

# the worker

FOR A WORKERS' REPUBLIC AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

## ONLY WORKERS' ACTION CAN FREE IRELAND

### Dutch Courage

PHILLIPS, British-Dutch owned, and one of the largest multi-national companies in the world, has branches in over 22 different countries. Within the organisation each 'branch' bids against the others to see who can manufacture the product cheapest, and so win the orders from the parent company.

Until quite recently Ireland had a good 'record'. Because of the relatively cheap labour rates in Ireland, the factory at Clonskeagh in Dublin could outbid other Phillips factories in Europe. But since the factory opened in Portugal, Ireland no longer provides the cheapest labour. The Portuguese dictatorship has kept wages lower than anywhere else in Europe by threatening the workers with the importation of labour from 'their' territories in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea. Portuguese colonialists, having exploited the people of Africa, are now using the threat of cheap African labour to keep the Portuguese workers in line.

Phillips, like Potez and many other factories in Ireland, will close down when it suits them and open up factories in countries where they can get the cheapest labour rates possible.



A para chases a Derry youth—now chase out Lynch

It was Marx who said, in 1850: 'It is our interest and our task to make the revolution permanent until all more or less possessing classes have been displaced from domination, until the proletariat has conquered state power, and the association of the proletariat, *not only in one country* but in all the dominant countries of the world, has advanced so far that competition among the proletarians of the world has ceased and that at least the decisive productive forces are concentrated in the hands of the proletarians.' Marx ended with the words: 'The battle cry must be: *the permanent revolution*'.

The only guarantee of a victory against repression in the North is to launch an offensive—on class demands—against the Lynch government. Only the direct action of workers can bring about a defeat of British imperialism. Even the burning of the British Embassy was only finally achieved when masses of workers marched there.

We call on workers to press for the occupation of British factories. Such action would quickly expose the hypocrisy of Lynch's position. We further demand:

1. An immediate end to internment, and the unconditional release of political prisoners;
2. The immediate withdrawal of British troops;
3. An end to all repressive legislation, eg. Special Powers Act and the Offences against the State Act.

In the South we must fight on a militant programme of total opposition to all redundancies and all wage-cuts. We should also raise the following specific demands in order to help the Northern workers in their struggle:

1. Release of all political prisoners;
2. Total separation of Church and State;
3. For a free and comprehensive health service;
4. For full civil and religious liberties;
5. Unemployment benefits and pensions equal to the national average wage.

### Rippen Off

Rippen Ltd., the Piano manufacturers, which announced that 250 of its 300 workers would be made redundant recently figures in a High Court judgement. The action brought by the Income Tax Department was for non-payment of £61,478 collected from the workers but not paid into the Department of Finance. Mr Nico Rippen, the owner of the factory stated 'This matter, however, is rather irrelevant'.

Mr Rippen is also reported as saying 'I'm looking forward to Ireland's entry into the Common Market. While many other firms in this country were fearing this day, it would be 'D-day' for us, as 95 per cent of our products are exported to Common Market countries.' How's that for a statement from a man who has just sacked 250 workers? Mr Rippen's parent company in Ede, Holland is quite capable of supplying not only the present Common Market countries but also an enlarged EEC. It may be 'D-day' for Mr Rippen but it's certainly R-day for the workers! Redundancies!

Another interesting point is that Rippen's 15-year tax free concession period is to end very shortly. It looks as though Mr Rippen is quite determined not to pay the Irish Government any taxes.

## EEC AND REDUNDANCIES

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# A PLAGUE ON BOTH YOUR REPUBLICS

Giving an interview after his election to the Chairmanship of the Irish Labour Party, Roddy Connolly gave his solution to the problem of Northern Ireland: Britain should simply hand it over to the Republic, and as to the fact that there were a million Protestants who would object, well, many other countries had managed to cope with such problems. In other words, the Republic should coerce them.

Dr David Thornley, T.D., was not quite so impractical. He said that unfortunately it would not be possible to coerce the Protestants into a united Ireland, but if it was possible, it would be right to do so.

Are these people so blind that they really want to drag a million citizens into a country they do not want? Do they not realise that the only way to bring the North into the Republic is by creating a fascist dictatorship? (Assuming, that is, that Jack Lynch could raise a massive foreign loan to pay for the necessary military equipment.)

Of course, they are intelligent people. They wouldn't really send the Irish Army across the Border. They know what answer they would get. They are just playing politics—angling for the Republican vote. Because, after all, David Thornley owes his seat to Michael Mullen, General Secretary of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. And the I.T.G.W.U. likes to pretend to political militancy: at a crucial point it makes a presentation to Charlie Haughey, that noted Republican swimmer who never actually gets his feet wet.

## Controversy

In the last months of 1971, quite a controversy arose in the Labour Party over the Northern question. Conor Cruise O'Brien had for a long time been talking about how the Protestants and Catholics in the North must become friends: they must learn to live together in peace. 'I want to see a union of the two democracies in Connolly's sense. More, I believe that until such a union is at least beginning to take shape there can be neither secure peace nor an adequate rate of social progress in this island.' But how does he propose to obtain the union of the two working classes? By setting up an Emergency Joint Economic Council, composed of governments, employers, and the labour movement! He says that the Protestants and Catholics should be given equal rights.

He has never explained why the Protestant workers should give up the few privileges that they have now. If there is to be equal access to housing, it means fewer houses for Protestants. If there are to be equal rights to jobs, it means fewer jobs for Protestants.

UNLESS by some means houses and jobs can be provided for all. But the existing capitalist system cannot provide these things. And Conor Cruise O'Brien will not question the capitalist system. So his peace policy amounts to the same thing as Fianna Fail and Fine Gael policy: we want the country to be united, but only by agreement. The Northern Protestant workers cannot see themselves ever agreeing to a united Ireland, and come to the logical conclusion that there is some trickery going on somewhere: why do Southern politicians keep on harping on about unity unless they have got some hope of bringing it about?



Conor Cruise O'Brien again is wrong in saying that the Republican movement is going towards fascism. The most essential feature of fascism is that it is untrammelled dictatorship in the interests of big business. Irish big business is linked up with foreign big business in such a way as to make sure that it will always follow the interests of foreign big business. This is called imperialism. Fascism in any country is always imperialist. Irish Republicanism is anti-imperialist, even if many Republicans are

a bit naive in thinking that a fight against imperialism depends on the support of small businessmen. Small businessmen, small shopkeepers, self-employed people, and so on may as individuals be against imperialism, but as a class they have lost the power to make themselves felt; they cannot be relied on; as James Connolly said, 'Only the Irish working class remain as the incorruptible inheritors of the fight for freedom in Ireland.'

On the other side of the Labour Party to O'Brien, Thornley maintains that force cannot be ruled out at all costs, justifying himself by calling his attitude a 'Marxist' one, somewhat to the surprise of every other Marxist in Ireland, who had been under the impression that David Thornley renounced Marxism ten years ago. He makes sympathetic noises towards Aontacht Eireann and towards the I.R.A.

## Sinn Fein

Even Sinn Fein (Officials) do not advocate coercion of the Protestant working class. Tomas Mac Giolla has said: 'You cannot force people into unity. It has got to be by agreement.' What is wrong, of course, with Sinn Fein is that they have no idea of what sort of agreement Protestant workers might one day agree to.

In January the Labour Party came up with a statement insisting on its 'reliance on peaceful means and the rejection of force in bringing about unity,' and stating that the Party 'rejects any attempts at usurping by violence the democratic parliamentary processes.' It was hailed as a victory for the 'peace' faction led by O'Brien. It must have greatly disappointed the commentators like *This Week* who were prophesying in scare headlines: 'Labour: End of the Party?' 'The End of Connolly's Party?'

It was accepted by Thornley. But perhaps it was something of a compromise. It said: 'The British Army must be removed from the sectarian control of Sotrmont.' This sort of thing has not often been said by O'Brien. Is the statement just papering over the cracks? Will they come out again into the open at the Labour Party Conference this month? Which is the socialist side?

## Pseudo-socialists

It is my contention that genuine socialists cannot support either side: neither pseudo-Republicans nor the pseudo-Socialists. The pseudo-Republicans refuse to give up the 'national' claim to the North. But who is this 'nation'? It is only people. Are some people going to coerce other people? If this means workers coercing capitalists—yes, by all means. If it means workers coercing workers, then we must stop a moment and think what we mean by socialism. If socialism means the working class taking the factories, the means of production, into their own hands and running them, then you cannot coerce workers into doing that.

The idea of the unity of Ireland is useless if it is just a mystical romantic idea. It is useless unless it is the free choice of the workers. The only long-term solution in the North is for the Protestant and Catholic workers to come together.

The bosses North and South have the same interests: to keep the workers down and divided. Brian Faulkner and Jack Lynch are each in their own way errand-boys for Britain. When all the workers of Ireland arise; when they will no longer take orders from their bosses or from Britain; when they will no longer follow the political power of the Catholic Church or anyone else; then we will see whether the Border is in the workers' interests or whether it will be swept away like the rest of the capitalist state machine.

# UNIONISM WITH A PRETTY FACE

BY G BELL

Conor Cruise O'Brien is a worried man, he is in danger of losing the title of 'England's favourite Irishman'. The new candidate for this much sought-after post is Robert Cooper, Joint Chairman of the Alliance Party of Northern Ireland. Cooper's appearance on the BBC TV programme 'A Question of Ulster' was widely acclaimed in the English Tory Press. The *Daily Mail* ran a feature article on him, the *Financial Times* praised him as 'the voice of reconciliation' and the most reactionary of all the English Press, the *Sunday Telegraph* described him as 'A wholly likeable and convincing figure'. It is not surprising that the organs of British Imperialism should welcome Cooper as the hope for the future, their future of course.

