

# THE FIGHT FOR JOBS

Trade Union and  
Unemployed Workers  
Group of the SLP

price  
20p

**THE  
SOCIALIST  
ANSWER  
TO THE  
DOLE  
QUEUES**



**SOCIALIST LABOUR PARTY**



# introduction

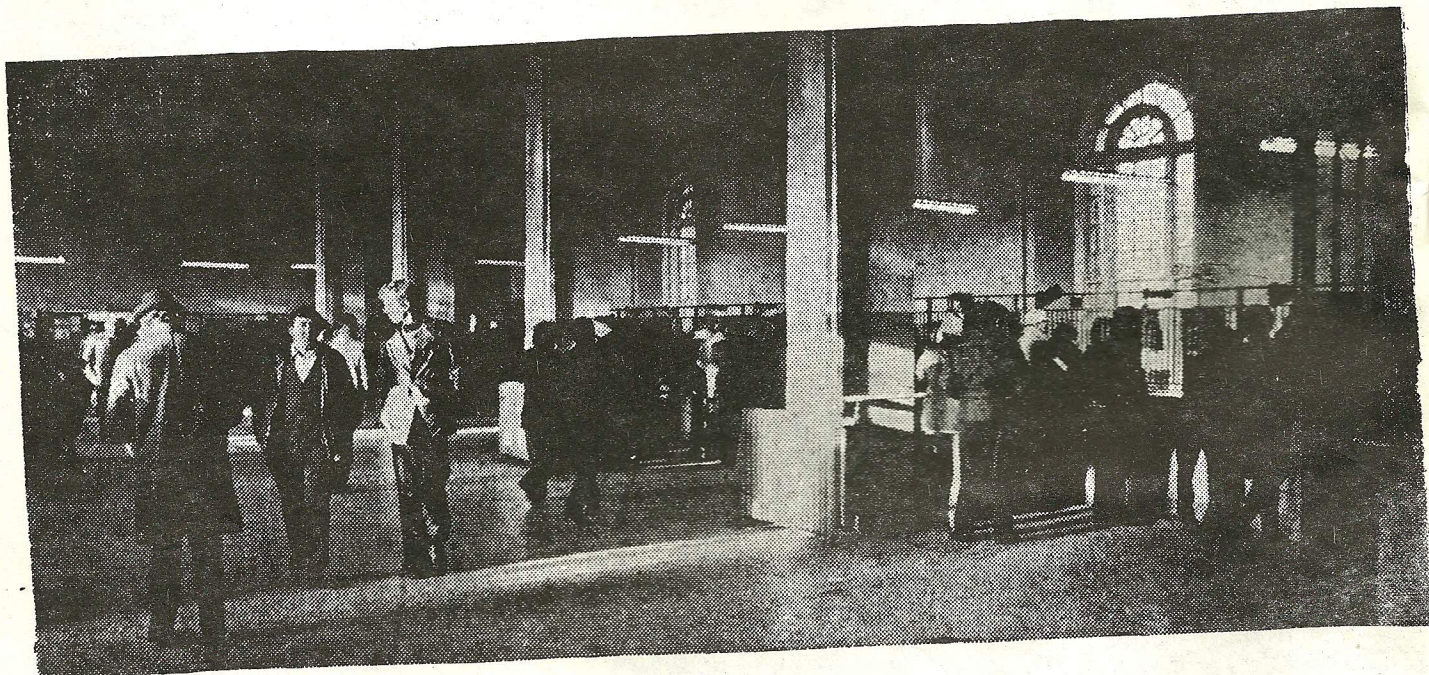
Irish capitalism hasn't a hope in hell of achieving full employment by 1983 - Fianna Fáil's target in the Green Paper 'Development for Full Employment', published last June and the White Paper published in January. But in order to pretend that it is tackling the job crisis the Government proposes to create more jobs by cutting down on social spending, wages and workers' earnings. In other words to place the costs on the shoulders of the working class. The Green Paper argues that we can trade lower incomes and reduced social services for more jobs. But the chief concern and effect of the Green Paper, and the Government's policies in general, no matter how they are dressed up, is not full employ-

ment. It is to balance their books by reducing government borrowing and spending and to create the most favourable conditions for industrial productivity and profit-making. Their proposals will make no significant dent in unemployment. Rather, the unemployment figures are to be tackled by taking people of the Live Register, by making it more difficult to claim benefits. Its all in the Green Paper, page 78!

The Government's arguments ("those who have employment already must be prepared to make the financial contributions and provide the opportunities for work for the unemployed" page 71) have a certain persuasiveness

about them, and in fact, have already gained a hold on many workers - as eight years of National Wage Agreements show.

The purpose of this pamphlet is to answer these arguments and to stress the need for a REAL answer to unemployment: for a FIGHT BACK by the working class. For a defence of every threatened job by the trade union movement. For a campaign against unemployment. For a completely new economic and political system - socialism - as the only way of ending unemployment.





# prolonged idleness

"Failure to achieve full employment would condemn a generation of young people to emigration or to prolonged idleness. Either would be intolerable". These are almost the final words of the government's Green Paper. The "prolonged idleness", poverty and indignity of unemployment are taking their toll on well over 100,000 people in this state, young and old, and the rubbish contained in the Green and White Papers will bring little or no improvement, even at the expense of our living standards. Some of the government's proposals would actually worsen the lot of the unemployed.

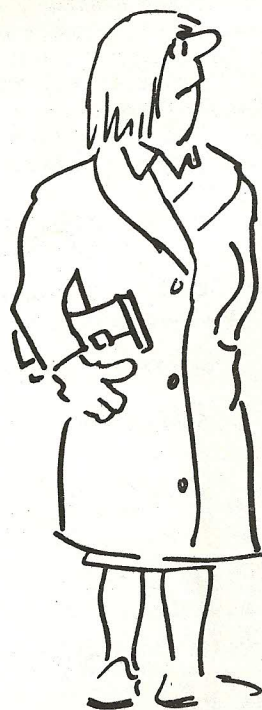
# the statistics

On the 29th Dec 1978 there were 100,922 on the Live Register as unemployed. It was Jack Lynch himself who said that any government which could not get the numbers out of work below 100,000 should be rejected. In addition according to Government estimates, 14,500 young women were due to come on the Register in the Autumn. In the event only 2,100 new claimants were added in October. The Green Paper itself admits that the official figures leave out many of the unemployed. "The 1975 EEC Labour Force Survey estimated that some 20,000 persons are concerned" (page 10).

# blighted lives

Behind the statistics are thousands of blighted lives. Young people - their education and hopes met by disillusion, boredom and the humiliation of empty pockets in a society where almost all social activities cost money. Men and women thrown on

## MANPOWER



the scrapheap because their skill or industry was no longer 'viable'. Women straining to get the most out of a meagre dole to

feed and clothe their families, or tied to the house because they can't get a job.

# scroungers!

Insult is added to injury by the smear of "dosser" or "scrounger", which is often directed at the unemployed in general. The Green Paper strengthens the myth: "The Government are reviewing the existing measures to combat fraudulent claiming and have at present under consideration a number of measures to control abuse of the system and thereby reduce the heavy cost of financing the services".

The basic rates for unemployment benefit (April '78) are £14.35 for a single person and £32 for a married man with two children. Pay-related benefit and redundancy payments are often added to this but (1) they don't last very long and (2) there is a limit of 85% of normal take home pay for the full-time unemployed.

Lower still is unemployed assistance. The lowest rate (April '78) is £11.75 (urban area) and £27.60 for a married man with two children. The system is stringently means tested. For every £1 of income from

a source other than unemployment assistance, the allowance is cut by that amount. Personal savings and board and lodgings with relatives reduce the entitlements.

