

Goulding's
The Press
Lee Mark

page 5.

the worker

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Paper of the Socialist Workers Movement

It's time
for

STRIKING BACK!



IN RESPONSE to a call from Irishwomen United, a broadly based national campaign is to be launched to fight for changes in the contraception laws.

The campaign has the support of the Family Planning services, USI, Cherish and other women's organisations.

We urge all our readers to raise support for this campaign in their trade union branches, tenants organisations and wherever else the issue can be raised.

GREAT. We have got the National Wage Agreement out of the way. Now we can fight with both hands free. Bord na Mona workers, bank officials, and others, are trying to regain past losses and get rises to keep them up with the cost of living. Workers in Goulding's and Lee Mark are showing that bosses will not get away with sackings and closures so easily in future.

But the government is still looking for ways to tie living standards down and restrict trade union rights. They have turned tough on the bank workers - as a warning to others. They will still try and scramble a National Agreement together.

They must be told where to get off - and fast. The claims for building workers, busmen, craft workers, and others, which were served three months ago and then put into cold storage, must

be pressed without compromise. A united trade union movement must resist any attempt to use the force of the state to freeze the wages of any section of workers - however 'well paid' they may be reputed to be, and whether their union is in Congress or not.

We will need to forge solid links of unity in the fight ahead. Every strike aimed at securing a decent wage rise or shorter working hours which takes

place in the next few weeks must be a focus for all active trade unionists - to organise and, where possible, to put in claims alongside those of the striking workers.

The first few rounds of the coming scrap will be crucial. Nobody imagines that it will be easy to win the £10, £15, or £20 increases over the next year which are needed to keep ahead of inflation. Many bosses did not want a National Agreement; they are confident that they can isolate, and defeat, anybody who takes them on.

We must show them how wrong they are. And we can do this -

- by rallying to the support of those now in struggle;
- by bringing claims forward even where the 16th round has not ended;
- by insisting on retrospection to April for those who have been due increases since then;
- by including equal pay demands in all claims where it is appropriate;
- by simply refusing to believe the bosses' pleas that they are unable to pay.

With the government at odds with itself, with many employers, and with its own economic 'experts', the balance is now in our favour.

The moment must be seized.

Interview with a 'greedy' bankworker

THOSE "greedy bankworkers" are holding the country to ransom - again! At least that's what the government says, and the bosses, and so that's what the papers tell us. THE WORKER interviewed one of the strikers.

Just how greedy ARE you?

Greedy enough to want to keep up with the cost of living. Our wages - like every workers' - have been cut by rising prices and taxes.

The vast majority of bankworkers have less than ten years service, which can mean a wage of about £35 a week. After nearly fifteen years I get just over £60 a week BEFORE tax. It's hardly living a high life.

What are the conditions like?

Firstly, we're open to transfer to any branch around the country on the whim of management - and at two weeks notice. To refuse means being blacklisted for promotion.

There's also what can only be called political repression. For instance, if management knew I was speaking to you I could get the boot. I even know of people who wanted to stand in local elections

- for FINE GAEL! - and were told they could get another job if they did.

How much did the banks offer before you decided on a strike?

£30/40 pound extra, PER YEAR! This was a "final" offer. They made six other "final offers after that, and none of them were any way acceptable.

The IBOA decided that the bank bosses weren't serious when the sixth offer was accompanied by a threat that we should "accept fast" as they were expecting a phone call from the minister.

It's been said that the IBOA Executive are a power-hungry shower who have forced the bankworkers out on strike.

What's your opinion on this as one of the rank and file?

There were mass meetings held throughout the country, 3,000 in

Dublin, 1,000 in Killkenny, the biggest rank and file meetings I've heard of in recent years. And the Executive received our backing, despite attempts by management to divide the members.

It makes me angry that Mullen and Kennedy, leaders of the ITGWU who are there for life and never have to answer to the rank and file, voted in the Senate for O'Leary's bill to control our wages.

When they can pass a Bill against bankworkers they can do the same

against any worker. An injury to one is an injury to all. We shouldn't let the bosses divide us by setting the bankworkers up as scapegoats. We're fighting our bosses: if we win it will strengthen workers generally.

See centre pages

VIOLENCE : 'the muscle of democracy'

RECENTLY A 73 year old semi-retired judge decided that Marie and Noel Murray should be hanged by the neck until they die. The judge, a Mr. Pringle, has been handing down sentences for 30 years, gets £10,000 a year for doing it and believes in God.

In fact he is employed by a Catholic government whose official line is that 'All Human Life is Sacred.' Obviously there are some exceptions.

The bishops stand right behind Pringle and his like in condemning violence and then using it, or threatening to use it, when their rules are broken or their system is threatened. They don't hang people of course. They don't have to. If hitting you at school doesn't warn you off, the threat of hell and its eternal fires surely will.

So whatever we may think about the things the Murrays are alleged to have done, the point is that the authorities are capable of ruthless retaliation. The coldblooded sentencing to death of two people to death in a courtroom in exchange for the life of one guard shot in panic.

And all their fine talk about the dignity of human life and civilised standards boil down to the old eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth bit. But what's so civilised about that? And what kind of standards are they so determined to defend?

Confusion

They're double standards. And our rulers deliberately weave a web of confusion around the measures they take to maintain them.

Much of the confusion in our thinking about violence arises from the belief that human beings are somehow naturally aggressive and competitive. This belief attempts to connect the popular idea that our ancestors went about more or less indiscriminately clubbing his neighbours on the head, with the fear that, were it not for the forces of law and order, we would be doing the same today.



As the crisis deepens and unemployment grows so does the spending on arms and armies. But capitalism makes a virtue of necessity. Britain, for instance, sold £600 million worth of weapons last year.

The basic idea is that, although we have picked up a few tricks along the way, we are still subject to the same deep, irrational impulses as our forebearers were. At heart we are bad, selfish, unreliable creatures, and our mysterious drives could well break out into violent, anti-social acts, but for the grace of God and the policeman at the corner.

This very simple theory is carefully encouraged, in various forms,

by the Church and the ruling class: i.e. original sin, the threat of anarchy etc. It is offered as an easy explanation for everything nasty from wars to skinheads, taking in 'greedy' and 'lazy' workers along the way. It is also used as the justification for large bodies of police and armed soldiers to keep us from tearing each other apart. It sounds quite logical in a way, doesn't it?

Thinking About Capitalism

by Mary Burns

In fact it's a load of rubbish. Because one of the tricks we have picked up along the way is the means of production to properly feed, clothe and shelter everyone on this planet. Primitive man fought for his food and pinched his neighbour's fire because there was a real scarcity of these basic necessities of life. Today there is only a false scarcity, created by the economic system under which we live.

The fact that there are still millions of people who have the violence of poverty, hunger and homelessness inflicted upon them is not because there is a shortage of food, or of unemployed people to build houses. Nor is it God retaliating because one of your ancestors supposedly pinched an apple.

Minority

It is because the small minority who own and control the means of production do so to make a profit and not to answer people's needs.

They run an aggressive and competitive system. A system based on violence. It has to be. Because its survival depends on the successful exploitation of one class by another.

But these boys aren't fools. They know that the social conditions they force us to live in breed anger, frustration and sometimes a violent response. It is to defend their privileges that they brand all such violence criminal or psychopathic.

Take 219 COMPANIES with 331,000 WORKERS

add 1 ECONOMIC CRISIS

subtract 10,000 WORKERS onto the dole

result?

£366 MILLION PROFIT

UNILEVER LTD

a report from the boardroom

WHAT has IIB Ice Cream Ltd. Dublin, got in common with the United Africa Company of Tanzania Ltd?

Nothing, you might say, till you find out that they - along with 217 other companies in 49 countries - all belong to Unilever, a giant multi-national corporation employing 321,000 people.

Unilever began over a hundred years ago as an English soap maker. Today, they make anything from toothpaste to landrovers.

It should be of great consolation to us, I suppose, that at the same time that they are expanding their ice-cream production they are developing toothpaste to fight tooth decay - which is caused, by any other things, icecream. That's known as creating a market for your product. (We're really in trouble if they go in to the undertaking business.)

In Ireland alone they own five companies:

- H. B. Ice Cream Ltd
- Lever Brothers Ltd;
- W&C McDonnell Ltd;
- Paul and Vincent Ltd; and
- BOCM Silcock (N.I.) Ltd.