Now that Faulkner's policy of internment, repression and torture has proved a disastrous failure and succeeded only in a tightening of resistance, the imperialists are frantically searching for some new means of retaining their hold on Ireland. Bob Cooper, at one time a leading figure in the Young Unionists, and his Alliance Party, are being singled out for this task. He is good looking, smooth-talking and pleasant sounding, he is almost as 'sensible' as an Englishman, wanting to forget about all those nasty squabbles of the past.

## Public relations

In fact the most remarkable thing about Cooper is that he managed to appear on the TV programme at all. All the other contributors were elected representatives of one sort or another, with the exception of the scab David Bleakley, who at least was an ex-government minister. But the Alliance Party have no MPs or even local councillors; even in the bourgeois democratic system it represents nobody. What they have got—and this explains the TV appearance—is a skilful public relations team, headed by, fittingly, an ex-leader writer for the *London Times*. Every day journalists in Belfast are showered with press statements, speeches and sermons from the Alliance Party. All this costs money, and clearly this is one thing the members of the Alliance Party have got plenty of.

What the Alliance party represents is capital, and those who own and control it. They are in fact the most conscious section of the Northern Ireland bourgeoisie. They realise that if their system is to survive then changes must be made and new policies must be adopted. The old policies of repression and discrimination no longer work and so instead they seek to turn the Six Counties into a 'normal' bourgeois democratic state, one in which business can prosper peacefully and investment can get suitable reward.

The Alliance members also realise that if some sort of stability does not return to the Six Counties then the foreign imperialists might shut up shop and go home. As Cooper frantically pleads in the current issue of the Alliance news-sheet:

*'If we do not solve our problems in this generation, we are a liability to the U.K. we are a liability to Ireland, we are a liability to Europe'. Cooper knows what capitalism does to 'liabilities', whether they be workers on the Clydeside or burnt-out factories in Belfast.*

The most significant factor about the nature of the Alliance Party is revealed by the date of its establishment. Prior to 1968 Cooper was quite content to remain in the Unionist Party, for it appeared to be delivering the goods. Even when the street rioting started and the nature of Unionism was exposed to the world, there was no sign of the Alliance Party.

*It was only when the bombing campaign started, when the trouble was not confined to the back streets of Belfast or Derry but began to affect the property of the bourgeoisie, it was only then that the Alliance Party was established and began to cry that enough was enough.*

They only began to mouth their sentimental diarrhoea when their property and thus their power was threatened. The bourgeoisie will support any political system as long as their interests are safeguarded, but even a fool could see that after 1968 the Unionist Party was not doing that adequately, so the Alliance Party sought to do it instead.

Cooper and his cronies are very fond of saying that there is a large working class membership in the Alliance Party. We will make no comment on that except to wonder how many workers can take advantage of the following example of Alliance Party activity, advertised in its paper:

Carrick Alliance Association  
Midsummer Supper Dance, Dunadry Inn  
Price: £2.50p



The daily reality of life in the North—the Labour Party has no answers; the Alliance Party accepts it.



On Saturday, 5 February, a protest march of 20,000 people, mainly Irish workers, was attacked in London by the police. 150 demonstrators were arrested, many of these were beaten up by the police. Three leading members of the Anti-Internment League, who organised the march, face conspiracy charges.

## Victory in a supermarket

Members of the Workers' Union of Ireland in a Dublin supermarket recently won an important victory against attempted victimisation. Three men who had been given the 'sack' by the management were re-instated when the workers in the shop took action.

Their success was due to their own efforts and to solidarity. When the three workers were sacked, the other workers were re-assured that their jobs were not in jeopardy. They were offered all the overtime they wanted. The workers rejected these assurances, and chose to stand by their work-mates. The three men were supposedly being dismissed because they refused to work late one night, because they were one minute late to work on another occasion, and because they were sick and missed a day's work.

It may be hard for other workers to believe that such primitive conditions can exist in 1972. But conditions are no better in the majority of shops and supermarkets. There are often no canteen facilities, or something very near to it. In one shop, for instance, the 'canteen' is a small room with room for four people. There are often 20 or 25 persons there for one sitting.

## Hygiene

In some other shops workers have to hang their coats in the tiny toilet cubicle. Workers often have to take their lunch breaks surrounded by boxes, sacks, buckets, brushes and other assorted rubbish.

The fact that such conditions do prevail is as much a reflection on the trade unions as on the managements. The health authorities also have a responsibility. They are aware of the unhygienic conditions and do nothing about it. The bosses obviously have no interest in improving conditions where it does not automatically increase profits. If there are to be changes, they will have to be forced by the ordinary workers themselves.

The re-instatement of the three workers in a Dublin supermarket is a small illustration of what can be done by immediate and united action. The example must be spread. If workers in shops and supermarkets want better conditions and better wages they will have to improve their organisation, and increase their control over their own particular work-situation. We cannot wait for trade union bureaucrats to do the job for us. Because they won't. We must be prepared to use direct action, including stoppages, in order to change our lot.

Ken Quinn

## Family in terror

This is a story of terror.

The victims have asked for their names not to be given for fear of reprisal from their tormentors.

A man, his wife, and four children, live in one room. They have two beds, four chairs, one armchair, a table, a TV, a gas-cooker, and a small cabinet. To wash the dishes they have to go out into the yard. The toilet is also outside. The whole place is infested with vermin, and the family are often woken in the night with rats chasing across the bed.

The children are always affected by colds because of the damp. The family has to spend a large part of their income on medical fees and on prescriptions.

The rent the family pay for this princely suite is £10 per week. But the new twist in the tale is that the landlord wants to get them out, because she believes that she can demand a higher rent for the room.

Introducing themselves with the slogan 'ALL BOSSES ARE BEAUTIFUL', and proclaiming themselves 'HAPPYMAKERS TO BEAUTIFUL BOSSES', the Alfred Marks employment agency, recently established in Dublin, leaves one in no doubt as to whom they have been set up to serve. A recent circular sent from their Grafton Street office however, spells out their attitude to the worker even more specifically.

In this circular, addressed to employers, they boast 'we interview, test and select our staff as carefully as a manufacturer selects his samples for presentation, as if every consignment is being sent to The Most Important Customer'. In other words, the treatment of the worker should, in ideal circumstances, measure up to the treatment given to what he produces! They continue—and try to remember it is *people* they are speaking about—'Staff agency "merchandise" is rarely of a consistent quality, simply because human beings, and particularly the female of the species, never come in consistent standards of technical ability, personality or behaviour'!!!

These two outrageous statements come from just one of almost 60 employment agencies operating from Dublin addresses, and only months after the Minister for Labour succeeded in pushing through the entirely inadequate and half-hearted 'Employment Agency Bill'—a Bill welcomed by both the Fine Gael and Labour Parties.

## PROFITS

The vast majority of these agencies are private enterprise, profit-making companies. With the worker as their 'product' and the large (and not so large) capitalist as their customer, they manufacture huge profits from a man's right to work. Do the workers who use these agencies realise how the profits are made? Does the typist in typing pool never ask why the boss should be paying twice as much for the 'temp' sitting beside her as he is willing to pay for her? Do they never ask why an employer should pay an agency, when he should be paying his workers? Or how much he is paying?

Speaking in the Seanad on the secrecy of the fees paid, the Minister said that the bosses did not wish to have the scale of fees displayed. 'They do not always like the job-seeker to see the potential bosses' fees because they might judge what they are worth from seeing what he is prepared to pay'. This is an incredible admission, but clearly, from their point of view, it would be no help at all if workers were to be paid what they are worth!



see article in next issue of 'The Worker'

In order to enforce this, the landlord-terrorist has been using the most macabre methods. The mother has told us how the children have been followed home from school by 'agents' of the landlord. These same agents have patrolled up and down outside the house with a large Alsatian dog. They have stood with a crowd of youths shouting 'You'd better get out'. On one occasion one of the agents got into the room, took out all the fuses from the fuse-box, and cut the lead to the TV. Before leaving, he threw grease over the beds and chairs.

The family is so terrified that it is hard to convince them that they have any 'rights'. They feel—or rather, they know from experience—that the law is made for people with money. Even if the law does provide some protection for tenants, it is very expensive to get the services of a solicitor. This family has enough difficulty paying for the bare essentials of food, clothes and, of course, the exorbitant rent.

People in this situation can help themselves, however. They cannot do it alone. They should work through the Flatdwellers Association or a tenants organisation. We in the Socialist Workers Movement and in 'The Worker' offer publicity through our paper and the resources of our organisation to fight the tyranny of private and public landlords and for a democratic housing system.

# EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES EXPLOIT AND DISCRIMINATE

And what of the Employment Agency Bill? Will it protect the worker from exploitation by these parasitic, non-productive organisations?

Will it protect women workers from the insinuation, like that in the statement quoted above, that they are of an even more inconsistent standard as workers than their fellow-workers who happen to be men?

## BRENNAN

Again, the Minister: 'The main purposes of the Bill are to provide for the registration of private employment agencies and for the approval of the fees they may charge . . . ' Elsewhere Mr Brennan says that he hopes this legislation will give these agencies 'a prestige and a standing which will enable them to do a better job.'

A better job for whom, Mr Brennan?

Although of academic interest at this stage (under a Government such as Fianna Fail, bent on a policy producing soaring redundancy and unemployment figures) it is worth saying that under different circumstances the National Manpower Agency could fulfill all the necessary functions of assisting those seeking employment with information on careers and details of the general employment situation and requirements in different areas—as well as providing a placement service where necessary. As it is, the Minister thinks that this potentially useful section of the Department of Labour may be able to glean some information from the commercial agencies—now that the Minister has access to their files!

We must admit, at this stage it is not sufficient simply to say that workers should boycott these agencies. It is not sufficient because of the co-operation between individual capitalists to exploit the worker, and to maintain and increase their

power over him and to diminish his basic rights.