A paper by J. Murray, the director of the

National Social Services Council (a government body) analysed the unemployed figures for 14th October 1977. There were 104,799 people registered as unemployed that week. 16,000 of these were signing on but receiving no payments at all. In all 62,000 of those who signed on either received no payment or got unemployment assistance only. Approximately 60,000 children depend on these. Only 18,000 received pay-related supplements and redundancy payments and these were only an average of an extra £7.94 on top of the flat-rate benefit.

Murray's study showed that a large section of the unemployed were worse off than a year before and more of them were remaining unemployed for longer periods. Although the numbers out of work had fallen by 4,000 the number who signed on and got nothing had gone up by 2,000!. The proportion receiving pay-related benefit fell from 17.5% to 10%. The numbers receiving redundancy payments had also declined disproportionately from 4,000 to 3,000. No gravy train here.

According to Murray, the myths and understandings about the unemployed have "two serious consequences - they help to keep payments for the unemployed lower than they should be and, more seriously,



they inhibit action to eliminate unemployment. If people have a vague feeling that the unemployed are not badly off in terms of income, then they will not feel quite the same sense of urgency to eliminate unemployment, or quite the same willingness to consider drastic remedies for unemployment".

Only recently has it been conceded that girl school leavers should receive unemployment assistance. But if girls, or boys, are living at home they are likely to receive little or nothing. A disproportionate number of appeals against refusals of payment have come from married women who contest the department's view that they are not available for work (that is, they should be at home minding the kids!).

**WHO ARE THE REAL SPONGERS ?**

In the period April 1971 to December 1975, 1,222 employers were prosecuted for failing to properly stamp their employees insurance cards.

The number of people prosecuted for fraud in relation to benefits was 332.

**THE GREEN PAPER - MAKING THINGS HARDER FOR THE UNEMPLOYED'**

--"On the unemployment and assistance side also there will be a tighter system of control and more direct action to combat fraud"(page 78).

--"consideration will be given to the possibility of requiring more frequent signing so that a greater degree of control can be exercised at that point."(page 78)

--"liason with the National Manpower Service so as to ensure that vacancies do not remain unfilled while suitable applicants are claiming benefit or assistance at Employment Exchanges." (page 78)  
The apparant helpfulness of this measure was shown in its proper light by a statement of George Colley in August. Speaking about the proposed new National Hire Agency (Green Paper, page 68) he said, "A person will have the opportunity of NOT taking up offers of such employment, but in the circumstances he will get no dole".

-- A "network" of "additional specialist outdoor staff are being recruited to work in the unemployment benefit and assistance area mainly in the investigation of cases of concurrent working and claiming." (page 78). Job creation?

AS FAR as the Green Paper is concerned women are still 'the daughters of Eve' for wherever they are referred to it is with suspicion and irritation. Great play is made of the fact that disability benefit is paid to one working married woman in three in any one week. More medical referees is to be the solution, not decent pay or job satisfaction or an end to tax discrimination. This sinister paragraph obviously refers to

married women: "A further difficulty is the risk that a programme (for full employment) of this nature would bring on to the labour market considerable numbers who are not at present seeking work, and it may be appropriate, therefore, to require some conditions of eligibility." Are married women to be barred from job hunting in the future?

**the record**

Government expectations for fall in number of unemployed

for 1978	for 1977-80
20,000*	25,000 per year**

\*Green Paper page 10      \*page 5

Actual fall in Live Register

in 1978

12,941  
(15,000)\*\*\*

\*\*\*Live Register when adjusted for 2,100 new women claimants

Net new jobs (in non-agricultural employment):

Government targets

1977-80  
29,000 per year\*

1979-1981  
25,000 per year<sup>1</sup>

\*Green Paper page 19      <sup>1</sup>White Paper 2.4

Actual net new jobs created

April 1971 - April 1974  
7,000 per year

April 1974 - April 1977  
net LOSS of 13,000\*\*

single year: 1975  
net loss of 20,000\*\*\*

1978  
unconfirmed government estimate of 17,000<sup>2</sup>

\*\*Green Paper page 14      \*\*\*IDA Report and Live Register  
<sup>2</sup>White Paper 1.5

New Manufacturing Employment

Government targets and expectations

1977-80  
13,500 per year\*

IDA target 1973-77  
38,000

1979-81  
10,000 per year+

\*Green Paper pages 19 & 41      +White Paper 4.4

Actual net new jobs created

1969-74  
5,500 for the whole period\*

1973-77  
1,900 for the whole period\*\*\*  
Dublin area: net LOSS of 11,050

1978  
7,000\*\*

\*\*Irish Banking      \*\*\*IDA Annual Review June '78 Report  
++ White Paper 4.4



# far out

The goal of full employment is out of reach of the present economic system. Profits, competition, vested interests, waste and the lack of political will come between those who own the means of production and their provision of jobs for all, despite their 'earnest' words. The Government expected 1978, (a boom year), to provide a 20,000 fall in the unemployment figures. Martin O'Donoghue has claimed a drop of 17,000 in the numbers out of work in 1978. The actual fall in the Live Register for the year between 29 Dec 77 and 29 Dec 78 was 12,941. The 1978 figures include about 2,100 single women and widows who became eligible for assistance from October, leaving a fall of about 15,000 from the Live Register of 1977. And the latest figures, for the year to April last, show net emigration running at an annual rate of 7,000. Remember also that even if the Government targets are met unemployment will still remain. In January 1976 a seminar of the Regional Studies Association heard that to get unemployment down to "only" 4% in 1986 there would need to be a total of 30,000 net new jobs every year up to then.

They couldn't do it in the past and they won't be able to do in the future. Knowing they can't make it, the Government has taken out insurance against ending up with egg on its face. O'Donoghue has not said that 75,000 will definitely be created in the next three years. He said that the economy was capable of producing the jobs if there is a "responsible approach" by workers to pay demands. The buck will be passed to us.

# capitalism - the cause

In Fianna Fail's scheme of things the cost of providing these hoped-for jobs is to be transferred on to the shoulders of the working-class. The method? Wage restraint and severe limits on social spending!

"The Government wish to see a sober and realistic recognition of the contribution which a policy of moderation in income increase can make towards the creation of full employment." (page 88)

At least eleven separate times, the White Paper refers to "the essential link between income levels and the opportunities for job creation." At a time when groups of workers have been putting in claims for between 20 and 60 percent, in many cases to make up for losses over the past eight years, the government is talking about average increases in single figures. They don't beat around the bush - the main thread running through the Paper is that jobs depend on competitiveness, competitiveness depends on prices and prices depend on wage costs. When Fianna Fail took office it was said that when their promises came to nothing, they would blame it on the trade union movement. Well it has come to pass: "The performance of the economy during the past year indicates that the Government's strategy for 1978 was soundly based. The

WATERFORD  
WANTS  
WORK  
NOT CLOSURES  
Demonstration Fri. Sept. 8th 3.30 p.m. Assembly Point THE GEN



targeted increase in national output of 7% was achieved and was not constrained by external factors. However incomes increased faster than had been envisaged with the consequence that the employment increase was somewhat below target and inflation was slightly above target.. (White Paper 1.3). Fianna Fail are not however, looking for restraint in such incomes as dividends, fees and rents - only wages.

We have had wage restraint since the first National Wage Agreement in 1970 and in that time we have seen unemployment figures (officially) touch almost 120,000. Fianna Fail in their election manifesto (June 1977) claimed that there was actually 160,000 unemployed.