In addition to these many Unilever products are imported into this country

The profits last year came to £366 million, of which £97 million came from companies based in Africa. What's really interesting about this is that the £97 million represents a massive 50% return on the money they invest in Africa.

In comparison, they got a 10% return on their capital in the I.C. countries and 12% in the USA.

The huge return on capital in Africa demonstrates the lousy pay and conditions Unilever can get away with there.

Their Annual Report to shareholders says: "The depressed economic conditions made it more necessary than ever for us to keep the number of employees under tight control." This meant shedding ten thousand workers onto the dole queues in order to maintain that "tight control".

Generous to a fault, however, they remember to thank their employees for their efforts, "in circumstances which were difficult for many of them."

Which is damn nice of them when you know that the Chairman, Mr. D.A. Orr, only received a salary of £56,000 to add to the pittance he got from his shares.

What was that about "depressed economic conditions"?

However, things were not all rosy for Unilever last year, and we have some good news to report. "Rubber production was down, mainly because of labour unrest in Nigeria. Our Lipton tea plantation in Sri Lanka has been nationalised."

Right on, brothers and sisters, now let's give them something to really moan about in next year's annual report.

WILLIE CUMMING

Boardroom philosophy

COMPANY chairmen are more and more using the occasion of the annual report and the annual meeting of the shareholders to sound off about their political and philosophical beliefs.

Jefferson Smurfit, founder and chairman of the giant Smurfit group which has plants in Britain, the USA and Nigeria as well as in Ireland, complained in his company's recent annual report about the "continued bad management of the economy".

He appears to share the view widely held by businessmen that Richie Ryan is secretly a socialist who is implementing bits of the Communist Manifesto under the table. (When socialism hits them it won't be under the table.) Old man Smurfit reckons that Richie and his pals are responsible for the "persistent development of a climate which is hostile to business."



Jefferson Smurfit, another prominent shareholder, clearly dissatisfied with the power and riches he already possesses.

There is, he says, a real need "to establish... a climate whereby enterprise amongst people at all levels is laudable", and that a "spirit of enterprise must be recreated".

So what has nasty old Richie been doing to meet enterprising Jefferson Smurfit? He's been REDUCING the tax bill, so that the £6 million that old Smurfit made before tax last year is worth slightly MORE than the £8 million he made before tax the previous year.

Apology

THE REASON for the frowns from Bishop Browne and Mr. Smurfit is that these avid readers of THE WORKER have been let down.

Due to pressure of time and space we have had to hold over the promised reviews of the Farrell and Bell books on the Northern struggle.

We had intended producing a twelve-page issue this time but there just hasn't been time to do this and get the paper out on schedule. Apologies, then, to those whose articles and reports have had to be left out, and Cheer Up, Bishop, we'll be back soon with all your old favourites.

LAST MONTH:

Thanks to: M.S. (Dublin) £80; F.B. (Wicklow) £5; Jimmy Boyle £1.50; E.K. 80p; Waterford S.W.M., £26.47; Dublin Meeting £4.17; Mary Casey £2.

Jesus Saves! (Another report from the boardroom)

IF YOU live in Dublin you will probably have had a newspaper called "Share" stuck through your letterbox recently.

It's brought out by the SHARE committee set up by the Catholic Arch-diocese, but it's got nothing about religion in it. It's all about money, and the slogan "Jesus Saves" is taking on a new meaning.

SHARE is a professional job. A curate interviews himself on the front page and talks of "finance committees" in every parish and the need for people with a knowledge of "finance control". Many of his own parishioners, he says, have "opted for bankers orders".

The Church has updated its money gathering techniques while maintaining its conservative social attitudes. You'll note the £35,900 loan from the Share fund collected mostly in working class areas - which is given to Fox-rock. Surely the Fox-rock set

could have afforded to build their own school? It's a fair bet that it will be better staffed and equipped than the schools going up in the new estates.

Many people are grateful to the Church for "providing schools", yet it is we who pay for them in the first place. Religious orders and school managers who refuse to "share" their schools conveniently forget this.

The purpose of the SHARE newspaper is to publish the lists of the amounts collected in each parish. This is to encourage pride and competition. What it shows, without meaning to, with its facts, figures, and graphs, is that it is not the Church which provides schools but the people who pay for them out of their own pockets.

The Church merely controls them.



Bishop Browne, a prominent SHAREholder.

The WORKER doesn't have a boardroom...

AND we don't make a profit. THE WORKER is produced to spread socialist ideas and to win workers to the struggle for socialism.

If you support these ideas, we want your help.

You can help in lots of ways. By writing for the paper about what's happening in your workplace. By taking an extra couple of copies and selling them to your mates.

Or by sending in a donation to THE WORKER Fighting Fund.

Unilever, Smurfit and the rest of their class have enormous resources to back their side of the class struggle. Other pages of THE WORKER show some of the ways in which workers are fighting back. But only when we have an organisation which can link those fights will we be strong enough to sweep the parasites aside and build a decent society.

A regular workers' paper is a necessity if we are to develop that strength. That's why we want you to support and help build THE WORKER.

Press workers fight job loss...

JOHN CANE
(Section Committee)

FOR NEARLY three years now the Irish Press management have been trying to force a vicious productivity deal down the throats of the clerical workers -- members of the ITGWU No.2 Branch.

They almost succeeded -- but not quite. Last month the clerical workers voted unanimously to throw the deal out. Our slogan was "Not one more job to be sold."

Three years is a long time. To the badly organised clerical workers the deal management offered seemed attractive. A few jobs would be lost and some "flexibility" called for, but in return an eventual 65% increase in pay.

The dole queues were shorter then and, besides, it was only "natural wastage". And, of course the union officials seemed quite happy with it! So they entered into negotiations and a year later had accepted an Interim Deal -- a halfway stage. Half the money and half the jobs and flexibility

It was only later that the reality struck home. Take "flexibility". The introduction of new advertising deadlines has meant a big speed-up in working conditions for most departments. And on top of that workers are switched from one job to another solely on the whim of the management.

But the biggest eye-opener

'I'll have no union in my shops'

has been the job losses. 25 jobs were sold under the interim deal out of a workforce of 225. Now the management is demanding another 50 before any more money is paid. That would mean one worker in three since the beginning of the deal. And it means redundancies -- you don't lose 75 jobs through natural wastage.

So the workers have said No --

and decisively. No compromises -- not one more job to go, and all vacancies to be filled. Management can keep their blood money. We will get it by other means.

The fight must now be taken up for full implementation of equal pay, a 35 hour week and five weeks holidays. We've saved 50 workers from the dole queues. Now we must fight for the creation of new jobs.

...and victimisation

THE MONTH of June also witnessed a significant victory for Irish Press clerical workers in their running battle with management over harassment of the Section Committee.

Section Chairman, Ben Garvey, had come in for special attention. But when a junior management hatchet-man, Freddie Kerr, accused him of being a bastard and a liar

Section Chairman, Ben Garvey, had come in for special attention. But when a junior management hatchet-man, Freddie Kerr, accused him of being a "bastard" and a "liar" in front of witnesses, they made a big mistake.

The Section Committee immediately called for all work in Kerr's department to be blacked and demanded an apology. A week later the blacking was beginning to bite -- but there was no apology.

So the whole clerical staff stopped work and resolved to 'sit-in' until the apology was made. This actio forced Eddie Brown, ITGWU National Group Secretary, to grant a strike ballot -- until then Liberty Hall hadn't been interested. The ballot went 9 to 1 in favour of strike action and 14 days notice was served. Enter

Enter our friends -- the officials

of the other print unions. With messages of solidarity? -- not exactly. No, these were coming from our fellow workers on the shop floor. Their officials had other ideas on trade union solidarity.

"You have grievances of course and they should be thrashed out around the table, but, what, with the precarious state of the industry, couldn't you sort of drop the demand for an apology?"

This was their suggestion in the Labour Court, under the so-called impartial chairmanship of Dermot McDermott. They called it 'sensible'. We called it a 'sell-out'.

We resisted our friends' advice and the day before the pickets were due to go on, management conceded. We got our apology and from now on management will think twice before harassing any of our members.

Perhaps more important, however, are the lessons we have learnt ourselves. First, that management will only concede under the serious threat of strike action. Second, that the ITGWU will only back a dispute when strong, unit united rank and file pressure is brought to bear. Third, beware our 'friends' in the trade union bureaucracy.