It will not be sufficient to ignore them because by their collusion they can engineer the situation to make themselves more and more indispensable in job allocation. This is a case where it is supremely obvious that the situation has come about not from any necessity—nor is it even of benefit to individual bosses—but which has arisen directly from the need to accumulate capital at every turn, which is the driving force of the system we live under. We simply ignore these agencies, they should not be allowed to exist and flourish.

Mr Brennan in the Dail, made much of the fact that once his Employment Agency Bill was approved, Ireland would be in a position to ratify the ILO Convention No 96 (concerning fee-charging employment agencies). Part II of this convention provides for the abolition of fee-charging agencies conducted with a view to profit, Ireland is one of the few European countries which has not ratified this section. During the course of the debate, however, it emerged that Ireland would not ratify Part II in any case, but only that part which referred to regulation of agencies. In other words, a deliberate decision was made that these agencies should be allowed to flourish, and as we have seen from statements of the Minister, the idea seems to be to encourage them to continue their exploitation of workers.

It is obvious once again that we must expect nothing from our Parliamentarians. All parties welcomed this Bill and speeded its passage through the Dail and Seanad. It is obvious once again that we must fight our own battle. We must demand jobs without discrimination on any grounds, we must demand full employment. We must demand a just wage.

Marie MacAdam

# MAN AT WORK

I AM ONE of the lucky ones. I have a job, but sometimes after spending a day trying to repair a machine, bent double under a leaking gearbox with oil and dirt dripping over my face, I begin to wonder.

Workers should demand a decent life, not just work and certainly not 'work at any price'. Remember that some of the most militant workers in the world are car workers. They are paid relatively well, and the conditions are good by many standards, though by no means what they should be, and what makes the workers so militant?

It is that the job is attacking their minds as well as their bodies with the terrible mental grind of repeating the same operation time after time and never being able to change pace because the line runs at the same speed continually. Politicians of all parties, especially when faced with rising unemployment (for which they are partly responsible) usually cry out for the setting up of more modern high-production industry. (The kind that make the most profit!) Many workers swallow their pride and say yes, we need more jobs, but if they are not careful they let themselves in for a different form of slavery. That slavery is the slavery of the production line, a slavery that can easily bring us close to insanity. Most car firms do not employ men over 35 on the assembly line because they are too old to take 'the pressures of the job'. I have seen young, ordinary pleasant people change in a matter of weeks of this work into irritable, edgy, chain-smoking wrecks. And many of them hardly realise what is happening to them because they are distracted by the prospect of a more expensive holiday, a new car, or a TV set. They look for solutions outside the factory instead of trying to change the factory itself.

Because when you think of it, the more they are being paid, the more the bosses are making out of them. And the more they spend, the more the bosses are making out of them. But the worker doesn't have to lose both ways.

## SOCIALISM

If we had socialism, things would be very different. We would not need to slave at producing cars that fell apart in a short time, forcing people to buy new ones and keep the assembly lines moving. We would not need to squander millions on wasteful advertising and packing to persuade people to buy over-priced rubbish.

I do not believe work is a wonderful thing, especially when it is reduced to drudgery for someone else's profit. In a socialist society, much of the work that is done now would be unnecessary, and most of it would cease to be the tedious, exploited, sweated labour that it is now. That need not mean unemployment; it would just mean that the necessary work would be shared out more evenly—along with the wealth!

MAINTENANCE FITTER

## Wage Agreement

On Wednesday 26 January, the Central Bank, one of the establishment watchdogs, called for an extension of the National Wage Agreement for a further six months' period.

The National Wage Agreement has been responsible for the belt-tightening we have all been experiencing lately, by limiting wage increases to a maximum of 7 per cent, while prices (and profits) have been zooming upward.

But, in the best tradition of 'the hell with you, I'm alright, Jack', on the very day that the Central Bank delivered its directive, the Bank's Standing Committee announced that it was granting salary increases of up to 21 per cent!!!

When questioned about this rather strange discrimination, a spokesman for the Central Bank could only mutter 'no comment'.

I'm sure the Central Bank would welcome comments from workers—why not drop a line to the Governor, T K Whitaker, Central Bank of Ireland, Foster Place, Dublin 2, or, if you'd like to call him, the number is 773596.

# UNEMPLOYMENT PROTEST

On 15 January over 400 workers, their wives and children, took part in a protest march and meeting against recent large-scale redundancies in the Waterford area.

The latest people to be hit by the wave of closures are 240 workers in Henry Denny and Sons (Ireland) Ltd. A decision taken in London (the company is British-owned) brought the closure of the 150-years-old Waterford bacon factory.

Many of the marchers carried placards proclaiming their opposition to redundancies: 'We want work, not redundancies'.

The management had explained to trade union officials that the factory had to close because the plant and equipment were obsolete. If this was true—and it seems to be—then the management is to blame. They had taken no steps to right this situation. As usual, they are asking the workers to carry the can for their failures.

The protest meeting was addressed by officials of the ITGWU. John Dwan told the meeting that the most significant factor in the national rationalisation scheme was that the employers would receive compensation for closures, while the workers affected by such closures would receive no special assistance.

Could anybody wish for a clearer illustration of the class nature of the state?

## Radical mood

Seamus Ryan (chairman of the Denny's section of the ITGWU) said he wished to make it clear that the workers were not accepting the redundancies notice. Other speakers suggested such measures as letters and telegrams to the chairman of Denny's and local dignitaries. Nobody present at the meeting took these suggestions

seriously. The mood was for something much more radical. Many workers now see the need for a campaign of militant action against employers threatening redundancies in the Waterford area. But for such a campaign to be mounted, and carried through successfully, there would need to be an effective committee of rank-and-file trade unionists drawn from factories throughout Waterford.

Members of the Socialist Workers Movement and of the Waterford Socialist Movement have carried out a leafletting campaign throughout the city pledging full support to those fighting unemployment, and support for any action the workers might find necessary to keep factories open. The main demands made in the joint statement are:

1. A ban on excessive overtime and on productivity deals;
2. One Man—One Job;
3. Five Days' Work or Five Days' Pay.

The statement has been received very favourably by many workers.

We must fight back now on a programme of total opposition to all redundancies. But we in the Socialist Workers Movement are aware that the only guaranteed victory for such a campaign would be the establishment of a Workers Republic.

The capitalist system is unable to provide work for everybody. It is a society of waste. It is also an unjust society, which penalises those whom it has thrown out of work. The present crisis of the system, which is reflected in the large-scale redundancies in Ireland, points clearly to the need for a new society, a socialist society.

Waterford Worker

# EEC, Free Trade . . .

## WHO'S FOR ENTRY?

'We must not listen to those with no stake in the country who would lead us down the by-ways towards national stagnancy and barren isolationism. It would make nonsense of the economic policies pursued by us and the progress made over the last ten years.'

(Patrick Hillery, 26 Counties Minister for Foreign Affairs, quoted in the 'Irish Times', 25.5.71)

'The Irish Republic must face the fact that they are part of the British Isles at such moments of decision as those affecting devaluation, decimalisation or their application to join the Common Market.'

(Brian Faulkner, Six Counties Prime Minister, 'Irish Times', 3.6.71)

'Every Communist and bigot in the country and every troublemaker who hopes to fatten on chaos and destruction, North or South, doesn't want Ireland in the EEC.'

(Richie Ryan, Fine Gael spokesman on foreign affairs, 'Irish Times', 15.1.72)

Gathered together in these three statements is much of the material which should convince every worker in Ireland to reject Irish membership of the EEC.

Workers in the 26 Counties will have the opportunity to vote against membership in the forthcoming referendum. Northern workers will have to take up the issue in as many arenas as they can—work places, communities, trade unions and so on.

Let us first of all extract from the statements some of the key points. We can use these as a basis for exposing the basic assumptions and realities involved in the decision, and then go on to give a brief description of what the EEC is, how successful it has been, what it set out to do, the arguments for and against entry, the question of alternatives, and, finally, how best workers can fight the issue.

### 'Them' and 'Us'

To begin with, I shall list the points made, and then will go on to analyse them.

You will notice the use of the word 'us' in Hillery's outburst. It is a word that is scoundrelously cultivated in Ireland by the boss class and its publicists such as the 'Irish Press' and Dr Garrett FitzGerald. It appears to assume a community of interest among all Irish people, so that political decisions, or at least decisions on such a grand scale as this one, represent the 'national interest'. But note that the 'us' is qualified by Dr Hillery to exclude 'those with no stake in the country', and by Mr Ryan in the grandiose 'Every Communist and bigot, . . . every troublemaker who hopes to fatten on chaos and destruction . . .'

It is worth remembering that the phrase 'no stake in the country' goes back at least to the 18th Century, when it was used by the rulers of the time to describe the vast majority of the population who

owned no property and, because of this, were not considered capable of having any say in the running of affairs. We have no reason to believe it is used in any other way today.

### Minority

Those who 'have a stake in the country' are the 10 per cent of the population of the Twenty-Six Counties who own 97 per cent of the total national wealth. Even within that tiny minority there is a concentration of wealth among a smaller fraction. Roughly one half of the wealth of the state is owned by no more than one per cent of the population, or 14,000 people. In confirmation of this statistic, we know that the Dublin Stock Exchange only considers it worthwhile notifying 30,000 people altogether of new share issues.

Workers should ponder long on these figures, bearing in mind, for example, that there are 150,000 men and women in the ITGWU, 40,000 in the AGTWU, and over 500,000 affiliated to the ICTU. These workers and their families form a good 1,800,000 of the population of the 26 Counties, and for the 32 Counties the figure approaches 3,000,000.

### Majority

So Hillery's men with no stake in the country, the 'men of no property' are 90 per cent of the population who own a mere 10 per cent of the wealth. And it is these people who are referred to by talk of 'Communists and bigots', 'troublemakers' who want to 'fatten on chaos and destruction'.