Far from the workers causing unemployment, they are its victims, and the real causes lie in the international and local

problems of the economic system. Some of the real causes are:

**inflation** (now starting to rise again). Its not caused by wage rises. Since World War II the cost and the frequency of changing technology has greatly increased. On a world scale the rate of profit has been dropping gradually. One of the ways out of this for firms is an increase in their prices. These and other trends came to a head in the recession of '73-'74.

Some secondary causes of inflation are:

- **speculation in raw materials:** a small ring of international dealers in gold, silver, lead, zinc, copper etc. can control the world market and push up prices through-out industry.

- **artificial shortages:** multi-national monopolies have been able to create "scarcities" in order to gain higher prices. Remember the oil shortage? The sugar shortage? The paper shortage? Vast quantities of food are often destroyed in order to keep prices up.

- **increases in commodity prices:** as 'Third World' countries gain confidence and up their charges for base metals, rubber, cocoa etc.

- **speculation in money:** up and down goes the pound as international bankers move millions from one currency to another in minutes.

- **high levels of state expenditure** to bail out private enterprise, boost armies and 'security' and pay rising interest on debts.

In one sense the bosses claptrap about wage restraint reducing inflation is quite correct - from their point of view. Under capitalism, 'free' enterprise, only one cost can be controlled without interfering with profits - the life's blood of the system. And that is the cost of labour. They won't take a cut in profits, dividends, prices etc. They have only one exit - make the workers carry the can.

**CLOSURES AND REDUNDANCIES:** Irish companies lost markets during the 1974-75 recession and rather than share out the remaining work by shortening hours, they laid workers off. Some firms collapsed completely because of lost markets, or because the banks stopped giving them credit.

**FREE TRADE:** whole sectors of Irish industry - shoes, textiles, garments, furniture - reeled under the impact of cheaper imports following the ending of tariffs in the Sixties and EEC entry. The low level of technological development - a product of imperialism and underinvestment (factors outside the control of workers) - made them unable to compete. The 'opening up' of the economy and EEC entry were (often enthusiastic) initiatives of the ruling-class. The ailing industries might have been nationalised, but capitalist 'productivity and efficiency' dictated otherwise.



**RATIONALISATION:** to cope with free trade, and capitalist competition in general, there was - and continues - a mad scramble for rationalisation, greater productivity and reduced manning levels. In October 1974 the IDA estimated that during the following Winter 5,000 to 8,000 jobs would be lost because of productivity agreements, greater mechanisation and 'other reasons'.

Last year, as the White Paper tells us, the output of Irish manufacturing (in the south) went up by about 10% while employment in manufacturing went up by a little over 2%. Increased productivity, spare capacity and overtime swallowed up the remainder of the new work available. The government's own figures expose their lie about the "essential link" between wages and increased employment. Extra cash to employers from lower wages or expanded markets does not, and did not, necessarily go into investment in more labour, and is just as likely to go into labour-saving machinery. While lamenting the effect of leaping productivity on jobs the government see it as "beneficial from the point of view of improving the structure of Irish industry and its competitiveness". Competition and productivity rule OK!

"In the two and a half years since the recession trough, capital outlays (of big companies) when adjusted for inflation, have increased half as much as they did on average over similar periods in previous expansions since Hitler's war."

Here in Ireland millions of pounds in available cash, that could be put into job-creating production, are going into speculation and property dealing, simply because the profits in industry and productive activity are not fat enough for those who make the investment decisions. *Hibernia* (3/2/78): "It is difficult to believe that anyone would pay over £1 million cash for two relatively small shops even if they are in Henry Street (Dublin). The buyer, the Royal Liver Insurance Co., is no go-go operator so it just shows how hard up the institutions have become in finding new investment outlets for their massive cash inflows."

The government's Green Paper, which admits that "at present world economic trends are not encouraging" (page 87), with all its schemes for making the workers pay for more jobs, significantly devotes only one short paragraph to the need for more investment from private companies and individuals.

transfers of funds from social to 'productive' spending (i.e. the private sector mainly).

# the chopping block

"The Government's aim will be to change the composition of expenditure so as to give greater emphasis to growth and expenditure rather than current (i.e. social) spending" (Green Paper p.16).

"The order of increases (in the standard of living) may be more modest than that enjoyed with the rapid improvements in the 1960s". (page 71).

social welfare: "The Government are therefore considering treating income from short-term social welfare benefits as taxable income (page 79).

health: "in the EEC, Health Ministers are particularly concerned about restraining the growth of public expenditure on health" page 79.  
"the introduction of a new (hospital and medical bills) scheme" page 81. Effect: manual workers earning over £100 per week (not far away with present inflation) will have to pay.

housing: "Reassessment of local authority housing needs...there is a general lessening in the degree of urgency of local authority housing needs". (White Paper 5.11). the number of Corporation and council houses completed has fallen steadily from 8,794 in 1975 to around 6,000 in 1978.

education: "it would seem equitable to increase the (university) fees charged" page 83.

food subsidies: "the more appropriate approach would appear to be to phase out these subsidies over a period of years" page 83.  
Effect: 3½p on a pint of milk; nearly 30p on a pound of butter; 5½p on a loaf of bread; 4½p on a kilogram of flour.

Don't think that these cuts are to be made in the interests of less tax. "Some tax increases" (page 73) are in store. These are Fianna Fail's proposed method of raising the resources for over 25,000 jobs per year (they say).

HERE IS THE NEWS. THE MINISTER HAS EXPRESSED GRAVE CONCERN OVER THE ZPW FACTORY CLOSURE -



WHICH HE HAS JUST AUTHORISED. NOW THE REST OF THE NEWS. THE GIANT HEDGEHOG WHICH HAS TERRORISED.....



The general atmosphere of 'gloom and doom' during the recession, fueled by the media, was used by firms who remained profitable throughout (and who are doing well to-day, like Smurfit's and Unidare) to prune and streamline their workforces. The state sector gave a lead with a halt on recruitment in the ESB and the planned reduction of 4,000 jobs in CIE (now achieved two years ahead of schedule).

**BUSINESS CONFIDENCE:** capitalists don't invest unless there's a good profit to be made. Hence idle resources. The general instability at the time caused Du Pont to cancel, and Alcan to postpone, their plans for big developments at Cork and Limerick. The so-called "business community" have not regained their nerve since the last recession. Internationally, things are down. *The Economist* (one of the financial world's top publications) said last year:

**STRUCTURAL UNEMPLOYMENT:** the flight from the land (speeded up by the Farm Modernisation Scheme and passively accepted by Fianna Fail) and the big increase youth population continues to feed the labour pool. Despite some new emigration (in the year to February '78 there was a net outflow in travel to and from the state of 11,000 people - Dail Report 11/10/78) this safety valve will have a smaller opening because of unemployment in Britain and the USA.

ALL OF these are causes of unemployment which have little to do with the supposed high rate of social expenditure or the supposed excessive increases in Irish industrial wages - the twin bogies of the Green Paper. Nevertheless, the proposals of the government hang upon one 'Lynch' pin - take from us to fund the hoped-for jobs - cuts or stagnation in wages and



# the big plan

But what do they intend should be done with this extra purse in industry, agriculture and the economy in general to produce jobs? What is their plan? Plan? The Green Paper is no plan, but a series of fantastic hopes, exhortations, 'studies', committee reports in the pipeline and kite-flights.

The government's White Paper (published in January) is a declaration of war. It is full of words like "productivity" and "growth". These summarise neatly what Fianna Fail's economic policy is all about. They might say they want to create jobs but they really want to create profits. There is a strong emphasis in the Paper on "growth" and especially growth in the private sector. Growth in production is great - provided there is an equal growth in the number of jobs. But this hypocritical government emphasise that this growth will largely be achieved through greater "productivity". In other words more production for the same or fewer jobs. Nor will workers be compensated for their greater productivity. Wage restraint is the clearest message of the White Paper. In other words we produce more, but won't get paid for doing so. The boot has yet to be put in. Not just on wages (on which the government have been hinting darkly about taking 'corrective action'). If this policy is to 'create' jobs then the capitalists must be encouraged to use their new profits to invest in new factories etc. So they intend to cut down on borrowing and social spending

snare of the cake. We will not be made the scapegoat for the government's failures.