GOULDING

VERY SOON Tony O'Reilly's Fitzwilton group of companies will announce that they have spent £4 million buying a chain of local newspapers in the U.S. Mid-West. Last month, they sold their interest in an English pharmaceutical wholesaler's for £4 million -- AND they made public their decision to close down Goulding's fertiliser plant on July 30th. 365 workers face the sack, on top of the 106 who lost their jobs there last year.

FIGHT FOR THE JOBS!

BRIAN TRENCH

For a group of sharks who buy and sell newspaper publishers, drug wholesalers, coca-cola bottlers and builders' providers firms, these jobs are a "little problem", certainly not a major concern.

When they sold half their shares in Goulding's earlier this year for £10 million, they must have had an idea that the plant would close. But they gave no warning of the eventual announcement. The unions, and even the IDA and the government, were present with the closure as an accomplished fact.



Goulding workers arrive at Liberty Hall meeting.

poor mouth

The management say that they would lose £¼ million a month -- or some such ridiculous figure -- if they kept the factory going. But for years Fitzwilton creamed off the profits from Goulding's to finance their speculation in newspapers, mines and so on. And papers, mines, drugs, and in the livelihoods of thousands of workers in three different countries.

They milked the fertiliser company as long as tariff protection and the market allowed. Now conditions have changed and they want to discard it. In order to persuade the workers to leave quietly, they have smothered them in figures, wrung their hands, and put on "the poor mouth".

And there is a serious danger that some of the union representatives in GOULDING'S are too ready to accept the line that nothing can be done.

They would be wrong -- criminally wrong. A fight to save the jobs by occupying the plant could win wide support from Dublin workers. It could force the Fitzwilton rapists to back down and act as a focus for a national campaign to bring the whole fertiliser industry under state financial control and the day-to-day control by shop stewards of hiring and firing and rates and conditions.

That is a campaign in which not only the trade unionists directly concerned have a burning interest, but also the thousands of small farmers who are squeezed dry between the near-monopolies who sell fertilisers and those who hold the purse strings

Fertilisers are essential to the advance of agriculture. Everybody suffers from the mad speculation in them. Last year workers in

Nitrigin Eircann were rushing around the country picketing ships bringing in fertilisers from Portugal. Meanwhile the new land co-operatives in THAT country were being starved of fertilisers, their life-blood The Farringtons of Naas, another gang of sharks like those who own and control Fitzwilton, scooped up the profits.

The workers in the Cork Gouldings factory have already declared their support for resistance to the closure of the plant in Dublin's East Wall, if they went out and sought it, Gouldings workers could get the active backing of workers throughout the Fitzwilton empire.

Lee Mark workers sit in

AS WE GO to press, 120 workers at the Lee Mark clothing factory in Ballyfermot are 'working in' -- day and night -- in an attempt to pay their own wages and keep their jobs jobs.

Two weeks ago the owner, Kevin Ryan, announced that the firm would be going into

voluntary liquidation on July 2nd. He had allowed the firm to get into debt to the tune of £250,000, despite full order books and good profits over the last few months.

Having bled the place dry, Ryan was opting for the traditional capitalist solution -- liquidation and to hell with

the workers.

But the workers have begun to fight back. Stung by the announcement that he wouldn't pay wages for the period up to July 2nd, they decided to take over the work themselves.

WORKERS' COMMITTEE

They elected a Workers' Committee and proceeded to take over the factory. And they seem to be succeeding. Production this week has been higher than ever, buyers have been found and not only have they managed to pay their own wages, but they've also paid off a few small creditors and ended up with a profit!

Flushed with their success the workers are now talking in terms of a permanent workers' co-op to run the factory. This is dangerous. It would mean that the workers inherit the debts of their former boss

Flushed with their success, the workers are now talking in terms of a permanent workers' co-op to run the factory. This is dangerous. It would mean that the workers would inherit the debts of their former boss and would have to work all hours of the day and night for even lower wages

than they get now in order to pay them off. This is no permanent solution

Right now the workers are in the driving seat. They are running a viable firm and are organised. They are in a position to demand that any future buyer - and there seems to be more than one willing applicant - retain all existing jobs and raise wages under strong shop floor control.

In order to ensure success the workers must remain in occupation of the factory from July 2nd and call upon the trade union movement for support.

They should to demand that backing of their brothers and sisters and if necessary bring the massive Fitzwilton operation to a halt in a struggle to save their jobs. For that will not be achieved by simply making demands in the government but only by taking up a militant fight in which the Gouldings workers use an occupation of the plant as a focus for a campaign by the broad mass of organised workers.

Newry occupation

A HUNDRED AND FORTY members of the ITGWU who occupied Wright's carpet factory in Newry have succeeded in saving their jobs, at least temporarily.

The workers had agreed to stop work while restructuring of the operation was carried out during May. But then the union found out that management was trying to sell the factory equipment. The workers moved into the premises to make sure no machinery was moved out.

Since the takeover, the government has given in and carried out previous promises to give a grant to the factory to keep the jobs



THREE Waterford women got the sack from Molloy's, a local jewellers, in June. The reason? They told the truth and joined a union.

It started when Molloy heard that the Dept. of Social Welfare were sending an official round to investigate a complaint about the failure to stamp his worker's insurance cards.

When the official arrived, he found the women hesitant about answering his questions. They told him of their fears of retribution from Molloy if they told the truth.

When the official assured them that they "could not be touched" the workers divulged the information. The game was up for Molloy. The official told him he would have to pay up the outstanding arrears -- then left.

Immediately the women were put on "protective notice". They contacted the ATGWU, but when a representative from the union came down he was escorted off the premises by Molloy -- who insisted, "I'll have no union in my shops."

When the Social Welfare official was approached he said that "Frankly, I haven't got the time it would take to deal with the matter." And anyway, the department had got what it wanted -- the money.

The Molloy workers must get full support in their dispute on this basic issue: the right to join a union without fear of dismissal or harassment from the boss.

Letters

Common action

I AM writing to your paper to perhaps bring to light the fact that Ardoyne is a politically stagnant area. Here we have people who have been on the battle front against the British Army, the R.U.C. as well as the thugs in the U.D.A. and U.V.F. They are aware of the fact that the SDLP do not represent their interests. — May I through your paper voice my protest against the fact that all anti-unionist and British groups are unwilling and perhaps unable to give the Ardoyne people a lead to a brighter future.

Isn't it about time that the Provos and other responsible groups united in an effort to give the people the lead they need. In Ardoyne there is a will to create a united socialist Ireland. I would urge all anti-establishment groups to unite to achieve a step towards a common goal. Why can't the various groups form a discussion group AT LEAST to form a front for common action against the bosses.

M. McE. Belfast



New toys

YOU may not have noticed the recent report in the Irish Times that a half dozen senior officers from the Irish Army attended an exhibition of military equipment in Aldershot. They were 'evaluating and comparing' the British goods. Your readers should know that these included 'crowd control' equipment, new kinds of tear gas, etc. Doesn't it make you feel

proud that 'our army' is keeping up with the latest in riot weapons?

All they need now is a 'crowd' to control — and the way unemployment is going they may soon need their new 'toys'.

John Owens,
Cabra West,
Dublin 7.

MacGiolla

I HAVE been reading the worker for a year now and I think it's the best Socialist paper around.

I agree with you when you criticise the left alternative to the crisis. I also agree with you when you slam the officials for starting the feud between themselves and the officials and the I.R.S.P.

However I can't understand when it comes to elections in Dublin that you advocate voting FOR the official candidate MacGiolla.

— — — This seems to me to be contradictory to attack them on the one hand and support them on the other. In the future you will have to clarify your

attitude towards them. Keep up the good work

K.C. Dublin.

Family planning

YOUR last issue was good on equal pay, but when are we going to get some action on contraception.

There's all this talk about the Billings method but it's like all 'natural' methods.

Using one of the 'natural' methods means playing Vatican Roulette. And it's a game that women lose 90% of the time.

Equal pay isn't much use if we can't get the jobs in the first place. We also have to fight against the ban on married women and for contraception.

Anne Cheasty,
Waterford.