We in the Socialist Workers Movement honourably place ourselves in this company. We want to overthrow the system that allocates power to such a small part of the population. Power which means, for example, that only five per cent of workers' children reach university

in the South, that workers can be thrown out of work at the behest of a system that accumulates wealth and profit from the efforts of these same workers.

And this is not a picture that applies only to the towns. In rural, agricultural Ireland most of the farms are small, but most of the land belongs to the larger farms. Three quarters of the holdings are under 50 acres, but make up little more than a third of the area under crops and pasture. On the other hand, farms that are bigger than 50 acres, a mere 29 per cent of the total number, make up more than 60 per cent of the area under crops or pasture. The 10 per cent of the farms that are greater than 100 acres occupy 36 per cent of this land.

Again, of the 320,000 people engaged in agriculture, 11 per cent are on holdings of under 15 acres and 21 per cent on holdings of 15-30 acres.

It is this mass of small farmers who are the natural allies of workers in the towns in the long term, although it will take many and various struggles.

A large proportion of the wealth in Ireland is owned and controlled by foreign citizens. Foreign investment in the 26 Counties during the 1960s reached £400 millions. Of 514 new grant-aided concerns, 30 per cent were British, American or German and the rest was made up of Japanese, Belgian, Dutch or Italian capital for the most part.

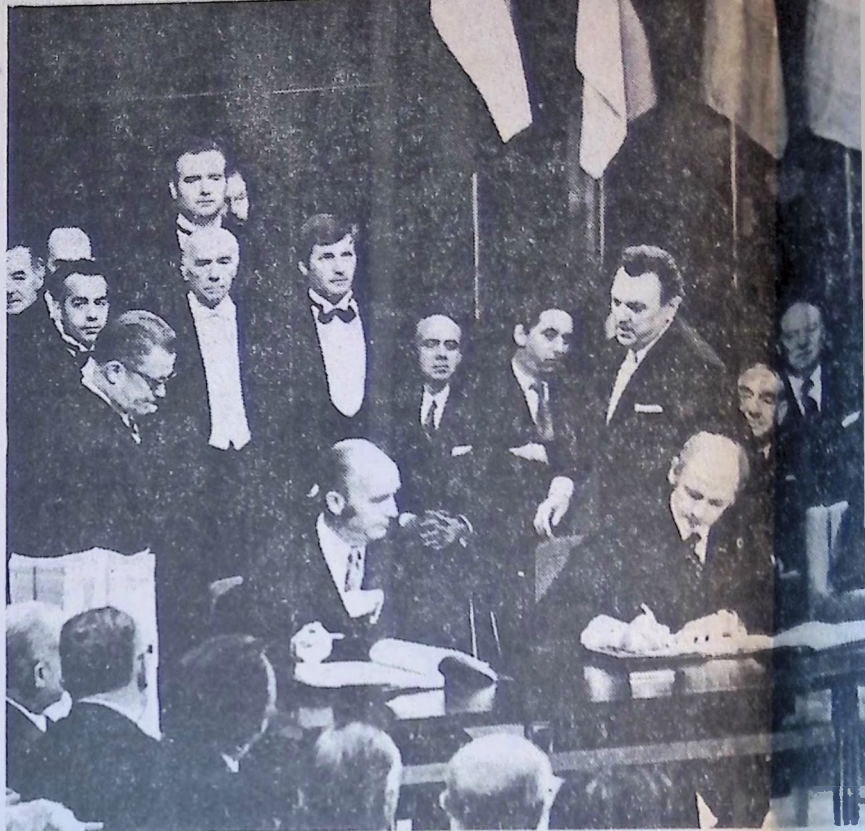
### Profits exported

This investment leads, in the long term, to a flow of resources out of Ireland. For example, it has been calculated that the international mining companies that set up in the 26 Counties in the 1960s will, during the 20 years in which they can export profits tax-free, extract \$650m by a conservative estimate.

This leads us to an examination of another of Hillery's categories—the economic policies pursued by us and the progress made over the last 10 years. In the late 1950s the Irish middle class—the ten per cent who own 90 per cent of the wealth—faced a crisis which they could only solve by opening up the country to international capital and by integrating more firmly into the British and international capitalist system. To the person who perceives things in the manner of the middle class this appears natural and those who oppose it must be the bearers of destruction.

It was this strategy that led inevitably to the application to join EEC in 1961, 1967 and 1969. But the logic behind it is not the logic of the working class.

Paul Gillespie



Hillery and Lynch sign the treaty of Ireland's accession to the EEC

## THE BEET SAGA

Mr. John Fardy, Vice-President of the Irish Farmers' Association and Chairman of the Beet and Vegetable Division of the I.F.A. told a Dublin press conference that 'the figure of 240,000 metric tons is not a negotiating figure. Dr. Hillery and the Irish team cannot accept anything less . . . nothing less than 240,000 tons will make the Irish sugar industry viable'.

As Dr. Hillery set out for Europe, Mr. Fardy had this to say: 'If Dr. Hillery does not negotiate the maximum quota, there is no doubt but that quite a large number of growers will have to move out of the production of sugar beet, and that many, many workers will lose their jobs in the four factories'.

On Sunday night, by this time installed in Brussels, he was still trying to hammer home the point: 'The Common Market proposals, if accepted, will sound the death knell of the Irish sugar industry'. Even on Monday morning, when all appeared lost, the indomitable Mr. Fardy was sticking to his guns. 'After talking to farmers in many parts of the country on the issue', he said, 'I am convinced that nothing less than a quota of 240,000 will meet Ireland's needs'.

### UNABASHED

As we now know, all this huffing and puffing failed utterly to blow down the E.E.C. Commissioners. But was our hero downhearted? Not at all! Unabashed and unashamed he declared 'Sugar Beet growers should not be too despondent . . . we believe there is still a future for the Irish sugar beet grower in the E.E.C.'!!

One of two conclusions may be drawn from this extraordinary episode: either the I.F.A. campaign was a spectacularly unsuccessful bluff, their numerous statements containing no basis whatsoever in fact, or the Irish Sugar Industry is about to join the Fishing, Horticulture, Footwear, Textile, Food-processing and Motor-assembly industries on the ever-lengthening early casualty list of Ireland's misbegotten venture into the E.E.C.

One way or the other, the credibility of the I.F.A. leadership has suffered a severe blow, and all future pronouncements, particularly in relation to the E.E.C., will be received with a healthy degree of scepticism.

## IRELAND'S ALTERNATIVE

What is the alternative to Ireland going into the C we cannot just stay out and carry on as if nothing power the same politicians who are trying to bring Market.

**WHO MAKES THE PROFIT OUT OF THE** Why are they trying to bring us in? Because they i people who vote for them. Their real bosses are the factory owners, the bankers, the capitalists, are the economy of the country. These are the people wh out of the Common Market, while the ordinary w will have to take the emigrant ship.

**BOSSSES MUST GO!** This cannot be done by the people trusting a new the old ones. The POLITICAL power of the capita ECONOMIC power of their big-business friends. I power of the workers must rest on the control of by the workers who work in them; the control of work on the land.

**A NEW LOOK AT TRADE!** By creating this new system—a socialist system—w duction and trade to suit the interests of the ordin do not have to produce what suits some foreign fir commitment to the Irish people. We can produce v We can produce goods whose raw materials are the produce which we have in Ireland. We can train our workers as technicians and crafts goods. We can trade with the Common Market and right, not hanging on to Britain's coat-tails. We can from the profiteers their power, privileges and poe wealth which they now grab for themselves, to cor difficulties—and indeed the temporary hardship—th heaval in our present pattern of trade.

**WHO ARE OUR FRIENDS?** We must realise, however, that the powerful countr trol our trade at present, will not like this. They wil us in order to overthrow the new-found freedom of friends? They are the ordinary working people of o struggling like us, and will struggle against their bos them. THEY are our allies. Together we can build a —not founded on the system of wealth for the few i many—but founded on the power of the workers w the same interests and the same fight to achieve the

**STATEMENT BY SOCIALIST LAB**



Paul Gillespie, Dublin Branch SWM, speaking at a public meeting against our proposed entry into the EEC. Limerick—29 January 1972.

# and Unemployment



Limerick, a city with a history of unemployment and with the highest redundancy figures in Ireland, can expect hell if and when Fianna Fail succeeds in pushing Ireland into the Common Market. In the textile industry alone, factories in the Limerick/Shannon area employ 1200 people. In this one industry all the facts show that there will be a complete and total closedown of factories under free trade conditions. On this fact all are agreed—management and unions, Industrial Development Authority and the Government.

The textile industry, like so many others in Ireland, managed to exist behind tariff barriers. In the EEC, the removal of the tariffs will spell the end of the textile industry. Already workers all over the country have felt the results of the Anglo Irish Free Trade Agreement—the 'mini Common Market'. Dumping of cheap materials, and finished products, from countries employing slave labour—Spain, Hong Kong, Taiwan—has already started. Workers have witnessed the closure of the mills in Athlone and Newbridge and a spokesman for Gentex declares the mills at Ardee will suffer the same fate. It is only a matter of time. Limerick has seen the closing of International Textured Yarns; the workers in Danus are fighting a rationalisation programme which will close their factory; Crescent Clothing has laid off workers and the remainder are now working a 3-day week. What does the future hold for the Limerick Clothing Co., Lana Knit, Merrywear, Shannon Dyers etc? These factories have not yet begun to feel the effects, but given the predictions of even pro-EEC Ministers and managers, the future is far from bright. If one also takes into account the fact that much of the processing material used in the Shannon factories is supplied from the USA, then the difficulties they face on EEC entry are multiplied.

