinians' national rights are recognised.

PALESTINIAN DIASPORA

Total Palestinian population (1975) 3 million: 95% still live in the Arab world and more than 50% in historical Palestine, ie under Israeli occupation.

COUNTRY	Nos in 1975	%
Israel	436,100	14.1
Gaza	390,300	12.6
West Bank	758,400	24.5
Lebanon	228,000	9.3
Jordan	644,200	20.8
Syria	183,000	5.9
Iraq	35,000	1.1
Egypt	39,000	1.3
Libya	10,000	0.3
Saudi Arabia	59,000	1.9
Kuwait	194,000	6.3
Gulf States	29,000	0.9

WHO ARE THE PALESTINIANS?

They were the indigenous peoples of Palestine before 1948. The majority were Palestinian Arabs of the Muslim, Christian and Druze religions, nomadic Bedouins and there were a few small Jewish communities. The Palestinians were mainly small peasant farmers.

WAS PALESTINE EVER INDEPENDENT?

No. The people living in this area had been subject to successive occupations -- the Ottoman (Turkish) Empire and then by the British who set up a mandate colony after the first World War. The next colonisers to arrive were the Zionists from Europe.

WHAT IS THE STATE OF ISRAEL?

Zionist colonisation of Palestine with the help of British imperialism aimed to create an exclusive Jewish state in Palestine -- at the expense of the indigenous population. Unlike the previous occupations it aimed to expel the Palestinian Arabs from their land.

DID THEY SUCCEED?

To a large extent yes. The Palestinian Arabs rebelled

against Zionist colonisation in the Arab Revolt of 1936-39, were defeated by the British and Zionists and in 1947-48 the Zionist armies drove out of Palestine 800,000 Arabs and declared the new State of Israel on three-quarters of historical Palestine. Only 170,000 Palestinians remained inside the borders of the new Zionist state.

WHAT HAPPENED TO THE REST OF PALESTINE?

The areas which the Zionists were unable to gain control of -- the West Bank and Gaza Strip -- were occupied by Jordan and Egypt. In 1967 the Israelis invaded these areas and has been occupying them for 15 years.

WHERE DID THE PALESTINIANS GO AFTER 1948?

They fled to neighbouring Arab states and became exiled minorities. Some went to Europe and America. The core of the Palestinian ghourba (exile and alienation) was in the camps of Lebanon, Jordan and Syria. They were scattered and exposed to different political systems and influences throughout the Arab East. To the Arab regimes the refugees were a burdensome problem and a reminder of the their inability to stop the creation of the Zionist state -- imperialism's watchdog in the area.

HOW HAVE THE PALESTINIANS SURVIVED AS A PEOPLE WITH A NATIONAL IDENTITY DESPITE THE DIASPORA?

Their determination to return to Palestine, their disillusion with the Arab regimes which supported the Palestinian 'cause' but did nothing to help them regain their country, and the repression of the Palestinians by the Arab regimes led to a new phase of Palestinian resistance in the 1960s -- the rise of the various organisations making up the Palestinian Resistance Movement and their call for mass armed struggle to liberate occupied Palestine.

The resistance used to be based in Jordan. In 1970 King Hussein launched a barbaric attack against the Palestinians with the help of Israel and the US. The ensuing massacre, known as Black September, left 9,000 dead and tens of thousands were either imprisoned or escaped to Syria and Lebanon. The centre of the Resistance was forced to go to Lebanon.

The various organisations in

the Palestine Resistance Movement developed a state within a state in Lebanon -- they have built up Palestinian hospitals, schools, the General unions of workers, women and Students with branches all round the world, a government in exile, the Palestinian National Council, and organised the administration of the camps.

WHY SUPPORT THE PALESTINIANS?

For 34 years the Palestinians have lived in exile. Their struggle for national liberation, their right to return to Palestine is a just, anti-imperialist struggle. At this moment in Lebanon they are suffering their worst defeat in the Israeli genocide of the last month. Solidarity with their struggle is needed urgently.



Belfast Clee Formed



Warsaw region Solidarność offices (DR)

One of the leading members of Solidarność in exile, Zbigniew Kowalewski, visited Ireland during the ICTU conference in July. Kowalewski, who was a member of the Łódź Regional Presidium of Solidarność, was here to address the founding meeting of the Belfast branch of the Irish-Polish Solidarity Campaign (IPSC). Other speakers at the meeting included John Mitchell, General Secretary of the Electricity Supply Board Officials Association (ESBOA) and Inez McCormack, a full-time official with the National Union of Public Employees (NUPE).

Kowalewski outlined to the meeting the present position of Solidarność in Poland as it prepares for a general strike in the Autumn. He spoke of the determination of the Polish workers to see an end to martial law and the upholding of the free independent trade union. Zbigniew thanked Irish trade unionists for the support they had already given to Solidarność. He called for a stepping up

the coming months.