MARRIED WOMEN: THE RIGHT TO WORK

by Joan Kelly

TWO Acts of the British Parliament which should be welcomed by women workers were extended to Northern Ireland recently. They are the Sex Discrimination Order which prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex and sets up an Equal Opportunities Commission for Northern Ireland. The second is the Employment Protection Act. This provides that you can't be sacked because you are pregnant. And a woman is entitled to get her old job back up to 29 weeks after she has had her baby. That is, if you've been on the job two years.

This is very important legislation for women workers. In the North job opportunities are defined according to sex. Women are mostly able to get jobs in industries such as textiles, clothing, footwear, and service jobs. These just happen to be the low-paid jobs as compared to those jobs which are defined as men's jobs—engineering, shipbuilding, vehicles. Apprentice training is available to girls in hairdressing, catering, stitching.

These are overcrowded and poorly paid fields. Girls are not encouraged to take up training that would qualify them for better paying jobs.

More and more women today have to work even after they get married and have families. However, there is discrimination against them every step of the way because they are women. They have to work. Perhaps because they are divorced or separated, and are raising their children by themselves. Or because their husband is in prison. Or because their husband can't find a job.

Of course these laws are just the beginning. Publicity is needed to inform women

of their rights. Then unions and women's groups must organise to enforce those rights. Government and employers are not going to end discrimination just because the House of Commons passes a law. Just as women in Britain are on strike to get equal pay, women in the North will have to organise to get real equal opportunity. And that will mean a lot more than this law provides. The two year qualification to be able to get your job back must go. Free nurseries are necessary so that married women will be able to take up jobs. And we need to fight for jobs for all.

At a time of high unemployment like this, women and particularly married women come under attack if they dare to take a job. At a recent meeting of student teachers protesting about the lack of teaching jobs, one student proposed that married

women be banned from teaching.

In the Republic the same kind of attack on the right of married women to work has come from Brother Vivian Cassels, who says they are keeping the school-leavers out of jobs, and Tim Leddin, an official of the Post Office Officials Association.

Everyone has the right to a job. We don't have a racial problem here, as in Britain and the States, simply because we don't have enough blacks. But women are 50% of the population. And the issue of sex is being used here by the bosses' and their parrots to divide the workers and set them against each other, just as the issue of race is used in other countries.

An injury against women workers is an injury against all workers. Women, and men, must take up the fight for jobs, and for equality in the workplaces, the unions and the equality, in the workplaces, the unions and the communities.

REVIEW

ONE FLEW OVER THE CUCKOOS NEST

THIS FILM tells the story of one man's struggle and eventual destruction in a psychiatric unit. The location is the U.S.A. but the story is international. Where there exist oppressed people, psychiatry is often one of the tools of this oppression, and its use reveals a lot about what is considered normal in our society.

Our 'hero', McMurphy, is transferred from prison to a psychiatric hospital. His arrival immediately upsets the well-ordered regime of one Nurse Ratched who devotes her time to turning people into patients. In this she is amply assisted by various medications, i.e. pills, and other therapeutic methods.

The smooth functioning of the hospital depends on strict adherence to roles. In group therapy the patients are allowed to express their feelings, but only if they don't threaten the established order. If they do, a hefty electric shock will soon bring them to their senses — or at least deaden any 'troublesome' sense of individuality they might 'suffer' from.

Some may find scenes showing electric shock therapy upsetting, and understandably so. Some may be dubious about its credibility, but it's true to say that the vast majority of psychiatrists employed by Health Boards in this country are great believers in applying such mechanical solutions to human problems.

The film shows a whole range of society's rejects, and the only people who unconditionally accept the 'crazies' are prostitutes, themselves rejects, whom McMurphy smuggles into the hospital to entertain his friends. Women are set up as sex objects but if they fall into the trap of living up to the idea, they are used and discarded. McMurphy's fight continues until the final therapy is administered. But his spirit lives on in the confidence and strength he gives to his friends.

A thought-provoking and extremely funny film. See it, if you can.

**Fight the redundancy
No more restraint
Get the unions moving**

**This is why we
need a Rank
File Movement**

THE REJECTION of the National Wage Agreement marks the end of the honeymoon between the trade union leadership and the Coalition Government. That honeymoon has gone on too long. But it has not ended because our leaders have suddenly realised that the members are getting a very raw deal and that they deserve better.

It has ended because they feel that they have been 'let down' by the government, that a bargain has been broken. They had been led to believe that unemployment and inflation would both come down sooner; and because they believed that, they were enthusiastic in selling restraint and confidence-in-the-government to their members. They can now see that they were being asked to sell a pup.

It is a 'tribute' to the power and authority of leaders of unions like the ITGWU that the recommendation of the Executive was the most crucial factor in sealing the fate of the National Agreement proposals. It would, of course, be more comforting to say that the Wage Agreement had been defeated because of massive pressure from the working class — but it would be wrong.

The task of organising the rank and file pressure against any form of wage restraint and for wage increases which really keep workers ahead of inflation — that task still remains.

Divisions

The union officials will stick to the rules and to the dates when agreements under the 1975 National Agreement run out. But that is to ensure that the divisions remain deep in the working class movement — divisions between craft and general workers, between manual and clerical, between men and women, between young and old.

The claims of craft workers which were first lodged last April must be re-activated. Every effort to win them must get wide support. And the best possible support is to put in claims for general and clerical workers at the same time. Where industry agreements do not exist and where a case can be made for them, the demand must come from the rank and file: we want standard rates and conditions throughout the rubber industry, the metal fabrication industry, or whatever. And within such agreements the number of grades must be cut down.

Forgotten

The officials will need to be put under constant pressure to make them respond. They have become so used to playing the game by the Wage Agreement rules that they have forgotten how to play any other way. In the main general unions, in areas of the public service, and in a number of industries, trade union activists can, and must, be brought together to keep up that pressure.

They should be fighting for rank and file solidarity, for official backing for disputes, for democratic control over all stages of negotiation and dispute. With such groups in action we stand a real chance of making a big step forward.

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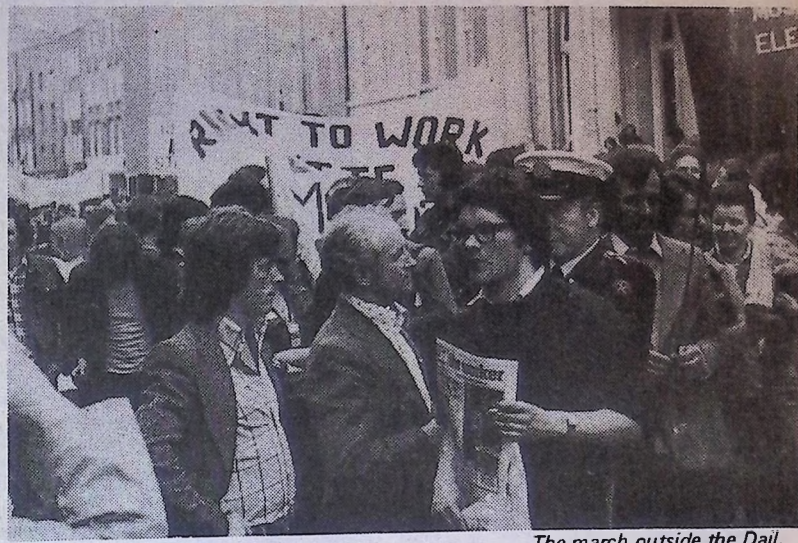
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Gerry Fleming of the Dublin Trades Council addresses the meeting in Abbey Street.



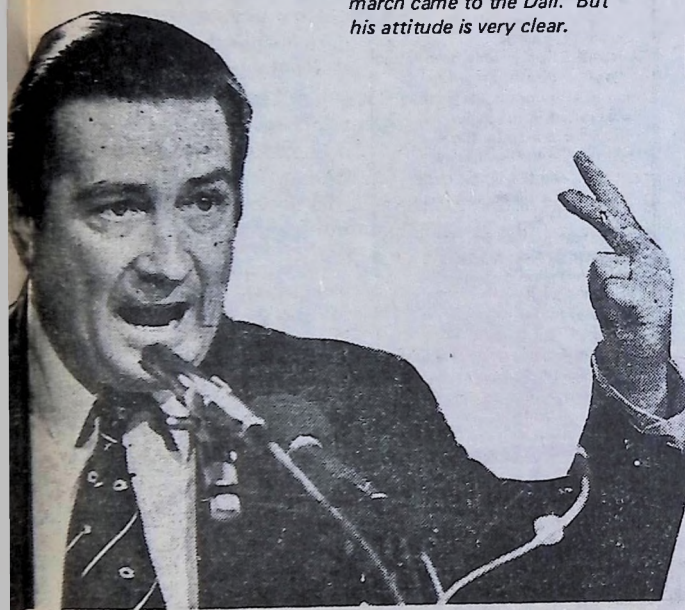
The march outside the Dail.