## industry

Apart from reassuring the bosses that their tax-reliefs, subsidies and handouts will continue (and, indeed, increase) the governments Epistles, on industry, present some ideas which turn out to be pathetic, damp squibs.

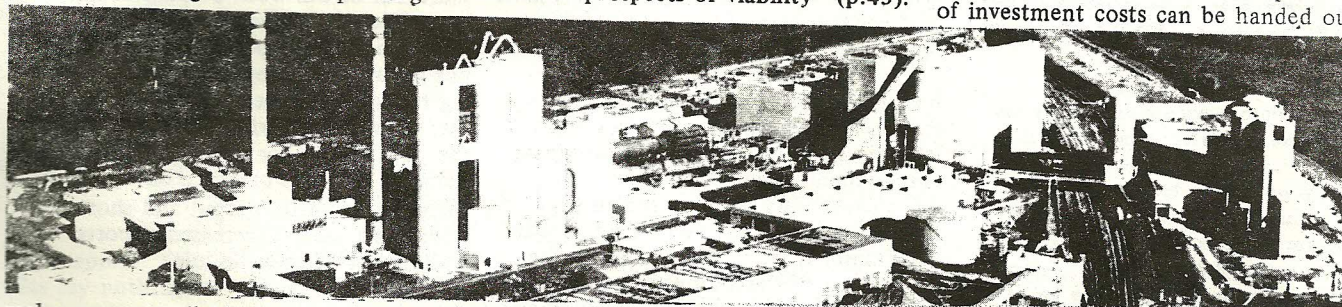
**preservation of existing jobs:** On job-losses they come clean: "the level of job losses in industry, though abated somewhat, (no longer true) still continues at a very high level. Indeed job losses have tended to obscure the success which has been achieved in the promotion of new industry. During the period 1970-75 they amounted to some 9,000 a year and are expected to continue at the substantial rate of some 5,000 a year up to 1980." (Green Paper page 43.) They are not too concerned about this state of affairs (indeed, their attitude to the Van Hool closure indicates that they are prepared to worsen it). For them redundant workers are expendable casualties on the road to profit: "It is recognised that some losses are inevitable as part of the process of restructuring and adaptation and that it would be short sighted to give financial support to firms which do not have reasonable prospects of viability" (p.43).

We have already shown the lousy record of the system in living up to their targets for job provision. In the Green Paper we were assured, only last June, that "employment in manufacturing industry is projected to increase by about 10,000 during the year (1978)". What actually happened by the end of 1978 was that there was "a increase of 7,000 in employment". (white Paper 4.2).

(Of course Fianna Fail blame "excessive" wage rises for their failures, but the White Paper itself points out that although there was an "exceptionally high growth in productivity in 1978" and output increased by about 10%, this "has not been accompanied by a greater net increase in employment". In other words almost all of the higher output of last year was achieved by getting more production out of the existing workforce rather than taking on more workers. Growth in itself, for which pay restraint is demanded of us, does not guarantee more jobs.)

Incredibly, the White Paper repeats the fairy-tale of the Green Paper: "manufacturing employment is now projected to grow at an annual rate of 10,000 over the three year period 1979-1981". Given wage restraint - that is!

In the Green Paper Fianna Fail attempts to squeeze as many potential jobs as possible out of the fringes of the economy: small industries (where up to 60% of investment costs can be handed out to



to make money available for the capitalists. Already the government has announced that it will snatch back the value of the National Wage Agreement's second phases (2 percent) with the removal of food subsidies and increased social insurance contributions. Within days of that announcement they were talking about introducing the lowest rate of corporation-profits tax anywhere in Europe.

So the White Paper is about allowing the capitalists make more profits and pretending they will create enough jobs to solve unemployment. They won't, they can't. But the working class are made to pay. Our response should be decisive: we will accept no restraint. Investment, profits, and farmers' incomes are increasing at record rates. We want a larger

With Fianna Fail in power the silicon-chip microprocessor could schythe through jobs like a knife through melting ice-cream.

The two lame proposals for preserving existing jobs are a temporary subsidy to some employers to help pay wages, and anti-dumping measures. Both have been in operation in different forms and the redundancies still went on.

Nowhere is nationalisation of limping industry considered. Worksharing and shorter hours are suggested later in the Green Paper, at a completely unacceptable cost.

**new jobs:** The "crucial importance of the manufacturing sector for the provision of additional employment" (White Paper 4.1) is freely acknowledged by the government.

small capitalists and a 45% subsidy will be paid in Dublin for land and building - simply to meet the speculators prices); the Gaeltacht; tourism (where as much as the FULL cost of building a new hotel can be written off for tax purposes); retail trade (but the job losses due to supermarkets replacing smaller shops are accepted as a "rationalisation phase"); consultancy services; the film industry. Every conceivable occupation is thrown in, in the desperate scramble to suggest ways out of the crisis. 'Research and Development' and stronger marketing are resorted to, as kinds of 'if there's a will there's away' solutions.

What is quite clear, however, is that not one apple on the capitalist cart is to be upset, not even to the mild extent of



expanding state industry into areas where private individuals just might make a buck. "There is no reason in principle why there should be any distinction between the state and private sector in the industrial sphere" (Green Paper p.45). What about the reason that the private sector has not, and cannot, provide the necessary jobs, or that the state sector should be forced to step in where private capital clears out?!

The White Paper speaks of an Industrial Development Consortium as a sop to the demand of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions for a State Development Corporation - a watering down of an already watery demand. At the same time a priority of FF's economic policies is to CUT DOWN the level of public spending!

The job potential of mineral wealth is practically ignored. Look at this gem from the Green Paper: "Ireland is still at a relatively early stage in determining its mineral wealth" (page 48). In fact, Irish mineral wealth has been determined - and shipped out unsmelted - and as soon as new possibilities are discovered (oil off the coast) a chunk of the royalties are handed back to the oil giants. The White Paper says that the establishment of a zinc smelter is being "actively pursued" by the government. Just how actively? Well, they ignored the Russian offer to build one and the IDA has applied (actively?) for planning permission to build a smelter at Ballylongford which will go into production well after 1981. Tynagh Mines is expected to be worked out in 1980!

### UNEMPLOYMENT AND CRIME

"The areas most affected by the spiralling crime wave are working class areas. Those committing most of the crimes in these areas are young people. Over 20% of all convictions are against juveniles (under 17 years of age). Over 50% of convictions are against people under 25 years of age.

It is no coincidence that these are the areas with the highest levels of unemployment and that this is the age group in the population with the highest level of unemployment, the most discriminated against in terms of social welfare benefits and, consequently, those with the least hope in, or respect for, our society."

### agriculture

This section of the Green Paper is, in fact, an indictment of the system of private and big landownership and of EEC policies, as far as employment is concerned. The flight from the land is glibly accepted. It says, "Unfortunately, there is little prospect of increased output. Indeed, during the period

1978-80 the White Paper expects a decline in the numbers engaged in Agriculture of the order of 4,000 a year on average" (p.30). This is being deliberately encouraged by the EEC Farm Modernisation Scheme. "The central feature of the (EEC) Directive is that it obliges member states to provide a selective or more favourable system of investment aids to farmers who reach within six years a level of income per labour unit comparable with that earned by non-agricultural workers" (p 22).