## INTERNATIONAL TEXTURED YARNS

130 workers redundant  
Factory closed down

## S.P.S. SHANNON

60 workers redundant  
RIPPEN LIMITED

250 workers redundant  
PROGRESS INTERNATIONAL

85 workers —

## IRISH UNIVERSITY PRESS

80 workers redundant  
4-day week

## UNIVERSITY COMPUTING CO

29 workers redundant

## EMERALD CARPETS

15 workers redundant

## CITY THEATRE

7 workers redundant  
operating on temporary basis

## EUROGROUP

50 workers redundant

## LIMERICK SHOE FACTORY

250 workers redundant  
Factory to close

## THOMOND LAUNDRY

50 workers redundant  
Closed down

## McCARTHY'S SKIN & HIDE

25 workers —

## FACTORY TO CLOSE

## CRESCENT CLOTHING

12 workers redundant  
3-day week

## LIMERICK PORT

Work force down to 50

One of the most notable factors in these closures and disputes is the complete capitulation of the I.T.G.W.U. and other unions involved. These unions, far from giving any leadership to the workers involved have in fact not even been behind the workers in their demands. In cases of redundancies they are quite content to look for what they describe as 'the best conditions', and are more than willing to capitulate to the bosses' every demand.

One of the more disgraceful incidents of closure and loss of jobs was that of the Thomond Laundry. In this case neither management nor union thought of mentioning the impending closure to the workers. The day before they eventually received their redundancy notices they became suspicious. Employees from the Connacht Laundry, a competitor, went around with the delivery vans to discover routes, customers, etc. Next day 50 workers found themselves without jobs, and the Thomond Laundry had closed. Within a week the Connacht Laundry, now without competition, had increased its prices by 20 per cent.

These are only a very few examples of what is happening to workers' jobs in general and on a large scale not only in Limerick, but throughout the country.

## FUTURE

What of the future for Limerick and Shannon workers? Mr Thomas Callanan Assistant General Manager, Shannon Free Airport Development Company, has said 'Three hundred workers will become redundant at the Shannon Industrial Estate during the next two or three years and 1,000 new jobs will be created in that period'. But in the month prior to that statement well over three hundred workers lost their jobs (Rippen etc.). We have already shown that the present system of Government grants is geared towards the short-term profit of the foreign and Irish industrialists and not towards creating full employment. Either they are put into industries which are doomed to closure, or else into highly mechanised industries

## LIMERICK A SPECIAL REPORT

by Denis Kane, Marie MacAdam and Paul Gillespie



The Danus Factory, where workers refused to accept bosses' rationalisation plan and so kept their jobs.

in which labour requirements are very low. With Ireland in the EEC and with cheaper labour rates available in Asian and African countries, European and American industrialists will decide that Ireland is not the profit paradise it has been up to now.

As an example, take the new Ferenka factory at Annacrotty, a subsidiary of Akzo N.V. of Holland, manufacturing steel cord for automobile tyres. Large Government grants have been put into its building and it will receive the usual 15 year tax free concession. There seems to be some disagreement as to the exact number of jobs which will be available when the factory opens. The owners state that the factory will provide 250 jobs, while local development officials put the figure at 1,000. Where have these 750 jobs disappeared to between Limerick and Holland? Ferenka, as an exporting firm aimed at the English market is taking advantage of the reduced tariff restrictions under the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement. Surely, if both England and Ireland enter the EEC the parent company in Holland will be able to supply the English and Irish markets direct. What then of even the

250 jobs and the money from Irish workers, paid to line the pockets of the capitalists?

Further problems arise if American big business forces the Irish Government to allow American planes to land in Dublin, instead of Shannon—then the future will indeed be grim. Official estimates say at least 1,000 industrial workers will be out of a job and a possible 4,000 jobs in tourism will be lost.

At this stage, workers should fight these threatened redundancies with all the power of unity that they have—even if the union leadership stands meekly by and accepts the situation. By demanding a shorter working week without loss of pay, more jobs can be created. Redundancies should be fought at the moment they are announced and not when some workers have already lost their jobs.

Only when the workers themselves control the factories, producing for need and not for profit, running them for the benefit of the majority, and not as at present just in the interests of a few money grabbing capitalists, can our jobs and future be guaranteed.

## WHAT FUTURE FOR FINGLAS?

The Dublin North-West Anti-EEC Committee has been doing research on the possible effects of Irish entry into the Common Market. They selected the industrial estates in the Finglas area—Lyons Estate, Broombridge Estate, and scattered factories—and checked on the number of firms which exist behind the tariff barriers. A 'tariff barrier' means that foreign manufacturers of goods of a certain type are required to pay high taxes before they can be sold in Ireland. This makes them less competitive on the Irish market.

In the Common Market such tariffs will have to disappear over a five-year period. We already know of some of the major industries which will suffer—car assembly, textiles, and the boot and shoe industry. But the survey done in Finglas now takes a complete look at the different types of industries that are doomed to closure, resulting in thousands of redundancies.

The list ranges from heavy and light engineering, chemicals and pharmaceuticals through motor assembly, food and confectionary, cosmetics and textiles, paper and packaging. The first list below is of 35 firms which face closure during the first year of entry.

B.A.C. Ltd.; Hilti Ltd.; George Angus & Co. Ltd.; Davis & Timmins Ltd.; Precision Plastics Ltd.; Monopumps Ltd.; National Engineering Ltd.; Whessoe (Ire) Ltd.; Colwin Engineers Ltd.; Unidare Ltd.; E.C. Handcock Ltd.; G.K.N. International Ltd.; Astra Chemicals Ltd.; Diversey (Ire) Ltd.; Duckhams Oils Ltd.; Organon Ltd.; Perk Ire. Ltd.; Wheelhans & Sons; Anodising; Burgess Galvin & Co. Ltd.; Everwear

Candlewick Ltd.; Dominick Dolan; Chrysler; Associated Engineering Ltd.; Crosland Filters Ltd.; Rank Xerox Ltd.; L.S. Dixon Ltd.; Gateaux Ltd.; Seaborn Ltd.; Victor Hanna; Corionel Ltd.; Janelle Wear Ltd.; Hourihan Ltd.

The second list is of firms where workers will first experience overtime bans, shorter working week, and minor redundancies, but the end result will be the same—NO JOBS!

Berkel Scales Ltd.; Glasnevin Products Ltd.; Gestetner Duplicators Ltd.; Irish Merchants Ltd.; Hamilton Engineering Ltd.; Royal Irish Silver Ltd.; Hoover Ltd.; Columbus Dixon Ltd.; A.G. Spalding & Bros. Ltd.; Jack O'Brien; Hillaldam Coburn Ltd.; Dublin Litho Plates Ltd.; Littons Business Systems Ltd.; Colibri (Exports) Ltd.; Dunlop Angus (Hose Division); Metering Pumps; Gillespie & Scafo Ltd.; Siemens Ltd.; Slot T.V.; Telecommunications Ltd.; Berk Pharmaceuticals Ltd.; Graphic Reproductions Ltd.

Finglas Laboratories Ltd.; Smurfit Thom Spruyt Ltd.; Jeyes Ltd.; Connolly Tyre & Battery Service; Quinton Hazell Engineering Ltd.; Traynor Motors; Dennis Mahony; Smurfits Bunzel Ltd.; Spicer & Cowan Ltd.; Mulready & Co. Ltd.; Rainbow Display Ltd.; Superior Packaging Ltd.; Irish Silk Screen Ltd.; Carton Printers Ltd.; Cerebos Ltd.; B.C.L. Ltd.; Downes & Sons; Premier Dairies Ltd.; Crystal Products Ltd.

This is just a small area of Dublin where jobs will be affected by E.E.C. entry. Many hundreds of thousands of workers in other factories all over Ireland could be facing the same prospects.

## ID'S ALTERNATIVE

o Ireland going into the Common Market? Obviously and carry nothing had happened, leaving in ans who are trying to bring us into the Common

## PROFIT OUT OF THE E.E.C.?

bring us in? Because they are not worried about the m. Their real bosses are the big-businessmen, the kers, the capitalists, the people who control the y. These are the people who will make a good profit rket, while the ordinary workers and small farmers igrant ship.

the people, trusting a new set of politicians instead of TICAL power of the capitalists rests on the their big-business friends. In the same way, the political must rest on the control of offices, factories and shops rk in them; the control of agriculture by those who

## TRADE!

stem—a socialist system—we can re-organise our pro- nit the interests of the ordinary people. Our factories e what suits some foreign firm, whose owners have no sh people. We can produce what our own people need. e whose raw materials are the minerals and agricultural e in Ireland.

ars as technicians and craftsmen to produce high-quality ith the Common Market and other countries in our own r Britain's coat-tails. We can do this if we take away ir power, privileges and pocket-books. We can use the v grab for themselves, to compensate the people for the d the temporary hardship—that will accompany an up- pattern of trade.

## RIENDS?

ver, that the powerful countries of the world who con- nt, will not like this. They will bring pressure to bear on ow the new-found freedom of the workers. Who are our rdinary working people of other countries, who are ill struggle against their bosses, and finally overthrow illies. Together we can build a new international society ystem of wealth for the few and repression of the n the power of the workers who, in all countries, have l the same fight to achieve them.

## BY SOCIALIST LABOUR ALLIANCE



# HIGH PRICES-ATTACK ON WORKERS' LIVING STANDARDS

|                | OUR PRICE. | E.E.C. PRICE. |
|----------------|------------|---------------|
| 1lb. CHEESE.   | — 20p.     | 45p.          |
| 1Pt. MILK.     | — 4½p.     | 8p.           |
| 1lb. SUGAR.    | — 5p.      | 10p.          |
| 1lb. BUTTER.   | — 25p.     | 45p.          |
| 1lb. TEA.      | — 40p.     | 120p.         |
| 1Doz. EGGS.    | — 25p.     | 45p.          |
| 1lb. PORK.     | — 33p.     | 56p.          |
| 1lb. COD.      | — 18p.     | 34p.          |
| 1lb. BREAD.    | — 6p.      | 9p.           |
| 1lb. ORANGES.  | — 8p.      | 18p.          |
| 1lb. POTATOES. | — 4p.      | 16p.          |

**SPECIAL OFFERS!**

YOUR MONEY BUYS LESS IN THE E.E.C. NATIONAL ANTI-COMMON MARKET ACTION COMMITTEE.