It had been hoped that with Zbigniew in Belfast at the same time as the ICTU conference, he would have been invited to attend as a fraternal delegate. In 1981 Janusz Onyskiewicz, a Solidarność leader now interned in Poland, received a standing ovation when he addressed ICTU delegates. This year the ICTU executive was determined not to embarrass its Stalinist members and rejected the request of many unions that Zbigniew be allowed to speak.

However, when Zbigniew's presence in the visitors' gallery at the conference was announced by National Union of Journalists (NUJ) delegate Carol Coulter, a great number of delegates stood in applause to acknowledge their support.

This was Zbigniew's second visit to Ireland. In March this year he visited Dublin and met John Carroll, Christy Kirwan, and Michael Mullen, the three leading office-holders in the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union (ITGWU). The three men pledged their union's support for Solidarność. Unfortunately, that did not stop many of the ITGWU delegates voting against the resolution at the ICTU conference which called for the lifting of martial law and the release of all internees. Nevertheless, the resolution was adopted by a large majority and trade union supporters of Solidarność will

PD's Sister Organisation in Lebanon Shows Way Forward

THE FOLLOWING IS AN OPEN LETTER FROM THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST GROUP (LEBANESE SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL) TO THE LEBANESE RESISTANCE ORGANISATIONS, BROADCAST OVER WEST BEIRUT RADIO AND PUBLISHED IN THE BEIRUT PRESS.

Comrades,

The only road to preserve the sacrifices of our two peoples, and to prevent them being uselessly wasted, the only road to preserve our patriotic army and our political liberties, the only way to abort the Begin-Reagan campaign against our national cause, the only way to disarm their offensive, this only way is represented by the following measures, which we call on you to implement in the name of the blood which has been shed by thousands of martyrs:

1) to continue the struggle without restrictions against the Zionist army of occupation, to prevent it having a moment's respite, and to make it pay for every minute of occupation of our land.

2) To refuse entry to armies

state armies or armies of the agents of imperialism.

3) to refuse any formulas concocted by the USA and Saudi Arabia, thanks to the Zionist occupation and with the complicity of the state.

4) to treat the institutions of the state as treacherous. To set up a government of national resistance composed of forces which have genuinely struggled against the Zionist enemy.

5) to set in motion local democratically organised councils so they can organise the resistance in Beirut.

6) to unite the military forces and centralise them within the framework of a National Guard, and to prevent the use of arms by certain suspect groups which have nothing to do with the national resistance.

7) to demand of the anti-imperialist states and forces, notably the USSR and Cuba, an immediate military intervention alongside the Lebanese and Palestinian resistance until the total and unconditional retreat of the Zionist army from the whole of Lebanese territory has been achieved.

(Continued from page 6)



lose the battle. But PD believes building a massive 'NO' vote will lay the ground for resistance to further attacks on democratic rights, "cool the courage" of the right and cause the government to consider their political future with caution before launching any further attacks. In other words, we are on the defensive. The balance of forces is weighted against us and this campaign gives us the opportunity to push back the right.

As we stated at the head of this article, the Anti-Amendment Campaign has scored some initial successes. But even adding all these up in no way constitutes a strategy for building the campaign. Signs are however, that the present leadership is attempting to develop one.

ELEMENTS OF A STRATEGY

So far, the campaign structure is basically democratic with a delegate structure allowing for political representation (2 per action group/organisation), monthly meetings and open meetings between action groups at a regional level.

Peoples Democracy contributed the following basic framework to a recent delegate meeting. This was approved by that meeting and further strengthened by similar motions from a number of action groups.

1. Winning support in the labour movement and in the working class areas.
2. An Action Programme was adopted centering on
 - National Rally at the end of October
 - International solidarity coordinated activities
 - Mass Lobby at Dail on the day of referendum vote
3. An open conference was agreed to assess the campaign in October/November.
4. Building support in the six counties, especially among the SDLP as a particular embarrassment to the Haughey government was also endorsed as part of the campaign.

DEMOCRACY -- AN ON-GOING DEBATE

Some differences remain -- namely about political representation and its implementation within the campaign. Several delegates, particularly members of the Communist Party and a number of feminists, resisted the need to extend this to the steering committee. They argued that it could hinder the campaign by long drawn out report-back and was unnecessary. This argument arose as a result of an IRSP member being unable to take her place on the committee. PD and the IRSP strongly argued that an IRSP

On the day Gerard Tuite was sentenced to ten years jail by the Special Criminal Court in Dublin, Brian Barron, the BBC's correspondent in Dublin described the outcome of the trial accurately. He pointed out that this event marked a high point "in Anglo-Irish collaboration". Collaboration is the key word. Of course it is not the word Haughey would use to describe his 'special relationship' with Margaret Thatcher. But collaboration is exactly what it is.