So, less jobs on the farm. What about production related to farming - the agribusiness?

The White Paper gives little encouragement that many jobs will be available here to compensate for the 4,000 per year leaving the land. The over-optimistic estimates of 3,800 jobs being created in these industries by 1981 (p 44) represent about one-third of those required in the three-year period.

The Green Paper is a discussion document, but one should expect that the White Paper would contain a definite programme. On employment from agriculture-based industries the White Paper is a joke, full of "could", "should", "might", "if" and "depending of the EEC decision".

Food processing and horticulture "A Horticultural Development Group will be set up...will make recommendations...special attention will be given to the potential for creating new jobs" (p 34) - hardly the stuff to inspire confidence! Horticulture is given 6 lines. Where have the meagre 1,600 jobs gone that were estimated for food-processing by 1980 in the Green Paper?

Dairying. It would be hard to beat the eloquence of the Green Paper itself on the obstacles placed by capitalist agriculture in the way of developing employment in dairying.

"The availability of intervention support for two products of the industry, butter and skimmed milk, tends to make the production of these items more attractive than more labour intensive products for which there is no intervention at present. The dilemma for this country is that the production of butter and skimmed milk have low employment content. For example, twice as many workers are needed for bulk cheddar cheese production as for converting an equivalent quantity of milk into butter or skimmed milk" (p 31). According to the White Paper (p 37) "in 1977, 70% of milk output was used for the manufacture of butter and skimmed milk powder".

The ending of intervention (the system of buying products into storage - hence butter mountains and wine lakes - at artificially high prices that go mainly to larger farmers) is not considered of course. The possibility of 10,000 extra jobs

is referred to in the Green Paper, but on the basis of greater product intensity (of non-intervention products). Instead the White Paper gives us a "development strategy" to be implemented by the IDA to "diversify milk output into products with greater employment potential" with a target of 1,500 jobs by 1981, which is supposed to succeed, despite the lure of easy profit, captured through selling into intervention.

Beef industry. The jobs of many meat-processing workers are in danger, and, in present circumstances, the development of the industry is severely limited. In October '78 workers from Irish Meat Packers Ltd. marched to the Dail against redundancies threatened by live exports. In its own words, the government shows that this situation is not the fault of the workers but of the big farming and export interests. The Green Paper says that "on the basis of present trends in cattle production" and a "continuing live export trade" the volume of cattle available for meat factories "offers little prospect of increased employment over the next few years."

Nevertheless they want the workers to solve the situation - by higher productivity (and fewer jobs). That is what they mean by improving the "efficiency" of the meat-factories, so that they can eventually offer the same prices for cattle as live exports, intervention selling and low-labour cost carcass exports. Aside from this they can go to the wall. The response of the meatworkers must be that they will not suffer for the benefit either of the ranchers or the bosses' productivity. They should demand a share out of the work available without loss of pay, when cattle supplies are uncertain or being exported. While we are not in favour of stopping the cattle going to England which our fellow workers there have always killed and processed in the past, we are for the expansion of the industry and its workforce on the basis of increased cattle output and shorter hours, and against increased exports while Irish factories lie idle.

Fishing: Fianna Fail refuse to propose "policy options" for the fishing industry because their international partners have not yet pronounced on the issue: "because of the uncertainty about the shape of future EEC policy". In this industry also, the radical measure that would make a difference, and the one demanded by the fishermen themselves - a 50 mile limit - doesn't get a mention.

In this industry there is a need for an intensive campaign to unionise all deckhands, independence of the deckhands from the Irish Fishermen's Organisation and a joint fight across all fishing ports for an increase to bring deckhands pay up to the average industrial wage. There should be a 35 hour week without loss of pay.





## Infrastructure

**Transport:** The Green and White Papers say nothing very definite about transport. Approximate expenditures are quoted but no mention of jobs. In fact about the only definite plan is that the CIE workers will be made pay for improvements through 'productivity'. Already CIE has axed a whopping 4,000 jobs in the past four years - without reply from the unions. Their low-pay policy resulted in the recent spate of industrial trouble from the busmen. Oh! and of course the profit-makers are to be allowed to home-in on the transport problems, by being allowed to operate toll-roads.

With thanks to  
Phil Evans for  
the cartoons

**Housing:** As for Local Authority housing the Government claim that "there is a general lessening in the degree of urgency of local authority housing needs" (White Paper p70). In actual fact the new points system, for which tenants have to re-apply each year, has cleverly knocked thousands off the list because they fail to re-apply. This gives the Government the excuse to cut the number of local authority houses down from 8,794 in 1975 to 6,000 in 1978 (White Paper p 70). In other words for every 100 houses completed in 1975 the local governments are only building 68 in 1978 and will build less in '79. In early January the Dublin City Manager announced that there are 14,400 families on the Corporation's waiting list; but only 675 houses were under construction.

Meanwhile the Government provides almost half (45%) of the money spent on construction. This is an industry where workers suffer badly from slumps and seasonal work. It could be regulated if the public money went into direct labour units, while also creating thousands of permanent jobs. But Fianna Fail prefer to spend public money providing there capitalists friends with juicy contracts - who in turn often hire lump labour.

No action against land speculation is envisaged. On the contrary the cost of building land in centre-city areas (because of which "the all-in-all cost of some units of accommodation may exceed £25,000" - Green Paper, page 61) is actually quoted as a justification for reducing public authority housing.



# robbing Peter to pay Paul

The 'grand schemes' outlined above. (even if they could be brought about by capitalism) would still leave thousands unemployed. They admit it: On the basis that the continuation of the programmes outlined in earlier sections would be more than sufficient to cater for the further growth in the labour force beyond 1980, the figure of 80,000 unemployed at the end of 1980 would reduce somewhat in subsequent years". (Dreams built upon dreams). "Present estimates suggest an unemployment figure of 65,000 at the end of 1983." (Green Paper p.64).

Martin O'Donoghue and his mates in the think-tank suggest two alternative ways of providing these 65,000 jobs: work-sharing and a special 'residual job creation programme'.

## Work Sharing

Not to be confused with the militant trade union demand to share out available work among the workforce during periods of slackness, at no loss of pay. FF's proposals include restricted overtime, shorter hours and early retirement - all excellent except that they propose that we do not get paid for the time and the work we give up, "One crucial feature of any work-sharing proposals is that they must not lead to any additional costs of production ...Essentially then any work-sharing arrangements must also entail 'income-sharing', that is, those already in employment must agree to accept lower rates of increase in their incomes than would be otherwise available." Its a crude trade-off between jobs and wages. An attempt to make the trade union movement look as if they have the power and responsibility for the creation or annihilation of thousands of jobs.

Martin O'Donoghue does not put forward 'work-sharing' as a serious proposal. It is designed to be turned down by the trade unions so that the government can blame the unions' 'selfishness' for ruining their plans and leaving 65,000 on the dole.

## Special Government Job Creation Programme

A few of the suggestions in this section would be useful except for the fundamental approach of the government to unemployment and employment which blow the good out of it:  
 "Expansion of public employment... should not cut across continuing efforts to raise productivity and efficiency and eliminate over-manning in the public sector" (Page 67, Green Paper).