It has often been said that agriculture is the back bone of the Irish economy, and one need only look at the Estimates for Public Services 1970-1971 to see the amounts ploughed into it. £72,772,000 for the Department of Agriculture, and a further £24,771,000, making a grand total of £97,543,000 of public money.

But do the people get anything back for this 'investment' No! Quite the opposite. They have to pay top prices in order to subsidise the export of agricultural goods. The basic food of the worker and his family is the hardest hit. Bread for instance went up three times in 1971, and once already in 1972. Milk has also gone up, and as for butter, it is being steadily priced off the workers' table. Any other food stuffs are fast becoming luxuries. Take meat; this essential food never fails to rise in price by 2½ to 5 pence every three months. Even after the recent housewives' boycott of meat it still rose sharply in price, and all the money they thought they had saved was soon taken out of their purses. All the above-

mentioned foods are regarded by workers' families as their staple diet and these same workers' families are lucky if they have meat once a week. Yet all these workers contribute to paying taxes which go to footing the bill for agriculture.

meat-processing industry under workers' control, and that factories be built to carry out this processing.

After all, our two biggest exports are workers and livestock. Why should men and women have to emigrate when we have within our reach the making of a big industry which would service the Irish people. But this is impossible under capitalism when the bosses consider only the servicing of their profits and bank accounts and not the needs of mankind.

We do not say that it is impossible because of this. Quite the contrary. It is only possible with an alliance of workers and working farmers. The workers should occupy their factories and small farmers should supply them with the 'raw material' (livestock). This raw material must be processed for the home market first. After that who knows what such an alliance might bring—a Workers' Republic perhaps.

## Fight rises

The workers should fight against any further increases in food prices. There are several ways this can be done. The first is to cut down on the amount you buy if they try to increase bread, butter, or milk prices. This may cause hardship but if you don't fight now, there is going to be hardship anyway. The second is only to buy the cheaper cuts of meat and leave the butchers and bacon-men with the dearer choice cuts. You would soon see them drop their prices. Irish workers should also demand that as long as they are asked to pay one of the highest tax rates in Europe along with one of the highest costs of living, they should get something back for it. We should demand the nationalisation of the

Ken Quinn

# REDUNDANCY PAYMENTS

As unemployment rises fast, workers should be aware of the inadequate provisions of the Redundancy Payments Act (RPA). The fight for higher unemployment benefit is a part of the struggle against unemployment, and *The Worker* aims to promote resistance to redundancies by all means possible.

The RPA came into force in 1968. It provides that a worker who loses his job will get both a lump sum and weekly payments if certain conditions are met. The scheme covers workers between the ages of 16 and 70 who are insured for all benefits under the Social Welfare Acts, and whose normal working week is at least 21 hours with the same employer. In order to benefit, a worker must have been continuously employed with the same employer for at least two years. The scheme extends to workers who ceased to be insured for all benefits within the 4 years before redundancy, provided they are still with the same employer.

## APPRENTICES

Redundancy payments are not payable where an apprentice is dismissed within a month of his apprenticeship ending. Otherwise the period of apprenticeship is included in calculating any redundancy payment that might be due at a future date. Contributions are included in the Social Welfare stamp. Benefits paid are a lump sum of half a normal week's wages for each year in the job between the ages of 16 and 41, and a week's pay for each year after that, plus one additional week's pay. The cash is paid by the employer, who gets a refund from the redundancy fund. The payments start after a waiting period of 3 days, and cease on re-employment. Weekly payments are in addition to any other social welfare payments, up to a limit of 90 per cent of pre-redundancy pay. Workers dismissed for any reason other than closure of a plant or laying off of 'surplus labour' are not eligible for payment.

A worker is entitled to payments when he is laid off or put on short time for four weeks running or six weeks in thirteen. This requires a special statement on the form provided by the labour exchange. But the employer may serve a counter notice on the worker if he claims that the worker will be taken back for at least 13 weeks of full employment within a month. If the lay off or short time is caused by a strike, none of this applies.

The same goes for the first 26 weeks missed by lay offs, holidays or service in the forces, or the first 78 weeks of sickness. None of these 'breaks continuity'.

For seasonal workers the position is even worse. There is normally no question of redundancy payments for them until after the usual commencement time of the seasonal work. They are only considered redundant if not employed after then. Once a worker has received a lump sum, continuity of employment is broken. When or if he starts another job, even if it is with the same employer, calculation of his service time for future benefits begins on that date.

## TRIBUNAL

A special appeals tribunal has been established under the Act to receive disputes arising out of the operation of the scheme. Its members include representatives of trade unions and employers' organisations.

*The Worker* prints these facts to help its readers cut through the bureaucratic red tape which surrounds their rights. It is only too clear that 'the rules of the game' in this corner of society, like everywhere else, are weighted in favour of the employers and of profits.

# LETTER TO GALWAY READERS

Galway people bought the first issue of *The Worker* in large numbers. We hope they will quickly come to use this paper to publicise grievances relating to their work-place, housing estate, etc. They will find that a paper of this sort—dedicated to promoting the class struggle—is an invaluable means of applying pressure. It is a way of getting understanding and sympathy for your struggle.

# FIGHT FOR JUSTICE

There are many families in Loughrea, Co Galway, waiting for new accommodation who are presently living in very bad conditions. Sixteen new council houses were allocated recently, but a number of disappointed applicants say that the allocations were not made according to the recognised priorities.

Norman Morgan attempted to have a deputation of six Loughrea citizens received by the Town Commissioners. But he was blocked by the Chairman, who said that a meeting of the nine-man board had decided against receiving the deputation. So Norman is now picketing the County Council offices in Galway, protesting at the way in which the allocations in Loughrea were made. In his words, the method used was more in keeping with a 'jungle society'.

Norman is no stranger to County Council offices. He picketed them before demanding that Council workers be paid weekly, rather than fortnightly. He claimed that the fortnightly payments caused hardship for the housewives as they had to budget over a two-week period.

It took two years of picketing council meetings and seeking backing from the trade unions, but eventually the demands were met. The weekly payment is costing £10,000 extra to make during the first year, and £5000 per annum after that. It was because of the cost that the County Manager was reluctant to implement the scheme earlier. It had never occurred to him, of course, to give any part of the money saved by making fortnightly payment as a bonus to the workers.

If support comes from the people in Loughrea, this fight for justice could be won more quickly.

We are a new movement, but many Galway people will have met us before in different campaigns. We were members of the Labour Party, but have seen it too long fail to take a stand on working class issues.

The local Labour Party received a lot of publicity through the holding of the Annual Conference in Galway last year. But the local group apparently was not interested in getting over its ideas to Galway workers. It only comes to life at election time.

We were disgusted that the branches would not organise an anti-internment march; they would not even organise a collection for internees' dependents. The present members of the Galway Socialist Workers' Movement collected money in pubs and in the Fr. Griffin Road area. We also held public meetings.

Our parting with the Labour Party finally came when we were unable to get them to actively support the tenants on rent strike. They would not even send a message of support.

from Eamon Shelvin



A member of the Socialist Workers Movement selling 'The Worker' outside Liberty Hall on the occasion of the special delegate conference of the ITGWU on Irish entry into the EEC. Conference voted overwhelmingly to oppose entry.

'THE WORKER' IS PRODUCED BY WORKERS FOR WORKERS. IT MAKES NO PROFIT. IT NEEDS YOUR SUPPORT. TAKE OUT A SUBSCRIPTION NOW, OR SEND A DONATION TO 'THE WORKER' FIGHTING FUND.

I wish to have further details of the Socialist Workers' Movement

Send to Socialist Workers' Movement, 30 Strandville Avenue, North Strand, Dublin 3

Name

Address

**FACTORY OCCUPATION** has come to Britain as a tactic in the class struggle. It was a long time coming, and the experience has not been 100 per cent successful, but it is no exaggeration to say that the tactics used by militant workers in Spain in 1936, France 1936 and France 1968 are a good deal nearer in the supposedly 'calm' and 'integrated' British Labour Movement.

So far, the method has always been used in a defensive fashion against redundancies. This is by no means a recipe for success, as the pioneers in the field found out in 1969. In August of that year, 5000 men at the GEC-English Electric Factory in Liverpool decided to occupy the plant to prevent lay-offs following a merger between the two companies. The shop stewards drew up a plan for the sit-in, but it was not discussed sufficiently among the workers, who finally rejected the plan two days before it was due to be put into practice.

Although this experience was discouraging, it did plant a tiny seed in the minds of many militant workers. There can be little doubt that this was largely due to the efforts of socialist groups determined to draw the lessons of the previous year in France. Then, ten million workers took over most of the major plants of French capitalism and put an end to the Fifth Republic.

## TORIES

1971 was a different story. A ruthlessly class-conscious Tory Government had embarked on a drive to turn back the clock twenty years on the working class. One of the key elements in this strategy was mass unemployment, but this time the Labour Movement was not the weakened and split force which existed in the 1930s. 'Never Again' summed up the general mood, and so when the Tories decided to close Upper Clyde Shipbuilders in June of this year, they found that they had a fight on their hands.