The campaign must not end here

BY THE END of the Dublin Trades Council demonstration against unemployment it was natural to think of that old verse:

**"The Grand Old Duke of York
he had ten thousand men,
he marched them up the mountain,
and he marched them down again."**

Justin Keating found it convenient to be out of the country when the unemployment march came to the Dail. But his attitude is very clear.



The Trades Council didn't have 10,000, but they did have 1200 of us. And they marched us to the Dail - and back again.

Fair play. It was the first step in the campaign, and the call went out, "We'll be back!" It was a welcome initiative from the Council, but it must not end there.

It's easy for T.U. officials, who have not only refused to resist redundancies, but who have actually resisted RESISTANCE to redundancies - to save their consciences with a march or two.

The march was the best thing the official labour movement has done on unemployment for years. It was also the only thing.



The speakers' promise that "We'll be back" must not be left hanging. Unemployment will not go away. It will hover around the 100,000 mark and the signs are

that the present economic recession is just beginning. Any short-term recovery will not mop up the unemployed, and the need to create 30,000 jobs a year will not be met.

Pressure must be directed - by the unions rank and file, through union sections and committees, to make sure this campaign is not abandoned by the bureaucrats.

Redundancies must be fought, using every tactic necessary, including occupations. The paper resolutions passed on getting a 35 hour week to create jobs must be fought for.

Double-jobbing must be ended and overtime abolished. The unemployed need the work. We must fight for the consolidation of overtime earnings into the basic rate.



Fighting unemployment is a task that can't be done by token marches or appeals to the government. It can only be done as part of an overall fight to prevent the bosses passing their crisis onto us.

The Trades Council has an important role to play in this fight and the campaign on unemployment must not be allowed to end here. Only strong pressure from the rank and file can ensure this.

ON THE MARCH

6.55 PM. ARRIVING for the march. White Renault, 80542L, parked and empty. Special Branch car. Presumably they're mixing with the crowd.

7.50 pm. Listening to the speakers. Would have been a better idea to have the meeting at the end of the march. Speakers put a lot of emphasis on import controls, state industry etc. Practically the programme of the Left Alternative, (Communist Party, Official Sinn Fein, Liaison of the Left) Militant speeches but very little in them that even the most right wing of trade union leaders would disagree with.

At least five ITGWU officials within five yards of me have long records of accepting redundancies and opposing any fight against them. They listen attentively to the speeches and applaud vigorously.

8.20 pm. Time to move. The ITGWU band leads us off. Eddie Brown, ITGWU Group Sec., tooting his flute for the unemployed. Browne has been instrumental in selling at least one hundred jobs over the past year.

One of the march stewards keeps hopping up and down, telling us to keep in threes, spread out, slow down. He's obviously enjoying himself.

I know this man personally. I

know that he sincerely hates unemployment. I also know that he has just helped process a productivity deal which cost one dozen jobs. The deal was completed just eight hours before the march.

As the march comes down O'Connell Street, we pass another Special Branch car - 80532L - turned in behind one of the patriotic monuments. The driver is noting something on a piece of paper. Names? Union banners?

9.00 pm We reach the Dail, stop and wait. And wait. And wait. A couple of Communist Party members go to the microphone and do a nice job on some rousing socialist songs.

Eventually the deputation comes back from the Dail. Keating wasn't there. O'Leary was in Geneva becoming President of the International Labour Organisation. At the ILO conference on unemployment 140 staff employed by the organisation were made redundant.

A parliamentary secretary had taken the message.

Form ranks again. Back to the GPO to disperse. As the march breaks up the Special Branch are still cruising around.

I.T.G.W.U. conference ; a sort of review

I'M SUPPOSED to do a review of the ITGWU Annual Conference held in June. But, despite being an ITGWU member for twelve years, active on my Section Committee, and keenly interested in my union - there's damn little I know of what actually went on at Conference.

It's interesting to look at how we, the rank and file members, relate to Annual Conference - the so called "parliament of the union."

"We" have elected a National Executive Council to govern the union. My branch nominated two people for the election - never heard of either of them.

"We" have passed cartloads of resolutions on various issues. Some of them were proposed

by Gene Kerrigan
Section Committee

by my branch. I never heard what they were - let alone voted on them. The resolutions from No. 7 were put through by the Branch Committee. They were being printed before our section had its once-a-year general meeting.

Probably not more than one thousand of the 150,000 members of the ITGWU actually know anything substantial about the Annual Conference. Apart from the full-timers and some Branch Committee members, the rest of us are cut off from this "parliament of the union".

Of course I do know something of what went on at Conference - I read it in the papers. I read that Fintan

Kennedy, our General President, congratulated Micheal O'Leary on his record in the Dail last year. He said the ITGWU admires him.

Yet that record includes voting for the Criminal Law (Jurisdiction) Bill, which the union opposed. It includes O'Leary's pathetic Equal Pay Bill and his attempts to bury equal pay. It includes the Banks Bill which freezes bankworkers wages.

But, of course, Kennedy himself - AND Mickey Mullen - voted for that one in the Senate.

The big upset at Conference was the decision of the Executive to recommend rejection of the Wage Agreement. Why did they do it?

Good question. You won't get an answer from the Executive, though. There will be no information on who voted for or against. If there was we could begin to know who we were voting for and what their policies are. IF the rank and file got to vote for the Executive.

Overall, these Conferences have little relevance to the members. The "policy" decided there is decided by a minority. We have precious little feedback from it and even less direct influence on it. It's like a hurdle the leadership has to jump once a year - because it says so in the rule book - and they make the jump as safe and non-contraversial as possible.

WHICH WAY DID YOUR BRANCH GO?

AS WE go to press we have received reports of how individual branches of the ITGWU voted on the Wage Agreement. Some of the results make interesting reading for ITGWU-watchers.

If you know how the ballot went in your branch and it's not listed below - let us know for the next issue.

DUBLIN:

- No.1 Against by 5 to 1
- No.2 Against by 2 to 1
- The No.2 Branch Committee endorsed the NEC decision and produced a VOTE NO leaflet to be sent to its members.
- No.3 Against by 4 to 1
- No.7 Against, with a majority of only 88.
- No.9/10 voted for the Agreement.
- The Branch Committee ignored the NEC and urged members to accept.
- No.12 Against, with a majority of 1,800.
- No.13 Voted to accept.
- No.16 Voted for the Agreement.
- Arklow, Cork, Limerick and Newbridge voted against.
- Galway county voted against by 3 to 1, but Galway city voted to accept.

Committed to building

DECLAN CHEASTY, from Waterford, summed up the feeling of the recent Socialist Workers Movement Conference:

"When I sell someone a copy of THE WORKER now, I feel that I'm not just giving them a paper. I'm giving them my politics, they're getting the SWM's politics. Because THE WORKER doesn't just comment on things, it reflects the organisation and how we're involved in workers' struggles."

"We have to do more of this, getting more members to write about what's happening in their workplaces, unions and communities."

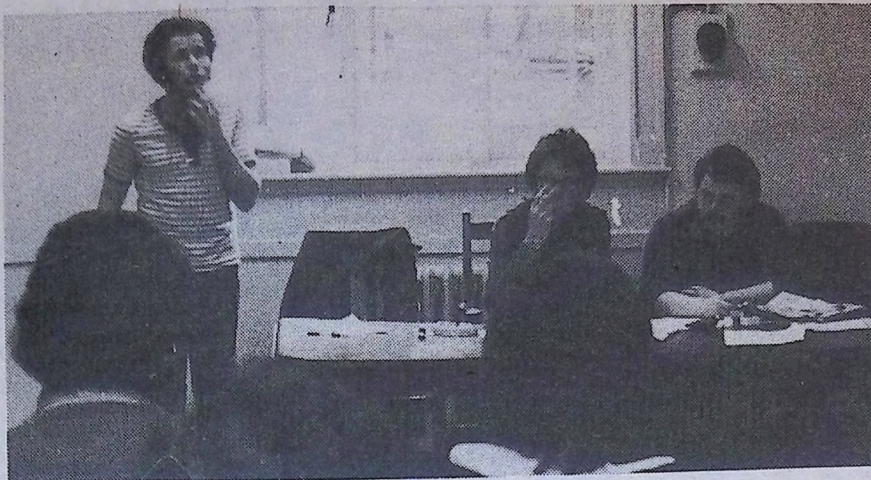
The Conference was held over two days in June and discussed the activities of the past few months as well as deciding policies for the months ahead.