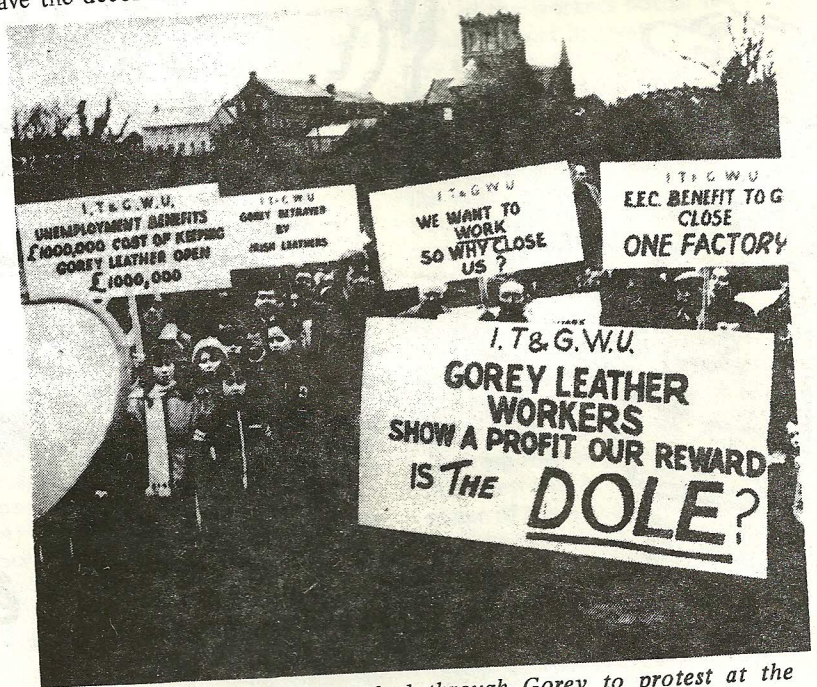
Once again the inescapable contradiction of the system defeat its 'plans' from the rear: new jobs cancelled out by job losses.

The governments 'four-pronged attack' (no less) consists of:

- \*a residence related employment scheme: householders who provide work, such as decorating, repairs or insulation, could deduct the expenses for income tax purposes. The hope is that this would encourage householders to increase improvements to their houses, but its more likely to become another tax-relief to the well-heeled who can already afford to 'have the decorators in'.

In the north Dublin inner-city area, where, incidently a recent survey showed that 42% of fathers were unemployed, a few limited youth employment schemes, not costing very much, have already produced a "dramatic drop in crime and vandalism" in the area (Irish Times 16/1/78). Why not more investment in other areas - for the sake of young people and not just to improve law and order ?!

A 'four-pronged attack ? - 65,000 jobs won't be produced by that little lot !!



Five hundred marched through Gorey to protest at the closure

marched through Gorey to protest at the closure

- \*a national hire agency: which would employ workers itself and place them in temporary jobs to fill seasonal demand or gaps caused by holidays or absentees. The sting in the tale of this proposal was delivered by George Colley: "A person will have the opportunity of NOT taking up any offers of such employment, but in the circumstances he will get no dole."

- \*expanded training and work experience schemes: worthwhile in themselves, but will they just expand some of the features of the schemes as they exist now artificial jobs in AnCO training centres, unused funds by disinterested employers, the danger of cheap young labour?

- \*the extention of community services: as long as the 'Poor Relief' approach is not taken this is the kind of thing the government should be doing - the provision of social centres and recreational facilities, general improvement of the environment" etc. - and as long as trade union labour is not undermined.

NOTE: when total employment (including agricultural) is taken into consideration the crisis is seen at its starkest. The government target till 1980 is 29,000 net new extra jobs per year. But the estimated record for 1974 to 1977 show a loss in total employment of 31,000, or 10,300 per year on average (Green Paper page 14).





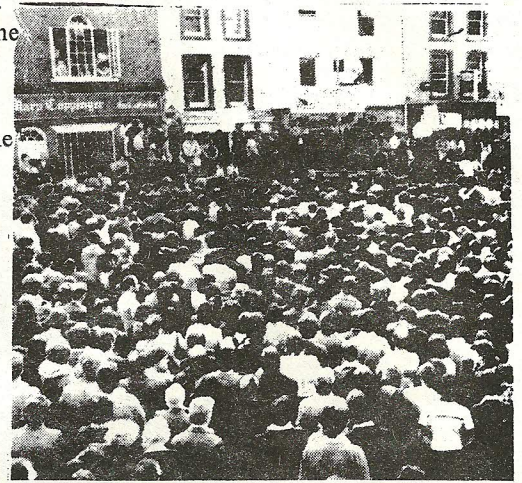
It is obvious that neither the Green Paper nor the White Paper provide any answers, bar the one of looting our already modest standard of living. But the answer of the working class movement must be TO FIGHT FOR JOBS, to struggle against unemployment, to erect a massive campaign for the right to work. And added to this struggle will be a battle to preserve the social services and benefits we have at present.

So far, the fight back has been weak to say the least. Not only from the unemployed but from organised workers who are about

workplace as a bargaining counter (especially when management want to keep some workers in production) and they face a sudden drastic change in their living conditions. The possibility of getting a fight back are strongest in this situation and the workers are far from powerless.

We call for direct action to reject the redundancies - strike action where part of the firm is to be kept going or where the firm has workers in other plants. But by far the most effective tactic is the sit-in, whereby the boss's premises, stocks and

# the fight back



15,000 Workers march to support papermill workers.

to be made unemployed. The examples of resistance to redundancy and closure are so rare that we can recall each of them - Danus and Sunbeam Wolsey (over detail rather than principle), Reg Armstrong (too late), ACEC (a successful strike to stop rationalisation measures), Gouldings (where 22 out of 360 took a stand with some success), Confexim (a successful sit-in over money, but with some guarantees won on jobs). There have been few major battles for jobs.

The most hopeful sign to date was the massive protest in Waterford on 8th September '78 when 10-20,000 workers marched against the threatened closure of National Board and Paper Mills and a virtual general strike stopped the city for the duration. Hopeful too was the fact that, for once, the trade union movement at top official level was moved to support the protests. But predictably, when the crunch came the officials strongly opposed occupation and the movement died.

Despite the defeats and the lack of resistance there have been successes. Enough to show that redundancies can be stopped by DIRECT ACTION from workers. Of 63 redundancies notified in 1970 at ACEC, again in Waterford, only the 20 that were resisted, with strike action by the ATGWU, were halted.

## Fighting Unemployment

**1. Resisting Redundancies:** A key to turning the tide of unemployment is the organisation of effective resistance to closures and lay-offs as they occur. This is of primary importance: whereas the unemployed are scattered and unorganised, workers facing redundancy are still together, still in the union (often), they still have the

machinery are tied up. When the firm is bankrupt or the employer is unwilling to carry on, the demand must be for nationalisation under workers control: the state must be pressurised to step in and guarantee the jobs. The occupation cannot be left in isolation - as previous experience

**WE CAN'T disguise the reality: the trade union movement has faced the jobs crisis in a weak condition. But why? The reasons can be found in a combination of things:**

- \* the demoralisation caused by some substantial defeats, the sliding back in the standard of living after several years of relatively painless advance.

- \* the softening of the blow of redundancy and unemployment with pay-related and redundancy payments.

- \* the near-destruction of rank and file initiative in wage bargaining and in union affairs generally by means of the National Wage Agreements; introduced in 1970 under the threat of statutory wage controls, these Agreements have centralised wage negotiation in the hands of the Congress Executive and have been a direct cause of the "apathy" which many union officials use as the excuse for their compromises.

- \* the constant barrage of propaganda from the Establishment that wage rises cause unemployment and that 'some' job losses are inevitable facts of life, out of anybody's control.

bitterly shows - but supported by a campaign of collections, marches, meetings etc. (with the involvement of unemployed workers where possible) and, above all, solidarity action by other trade unionists.

Most of our sit-ins have been unsuccessful or about partial demands (like better redundancy pay). But there are enough successes to demonstrate the potential.

- \* a hundred and forty members of the ITGWU who occupied Wrights carpet factory in Newry in 1976 saved their jobs by forcing the government to give a grant to the factory.