6000 jobs were at stake in the yards, and a further 20,000 in the Glasgow area were dependent on the future of UCS. After some shadow boxing, the yards were taken over on July 30, production being supervised by the shop-stewards. At the time of writing, the work-in still continues, and is without a doubt the most popular cause in Scotland. However, it has to be said that the shop-stewards, mainly led by the Communist Party, have not conducted a real fight. Their main effort has been directed to securing backing from the 'respectable' leadership in the Labour Movement and



Occupying workers at Plessey's

# OCCUPATIONS

the Labour Party, and they have even stooped to courting Harold Wilson, whose policies began the climb of the unemployment figures in Clydeside and elsewhere.

In spite of all this, and in spite of the constant possibility of a sell-out in the future, the fact remains that the idea of occupation has caught on since last July. There have been two long and successful sit-ins at Plesseys in Alexandria, and at the Fisher-Bendix plant in Liverpool, both of which resulted in concrete, short-term gains for the workforces in terms of employment.

But the picture is not all bright. Two other proposed sit-ins have failed to materialise, one at a Sheffield steel works and one at a motor cycle plant in Birmingham. No revolutionary socialist pretends that those which have come off are any more than limited defensive battles.

Even so, the tactic has important and inescapable implications. For a start, it challenges the property rights of employers, and their right to hire and fire, in a very basic way. Workers do not just 'walk out of the bosses house' in a huff; they take it over and evict the boss totally. Quite clearly this is a step forward, a step towards seeing factories and plants as social property, not the private domain of the capitalist. An encouraging factor in the process has been the part played by

revolutionary socialists in these struggles. The recent industrial conference of the International Socialists heard delegates from some of the occupied workplaces praise the efforts of the IS group and its paper, and call for the building of a revolutionary party which would evict the Tories and their system for good.

It must be stressed again that this movement is only in its infancy. Many more battles will be lost before the necessary experience and discipline is learned by the working class. But a start has been made, and the Marxist movement in Britain is in a good position to hammer the lessons home. There is no chance at all that the level of unemployment will sink below three-quarters of a million in the foreseeable future, and even that figure is only quoted by liberal optimists.

For Irish workers, this process points to some important new opportunities. Feeling against the British presence is already running high, though it's great to see the Embassy burn, it will not shift British troops—let alone British capital. If Irish workers give serious thought to factory occupations, they can not only hit British capitalism where it really hurts, they can also flex their muscles for a more important long-term task—the final emancipation of the Irish working class and the establishment of a 32 County socialist republic.

# Miners on Strike

by B. Trench

The coal-miners have always had a very special place in the British labour movement. It was they who gave the lead to the General Strike in 1926. For a long time they were among the highest paid workers in Britain. They do one of the most hazardous jobs.

Since the Second World War, however, they have fallen back steadily in the wages 'league'. At the same time, the nationalised coal industry has increased productivity by 60 per cent, and the miners' representatives on the boards of the industry have been party to automation and speed-up which have halved the labour force. In the whole period of nationalisation there has never been a single official strike. The trade union bureaucrats boast this record as the slightest prompting. But for the miners it is a direct pointer to the reasons for their declining position.

Today, there are thousands of British miners who take home less than £20 per week for gruelling, dangerous and difficult work. And once again a Tory government has picked on the miners as an example to the rest of the British working class. The miners' union (NUM) lodged a claim which would have meant an average increase of £8-£9. The Coal Board offered less than £2. The union leaders were obviously

prepared to accept something near £3. But there was no improvement on the offer, and the miners struck.

The strike has been going on for a month now, and it is absolutely solid. In scores of pits the miners have not even done safety work—against union orders—and have put pits and machinery in jeopardy. They are not worried about preserving property. They are determined to cause maximum discomfort and to get the full claim.

Pickets have been put on coal-fired power stations, and on ports, to prevent the movement of coal supplies. These pickets have been very successful, and several power stations are now out of action, although the Coal Board and the Electricity Generating Board had been assuring everybody that they had supplies of coal to last weeks. Some foreign coal has come in through small ports, but the miners hope soon to have all the gaps filled.

In the mining areas, whole communities have been involved. Other trade unionists have also been giving active support to the miners, in spite of the refusal of the Trades Union Congress to issue instructions on blacking and on financial support. Students, too, have been helping on picket lines.

What the Tory government is trying to do is to impose a wages 'ceiling', and to limit all wage increases to 7 per cent. Claiming that the poor economic situation is due to exorbitant wage rises, and using the threat of unemployment, they have been able to impose this ceiling in many cases. Workers in the gas industry, for instance, recently saw their union negotiators settle for 7½ per cent. Allowing for deductions, this comes to about one half of the rise in the cost of living over the past year. Therefore, what the government is effectively trying to do is to impose a wages-cut. It was a similar attempt which sparked off the last national strike of miners in 1926.

## 'EXAMPLES'

British governments have long tended to select workers in the public sector as 'examples' to the rest of the working class. Because of the state ownership they can intervene more effectively than in private industry. Last year the workers in the electricity supply industry, and the postmen were chosen for special treatment. The power workers, in particular, were subjected to the most vicious attacks by the media. Barmen and shop-keepers refused to serve them, and they were isolated from the rest of the population. So far, the media have not been able to do

the same to the miners. There is more public sympathy for them, as everybody knows what a hazardous job they do. There is also an increased awareness among rank-and-file workers of the need to resist collectively.

The outcome of the miners' struggle could determine the pattern of wage demands for a long time to come. The outcome of their struggle could also affect the unemployment situation, boosting workers' confidence to insist on rises without productivity 'strings', which always mean redundancies. A victory for the miners on the wage claim would lead them to resist any pit closures. The employers have tried unsuccessfully to contain the miners' anger with threats of closure and redundancy.

Throughout the country, the miners are digging in for a long struggle. They are getting only an average of £5 per week from the NUM fighting fund. But they say that the hardship which this is causing will have been worthwhile if they can beat the bosses and the government. Many of them see that their struggle is of crucial importance to the future of the class struggle in Britain. Their fight could determine the fate of the Tory government.

The key to the miners' victory is blacking and solidarity from the rest of the trade union movement. If this is forth-

working class.

Despite their powerful trade union movement, American workers have not got even so much as the bureaucratized, reformist British Labour Party to put forward their interests in the political arena. Nor is it likely that the bureaucrats who control the American labour movement will ever move to form a labour party—much of their power within the establishment rests precisely on their ability to chain the labour movement to the capitalist parties.

The absence of a political party of the working class in the US permits the Democratic Party to keep its political stranglehold over the working class and oppressed minorities, despite its thoroughly anti-labour programme. It was the Democratic liberals who pushed through Congress the legislation authorising the wage freeze and controls which Nixon later imposed.

Their strategy for defeating Nixon will be to blame him for the breakdown of the economy and the resulting inflation and unemployment, accuse him of failing to move to wage and price controls soon enough, and promise that they, the liberals, will manage the economy better by a more efficient and 'equitable' use of these controls.

Probably this package will include new, more streamlined anti-strike legislation.

While various forms of social unrest and upheaval—black ghetto rebellions, the student movement, women's liberation and other important struggles—cause uneasiness within the two-party establishment, only the working class itself holds the potential power to break it. While political consciousness in the factories, shops and offices remains at a primitive level, new voices in the labour movement are beginning to raise the question of independent political action against the Democratic and Republican parties.

Reprinted from 'Socialist Worker'



Miners' pickets have forced the closure of the Sattley coke depot in Birmingham

coming it will be no thanks to the trade union bureaucrats. They too know the crucial importance of the miners' struggle. They too see that it could escalate and extend to take in other sectors. The consequences of that are not pleasant for the union leaders to behold. For such a militant, and political, struggle would bypass them. Thus, Vic Feather, of the TUC is offering to referee the game. Thus, Frank Chapple of the Electricians' Union postpones an overtime ban by the electricity supply workers in pursuit of their own claim (it was a futile gesture anyway) for fear it might be linked up with the miners' strike.

Militants in the trade unions in the public sector have for some time fought for a link-up of workers in nationalised industries and services. But whenever the question is raised the respective union leaders always have some excuse for not considering it.

In Ireland too the government is trying to impose wage-cuts. As in England, workers in the public sector will probably play a key role. We too should aim to link up the struggles of workers in the public sector, and to build the kind of alliances which will prevent one group of workers being picked off. Anti-trade union legislation and ICTU bureaucracy should not stop us.

# the worker

## WHAT WE STAND FOR

### SOCIALIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT

The SOCIALIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT is a revolutionary workers' movement, whose aim is the organisation of the working class in the struggle for power and the transformation of the existing social order. All its activities, its methods and its internal organisation are subordinated to this and are designed to serve this purpose.

Capitalism is a system based on production for profit, not for human need. This system is driven by the necessity to accumulate profit, which means that capitalists compete with one another, both nationally and internationally.

The capitalist class is a ruling class whose ownership and control of the means of production is based on the exploitation of the working class. Thus, a small minority rules society. In Ireland, 9 per cent of the population owns 90 per cent of the wealth.

The contradictions between competing capitalists, produce war, poverty and crisis. The struggle between the classes will produce the overthrow of capitalist society.

Capitalism needs the working class; the working class does not need capitalism. Present day capitalism is entering a period of stagnation and crisis; it attempts to solve its problems at the expense of working-class living standards and democratic rights.

This system is international: in the drive to expand it must extend its power over the whole world. 250 companies dominate the international economy. The search for markets and materials has led to imperialism—the brutal oppression of the peoples of two-thirds of the world and the effective strangling of those peoples' attempts to develop their societies.

#### Imperialism

International capitalism operates in Ireland through British imperialism's military, economic and political

domination of the whole country. Britain maintains a standing army in the North. British imperialism has divided the working class on sectarian lines. British investments throughout Ireland equal 50 per cent of all investment in manufacturing and commerce. The Dublin and Stormont governments are subservient to the dictates of the international system and thus to its agent, Westminster.