THE WORKER was one of the central topics. How to expand sales of the paper, how to increase the number of workers sending in reports from their unions and workplaces, and how best to advance to a fortnightly edition.

"We mustn't make the mistake of becoming merely a group of paper-sellers", said Paul Gillespie. "It's important that our other work - building in the unions and workplaces, taking up repression etc - justifies a fortnightly paper. We must channell reports of this work through the paper. Then as our involvement deepens a fortnightly will become a necessity."

Kevin Doogan argued that THE WORKER should be an important means of recruiting to SWM. "As the bosses' crisis deepens more people will be looking to socialist ideas for an answer. SWM is a small organisation but we're the only ones with the determination and the experience necessary to seize the chances that will arise for socialists in the coming period."

"Other groups, unfortunately, place their hopes in the republicans or in the trade union left-wingers. We have to spell out the need for an independent workers' organisation. We have to use THE WORKER



Eamonn McCann speaking at the Dublin meeting

to get our politics more widely known and to pull people closer to us - and into membership. For that reason we must use the next few months to prepare for a fortnightly paper."

Taking up the question of building, Anne Hoare said "I joined the S.W.M. because I saw it giving a lead in my own factory. It's by continuing to give this lead that the organisation will grow."

Brian Trench reminded conference that, though the past year has been a difficult one for revolutionary socialists, SWM has increased it's

activities. "Our solidarity work on the Portuguese revolution; continued work against repression; constant rank and file work in the unions - in a period when working class morale was low and the going was hard."

Gains

"We must now take advantage of that experience. Already we have made gains in recruiting and the possibilities are growing for substantial advances towards the building of a credible revolutionary socialist organisation in Ireland".

Conference decided to continue to seek unity with other groups on such issues as repression - where such activity would bring real forces to bear on the issue.

Decisions were also made on increasing the coordination of trade union rank and file activity, on strengthening our involvement in women's struggles, and on the production of a series of pamphlets over the next few months.

LIMERICK 'WORKER READERS' GROUP

A NUMBER of people have set up a "Worker discussion group" in Limerick to discuss the various issues raised in the paper.

Discussions so far have covered The Left in Ireland; The rank and file in the trade unions; and Women's liberation.

Anyone in the Limerick area interested in joining in the discussions should contact: THE WORKER, 24 Talbot Street Dublin.

Anyone interested in helping set up a similar group in any other area should let us know at the same address.

Fancy a Socialist Weekend?

PLANS ARE going ahead from an idea thrown up at the SWM Conference for a Socialist Weekend - first week in October.

It will take place at a midlands hotel and all readers of THE WORKER are welcome to come along. Events being lined up include films, music, workshops and discussions, boozing, sport, political theatre, more boozing - and whatever else can be arranged.

Children free and there will be creche facilities available. We are trying to keep the cost as low as possible and will need to know as soon as possible how many will be coming. If you're interested let us hear from you.



SWM What we stand for

THE SOCIALIST Workers' Movement is a revolutionary workers' organisation which aims to organise the working class in the struggle for power and for the overthrow of the existing social order.

Capitalism produces war and poverty, racial and sexual oppression. It is based on the exploitation of those who produce the wealth. It is geared to profit and not to human need. It wastes resources - above all, human resources. It is driven into ever-deeper crises.

Only the working class can destroy it and build a socialist society based on workers' control of production. Our political action to prepare the working class for that is based on the following principles:

REVOLUTION NOT REFORM:

Capitalism cannot be changed by piecemeal reform. Increasingly it is unable to bring in even those small reforms which some sections of the ruling class think necessary. We support all struggles of workers against capitalism, seeking to co-ordinate them and direct them towards a fight for workers' power.

CAPITALIST STATE MUST BE SMASHED:

The state machinery - courts, parliament, police, army - is used to maintain the domination of the ruling class. Working class revolution produces a different kind of state - one based on councils of delegates from work-places and localities who are democratically elected and subject to recall at any time.

SOCIALIST ANSWER TO THE NATIONAL QUESTION:

Imperialism dominates the country, props up the Northern state and keeps the working class divided. But the problem can only be resolved in the working class's struggle for power. Only a united working class can defeat imperialism and capitalism, leading the fight to end repression, to force withdrawal of the British Army and against every aspect of the bosses' system.

NO SOCIALISM IN ISOLATION:

Capitalism is an international system and can only be overthrown by the working class internationally. Socialism in a single country cannot survive. We work for solidarity with workers in other countries and support the struggles of oppressed peoples against imperialism. Along with revolutionary organisations elsewhere we aim to build an international of working class parties.

RUSSIA AND CHINA NO MODEL:

The attempts of the Russian working class to build socialism were halted by the failure of their revolution to spread. The Stalinist rulers established a new type of society based on exploitation and oppression. Russia, the countries of Eastern Europe, China and Cuba are not socialist or "communist" - the workers are not in control. We oppose these regimes as we oppose Western capitalism.

The main area of political action for socialists is in the mass organisations of the working class, particularly the trade unions. We fight to make them independent of all ruling class influence and any state interference and to make them effective organs of struggle for the workers.

In the trade unions, we fight for the right to organise free of restrictions, and against all laws and agreements limiting the right to take industrial action. We fight for democratic control of union affairs and the election of officials.

We oppose all forms of wage control and wage restraint; we oppose unemployment, compulsory and voluntary redundancy, and closures. We fight for shorter hours, five day's work or five days' pay, and demand the nationalisation without compensation and under workers control of companies which cannot guarantee job security.

We fight for a national minimum wage of £45 per week, for equal pay for women, and for the adult rate from 18 years of age. We oppose attempts to lower living standards by cuts in social services, health and education.

FOR A RANK AND FILE MOVEMENT

which draws together militant trade unionists willing to oppose the class collaboration of the union leaders.

FOR FULL EQUALITY FOR WOMEN

which can only be won if women themselves are organised to fight for their demands and if that struggle is part of the fight for workers' power. FOR SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE in order to break the hold of reactionary ideas on workers, and remove a principal obstacle to women's equality. We support the demands for contraception and abortion to be made available on request. FOR DEFENCE OF ANTI-IMPERIALISTS who face the full force of state repression. We fight for the abolition of repressive laws and for the withdrawal of the British Army. We support the self-defence on working class areas against military and sectarian attack. We fight to build a united front of working class and anti-imperialist organisations for those aims.

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY which can draw the most advanced, class-conscious workers together to fight for the political leadership of the working class. A revolutionary socialist leadership based in the working class can have a decisive influence especially in periods of upheaval.

The Socialist Workers Movement is working to build such a party. It is a democratic centralist organisation open to all those who accept these principles and objectives, who agree to work in one of its units, and recognise its discipline. We urge those who want to fight for the socialist, working class answer to the mess that is capitalism to join us.

Getting a socialist answer

"MOST OF us at this meeting have more experience at fighting the bosses than at fighting a sectarian state", said Gene Kerrigan, "but we will never decisively defeat either of them unless we see them both as part of the same fight. The fight to dismantle capitalism and establish a workers' state."

This was one of a series of public meetings organised by the SWM in Waterford, Galway, Dublin and Limerick, at which Eamonn McCann and SWM speakers introduced a discussion on the theme of "The North: A Socialist Answer."

"In the 26 counties", said McCann in Waterford, "there seems to be an almost passionate apathy about what's going on in the north."

"But, to bury our heads and hope it'll just cool down would be a tragic mistake. What's happening in the North is as a result of capitalism's efforts to establish and preserve a state which best suits its needs. If we are serious about challenging capitalism we have to take account of the six-county sectarian state."

"To get a socialist answer you must ask a socialist question," said Gene Kerrigan in Dublin, "and that means asking what the national struggle has to do with the working class. The answer is that it is one of the tasks we must deal with in the struggle for socialism. It cannot be seen as separate from the other tasks we face."

I WANT TO JOIN S.W.M.