- \* in January 1972 a thousand workers at the Fisher Bendix factory in Kirkby, England, occupied the premises when the management made it clear that they intended to close. Support was organised throughout the country and the management were forced to find a new owner for the factory, which was then kept open. Again in July 1974 the workers occupied once more after the new owners threatened massive redundancies. The government put £5 million into the factory and it remained open with the full workforce, this time as a co-operative however.

- \* when the boss closed down Confexim Fashions in Drogheda, last year, owing £7,000 in wages, 35 women workers occupied it for seven weeks. With some outside support they succeeded in pressing the IDA to pay their wages and (although the closure went ahead) to give a guarantee that they'd be first back when the factory re-opened.

**2. A Campaign of the Unemployed:** There is a need for the unemployed to organise into a broad-based and democratic campaign against unemployment, linked to the trade union movement. Unlike in the 50s it has proved extremely difficult to organise the unemployed or to get them involved in activity. Much of the initiative will have to come from socialists and trade union activists. A string of unemployed groups have come and gone - the Unemployed Workers Association, the Unemployed Workers Committee, the Dublin Fight Unemployment Committee, the Limerick Right To Work Committee, the Belfast Unemployed Action Group and others.



They had varying success, remained small and relatively isolated and declined for various reasons. Nevertheless the formation of local groups remains the most realistic way of beginning the job of getting the unemployed organised. They can be linked up nationally afterwards.

**A. local groups:** town or area unemployed action groups or Right To Work committees could be initiated with even a few interested unemployed workers. They should be linked to the power of organised workers as much as possible, by, for instance, the presence of local shop stewards on the committee and/or affiliation to the local Trades Council or links with union Branches or rank and file groups.

**B. activity:** unemployed organisations must be founded on ACTIVITY. The isolation and despondency caused by unemployment has made many people apathetic and defeatist. They will only be drawn in by a campaign that is doing something and offers them something to do, that is based on the self-activity of the unemployed. The experience of groups providing advice centres or raining thousands of leaflets upon the Labour Exchanges over the past few years has shown that this type of action alone does not get the fight-back going. Activities such as these should also be considered:

(i) a lobby of the unemployed on trade union conferences, seminars etc. to highlight the need for firm policies on job protection, resisting redundancies etc.

(ii) campaigns for free bus travel or against electricity cuts for the unemployed, establishing links with CIE and ESB trade unionists.

(iii) a campaign of marches (possibly including some from one city to the next), public meetings (sponsored or supported by trade union bodies wherever possible) and direct actions (where and when the unemployed movement has gained sufficient strength) such as occupations of Labour Exchanges, which will fight for the following demands:

- \*no more redundancies: nationalisation of companies threatening closure.
- \*shorter hours: (35 hour week, longer holidays etc.) with no loss of pay to provide more jobs for the unemployed
- \*an end to excessive overtime and double jobbing.
- \*an end to recruitment bans in the public sector.
- \* demands on the government to provide work and extend state industry (see below).
- \* no cuts or taxation of unemployment benefit.

\* substantial increases in unemployment benefit and assistance.

\* the dole for all unemployed people - no discrimination against women or youth.

(iv) effective campaigns could be built up around individual injustices and red tape. There are frequent ruthless moves by the faceless penny-pinchers of the Department of Social Welfare - refusal of dole to married women, arbitrary refusal of dole to people who are deemed to be unavailable, or not looking, for work and unjustified disqualifications.



90,000 UNEMPLOYED — Tommy Pearle speaks to a Meeting of Unemployed Workers outside Werburgh Street Labour Exchange in the '50s.

(v) unemployed groups could be mobilised to assist workers fighting particular redundancies/closures or vice-versa; delegations of the unemployed could be sent to meet shop stewards at factories where excessive overtime is being worked.

(vi) a survey of unemployment in an area - particularly youth unemployment. The findings can be used to gain publicity and in organising the unemployed locally (The Clontarf Branch of the SLP uncovered far more unemployment in the Edenmore housing estate in Dublin, than is reflected in the official statistics.)

a survey of local industry to see how many recent redundancies there have been or to establish the amounts of natural wastage, overtime or job-cutting productivity deals there are. This will be helpful in approaching shop stewards, union branches, and Trades Councils.

3. Within the Unions: The industrial strength of the working class within the trade union movement, and its potential power to kill the cancer of unemployment, has to be used. There are flashes of what is possible - such as the successful strike by workers at the Platin cement factory to force Cement-Roadstone to create permanent jobs where there had been temporary ones. On paper there are reams of excellent resolutions on unemployment, at Congress and union levels. If only half of them were acted upon. The willingness of most trade union leaders to accept lay-offs and ignore the unemployed points to the

need for democracy in the movement, so that the issues can be raised effectively and acted upon with care.

Trade union activists need to fight for a militant programme of policies and action within their union branches and committees, on the basis of:

(i) PROTECTING JOBS: no redundancies, voluntary or involuntary; where trade is slack lay-offs must be challenged with work-sharing on full pay; where closure is threatened, occupation is the best means of defence; where private enterprise has failed the call must be for nationalisation under workers control; 'rationalisation' measures or productivity deals that lead to job losses and 'natural wastage' must be rejected.

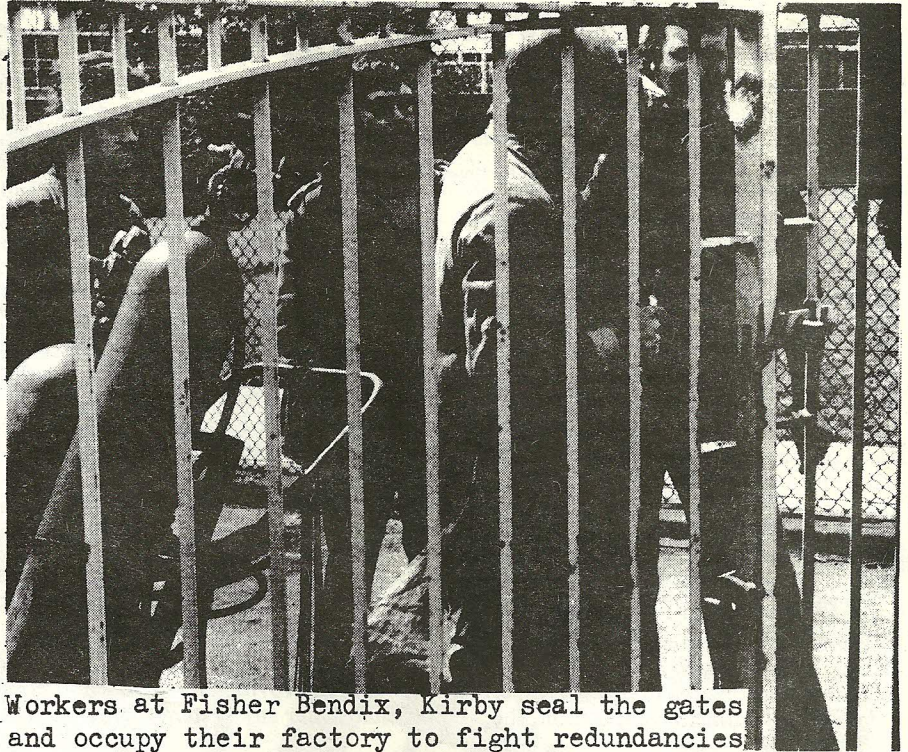
(ii) CREATING JOBS: a 35 hour week and longer holidays; the lifting of recruiting bans in the public sector; a ban on double-jobbing and excessive overtime - all claims to be met without loss of earnings.