HAUGHEY'S HYPOCRISY

When the Criminal Law (Jurisdiction) Act was being debated in Leinster House in December 1975, a vociferous opponent of the legislation was none other than Charles J Haughey, the present Taoiseach. This illustrates both Haughey's hypocrisy and his opportunism. Leaders of the Fianna Fail party have behaved like this always. Haughey is the latest in a long line of Fianna Fail leaders who have no qualms about playing the republican card when it suits them -- and who are just as ready, when it suits them, to imprison, and even execute real anti-imperialists. The commitment of real anti-imperialists goes beyond the rhetoric used to gather votes at elections.

AN IRONY OF HISTORY

This is a curious irony of history: almost exactly 40 years before Gerry Tuite's trial, one of Haughey's predecessors, a certain Samonn De Valera, ordered the Free State Special Branch to break up the wedding party of Gerard Tuite's parents. The Gardaí were searching for Tuite's uncle, Patrick Darmody, a well known Republican activist in the counties of Cavan and Monaghan at the time. In the ensuing gun battle Patrick Darmody was killed and another wedding guest was injured. 40 years on, with the jailing of Gerard Tuite, it is clear that the Fianna Fail leopard has not changed its spots: it is an agent of British Imperialism.

FIANNA FÁIL WORKS FOR BRITAIN

The imprisonment of Gerard Tuite and the escapers from Belfast's Crumlin Road Jail shows that the Criminal Law (Jurisdiction) Act is now being used by Fianna Fáil, at Britain's behest, to strengthen the border. This latest piece of repressive legislation, a hangover from the Sunningdale Agreement, is solely for use against Republicans. This very point was made by Seán MacBride, Senior Counsel (SC) -- who legally represented Gerard Tuite at the Special Criminal Court -- once Judge Liam Hamilton had announced the verdict. MacBride pointed out that the Criminal Law (Jurisdiction)

that vote -- but de facto won the argument when an ICCL absentee was replaced by another ICCL member. We can only conclude that the IRSP seems to be a victim of political hostility or prejudice.

However, these are issues to be ironed out in the course of this and many other struggles. They do not negate the need for unity in action against the Amendment which Peoples Democracy is committed to.

TUITE TRIAL; Irish courts do Britain's dirty work.



Act will not be used to bring to justice people guilty of crimes against the nationalist people of the 6 Counties. It will not, for example, bring to justice the murderers of the following people:

- * Caron Anne Kelly, 12 years old
- * Julie Livingstone, 14 years old
- * Nora McCabe, 30 years old and a mother of five children
- * Stephen McConomy, 11 years old

The killers of these four people all wore the uniforms of the British Army, the RUC, or the UDR. Hundreds of others have suffered in exactly the same way over the past 13 years.

That is not how the Gardaí and Special Branch see things: every day, they pass on information about the activities of socialists and republicans in the 26 Counties to the uniformed murderers of the 6 Counties. Haughey's 'concern' for the suffering of the nationalist minority in the North is therefore a fake. Fianna Fáil act in Britain's interests through operating the Criminal Law (Jurisdiction) Act. The British are delighted at the jailing of Gerard Tuite and the Crumlin

Road escapees. Meanwhile, encouraged by the extension of repression against Republicans, the Unionist backwoodsmen are not satisfied -- they want extradition and the return of the death penalty. Paisley even suggested that Loyalists should imitate the Israeli Army slaughter in Lebanon, and attack Cork, following the example of Beirut.

REPRESSION WILL NOT STOP THE FIGHT FOR IRISH UNITY

The nationalist minority will only get its democratic rights in a United Ireland. Tampering with the internal administration of the 6 Counties will not change this fact. Repressive legislation does not alter this reality. Haughey often says things like this ('Northern Ireland has failed as a political entity', for example). If Haughey really believed these sentiments he would end collaboration with Britain.

Recently the IRA resumed its bombing campaign in London. After every explosion like this right wing politicians issue hypocritical condemnations and suggest that repressive legislation is justified because of these actions. If that was true, how is it that 7 years after the passing of the Prevention of Terrorism Act the IRA can still set off bombs in England? The reason is political: the bombings happen because of British misrule of Ireland.

Even The Irish Press, a supporter of Fianna Fáil can see this. The editorial in its July 26 issue correctly observes that many people in Northern Ireland do not consider that the IRA bombers are 'evil or monstrous'. Many people sympathise with the IRA, "support them and daily think of relations of their own either in Long Kesh or recovering from some form of violence arising out of the troubles, be it a plastic bullet, a Castlereagh interrogation, or some such." The writer continues by expressing distaste for the haughty arrogance of the current British policy. It is suggested that if Britain wants the Dublin government only to have a security role, and no political role, "the two edged nature of this sword can very easily be made apparent in any future negotiations over cross border security." This coyness is in one sense rather pathetic, but it is interesting to see such an authoritative establishment newspaper openly speculate in a way that ought to worry the British government. It shows how unstable the political situation is, and shows that the anti-imperialist movement is in a position to make gains.

EUGENE GORMAN

"ITS LIFE THAT NEEDS AMENDING, NOT THE CONSTITUTION"