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Join us in the fight: **SWM**

Death of a Spanish republican, 1936. Photo by Robert Capa.

The Spanish civil war



Liberal Spain and the Waterford boss

BY OLLIE CASEY

THE EXTREME right-wing sympathies of Mr. J.J. (Smokey Joe) Walsh, fat-cat editor of the Munster Express, are regularly aired in his editorials. He has in the past welcomed the fascist coup in Chile, with the mass butchery and torture that followed.

Recently he supported the setting up of the National Socialist Workers' Party, the new Irish Nazis, and welcomed the plans of "Blueshirt Cooney" to deal with what he called "industrial subversives". He means those workers who will not go along with the Coalition policy of making the working class pay for the crisis.

Anyone who reads the Munster Express will be aware of J.J.'s great love of life in Spain, and the fascist regime of Franco. Such was his devotion to Franco that he even went to his funeral.

In a recent issue of the paper we were treated to a two-page special report on the situation in that country, in

which we were lead to believe that everyone there lives in luxurious summer villas with their own yachts down on the harbour.

There, after a glorious day's sailing and swimming and martini-sipping, all are invited to a neighbour's summer palace to be wined and dined in Royal style.

We are given an account of one such shindig, a "sumptuous repast", as J.J. called it, and the guest of honour was none other than the Rt. Hon. Ted Heath, the infamous butcher of the Bogside.

In case we didn't believe our local-boy-made-good, J.J., kept such distinguished company, the story was accompanied by a photograph. And, sure enough, there was Ted Heath, flashing that famous set of teeth of his, that would put Jaws in the gubby chicken category.

So this is the Spain so beloved by J.J. and his like. A summer haven for the idle rich of Europe, the tiny minority who produce nothing but who own everything in our society.

But, we may ask, what about the Spanish workers? What chance have they of the easy life on the Costa Del Sol? And the answer is none!

The workers must settle for what they have, starvation wage levels, slum housing and non-existing health services.

And if that isn't good enough for them, they could find themselves in the Puerta Del Sol, the headquarters of the dreaded secret police, (DGS), in the centre of Madrid. Or in any of the other Spanish prisons where opponents of the Fascist State find how ruthlessly the possessors of wealth protect their spoils from its producers, the working class.

Press lies

The picture below shows Francisco Tellez Luna, photographed in hospital, after being tortured by the Civil Guard in Barcelona. He was arrested for taking part in a picket.

The photo shows bruising and the insertion of a catheter because of kidney damage.

The capitalist press tells us that now that Franco is dead the worst is over, and that democracy is slowly returning to Spain. This is a lie. The Spanish ruling class is trying to put on a window dressing of reform for the world to see, but doesn't intend to change anything.

But, whether they intend it or not, change is coming. The Spanish working class is once more on the move, building their own organisations of resistance despite oppression, torture and death.

When they do rise to throw off their oppressors, whose side will you be on? — the workers fighting for justice and democracy, or J.J. Walsh, his distinguished friends and the Fascist State that protects them



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'And in Barcelona...'

AND IN Barcelona everybody asleep; except the soldiers. . . They moved wonderingly, eagerly into the streets. . .

Who was it who first shouted? Some bothered soul, restless that the nightwatch had been abandoned? Some old body without the strength to keep a strong grip on sleep? A fidgety mother with an ear sharpened to catch the patter of little lives breathing?

Anyway there was a shout. A room leaped to life and roared. A street leaped to life and roared. No speeches, for men and women looked and knew, saw and struck. An avalanche of life.

Whole families swept into the streets. "Barricades!" Furniture leaped into the street. . . a shot.

And then, as though the whole city made itself into one great throat to voice all the madness of the world, Barcelona yelled.

It was the beginning of the end for the officers...for their soldiers deserted and they stood alone.

And so the rising failed in Barcelona. And in Madrid. But in Saragossa, in Seville, in Burgos, no streets leaped to life.

And the landlords said, "Now we will get our land back."

And the industrialists said,

"Now we will have firm government."

And the world said, "Civil war has broken out in Spain."

SPAIN, July 1936. The quote is from Peador O'Donnell's book "Salud!". Franco's troops were stirring, the workers of Spain responding with heroism and desperation.

The rise to power of the Popular Front government in February 1936 followed three years of extreme repression of the Spanish working class. In October 1934 the Asturian miners had risen against the regime but their rebellion was drowned in blood. 5,000 dead and tens of thousands jailed.

When the Popular Front came to power the workers pushed for it to implement its election promises. And they didn't stop there. They went ahead themselves and seized capitalist property and land.

Franco's fascist forces were the reaction of capitalism. The result was the rising in Barcelona and the Civil War that followed.

The responsibility for the defeat of the workers and the subsequent deaths of many, lies with the Popular Front and particularly the Communist Party, who were most

anxious to build it.

They didn't want a socialist revolution. Stalin was busy in negotiations with France and Britain to form an alliance against Hitler. These two powers could not tolerate workers seizing power on their own doorsteps. Stalin pulled the strings and the C.P. argued for a bourgeoisie republic in Spain.

As fascism is the product of a capitalist system, it can only be fought by taking on that system and creating the alternative. Any other solution is a recipe for didast disaster; the didaster was not long in coming.

After the war started the workers' militias found that their supplies and arms did not match up to their morale. The supply of arms came, in the main, from Russia and the C.P. were to be the sole distributors.

There was no other organisation capable of giving a lead. In May '37 the Anarchists called off the struggle.

The POUM, loosely described as Trotskyist, tried to show the C.P.

the error of its ways, instead of fighting for their own influence in the working class. Because of the lack of leadership and the betrayal by Russia, thousands were to die in the fight and at the hands of Franco's new regime.

SPANISH WAR FOUGHT ON THE STREETS OF DUBLIN

PEADOR O'DONNELL spent some time half-way up a Dublin lamp-post, dodging razor blades embedded in potatoes, for the cause of the Spanish republic.

He had returned to Dublin from Spain to find that the issue was ablaze in the city. An organisation called the Irish Christian Front, egged on by the Catholic Church, was whipping up religious fervour against "the reds". Stories of how "the coffins of nuns were dug up and opened, and the bodies of the long-dead and holy women were put on show in the streets" abounded.

The resulting indignation

meant abounding for anyone supporting the republican cause.

145 Irishmen were among the many who flocked to Spain from abroad and the controversy aroused in Ireland has not been equaled by any international event since. A young Trinity student named Conor Cruise O'Brien spoke against Franco at a Labour Party Conference and was shouted down. (It was noticeable that when O'Brien went to Portugal last year in the midst of a revolutionary situation, that his comments and support was directed to the CIA-backed Socialist Party. Forty years is

a long time in Politics.)

Other Irishmen went to Spain, as well as the socialists, republicans and anti-fascists. They were led by the noted Blueshirt, General O'Duffy, and went to the aid of Franco. They exchanged shots with some other of Franco's troops and came home with their tails between their legs without ever having seen the enemy.

£32,000 was collected in Ireland by right-wingers such as Paddy Belton. It was sent to Spain to build churches. Franco used it for "sanitary facilities."

International notes

Italy

UNEMPLOYED workers in Rome, sick of hearing that there was no work available, recently marched into one of the biggest hospitals in Rome and started cleaning it up. Embarrassed by such tactics, some health and local authority administrations have offered jobs.

That type of action presents a better prospect to workers than whatever government will result from the general election of 20 June.

The Christian Democrats, with a little help from their friends the Church, managed to keep their vote and just remained the largest party, but the Communist Party almost caught them up. The combined forces of the left did not quite receive an overall majority. This would have greatly embarrassed the Communists, who know that such a result would raise hopes among the working class which they could not measure up to.

The forces to the left of the Communist Party campaigned in an alliance called Proletarian Democracy, and won 6 seats. Each of the three main groups has a daily paper, with a combined circulation of 70,000.

The Italian working class have not suffered a defeat: with inflation running at 25% there will be fights to come. One will be over women's rights. The general election prevented a referendum on abortion being held. One of the Proletarian Democracy deputies is a woman, and two women who have distinguished themselves in fighting to legalise abortion were elected for the Radical Party.

Portugal

THE RECENT elections prove it. The right is advancing and the left is consolidating in Portugal. General Eanes, the right-wing candidate, got 62% of the votes, a significant victory, especially when you consider that in the presidential elections a month before they were not able to pull 50% of the votes.