Imperialism dominates Ireland as a whole: it treats Ireland as a unity. The struggle to defeat imperialism, therefore, must be fought in a united way throughout the 32 counties. This involves the overthrow of the Orange-Unionist state in the North and of the Green-Tory state in the South.

Irish capitalism, Green and Orange, is wholly integrated into the world system. Because of this, the mere unification of Ireland, or the removal of British troops, cannot in themselves mean the defeat of imperialism in Ireland. There is no independent republic this side of the Workers' Republic. Only by the uniting of the working class can power be taken from the Orange and Green ruling class minorities and victory be won over imperialism.

It is the Irish working class and small farmers who bear the load of this imperialist domination. The contrast between Ireland, a neo-colony, and the Western capitalist countries is especially glaring:

- North and South:
- 120,000 unemployed—the highest rate of unemployment in Europe;
  - 60,000 redundancies expected in the next four years;
  - 100,000 unfit houses and the worst housing record in Europe;
  - £9 per week net average income per rural household—the third lowest in Europe;
  - 1,000 political prisoners.

The working class has the capacity to end exploitation and oppression. In Ireland North and South the working class is now the predominant social class numerically and in terms of potential strength. The class has achieved a new self-confidence and militancy; this needs political co-ordination. Independent working class action can create a society based on production for human need, democratically controlled by the majority. By organising at the point of production and in the localities the workers can lead a struggle to the Workers' Republic. This would not mean merely a State takeover of the means of production, but workers' control of all aspects of society, local and national. Such a society does not exist in any country today.

The Socialist Workers' Movement stands for the nationalisation of banks and industry under workers' control and without compensation. To this end we actively engage in the day-to-day struggles of workers and small farmers and seek to build a mass working-class party which can lead the struggle to build socialism in Ireland as part of the struggle for international socialism. A Workers' Republic cannot survive without the aid of the British and Continental working classes and the international extension of the revolutionary fight.

The Socialist Workers' Movement opposes the E.E.C. to which the only alternative is socialism in Ireland, as part of a socialist Europe. The Socialist Workers' Movement opposes N.A.T.O. and all other international military alliances. We are independent of Washington, Moscow and Peking. We support all anti-imperialist struggles throughout the world.

#### Workers struggles

The Socialist Workers' Movement fights for:—

- full support for workers and small farmers in struggle;
- defence of the living standards of workers and small farmers;
- rank-and-file control and socialist leadership of the trade unions;
- the election of all trade union officials, subject to recall;
- all strikes to be declared official if supported by the majority of the workers concerned;
- a minimum wage of at least £30 for a 35-hour week;
- equal pay for women;
- 100 per cent trade unionism;
- opposition to all anti-trade union legislation;
- opposition to all incomes policies under capitalism;
- against unemployment, redundancy and lay offs. We support the demand: Five days' work or five days' pay;
- repeal of all repressive legislation—e.g. Special Powers Act and Offences Against the State Act;
- extension of the Civil Resistance Campaign in the Six Counties;
- release of all political prisoners;
- evacuation of British troops from Ireland;
- defence of working class areas against military and sectarian attacks;
- freedom of worship for all religious groupings;
- total separation of Church and State;
- an end to clerical control of education;
- a secular and comprehensive education system controlled by teachers, pupils and parents;
- raising of school-leaving age to 18;
- free education to the highest level;
- full adult rights at 18—e.g. the right to vote;
- adult wages and adult rights for workers at 18;

- free and comprehensive health service;
- end to means-tested benefits;
- minimum wage for the unemployed and pensioners;
- one family—one house;
- emergency housing programme and expropriation of all building land;
- tenants' control of estates, including rents;
- full social equality for women;
- 24-hour nurseries;
- income for small farmers and agricultural labourers on parity with industrial rates;
- division of large estates under control of local farmers;
- the building of a genuine co-operative movement among farmers and fishermen;
- nationalisation of hunting and fishing rights.

The SOCIALIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT is a democratic organisation open to all those who accept its principles and objectives, who work in one of the units of the movement, agree to recognise its discipline and pay dues.

"Internationalism; to some people this is the great bug-aboo which frightens them off from socialism" (James Connolly). The struggle for a Workers' Republic in Ireland is inseparable from the international struggle against capitalism. The Socialist Workers' Movement fights to build a mass party of the working class as part of a revolutionary international of working class parties.

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## The Galway Rent Strike

The rent strike in Galway was watched by tenants throughout Ireland, because it was taking place in the constituency of Local Government Minister, Molloy. Obviously his job depends on his security in Galway itself. He will not risk annoying the voters who gave him his seat.

The Galway Labour Party had the opportunity to give this rent strike very effective backing and publicity. It simply had to persuade the Labour Mayor, Mick Smyth, to resign in solidarity with the strikers. That would have given the strikers greater confidence. It would also have brought the issues of the strike to the attention of other workers who are not council tenants.

The rent strikers pursued their demands consistently, and in doing this they demonstrated that 'red tape' can be breached, and that not everything is ordained and beyond men's power to change.

The demands themselves were in many ways inadequate—they did not go far enough. Therefore the settlement is not satisfactory. But at least one lesson has been learned: that it is possible to oppose the authorities, that we do not have to accept every decision as an accomplished fact.

The unsatisfactory conduct and settlement of the Galway rent strike reflects the political limitations of the leadership. There were Fianna Fail elements at work in the tenants organisation. They made sure that no political group sympathetic to the tenants' struggle was allowed to help. They argued that the issues were not political. Quite clearly, their main aim was to save Molloy any embarrassment.

NATO must also take some of the blame. They failed to keep the Galway tenants fully informed on developments. During the course of the rent strike the County Manager made many insinuations,

and many plain statements, which were quite false. Many people who are not tenants were given the impression that Corporation and Council houses are paid for out of rates, and that tenants in such houses do not pay rates.

But a statement by the County Manager himself actually contradicted this. He stated that of the 1399 families liable to pay rent, 50 per cent were withholding it—meaning an estimated loss of £1450 per week.

He went on to say that the consequences of such a loss of revenue would be a reduction in services, increased rates, and redundancies among Corporation workers. From this we can deduce that Corporation estates are self-sufficient, and a burden on nobody else.

#### POOR SERVICES

Rent strikes or not, the services and conditions on Corporation estates are abysmal. Often there is no refuse collection for weeks, if there is a public holiday. The houses in the Claddagh, which were built 35 years ago, have no bathrooms. There are 150 of them with defective ranges. Almost 100 of them have no gates, or makeshift gates erected by the tenants themselves. Many have damp and cracked walls. Windows are badly fitting, and doors are riddled with woodworm.

There are many housing areas where there are no paths to the front-doors, and tenants have to wade through the mud to get to their homes. Street-lighting is totally inadequate. Only token repair work is done.

This is the situation in a borough area, where rent remittances before the rent strike were 99 per cent. Let nobody be fooled by the County Manager's attempts to blame poor services on the rent strike. One of the reasons why they are so bad is



Stephen Deveney, Chairman, Combined Residents and Tenants Association, (left), and Matt Larkin, General Secretary, National Association of Tenants Organisations, (right), addressing a protest meeting of Galway Corporation tenants on rent strike.

that ONE THIRD of the income from rent goes to pay back interest on loans to the local authority.

The principal reason for the rent strike was the introduction of the new differential rent scheme. The background to this is the 1966 Housing Act (Kevin Boland, how are ya?). The tenants associations did not take a position of total opposition to differential, or graded, rents. What they objected to was the method of assessment. They also wanted to ensure that any extra income was used for the stated purposes, i.e. repairs and maintenance. They wanted a rent freeze for five years, and a total exemption from rent increases for hardship cases. As Stephen Deveney, chairman of the Galway Combined Residents and Tenants Association, said: 'We object to the fact that every shilling a working man earns will affect his rent. If a man earns

extra as a bonus, or for overtime or shift-work, his rent will increase accordingly. It would sap any man's spirit to know that everything extra he puts aside as savings could go to pay a higher rent.'

There is a further aspect to the 1966 Housing Act: a councillor, if he is a tenant, can be denied the right to speak out in the local authority about tenants' demands. He can actually be expelled as if he had a vested interest.

The tenant purchase schemes are also affected. Whereas previously a tenant could buy his house for the original cost price less an allowance for the rent paid during the period of tenancy, he is now required to pay the current market value, less allowances. Tenants have until 31st March, 1972, to avail themselves of this scheme. After that date houses will be priced at not less than the market value.

Buyers will be able to pay the price over a period not exceeding 35 years. Interest would be at 8½ per cent. Leases would be for 99 years, the lessee being required to pay a leasehold of £5 per annum. This means, in effect, that the whole property can be taken back after 99 years. There is no compensation for improvements. The Corporation are, therefore, keeping the option open of selling land and property in the town centre if and when it increases greatly in value. We may see many people moved out of the neighbourhoods in which they have spent their whole lives.

#### RAW DEAL

The rents of local authority tenants should not exceed a certain ceiling percentage (say 10 per cent) of the tenant's income. The income of other members of the family should not be taken into account. Many younger members of the family may themselves be saving to provide for family accommodation.

The proposed tenant purchase scheme is quite unacceptable. Whether as rent-paying tenant or as house-purchaser the local authority tenant is getting a raw deal. It is clear that if we are to prevent a drastic rise in the cost of living that we shall have to oppose these schemes as a whole.

As far as the Socialist Workers' Movement is concerned, the political aspect of the strike was clear. If the strike was to be won, and if the final terms were to have been any real improvement on those offered previously, the tenants organisation should have been prepared to spell this out.

We must demand the nationalisation of land and of the building industry. We must expose the way in which building societies and other money-lenders are milking tenants. We should raise demands towards tenants' control of estates, and of corporation and council services.

Eamon Shevlin