(iii) INVOLVING THE UNEMPLOYED IN UNION AFFAIRS: the establishment of unemployed committees or Sections in union Branches, for unemployed members. The committees etc. can also assist the activities of organisations of the unemployed outside the union; full membership rights for unemployed members.

If it is not possible to get moves on unemployment - or any other important issue - through official channels, then activists will have to do it themselves through unofficial rank and file groups or local Shop Stewards Committees or Combine Committees across unions or workplaces. The rank and file movement which needs to be built can, and must, be developed on all these levels. It is not the plaything of any political group, but must be open to all workers, irrespective of politics, who are agreed on a rank and file programme (action on jobs and wages, trade union democracy etc.). It is a vehicle of struggle and for solidarity and effective organisation where and when the officialdom deserts the field. However the political organisations of the working-class should be fighting, and jointly, within the unions for such a movement. We in the SLP are committed to such a fight.

4. Pressure on the Government: Both the trade union movement and the campaigns of the unemployed should press the government - not just vocally but actively - on a number of demands for job creation. (Many demands like these are contained in hitherto empty resolutions passes at successive union Conferences.) Again, the political organisations of the working-class should also be agitating for these demands. The Socialist Labour Party certainly will be.



Workers at Fisher Bendix, Kirby seal the gates and occupy their factory to fight redundancies

(1) A PROGRAMME OF PUBLIC WORKS and an EMERGENCY HOUSING DRIVE using direct labour.

(2) MORE EMPLOYMENT IN EDUCATION, HEALTH & SOCIAL SERVICES.

(3) FULL DEVELOPMENT, IN PUBLIC OWNERSHIP, OF MINERAL, OIL & GAS RESOURCES. No compensation to the present robbers of these.

The trend of Fianna Fail's policies goes directly against these demands in favour of pushing resources and capital into the so-called 'productive' (mainly private, in

plain language) sector of the economy and in favour of reducing the proportion allotted to the state and social services sector. "In order to ensure the development of public finances as desired, there are three main courses of action open to the Government. These are, first, a general expenditure policy which will seek more stringent control of the costs of public services, second, some increase in taxation and, third, the phasing out or reduction of publicly financed schemes which are no longer appropriate to the attainment of the Government's priorities." (Green Paper page 72).



Unemployed Drogheda workers picket the Dail demanding action to create jobs (3/11/72)



# socialism—the only answer

While tremendous gains can be made against unemployment by a strong campaign of the unemployed and a vigorous defence of all existing jobs by the unions, full employment itself is far from attainable within capitalism - even more so for Irish capitalism.

Only socialism can release the productive forces that are now hwd back by the mean and petty interests of private owners, that could provide work for all and, indeed, the right not to work. Capitalism means millions in cash hoarded in banks waiting for a suitably profitable investment. Socialism means the use of all our resources - for need not profit. Socialism means the redistribution and social use of the private fortunes, high fees and salaries, and the luxury spending of the rich. Capitalism means billions spent on arms, advertising, 'security' and supervision; tons of food and goods destroyed or wasted in order to jack-up prices or to plan obsolescence. Capitalism is ruthless competition, the

flow of investment to the nearest fast-buck, the useless duplication of plant and work to produce similar products and economic chaos in general. The type of chaos that closes a bus-building plant in Dublin and opens a different one in Shannon, closes a chewing gum factory in Kildare and opens a different one in Wexford.

Socialism means an internationally planned economy under workers' control, where the people who produce the goods decide what to produce and when and how it should be done. Under capitalism more machinery offers reduced costs to the capitalist and less jobs, when automation could offer more leisure for the vast majority. In short, capitalism breeds unemployment. Socialism can use the potential that is there. It is one of the establishment's greatest myths that there is 'not enough in the kitty', that all the wealth of society is being used to provide every single job possible, that under any system there would be

more or less the same scarcity. Its a lie and it serves to justify the system, and unemployment in particular.

Because a democratically-run social economy is the only complete answer - that is why the Socialist Labour Party is involved in the struggles of the unemployed, that is why in the absence of an unemployed movement (or even alongside an existing one) the SLP will conduct its own campaign against unemployment - presenting the revolutionary socialist alternative. Without a mass socialist party this alternative will not get through. The SLP is attempting to build such a party, an organisation rooted in our own class, to organise and lead our class towards workers power.

We urge you to join the SLP and the fight, not just against unemployment. but for the emancipation of our class.

## Who says the country can't afford it?

The Government - and the Government before that - the employers, the bankers, the economists and the press have all argued that extra jobs must be paid for by sacrifice and 'tightening our belts'. The workers' belts that is. Yet there are fat profits, surpluses and financial 'kills' being creamed off by the capitalist class - these past two 'boom' years especially. This wealth could be used to create enough jobs and, indeed abolish poverty.

IRELAND was the most profitable location in the world last year for American manufacturing companies, according to the US Department of Commerce. The rate of return, after tax was 25%: this was higher than any other

country and more than twice the world average in 1975 and 1976. In actual terms the companies earned 225 million dollars in profits last year a rise of 24% in the 1976 level of 182 million dollars.

### SOME RECENT PROFIT FIGURES

<i>Waterford Glass</i>	first ½ 1978	£4.7m. up 30%
<i>Smurfit Group</i>	first ½ 1978	£8.3m.
<i>Unidare</i>	first ½ 1978	£1.04m.
<i>Cement-Roadstone</i>	first ½ 1978	£8.9m. up 35%
<i>Allied Irish Banks</i>	year to 3/78	£35.4m.

The pre-tax profits of 19 public companies reporting in the first quarter of 1978 increased in the latest year by 60% on aggregate from £12 million to £19 million. Directors pay was £1 million.



**LORD PEMBROKE** of Pembroke Estates, to whom you may be paying paying ground rent, paid £780,000 for old Jury's Hotel at the beginning of this year but in one move has more than recouped the total outlay. The rere portion of the Dame St. premises has been sold to Swan Ryan for £1.03 million, and will be a hotel. The front part of the premises had also been sold to a bank for £½ million. In total then Lork Pembroke has made a profit of £740,000 on an outlay of not much more than this in less than a year (Magill Oct.'78). Nearly 100% profit for nothing.





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**LABOUR PARTY**

# **SOCIALIST LABOUR**

# **SLP**

The party's objective is the creation in all Ireland of a Democratic, Secular, Socialist Republic, based on the social economic and political teachings of James Connolly's Workers' Republic.

The party seeks to create a society founded on the rule of the working class which shall be a step towards establishing an international Socialist order.

The party seeks the total overthrow of all imperialist, neo-imperialist, capitalist and neo-colonialist interests in Ireland. It therefore seeks a withdrawal of the British presence in all its forms from the 32 counties in Ireland, including the withdrawal of British troops from the 6 north-eastern counties of Ireland.

The party shall at all times work closely with the industrial arm of the working class movement, and shall work to create a socialist leadership within the trade unions. It shall strive to defend the independence of the trade union movement from the state and the employers. It shall work to build a

strong rank and file organisation on the shop floor and within the unions, in order to enlarge democracy and ensure that the unions fight in the interests of their members.

I want to know more about the SLP

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Send to: Socialist Labour  
Party, 9 Parnell Square,  
Dublin 1.  
Tel. 724287

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US!**



# — OUR ANSWER —

DERMOT KEVIN ANNE SEAN MAGGIE BERNIE AND MICK —



— ALL WORK FORTY HOURS A WEEK —

BUT SEAMUS DOESN'T WORK.



PADDY KATE FERGUS JACK BRIDIE PAT AND EAMONN —



AND SEAMUS WORKS TOO.

— DECIDE TO WORK 35 HOURS FOR THE SAME MONEY —