But the left also made gains. They raised their total from 16% to 23%. This success was mainly due to the campaign of Otelo Carvalho who came second in the elections with 16%. His campaign was organised by a united front of revolutionary groups and succeeded in winning the majority of votes from the militant workers in Lisbon and Setubal.

The left and right are fast becoming polarised in Portugal. Soares, leader for the so-called Socialist Party, has made clear his support for 'restoring order to labour relations'. This can only mean moving against the workers. As the Socialist Party leadership moves to the right, much of its support moves to moves to the right, it loses much of its working class support to the left.

Meanwhile inflation rages at 50%. Special bodies of shock troops are now being created within the arm armed forces to ensure the situation is 'stabilised'. Workers' struggles are bound to take place in the coming months. If these struggles can be coordinated by a revolutionary leadership, then there are fantastic gains to be made by the Portuguese working class — if not, we can expect a right-wing advance to bloody repression before the year is out.

the worker

Paper of the Socialist Workers Movement

WHAT THE
BOSSSES
SAY — page 2

SECTARIAN KILLINGS

A YOUNG Protestant got on that bus on the Crumlin road near Ardoyne. He had forgotten his cigarettes. Otherwise he would have sat upstairs — and like the other two men, both of them Catholics, would have been shot dead in cold blood.

The UDA's front, the Ulster Freedom Fighters are more than making up for the UVF ceasefire. And the reaction of some sections of the Provos and "fringe" republicans has been to match them tit-for-tat. For several weeks in May and June an average of one person per day was being killed by the sectarians.

The re-entry of the RUC into Catholic areas like Andersontown has given the Loyalists the confidence to step up attacks. And the natural response has been for sections of the nationalist population to hit back. Sometimes this is presented as a necessary part of the armed struggle against imperialism.

But, while all socialists and republicans will support defence of Catholic areas against Loyalist murder gangs, the kind of action in which three Protestants were killed by a burst of automatic fire in a Templepatrick pub at the end of June is no answer.

"Defence" which helps to expose nationalist areas to retaliation and which drums up support for the Loyalist murder gangs is no defence at all. B.T.



TOM delegates to visit Belfast, Dublin

OVER 50 TRADE union branches, shop stewards' committees and Trades Councils in Britain have elected delegates to take part in next September's fact finding Labour Movement Delegation to Ireland — and there could be anything up to 50 more.

The Troops Out Movement, (TOM), which has organised this delegation, aims to build "a mass movement (in Britain) to ensure that the people of Ireland will be allowed to determine their own future free from external interference."

A "wall of silence" prevents the labour movement coming to a proper recognition of its responsibilities on Ireland, says TOM. They hope the delegation will stimulate "the widest possible debate."

Support for the delegation has come from eight Labour MP's and a number of constituency Labour Party organisations, as well as a wide cross-section of trade union bodies. Tom Scanlon, a branch chairman in the TGWU, and executive member of one of the London trades councils, explains in the TOM journal, 'Troops Out', that he is sponsoring the delegation so that trade unionists can "look beyond the propaganda of the Tory press and find out exactly what is happening in Ireland in (their) name."

The delegation, which will be visiting Dublin and Belfast, starting on 18th September, could, if successful, have an impact well beyond its number. If it does lead to greater organised pressure on the British government to withdraw the troops from Northern Ireland, as TOM hopes, it could even help to break the political deadlock there, and open the way for the isolation and defeat of loyalism.

This initiative should get the support of trade union activists throughout the country, but especially in Dublin and Belfast. At your section committee, works committee or branch meeting, try to get a commitment for representatives to be sent to meet the visitors. If you need more information and documentation, write to TOM at 1 North end Road, London W.14, or to 30 Strandville Avenue, North Strand, Dublin 3.

They're still behind the wire

THE MEN and women are still behind the wire. It is five years since internment first began, on August 9, 1971. Internment ended in December 1975. They don't call them internees anymore. But they are still there — political prisoners — over 2000 in Northern Ireland alone, others in the Republic, and in England where they meet the harshest fate of all.

Internment was ended because Merlyn Rees and the British government didn't need it anymore. They took four and a half years to perfect their methods of filling the prisons with those who are fighting British rule in Ireland. Now they

don't need internment. They have the Diplock courts in the North, the Special Criminal Court in the South, and regular British justice for the Irish in Britain.

The Northern courts have no jury. The rules of evidence have been changed so that the burden of proving innocence is on the defendant. Conviction is immediate on the word of a police constable. People are regularly held incommunicado for 72 hours, and refused legal aid. Now with the Prevention of Terrorism Act, the police are holding people for seven days.

Recently the RUC in Belfast have been going wild picking people up and torturing them in reaction to the killing of a RUC detective. One man was so brutally tortured that he confessed to the shooting and tried to commit suicide. He confessed even though he had witnesses that he was at work on the day of the incident.

This year Internment Day demonstrations will be held to support all the prisoners who are still behind the wire. They will be demonstrations particularly to defeat the British government's attempt to take away political status. The prisoners need your support more than ever. And political status will only be maintained if there is popular support for it. Republican Relatives Action Committees have been organised in Belfast, Derry and other centres in the North. Support the demonstrations. Join the campaign to maintain political status.

SDLP: RUNNING OUT OF THINGS TO SELL

SINCE last March, SDLP members Paddy Devlin and John Hume, allegedly the leaders of the Catholic community in the North, have been having private talks with Loyalists—members of the Official Unionist Party and the Orange Order. More extreme Loyalists like Paisley have denounced those involved in the talks. There are threats that the talks might split the UUUC. But for the nationalist population, it looks like one more dirty deal is in the offing to get the SDLP back into power.

These talks show that the SDLP is willing to do a deal with anyone, and they are moving further to the right as they look for someone who might let them have some little job in the government. Look at who they are talking to now. Rev. Martin Smith, world Grand Master of the Orange Order, and Capt. Austin Ardill, vice-chairman of the Official Unionist Party. Smith helped draft the Loyalist Convention report which was rejected by the British government.

Both sides have agreed that the talks have not gone beyond the Convention report. That means no power-sharing with the SDLP. The SDLP is more than eager for the talks to continue on this level. The Official Unionist Party has pledged not to share Cabinet seats with the SDLP. There have been rumours that they want a Lord President instead of a Governor, and fewer powers

for the Secretary of State. The thing they have to figure out is how to include the SDLP in government without any constitutional guarantees of power sharing. Maybe they'll get to be head of one or two committees and be happy with that.

The SDLP has been willing to consider the most outrageous and unrealistic options to 'solve the crisis'. Recently Paddy Devlin argued publicly for supporting an independent Ulster. The arguments he put forward would be a laugh if he weren't so serious. "The British are no longer the honest brokers judging fairly the claims of both sides and dispensing justice accordingly..." Paddy, where have you been? When have we ever seen British justice?

There is "ample evidence to show that Loyalist voters... are now moving towards giving support to partnership concept in government." If there is one thing the Loyalist coalition of politicians is united and adamant on it is no power-sharing. Also recently Andy Tyrrie, leader of the UDA, the largest of the Loyalist paramilitary groups, conducted an interview of 400 UDA officers. None were for power-sharing. 98% were for a restoration of majority rule. During a month in which rampant sectarian killings take place every day, one wonders which Loyalist voters Devlin is talking about.

Devlin is willing to toy with the idea of independence, an idea that is also supported by John McKeague—remember

that sectarian bigot—and Ernest Baird—he supports the Ulster Service Corps, the new paramilitary vigilante force that threatened a ten to one retaliation rate. The only reason most Loyalists support negotiated independence is so that they can have freedom from British interference in their attempt to finally crush the nationalist population.

The SDLP in conference has rejected the idea of independence. But they have given in on everything else. They gave in on the internees. When they were in government, Austin Currie planned the way to penalise the rent and rates strikers. They refuse to support political status for prisoners. They want the RUC to be accountable to the community? How? You don't hear the SDLP uttering a word of protest against all the recent tortures by the RUC in Belfast.

The SDLP represents the interests of the Catholic middle class—people like themselves who want equality for businessmen. This for them means a return to peace (defeat the Provos), local security (support the RUC), and the SDLP in government. They used to say they wanted democratic reforms and a united Ireland. They've given those ideas up. But in order to make a deal with the Loyalists they will have to concede even more. What will they sell out next?